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*U.S. Office of War Information*  
O.W.I. - LONDON  
INTELLIGENCE SECTION

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCES.

From the Atlantic Charter to San Francisco.

April 16, 1945.



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PREFACE

The Treaties of peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations, designed to prevent a repetition of the years 1914-1918 and to secure a lasting peace in the world, specifically aimed at the break-up of the military forces of the enemy countries, economic sanctions against future aggressors, and the eventual reduction of armaments in all countries.

The inter-bellum period from 1918 to Japan's attack on Manchuria tragically demonstrated the inadequacy of a collective security system which lacked the power to enforce its decisions. While Japan refused to abide by the resolutions of the Washington Conference of 1922, Germany counteracted the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles at first by the secret arming of the Free Corps, the Schwarze Reichswehr, and other military formations, and, after Hitler's advent to power, by open and defiant rearmament.

As critical as one may be of the machinery created by the League of Nations and the importance of such machinery altogether, the idea of the League is firmly entrenched in the consciousness of all who search for means by which the peoples of the earth may at last realize their rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The United Nations' organization is a new answer to this quest. It is still in its formative stage. Its very name has not been decided upon. Many of its decisions carry the stamp of tentativeness. Yet, far beyond the immediate problem of conducting the war effort for the United Nations, it has already established instruments for the cooperative handling of a wide range of political, legal, economic and social problems.

Miss Eleanor Coonley, Mrs. Marian Pattee, and Mr. Harold Craxton of the staff of the Intelligence Section have devoted several weeks of tireless effort to collecting and digesting the reports on those conferences which may well be regarded as the beginning of the framework of a new, and, as we all hope, successful collective security system, worldwide in scope.

Joseph Dunner  
Chief,  
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
ATLANTIC CHARTER	
Meeting . . . . .	7
Atlantic Charter . . . . .	7
Text of the Atlantic Charter . . . . .	7
Comments on the Charter . . . . .	8
Application of the Charter . . . . .	8
UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION	
Meeting . . . . .	10
Work of the Conference . . . . .	10
United Nations Declaration . . . . .	11
Text of the Declaration . . . . .	11
Signatories . . . . .	12
WASHINGTON CONFERENCES - June 1942 . . . . .	13
MOSCOW CONFERENCE - August 1943	
Participants and Agenda . . . . .	14
Churchill's Report to Commons . . . . .	14
CASABLANCA CONFERENCE	
Participants and Agenda . . . . .	15
Official Communique . . . . .	15
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	16
WASHINGTON CONFERENCE - May 1943 . . . . .	18
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE - Hot Springs	
Participants and Agenda . . . . .	20
Work of the Conference . . . . .	20
Freedom from Want . . . . .	21
Plans for Liberated Territories . . . . .	21
Agricultural Expansion . . . . .	21
Economic Expansion . . . . .	22
Plans for a Permanent Organization . . . . .	22
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	22
QUEBEC CONFERENCE - August 1943	
Quebec Conference . . . . .	24
Joint Statement . . . . .	24
Washington Conference . . . . .	25
Comment on the Conferences . . . . .	25
MOSCOW CONFERENCE - October 1943	
Participants . . . . .	27
Agenda and Decisions . . . . .	27
Prosecution of the War . . . . .	27
Collective Security . . . . .	27
European Advisory Commission . . . . .	27
Advisory Council on Italy . . . . .	27
Declaration on Austria . . . . .	27
Statement on Atrocities . . . . .	28
Comments on the Moscow Declarations . . . . .	28

UNRRA CONFERENCE - MONTREAL

Participants . . . . .	69
Resolutions . . . . .	69
Administrative Budget . . . . .	65
Membership of Denmark . . . . .	69
Health Measures . . . . .	69
Displaced Persons . . . . .	69
Aid to Italians . . . . .	69
Aid to Populations in Strategic Zones . . . . .	70
Relief Priorities . . . . .	70
Long-Term Rehabilitation . . . . .	70

CHICAGO AIR CONFERENCE

Participants and Agenda . . . . .	71
Work of the Conference . . . . .	72
Final Act . . . . .	72
Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation	
- Appendix 1 . . . . .	73
General Provisions . . . . .	73
Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization	73
Elections to Interim Council . . . . .	73
Signatories . . . . .	74
Convention on International Civil Aviation - Appendix 2	74
General Provisions . . . . .	74
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	75
Signatories . . . . .	75
International Air Services Transit Agreement	
- Appendix 3 . . . . .	75
Signatories . . . . .	76
International Air Transport Agreement - Appendix 4 . . . . .	76
Signatories . . . . .	76
Draft on Technical Annexes - Appendix 5 . . . . .	76
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	77
American . . . . .	77
British . . . . .	78

MOSCOW CONFERENCE - October 1944

Participants and Agenda . . . . .	79
Work of the Conference . . . . .	79
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	79
British . . . . .	79
Russian . . . . .	80
American . . . . .	80

WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

Agenda and Participants . . . . .	82
Work of the Conference . . . . .	83
Declaration on Furtherance of the Allied War Effort . . . . .	83
Declaration on Attitude to the Peace Settlement . . . . .	83
Declaration on World Trade Union Federation . . . . .	84
Declaration on Postwar Reconstruction and Immediate	
Trade Union Demands . . . . .	85



CRIMEA CONFERENCE

Participants . . . . .	87
Work of the Conference . . . . .	87
Germany . . . . .	87
Liberated Europe . . . . .	87
Collective Security . . . . .	88
Reports to Legislatures . . . . .	88
Churchill to Commons . . . . .	88
Roosevelt to Congress . . . . .	89
Voting Procedure . . . . .	89
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	90
American . . . . .	90
Russian . . . . .	90
British . . . . .	90
Polish . . . . .	91
French . . . . .	91

MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE

Participants . . . . .	92
Agenda . . . . .	92
Background . . . . .	93
Wartime Conferences of Foreign Ministers . . . . .	93
Organization of the Mexico City Conference . . . . .	93
Work of the Conference . . . . .	93
Political and Military Security . . . . .	94
Hemisphere Solidarity . . . . .	95
Basic Human Rights . . . . .	95
Commerce and Finance . . . . .	96
Social Measures . . . . .	96
Information and Education . . . . .	97
Comment on the Conference . . . . .	97
United States . . . . .	97
Latin American . . . . .	98

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Announcement of the Conference . . . . .	99
Text of Invitation and Announcement of Voting Procedure in Security Council . . . . .	99
Nations Invited to the Conference . . . . .	99
Conference Voting . . . . .	100
Assembly Voting . . . . .	100
Preliminary Conferences . . . . .	101
Jurists' Meetings, Washington . . . . .	101
US Delegation Meetings, Washington . . . . .	101
British Commonwealth Meetings, London . . . . .	101
Delegates . . . . .	101
Sponsoring Nations . . . . .	101
Other Nations . . . . .	102

APPENDIX

- I League of Nations
  - History
  - Organization
    - General
    - Principal Auxiliary Organizations
    - Assembly
    - Council
    - Secretariat
    - Supervisory Commission
    - Economic and Social Organizations
  - Proposed Reorganization
  - Settlement of Disputes
  - Collective Security Conferences
  - Economic and Social Conferences
  - World Court
    - History
    - Organization
    - Jurisdiction
  
- II Covenant of the League of Nations
- III United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Draft Agreement
  
- IV Three-Power Conference, Moscow 1943, Joint Declarations
  - Joint Four-Nation Declaration
  - Declaration on Italy
  - Declaration on Austria
  - Statement on Atrocities
  
- V Dumbarton Oaks - Statement of Tentative Proposals
  
- VI Summary of Final Act of United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, Bretton Woods, 1944
  
- VII Crimea Communique
  
- VIII Titles of Articles of Final Act, Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Mexico City, 1945



ATLANTIC CHARTER.

Meeting.

The first of the long series of wartime meetings between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt took place in August 1941. The three-day conference was held at sea off the coast of Newfoundland on board the battleship HMS Prince of Wales and the cruiser USS Augusta. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill were accompanied by their Chiefs of Staff and other military and economic advisers. The announcement of the meeting was made to the press on August 14.

The supply of munitions under Lend-Lease, in particular to United Kingdom and Russian forces, but also to all countries actively engaged in the war, was discussed.

Atlantic Charter.

It was at this meeting that the joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter was drawn up. It contained eight points which, in the opinion of its framers, should form the basis for a better world after the defeat of Fascism.

President Roosevelt revealed at his press conference on December 19, 1944 that there is no formal, signed document. He said that he and Churchill, with the aid of the United States State Department and British Foreign Office officials, had written a memorandum during their meeting on board the USS Augusta. This memorandum, after he and Churchill had "scribbled many corrections," was then sent to the American and British Governments and released to the press.

The signing of the United Nations Declaration presumes adherence by the signatories to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and this provision is embodied in the United Nations Declaration.

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.

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"Third, 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;

"Fourth, they will endeavour, 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;

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic adjustment, and social security;

"Sixth, 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;

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

"Eighth, 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."

#### Comments on the Charter.

Churchill, in a broadcast on August 24, 1941, said; "We had the idea...that, without attempting to draw final and formal peace aims, or war aims, it was necessary to give all peoples, and especially the oppressed and conquered peoples, a simple, rough and ready war-time statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way and thus make a way for others to march with them upon a road which will certainly be painful and may be long."

On July 15, 1943, replying to questions in the House of Commons, Churchill said, "The Atlantic Charter was not a treaty requiring ratification or any formal endorsement of a constitutional character on the other side of the Atlantic. It was a statement of certain broad views and principles which are our common guide in our forward march."

On February 23, 1942 President Roosevelt spoke of the "four freedoms" of the Atlantic Charter: "We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and people, and the four freedoms---freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear."

#### Application of the Charter.

Prime Minister Churchill on September 9, 1941, on the application of the Charter to certain parts of the British Empire, said, "The Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements on policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire...At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles governing any alterations in the territorial boundaries which may have to be made."

Regarding the application of the Charter to Germany, Churchill, on May 24, 1944 said, "The Atlantic Charter in no way binds us about the future of Germany, nor is it a bargain or contract with our enemies." Anthony Eden, in a speech before the House of Commons on February 23, 1944 said, "There are certain parts of the Atlantic Charter which refer to victor and vanquished alike. Article 4 does so. But we cannot admit that Germany can claim as a matter of right..that any part of the Charter applies to her."

Regarding territorial changes, Churchill said on February 22, 1944, "There will be, for instance, no question of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany as a matter of right and barring territorial transferences or adjustment in any countries."



UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION

Meeting December 22, 1941 - January 12 (?), 1942.

An official announcement from Washington on December 22, 1941 stated that Prime Minister Churchill, accompanied by Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Supply; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound; Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff; Field Marshal Sir John Dill, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; and a technical staff had arrived to discuss with President Roosevelt all questions relative to the concerted war effort. According to a British press dispatch, the American representatives were Col. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson, Secretary of War; Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff; Gen. Henry A. Arnold, Deputy Chief of Staff; Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief of the Navy; Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations; and Harry Hopkins, Lend-Lease Administrator.

The exact date of the termination of the conference was not released. Mr. Churchill, in his report to the Commons on January 27, 1942 referred to his "three weeks' visit."

A statement issued by the White House at the opening of the talks said, "There is, of course, one primary objective in the conversations to be held during the next few days between the President and the British Prime Minister and the respective staffs of the two countries. That purpose is the defeat of Hitlerism throughout the world.

"It should be remembered that many other nations are engaged today in this common task. Therefore, the present conferences in Washington should be regarded as preliminary to further conferences which will officially include Russia, China, the Netherlands and the Dominions. It is expected that there will thus be evolved an overall unity in the conduct of the war. Other nations will be asked to participate to the best of their ability in the overall objective..."

Work of the Conference

During the course of the conferences, on December 27, President Roosevelt issued the following statement:

"Much has been accomplished in this week through the medium of the many conferences held - in the meetings of the supply and production officials in sessions held by members of the military and naval groups, and in the discussions with chiefs of the missions of all nations at war with the common enemy.

"Included were conferences with the Russian and Chinese ambassadors, the Canadian Prime Minister, and the Netherlands Minister.

"As a result of these meetings I know tonight that the position of the United States and all the nations aligned with us has been strengthened immeasurably. We have advanced far along the road toward achievement of the ultimate objective - the crushing defeat of those forces that have attacked and made war upon us.

"The conferences will continue for an indefinite period of time. It is impossible to say just now when they will terminate.....

"The present overall objective is the marshalling of all resources, military and economic, of the world-wide front opposing the Axis. Excellent progress along these lines is being made."

In a series of releases issued during and following the conferences it was revealed that the setting up of the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, the Pacific War Council, a unified command for the Southwest Pacific area, and the Munitions Assignment, Shipping Adjustment and Combined Raw Materials Boards had been agreed upon at these meetings. Among other military questions discussed but not disclosed until some time afterwards were preliminary plans for the invasion of French North Africa, immediate plans for basing United States land and air forces in the United Kingdom and Australia; and long-term plans for the defense of the Southwest Pacific and Australia and operations in the Chinese theatre.

Mr. Churchill, in his report to the Commons on January 27 said, regarding his meetings in Washington:

"I had many discussions with the President upon the Anglo-American war direction, especially as it affects this war against Japan, to which Russia is not yet a party...I have...arranged with President Roosevelt that there should be a body in Washington called the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, consisting of the three United States Chiefs of Staff, men of the highest distinction, and three high officers representing and acting under the general instructions of the British Chiefs of Staff Committee in London...

"At Washington we and our combined staffs surveyed the whole scene of the war and we reached a number of important practical decisions. Some of them affect future operations and cannot, of course, be mentioned, but others have been made public by declarations or by events. The vanguard of an American Army has already arrived in the United Kingdom...

"As I have explained at some length, we addressed ourselves to the war against Japan and to the measures to be taken to defend Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands East Indies, Malaya, Burma, and India against Japanese attack or invasion.

"...We have established a vast common pool of weapons and munitions, of raw materials and of shipping, the outline of which has been set forth in a series of memoranda which I have initialled with the President....."

#### United Nations Declaration

On January 1, 1942, during the course of the conferences, then in progress, the United Nations Declaration was presented to and signed by the representatives of 26 nations. It was subsequently signed by 21 other nations.

#### Text of the Declaration

"A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

"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 struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

Signatories

<u>Country</u>	<u>Date Signed</u>
Australia	Jan. 1, 1942
Belgium	Jan. 1, 1942
Bolivia	May 5, 1943
Brazil	Feb. 6, 1943
Canada	Jan. 1, 1942
Chile	Feb. 14, 1945
China	Jan. 1, 1942
Colombia	Jan. 17, 1944
Costa Rica	Jan. 1, 1942
Cuba	Jan. 1, 1942
Czechoslovakia	Jan. 1, 1942
Dominican Republic	Jan. 1, 1942
Ecuador	Feb. 14, 1945
Egypt	Feb. 22, 1945
Ethiopia	Oct. 9, 1942
France	Jan. 1, 1945
Greece	Jan. 1, 1942
Guatemala	Jan. 1, 1942
Haiti	Jan. 1, 1942
Honduras	Jan. 1, 1942
India	Jan. 1, 1942
Iraq	Jan. 16, 1943
Lebanon	Mar. 23, 1945
Liberia	Apr. 10, 1944
Luxembourg	Jan. 1, 1942
Mexico	June 14, 1942
Netherlands	Jan. 1, 1942
New Zealand	Jan. 1, 1942
Nicaragua	Jan. 1, 1942
Norway	Jan. 1, 1942
Panama	Jan. 1, 1942
Paraguay	Feb. 14, 1945
Persia	Sept. 14, 1943
Peru	Feb. 14, 1945
Philippines	June 14, 1942
Poland	Jan. 1, 1942
Salvador	Jan. 1, 1942
Saudi Arabia	Mar. 1, 1945
Syria	Mar. 23, 1945
Turkey	Feb. 28, 1945
Union of South Africa	Jan. 1, 1942
USSR	Jan. 1, 1942
United Kingdom	Jan. 1, 1942
United States	Jan. 1, 1942
Uruguay	Feb. 24, 1945
Venezuela	Feb. 18, 1945
Yugoslavia	Jan. 1, 1942

WASHINGTON CONFERENCES

June 1942.

In June 1942, Churchill came to Washington for his third wartime conference with Roosevelt. Among the major problems under discussion were the protection of merchant vessels against the U-boat and the increased production and faster delivery of war supplies to all the fighting fronts. Plans were laid for the North African landings, timed to coincide with a British drive from El Alamein, and for future military operations against Japan. The creation of a Combined Production and Resources Board and a Combined Food Board was announced on June 9 by President Roosevelt on behalf of himself and the Prime Minister.

V.M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, came to Washington the same month to discuss with the President and his advisers the creation of a second front in Europe, increased military supplies for Russia, and postwar cooperation between Russia and the United States. Among those who participated in the conversations were Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S., Harry Hopkins, General Marshall and Admiral King. Secretary Hull joined in the later discussions of non-military matters.

As a result of the talks, a mutual-aid agreement between the two governments was signed on June 11 by Litvinoff and Hull. This agreement provided for:

1. Continued war aid to Russia by the United States.
2. Reciprocal aid to the extent of Russia's ability.
3. No transfer of Lend-Lease supplies to a third party by Russia without the consent of the President of the U.S.
4. Action by Government of USSR, when necessary as a result of such a transfer, to protect U.S. citizens' patent rights.
5. Return to the U.S. of unused Lend-Lease supplies after the war.
6. Recognition of Russian aid to the U.S. under reverse Lend-Lease in the final determination of Russia's debt to the U.S.
7. Settlement of Russia's debt on terms designed to promote mutually advantageous economic relations and betterment of world-wide economic relations. Inclusion in these terms of provisions for joint action to expand production, employment, and exchange and consumption of goods; to eliminate discriminatory practices in international commerce; and to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers.
8. Continuation of the present agreement until a date to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

The provisions are substantially the same as those signed by the U.S. and Britain on February 23, 1942, and by the U.S. and China on June 2, 1942. All three agreements were negotiated under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941.

MOSCOW CONFERENCE

August 12 - 15, 1942

Participants and Agenda

Early in August 1942, after his visit to Cairo which led to General Alexander's being given command of the Desert forces, Churchill flew to Moscow for his first meeting with Stalin. Together with Averell Harriman, representing President Roosevelt, they had daily meetings from August 12 to 15.

The following communique was issued on August 17:

"Negotiations have taken place in Moscow between the President of the Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Joseph V. Stalin, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Winston Churchill, in which Mr. Averell Harriman, representing the President of the United States of America participated. There took part in the discussions: The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. V. M. Molotov, Marshal K.E. Voroshilov - from the Soviet side, the British Ambassador, Sir A. Clark-Kerr, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir A. Brooke, and other responsible representatives of the British armed forces, and the permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir A. Cadogan - from the British side.

"A number of decisions were reached covering the field of the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe. This just war of liberation both governments are determined to carry on with all their power and energy until the complete destruction of Hitlerism and any similar tyrant has been achieved. The discussions, which were carried on in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete sincerity, provided an opportunity of reaffirming the existence of close friendship and understanding between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America in entire accordance with the Allied relationship existing between them."

Churchill's Report to Commons

Some indication of the problems faced during the conference was given by Churchill in his review of the war before the House of Commons on September 11.

He began by announcing that a ten-day series of conferences between the U.S. and Britain in London during July, 1942 had resulted in "a complete agreement on war policy and war plans" covering world-wide military operations. General Marshall, Admiral King, and Harry Hopkins, he said, took part in the talks.

After a review of the Egyptian campaign, he went on to comment on the Moscow talks. Remarking that the Russians did not think the Americans and British had done enough so far to take the weight off them, he said, "This is not all surprising, in view of the terrific onslaught which they are enduring and withstanding with such marvelous tenacity. It is difficult to make the Russians comprehend all the problems of the sea and of the ocean. We are sea animals and the United States are to a large extent ocean animals. The Russians are land animals. Happily, we are all three air animals. It is difficult to explain fully all the different characteristics of the war effort of various countries, but I am sure that we made their leaders feel confidence in our loyal and sincere resolve to come to their aid as quickly as possible and in the most effective manner without regard to the losses and sacrifices involved so long as their contribution was towards victory."

Recalling that the war had entered its fourth year, Churchill spoke of "inestimable and measureless improvements in our position" since the second anniversary of the war. "From being all alone, the sole champion left in a struggle against Nazi tyranny," he said, "we are now among the leaders of a majestic company of States and nations, including the greatest nations of the world, the United States and Russia, all moving forward together until absolute victory is won, and not only won but established upon unshakable foundations."



CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

January 14 - 24, 1943

Participants and Agenda

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, accompanied by the Combined Chiefs of Staff and military and economic advisers, met between January 14 and 24, 1943 at Casablanca, French Morocco, to discuss future military plans. Premier Stalin had been invited, but was unable to leave Russia at that time for military reasons; he was, however, kept fully informed of the proceedings. Roosevelt and Churchill were also in communication with Chiang Kai-shek. Gen. Giraud was invited to confer with the Chiefs of Staff and a meeting was arranged between him and Gen. de Gaulle.

At his press conference following the close of the sessions President Roosevelt outlined the general objectives of the conference as:

1. To maintain the initiative obtained in the closing days of 1942 and to extend it;
2. To dispatch all aid to the Russian front with the objective of whittling down German manpower and munitions;
3. To send assistance to the Chinese armies;
4. To unite the French in the war against the Axis.

Borrowing a phrase from a letter of General Grant to the Confederate commander of Forts Henry and Donelson during the American Civil War, Roosevelt called the sessions the "unconditional surrender" conference. The one hope for peace, he said, lies in depriving Germany and Japan of all military power.

In his Report to Congress on September 17, 1943 Roosevelt revealed that the landing on Italy had been planned at Casablanca.

Official Communiqué

After giving the names of those attending the conference, the official communiqué continues:

"For ten days the combined staffs have been in constant session, meeting two or three times a day and recording progress at intervals to the President and Prime Minister.

"The entire field of the war was surveyed theatre by theatre throughout the world, and all resources were marshaled for a more intense prosecution of the war by sea, land and air.

"Nothing like this prolonged discussion between two allies has ever taken place before. Complete agreement was reached between the leaders of the two countries and their respective staffs upon war plans and enterprises to be undertaken during the campaigns of 1943 against Germany, Italy and Japan with a view to drawing the utmost advantage from the markedly favorable turn of events at the close of 1942.

"Premier Stalin was cordially invited to meet the President and Prime Minister, in which case the meeting would have been held very much farther to the East. He was unable to leave Russia at this time on account of the great offensive which he himself, as Commander in Chief, is directing.

"The President and Prime Minister realized up to the full the enormous weight of the war which Russia is successfully bearing along her whole land front, and their prime object has been to draw as much weight as possible off the Russian armies by engaging the enemy as heavily as possible at the best selected points.

"Premier Stalin has been fully informed of the military proposals.

"The President and Prime Minister have been in communication with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. They have appraised him of the measures which they are undertaking to assist him in China's magnificent and unrelaxing struggle for the common cause.

"The occasion of the meeting between the President and Prime Minister made it opportune to invite General Giraud (Gen. Henri Honoré Giraud, High Commissioner of French Africa) to confer with the Combined Chiefs of Staff and to arrange for a meeting between him and Gen. de Gaulle. The two generals have been in close consultation.

"The President and Prime Minister and their combined staffs, having completed their plans for the offensive campaigns of 1943, have now separated in order to put them into active and concerted execution."

#### Comment on the Conference

In a speech in the House of Commons on February 11, 1943, Mr. Churchill declared:

"It was only after full and cold, sober and mature consideration of all the facts, on which our lives and liberties certainly depend, that the President, with my full concurrence as agent of the War Cabinet, decided that the note of the Casablanca Conference should be the unconditional surrender of all our foes. Our inflexible insistence upon unconditional surrender does not mean that we shall stain our victorious arms by any cruel treatment of whole populations. But justice must be done upon the wicked and the guilty.

"The Casablanca Conference was, in my not inconsiderable experience of these functions, in various ways unparalleled. There never has been, in all inter-Allied Conferences I have known, anything like the prolonged professional examination of the whole scene of the world war in its military, its armament production, and its economic aspects.

"We have now a complete plan of action, which comprises the apportionment of forces as well as their direction, and the weight of the particular movements which have been decided upon; and this plan we are going to carry out according to our ability during the next nine months, before the end of which we shall certainly make efforts to meet again. For good or for ill, we know exactly what it is that we wish to do...

"We have been in close correspondence with the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. We have already received from him an expression of his satisfaction in the strong additional help that will be provided for China at this stage in her long-drawn, undaunted struggle. The Generalissimo also concurs in the plans for future action in the Far East which we have submitted to him as the result of our deliberations."

Roosevelt, broadcasting from the annual dinner of the White House Correspondents Association on February 12, said,

"It was made clear to us at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great paramount objective - the complete liberation of France. French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own popular choice.

"Decisions reached and actual plans made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war. Before this year is out, it will be made known to the world - in action rather than in words - that the Casablanca conference produced plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians and the Japanese.

"The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold and have resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

"The only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis factions are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: unconditional surrender."



WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

May 11 - 26, 1943.

Prime Minister Churchill met President Roosevelt in Washington on May 11, 1943 for the fifth of their war-time conferences. The White House announced that Mr. Churchill was accompanied by General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Dudley Pound, Admiral of the Fleet, Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal, Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander in Chief of the British Forces in India, Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport, and other advisers. On May 27 Roosevelt announced that the conference had ended in complete agreement on all future operations in all theatres of the war.

The names of the American officials who participated were not given to the press and no details of the problems under discussion were released either during or after the conferences, but the London Times of May 13 ran the following despatch from its Washington correspondent: "The inclusion of Field Marshal Wavell, Air Chief Marshal Peirse and Admiral Somerville, with its indication of the importance that the Far East will have in the conversations here, makes it necessary to recall that within recent weeks Washington has been visited by Lt. Gen. George Kenny, Commanding the Air Forces in the Southwest Pacific, Maj. Gen. Sutherland, who is Gen. MacArthur's Chief of Staff; that Maj. Gen. Joseph Stilwell, who holds an important command under Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek in the China Theatre, has made his report in person; and that with him was Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, Commanding the Fourteenth Air Force."

On May 19 Mr. Churchill addressed a joint session of the US Senate and House of Representatives but during his speech gave only hints as to the scope of the conferences in progress: "It may not have escaped your attention that I have brought with me to this country and to this conference Field Marshal Wavell and the other two Commanders-in-Chief from India. Now they have not travelled all this way simply to concern themselves about improving the health and happiness of the Mikado of Japan. I thought it would be good that all concerned in this theatre should meet together and thrash out in friendly candour, heart to heart, all the points that arise; and there are many.... It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war to overcome at the earliest moment the military, geographical and political difficulties, and begin the process, so necessary and desirable, of laying the cities and other munitions centres of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely lie before peace comes back to the world. That this objective holds a high place in the present conference is obvious to thinking men, but no public discussion would be useful upon the method or sequence of events which should be pursued in order to achieve it..."

On his return to England Mr. Churchill reported to the House of Commons on June 8.

"...Having consulted the President, I thought it necessary at the beginning of May to go with our Chiefs of Staff and a very large body of officers and secretaries - nearly 100 - for a third time to Washington, in order that the success then impending in Tunisia might be examined and comprehended from a common viewpoint, and then turned to the best possible account.

"At Washington the entire expanse of the world war, on which the mellow light of victory now begins to play, was laid open to the British and American leaders. We have shown that we can face disaster. We have still to show that we can keep ourselves at the height and level of successful events and be worthy of good fortune. Perhaps that may be the hardest task of all.

"It would not be right, of course, for me to attempt to give even in outline an account of the decisions which were reached. All I can say is that we have done our best. A complete agreement about forward steps has been reached between the two Governments. There has been no trace of differences, such as occurred in the last war, inevitably on account of the forces at work, between the politicians and the military men. I shall make no predictions as to what will happen in the future, and still less in the near future. All I can say is that Anglo-American policy, strategy, and economy were brought into full focus and punch in these fifteen days' talks in Washington."

Mr. Churchill cast further light on the work of this conference in his report to the House of Commons on September 21, 1943:

"When I visited the President....in Washington in May 1943, during and after the victory in Tunisia, the British and American Armies had great results to display. We therefore extended our review and set before ourselves as our principal objective the knocking of Italy completely out of the war this year."

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Hot Springs May 17 - June 3, 1943

Participants and Agenda

At the invitation of President Roosevelt, the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture convened at Hot Springs, Virginia on May 17, 1943. This was the first United Nations Conference. Delegates from 44 United and Associated Nations attended:

Australia	India
Belgium	Iran
Bolivia	Iraq
Brazil	Liberia
Canada	Luxembourg
Chile	Mexico
China	Netherlands
Columbia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Cuba	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Panama
Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Ecuador	Peru
Egypt	Philippines
Ethiopia	Poland
French Delegation	Salvador
Great Britain	Union of South Africa
Greece	United States
Guatemala	Uruguay
Haiti	USSR
Honduras	Venezuela
Iceland	Yugoslavia

The Minister of Denmark attended in his personal capacity, owing to Denmark's anomalous position as an occupied country without an official government in existence.

The majority of the delegates were experts on farming, nutrition and public health, or economists and administrators.

The expressed purpose of the Conference was to plan international cooperation in the production and distribution of food in the post-war world. It had power only to explore the facts and to make recommendations which were subject to ratification by the participating governments.

Four sections, on which every country was represented, were created to consider the problems on the agenda:

Section I - Consumption Levels and Requirements dealt with consumption needs and the relation of food to health and recommended measures to be taken to improve the standards of consumption both on an international and on a national level.

Section II - Expansion of Production and Adaptation to Consumption Needs dealt with consumption deficiencies and malnutrition and recommended remedial measures.

Section III - Facilitations and Improvements of Distribution dealt with plans for a wider and more equal distribution of food throughout the world.

Section IV - Recommendations for Continuing and Carrying Forward the Work of the Conference dealt with plans for future international meetings and technical work.

Work of Conference

The Conference affirmed the principle of mutual responsibility and coordinated action by the participating governments "to establish such conditions of international security as will make possible an expanding and balanced world economy" and agreed to "taken in concert all necessary measures to secure the application of this principle and the achievement of this objective."



The work of the Conference emphasized the fundamental interdependence of the consumer and the producer and of food policy and agricultural policy.

The Conference approved 30 resolutions dealing with food consumption, production and distribution and called upon the participating governments to shape their internal policies to support the program outlined by it.

#### Freedom from Want

At the final session the delegates unanimously reaffirmed the sixth provision of the Atlantic Charter, declaring that freedom from want can be achieved throughout the world.

Resolutions were adopted dealing with the planning of agricultural production and the prevention of violent price fluctuations resulting from the shortages of the immediate post-war period.

It was apparent from the reports received by the Conference that in all countries there are large sections of the population which do not get either adequate quantities of food or the proper foods to maintain health. The important part played by malnutrition in child mortality and the close connection between the incidence of many prevalent diseases and diet deficiencies was established. These reports also showed that the types of food generally required to improve diets and health are, in many cases, those produced by farming methods which are best calculated to maintain the productivity of the soil and to increase and make more stable the returns to agricultural producers.

Measures to improve both the quantity and quality of food; special provisions for particular classes and groups, even at the expense of other classes or groups; and educational programs were recommended to the governments represented. It was also found that both national and international programs will have to be adjusted to secure more of the "protective" foods which are most necessary for the maintenance of health. It was recognized, however, that a great overall increase in production will be necessary if progress toward freedom from want is to be achieved.

The Conference did not attempt to lay down ideal standards of nutrition for all peoples. It recognized that, while the ultimate objective must be a world in which all people are fed in accordance with the requirements of good health, it will be necessary, as a practical measure, to concentrate on intermediate goals which can be progressively raised as conditions improve.

#### Plans for Liberated Territories

The Conference discussed the probable situations to be faced in occupied countries immediately after their liberation. It was agreed that priority must be given to devastated areas.

It was decided that, until liberated areas are able to produce a harvest, the most urgent demand will be for cereals and other foods with a high energy value and foods which satisfy hunger. When the production of certain basic foods is restored, it will be necessary to shift the emphasis to the production of foods with a high protein content and with other "protective" qualities.

It was recognized that the demand for energy-giving foods for the period of immediate shortages may lead, as the shortages are overcome, to over-production of these foods unless individual production programs are then changed to conform to long-term requirements. Although the Conference recognized that the programs must be drawn up to fit the particular circumstances of each country, it agreed on certain general principles which would serve as a guide to the various governments in outlining their plans.

#### Agricultural Expansion

Recommendations were made for new agricultural development. It was generally agreed that some parts of the world which are at present unproductive can be brought into agricultural production if appropriate measures are applied.

It was recognised that in some fertile areas development is impeded by overcrowding. While it was believed that productivity in these areas can be increased by improved farming methods, it was recognised that in some cases the development of industry to provide employment for agricultural populations or emigrations to other areas are the only measures likely to offer any real contribution to the problem.

#### Economic Expansion

The Conference recognised that it is useless to produce food unless men and nations have the means to acquire it for consumption and that freedom from want can not be achieved without a balanced and world-wide expansion of economic activity.

It was also recognised that consumers would not be in a position to buy the food they need and producers of food could not be assured of adequate returns unless progress was made through international action to raise the level of employment in all countries.

The work of the Conference established the close interdependence between the level of employment in all countries, the character and extent of industrial development, the management of currencies, the direction of national and international investment, and the policies adopted by the nations toward foreign trade.

Ways and means of quickening economic activity, and the place and functions which might be given to international arrangements for the control of basic staple foodstuffs entering international trade were discussed. It was agreed that the objectives of any such arrangements must be to eliminate excessive short-term fluctuations in the prices of food and agricultural commodities; to mitigate general inflationary or deflationary movements; and to facilitate adjustments in production which may be necessary to prevent economic dislocation. It was agreed that any such arrangements should include the representatives of consumers as well as producers.

#### Plans for a Permanent Organisation

There was general agreement among the nations represented that a permanent international organisation in the field of food and agriculture should be established. It was also agreed that this organisation should act as a center of information and advice on both agricultural and nutritional questions and that it should maintain a service of international statistics.

The Conference itself did not attempt to outline the scope or functions of such an organisation but recommended the establishment in Washington of an interim commission to draft a detailed plan for the proposed permanent organisation.

#### Comments on the Conference

President Roosevelt, in his address to the delegates at the White House, June 7th, said, "The conference could not have failed to be significant because it was the first United Nations Conference. But it has succeeded even beyond hopes; it is truly epoch-making because, in reaching unanimity upon complex and difficult problems, you have demonstrated beyond question that the United Nations really are united - not only for the prosecution of the war, but for the solution of the many and difficult problems of peace. This conference has been a living demonstration of the methods by which the conversations of nations of like mind can and will give practical application to the principles of the Atlantic Charter."

Mr. Anthony Eden, in a statement before the House of Commons on July 6, 1945, said, "...I should like to congratulate the United States Government, which convened the Conference, on the successful outcome of this first experiment in comprehensive international discussion of post-war matters. His Majesty's Government have been greatly impressed by the fact that, in the midst of a war, representatives of more than forty like-minded nations could meet together and achieve general agreement on so many fundamental principles. His Majesty's



Government recognise that the resolutions were drawn up in the light of the widely-differing physical, political and economic conditions of the various countries represented, and that the application of the resolutions passed by the Conference will depend on these differences...Finally, there is the question of production which bears closely on the relief of peoples living in the countries now occupied by the enemy. The Conference was not concerned with the organisation of relief supplies, but the House will note that due attention was paid to the necessity of increasing supplies of basic foodstuffs in the period when territories liberated from the enemy will be in need of help from outside...."

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For official text see:

"United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture," International Conciliation, September 1943, No. 392 - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, N.Y.

QUEBEC CONFERENCE

August 11-September 11 (?), 1943

Quebec Conference August 11-24, 1943

The sixth war-time conference between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill opened at Quebec on August 11, 1943. Mr. Churchill, accompanied by Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport, and the British Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Quebec on August 10 for talks with Mr. MacKenzie King; and a joint session of the British and Canadian War Cabinets was held on the following day. On August 12th Mr. Churchill went to Hyde Park, New York to confer with Mr. Roosevelt and returned on the 15th. On the 17th Mr. Roosevelt, accompanied by Harry Hopkins, arrived at Quebec. They were later joined by U.S. Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, British Minister of Information Brendan Bracken, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office, and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. T.V. Soong.

The Joint Statement issued at the time by Roosevelt and Churchill gave no details of the decisions reached at the Conference, but in his statement to the House of Commons on August 2, 1944 Mr. Churchill revealed some of the military plans which were made at that time, and which had been withheld for security reasons:

"Broadly speaking, it may be said that at Quebec last autumn we planned an advance in northern Burma with the object of giving greater security to the immense American air highway to China...We placed our hopes after Quebec in the new Supreme Commander, Admiral Mountbatten, and his brilliant lieutenant, Major-General Wingate, who, alas, has paid the soldier's debt...

"A volume would be required to recount the story of the crossing of the Channel and the landing of the armies of liberation upon the soil of France...In April 1943 General Morgan of the British army became the head of a British and American planning staff which surveyed the whole project by the decision of the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee. They made a plan which I took with me last year to Quebec, where it was submitted to the President and the combined British and American Chiefs of Staff. This plan selected the beaches for the attack and presented the main operations of the scheme, together with a mass of detail to support it...It is rather remarkable that a secret of this character, which had to be entrusted from the beginning to scores, and very soon to hundreds, and ultimately to thousands of people, never leaked out either in the small confines of this small island or in the wide expanses of the United States."

Joint Statement

The following joint statement was issued in Quebec by Roosevelt and Churchill on August 24, at the close of the conference:

"The Anglo-American war conference which opened in Quebec on August 11 under the hospitable auspices of the Canadian Government has now concluded its work.

"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 and the necessary decisions have been taken to provide for the forward actions of the Fleets, Armies and Air Forces of the two nations.

"Considering that these forces are intermingled in continuous action against the enemy in several quarters of the globe, it is indispensable



that entire unity of aim and method should be maintained at the summit of the war direction.

"Further conferences will be needed probably at shorter intervals than before, as the war effort of the United States and the British Commonwealth and Empire against the enemy spreads and deepens.

"It would not be helpful to the fighting troops to make any announcement of the decisions which have been reached. These can only emerge in action.

"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. Mr. T. V. Soong, representing the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was a party to the discussions. In this field, as in the European, the President and the Prime Minister were able to receive and approve the unanimous recommendations of the combined Chiefs of Staff. Agreement was also reached upon the political issues underlying or arising out of the military operations.

"It was resolved to hold another conference before the end of the year between the British and American authorities, in addition to any tripartite meeting which it may be possible to arrange with Soviet Russia. Full reports of the decisions so far as they affect the war against Germany and Italy will be furnished to the Soviet Government.

"Consideration has been given during the conference to the question of relations with the French Committee of Liberation, and it is understood that an announcement by a number of Governments will be made in the latter part of the week."

#### Washington Conference, September 1-11(?), 1943

On September 1 Mr. Churchill, accompanied by Sir Alexander Cadogan and Maj. Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief Staff Officer to the Minister of Defense, arrived in Washington for further conferences with President Roosevelt and the American Chiefs of Staff. It was stated to the press at the time that these conferences should be considered as part of the Quebec Conference rather than a second conference, sequel to Quebec.

No announcement was made to the press of the participating American advisers, other than that Mr. Churchill had conferred with Gen. George C. Marshall, US Chief of Staff, Admiral Ernest King, Commander in Chief of the US Navy, Gen. Brehon Somervell, Chief of the US Army Services of Supply, and Bernard Baruch, Advisor to the Director of War Mobilisation.

Roosevelt announced on September 7 that progress had been made toward a tripartite meeting with Marshal Stalin; and on September 11 a joint message from Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt was issued to Marshal Badoglio and to the people of Italy calling on them to rise against the German occupying forces. No announcement was made of the termination of the conferences.

#### Comment on the Conferences.

Roosevelt, in his report to Congress on September 17, made only one allusion to the work done at the conferences: "The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing in Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan - definite times and places for other landings on the continent of Europe and elsewhere".

Shortly after his return to England Mr. Churchill in a speech on September 21, reviewed before the House of Commons the progress of the war and made two statements bearing directly on the decisions reached at the conferences:

"I am glad to say that several important arrangements have been made at Quebec...for closer correlation and action between the Soviet Union and Britain and the United States. The difficulties of geography have hitherto proved an insuperable impediment, though various efforts have been made, not only by the United States but by the British Government, to bridge the physical gap by the successive visits to Moscow of Lord Beaverbrook, the Foreign Secretary, and myself, and by the visits of M. Molotov to this country and to the United States..."

"At Quebec also was settled the question of the recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation. Any differences in the degree of this recognition which may be noted in the documents of the various Powers arise solely from the importance which attaches to preserving full freedom to the French nation as a whole to decide its future destinies under conditions of freedom and tranquility. Neither Great Britain nor the United States is prepared to regard the French National Committee as other than a provisional instrument, and this view is also fully accepted by the members of the Committee themselves..."



MOSCOW CONFERENCE

October 19 - 30, 1943

Participants

The foreign secretaries of the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union held their first joint conference in Moscow from the 19th to the 30th of October, 1943. Accompanying Hull, Eden, and Molotov at the twelve meetings were Averell Harriman, U.S. Ambassador; Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador; Marshal Voroshilov, Maxim Litvinov, officers of the general staffs and other advisers.

Agenda and Decisions

a. Prosecution of War

First on the agenda was the problem of measures to shorten the war against Germany and her European satellites. The presence of military advisers representing the respective chiefs of staff made possible the discussion of definite military operations and the establishment of a basis for the closest military cooperation by the three countries.

b. Collective Security

Second in importance only to hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three governments that their own national interests and those of all peace-loving peoples demanded a continuation of wartime collaboration into the period following the end of hostilities in order to maintain peace and promote the political, economic, and social welfare of all their peoples. This conviction was expressed in a declaration in which China joined during the conference and which was signed by the three foreign secretaries and the Chinese Ambassador at Moscow on behalf of their governments. This four-power declaration provided for even closer collaboration in the prosecution of the war and in all matters pertaining to the surrender and disarmament of the enemies with which the four countries were respectively at war. It set forth the principles on which the four countries agreed that a broad system of international cooperation and security should be based, and included a provision for the adherence of all peace-loving nations, great and small, to such a system.

c. European Advisory Commission

The conference agreed to set up machinery for insuring the closest cooperation among the three governments in the examination of European questions arising during the progress of the war. For this purpose, the conference decided to establish in London a European Advisory Commission to study these questions and make joint recommendations to the three governments.

d. Advisory Council on Italy

It was agreed to set up an advisory council for matters relating to Italy, to be composed of representatives of the three governments and of the French Committee of National Liberation. Provision was made for the addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia, in view of their special interests arising out of the aggressions of Fascist Italy upon their territories during the present war. This council was to deal with day-to-day questions other than military problems, and make recommendations designed to coordinate Allied policy toward Italy. A declaration was published reaffirming the attitude of the Allied governments in favor of the restoration of democracy in Italy.

e. Declaration on Austria

The three foreign secretaries declared it to be the purpose of their governments to restore the independence of Austria. At the same time they reminded Austria that in the final settlement, account will be taken of efforts that Austria may make toward her own liberation.

f. Statement on Atrocities.

A declaration issued at the conference and signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin contained a warning that at the time of granting any armistice to any German government, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have had any connection with atrocities will be taken back to the countries in which their crimes were committed, to be charged and punished according to local laws.

Comments on the Moscow Declarations.

The reinforcement at Moscow of the bonds uniting the three powers was widely welcomed as a hopeful omen for the future. Foreign Secretary Eden, in a statement at the conclusion of the conference said, "I am certain that we have laid the foundation for co-operation among us three Allies, laid down the basis for the future peace structure, and created the international machinery without which many of our desires would remain but good intentions." In his report to Congress November 18, Secretary of State Cordell Hull declared, "The movement for closer international cooperation in the prosecution of the war and the building of peace has now been wholeheartedly endorsed, with China joining in as one of the original signatories of the historic declaration." Speaking at the Mansion House on November 9, Churchill said, "There is no doubt that the full and frank discussions between the three Foreign Ministers... have had the effect of making our Russian friends feel as they have never felt before that it is the heartfelt wish of the British and American nations to fight the war out with them in loyal alliance and afterwards to work with them on the basis of mutual respect and faithful comradeship in the resettlement and rebuilding of this destroyed and tormented world." The Russian view was expressed in a Pravda article on the conference, which it said had demonstrated the further strengthening of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance directed toward the speediest rout of Nazi Germany and her allies in Europe. At its convention in Philadelphia November 2 the Congress of Industrial Organizations declared, in a resolution on the Moscow decisions, "They confirm again that we are joined in a people's war of liberation and demonstrate the lasting unity of the United Nations... We pledge all our strength in support of these decisions." Spokesmen of the governments of Australia and New Zealand seconded the statement of General Smuts of South Africa, who said, "Hitler based his hopes on the failure of Moscow... as a way out of his difficulties, but instead of disagreement there is partnership. I look upon this development as one of the greatest events of the whole war."

Article 4 of the Four-Power Declaration, urging immediate establishment of an international security organization open to all peace-loving peoples, came in for special commendation. Secretary Hull in his report to Congress stressed the principle of sovereign equality of peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in the future system of general security. Wendell Willkie, who came out strongly in support of the Four-Power Declaration in the New York Herald-Tribune Forum on November 17, said that the signatories should now enlarge its basis by inviting all the United Nations to prepare and sign a "document of intention" as the next step toward a better postwar world. "Smaller nations," he declared, "must be given a share in our planning, and quickly." The most significant U.S. endorsement of Article 4 was its incorporation, on November 3, into the Connally Resolution on a postwar peace organization, then under debate in the Senate. The amended Resolution was approved by the Senate on November 5 by a vote of 85 to 0.

Pravda, official Soviet Government paper, noted that while the Conference had successfully solved a number of urgent problems in the prosecution of the war, it had, at the same time, "worked out the general principles for the postwar collaboration of large and small countries which are interested in assuring their national security and world peace." The writer added, "Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and China, but all freedom-loving countries, large and small, will view the work of the Conference with satisfaction." With the reservation that France must participate in settling the fate of Germany and her allies, the declarations were endorsed by the French Committee of National Liberation in a statement describing the conference as "a new and important step along the road leading to the final defeat of the Axis Powers."



CAIRO AND TEHERAN CONFERENCES

November 22 - December 1, 1943

CAIRO CONFERENCE

Participants and Agenda:

The prosecution of the war against Japan was the subject of the conversations held in Cairo from November 22 to 26 by President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, with their military and political advisers.

Work of the Conference:

The immediate result of the talks was a declaration recognizing China as the leading Asiatic power and demanding that Japan be deprived of all her conquests acquired since 1895. The text follows:

Text of the Communique:

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

"The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan.

"They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

"It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

"Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

"The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

TEHERAN CONFERENCE

Participants and Agenda:

Shortly after the conclusion of the Cairo talks, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Marshal Stalin in Teheran to map out a master plan for the final defeat of Germany and agree on preliminary steps for securing lasting peace. The talks continued from November 28 to December 1.

Work of the Conference:

The official communique issued at the end of the conference was necessarily limited to a general statement of the aims and policies of the three powers. However, one of the most important agreements reached at the conference was revealed by Churchill eight months later in a review of the war before the House of Commons on August 2, 1944. Referring to General Morgan's plan for the Normandy landings, he said, "At Teheran we promised Marshal Stalin that we should put this plan, or something like it, into operation at the end of May or the beginning of June, and he

promised on his part that the whole of the Russian armies would be thrown, as indeed they have been, into the general battle in the east. In January of this year the commanders were appointed."

Text of the Communique:

The text of the communique, dated December 1, 1943, follows:

"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 round-table 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 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 recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United 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."

Agreements Regarding Iran:

Agreements were also made regarding the future of Iran, and on December 6, 1943, the following communique was issued in Teheran:-

"The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding their relations with Iran.

"They recognise the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. The three Governments realise that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials and supplies for civilian consumption.

"With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of the other members of the United Nations Conference



or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

"The Governments of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

"They count upon the participation of Iran together with all other peace-loving nations in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four governments have continued to subscribe."

#### CONFERENCE WITH TURKISH PRESIDENT

The three powers decided at Teheran to invite President Inonu of Turkey to attend a conference in Cairo. The talks began on December 4 and continued for three days.

#### Text of the Communique:

On December 7 the following communique was issued:

"Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States, M. Ismet Inonu, President of the Turkish Republic, and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, met in Cairo on December 4, 5, and 6, 1943.

"Anthony Eden, his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Numan Menemencioglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Turkey, and Harry Hopkins took part in their deliberations.

"Participation in this conference of the head of the Turkish state in response to a cordial invitation addressed to him by the United States, the British and the Soviet Governments bears striking testimony to the strength of the alliance which unites Great Britain and Turkey and to the firm friendship existing between the Turkish people and the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

"Presidents Roosevelt and Inonu and Prime Minister Churchill reviewed the general political situation and examined at length the policy to be followed, taking into account the joint and several interests of the three countries.

"A study of all the problems in a spirit of understanding and loyalty showed that the closest unity existed between the United States of America, Turkey and Great Britain in their attitude to the world situation.

"The conversations in Cairo consequently have been most useful and most fruitful for the future of the relations between the four countries concerned.

"The identity of interests and of views of the great American and British democracies with those of the Soviet Union, as also the traditional relations of friendship existing between these three powers and Turkey have been reaffirmed throughout the proceedings of the Cairo conference."

#### Comment on the Conferences:

##### American:

President Roosevelt in a Christmas Eve broadcast emphasized the determination of the four great powers to maintain the peace, by force if necessary.

"At Cairo," the President said, "we were able...to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and the recognition of the right of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own forms of

self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and the rest of the world is the elimination of the empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression."

Turning to the war in the West, he said, "During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might." On the policy of the Allies toward the people of Germany, he declared, "The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop in peace as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word 'respectable' - for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the 'master race'."

Roosevelt particularly stressed the value of the personal contacts made at the conference. "We had planned to take to each other across the table," he said, "but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table...We are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives and on the military means of attaining them."

British:

In a report to the Commons during a debate on foreign affairs on December 14, Anthony Eden said, "Before Moscow and the other conferences, I was not sure there was a common foundation on which we, the United States and Russia could work...Now I am sure there is. The foundations of that understanding were laid by us in Moscow. They have been strengthened and confirmed in Teheran."

Commenting on the Cairo talks, he said, "I was able to have some discussion with our Chinese friends on another matter - postwar collaboration between our two countries both in policy and in commerce. I told our Chinese friends that it was the desire of this country that that collaboration should be as close and as cordial as possible. I found that to be their attitude also, and I feel sure we are going to be able to make steady progress in both these spheres."

He emphasized that there was no intention of imposing a three-power will upon Europe. "There could not be anything exclusive in the arrangements between the three powers," he declared. "We want to restore the liberty of those nations of Europe, great and small, so that they can play their part in Europe."



UNRRA CONFERENCE - Atlantic City

November 10 - December 1, 1943

Background

The problems of relief and rehabilitation for the victims of Axis aggression were foreseen in part when the Nazis began their march of conquest but had not yet revealed the magnitude of their ambitions. In August 1940, Prime Minister Churchill in a speech before the House of Commons promised the people of Europe that the shattering of Nazi power would bring them food, freedom and peace.

As a step toward this objective a British Committee on Surpluses was established a few months later under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross to arrange for the purchase of surplus commodities and to provide a reserve of relief goods. Another step was taken on September 24, 1941, when the British Government called representatives of Allied Governments to a meeting in London. As a result of this meeting an Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements was created, with Sir Frederick Leith-Ross as Chairman, and a large inter-Allied representation. This Committee worked for eighteen months to frame estimates of the needs which would have to be met after the war.

Meanwhile, an operating agency, the Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration (MERRA) was set up late in 1941 under the then British Minister of State. MERRA, with headquarters in Cairo, established camps in Syria, Persia, and Egypt to care for Polish and Greek refugees who were escaping from Europe.

In the United States a number of interdepartmental governmental committees had been working on estimates of postwar needs when in December 1942 President Roosevelt created the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO) within the State Department and appointed Herbert H. Lehman, ex-governor of New York, as Director. OFRRO made plans to provide and transport food, clothing and other basic necessities to war victims when they were liberated from enemy control. During the spring and summer of 1943, the programme was put into action in Tunisia where special feeding programmes were instituted, camps were established for refugees, and health controls were set up.

After preliminary conversations between State Department officials representing the United States and representatives of the British Foreign Office, the United States presented on June 9, 1943, a draft agreement for the establishment of an international relief organisation to the 32 United Nations, the 11 Associated Nations, and the "appropriate French authorities". Suggestions made by these governments were incorporated in the proposal and on November 8, 1943, representatives of the 44 United and Associated Nations met in the White House in Washington to sign the agreement establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

UNRRA Draft Agreement

Signatories

Australia	India
Belgium	Iran
Bolivia	Iraq
Brazil	Liberia
Canada	Luxembourg
Chile	Mexico
China	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Cuba	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Panama
Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Ecuador	Peru
Egypt	Philippines
Ethiopia	Poland
France	Salvador
Great Britain	Union of South Africa
Greece	United States
Guatemala	Uruguay
Haiti	U.S.S.R.
Honduras	Venezuela
Iceland	Yugoslavia

Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador; Ethiopia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela signed the agreement subject to ratification by their respective governments.

Powers

Under the Agreement UNRRA has the authority to plan, coordinate, and administer, in agreement with the military authorities, measures for the relief of liberated areas. It has the power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts, and to undertake obligations appropriate to its objectives and purposes.

Each of the signatory governments accepts the obligation, subject to the approval of its constitutional bodies, to contribute to the support of the Administration and to place at its disposal such supplies and resources as may be decided upon by the Council and approved by the respective national governments.

All purchases by any member governments made outside their own territories during the war for relief purposes may be made only after consultation with the Director General, and are, so far as practicable, to be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

The form of the activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government and the responsibilities of that member government shall be determined in consultation with and with the consent of that member government.

## Organisation

Note: \*passages indicate changes or additions made by the Atlantic City Conference.

### General

- Organisation:
- Council
  - Central Committee
  - Director General
  - Committee on Supplies
  - Committee of the Council for Europe
  - Committee of the Council for the Far East
  - \*Committee on Financial Control
  - \*Technical Committees
    - Agriculture
    - Displaced Persons
    - Health
    - Industrial Rehabilitation
    - Welfare
- Functions:
- To provide food, fuel, clothing shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and the recovery of health to liberated areas;
  - To coordinate the production and transport of relief supplies in liberated areas;
  - To make arrangements for the repatriation of prisoners and exiles to liberated areas;
  - To aid in the resumption of agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services in liberated areas.
- Membership:
- Signatory States. Any other governments may be admitted by the Council or, between Council sessions, by the Central Committee.
- Finances:
- \* Each member whose territory has not been invaded to contribute an amount equal to approximately 1% of its national income for the year ending June 30, 1943;
  - \* As much as possible, but not less than 10%, of the contribution of each member government to be in currency which can be expended in areas outside the contributing country and the balance in the form of credit in local currency available for the purchase of the contributing country's supplies and services;



- \* All members, whether or not they have been invaded, to contribute, in varying degree, to the administrative expenses of the organization;
- \* Neutral countries, private organizations and private citizens may also contribute.

### The Council

- Functions: To be the policy-making body of the organization.
- Membership: One representative of each signatory government.
- Voting: Majority.
- Meetings: Not less than twice a year.

### The Central Committee

- Functions: To exercise, between sessions of the Council, the functions of the Council. It will invite the participation of the representatives of any member at these meetings at which action of special interest to that member is discussed.
- Membership: China, Great Britain, United States, USSR, with the Director General presiding.

### Director General

- Functions:
- To have full power for carrying out relief operations within the limits of available resources.
  - To prepare plans for the emergency relief of civilians in any area occupied by the United Nations;
  - To organize, direct and coordinate the plans for civilian relief and to formulate plans for the coordination of procurement and transportation;
  - To appoint Deputy Directors General, field missions and staffs of experts;
  - To be responsible for the conduct of Field Deputies in relation to the Military Command;
  - To keep in review the supplies made available by the member governments;
  - To make periodic reports to the Central Committee and Council on the progress of the Administration.



tions activities;

To submit to the Council an annual budget;

- \* To determine the exact geographical areas in which the Administration will operate and the kind of operations it will undertake in each case;
- \* To make estimates of over-all supply requirements.

Appointed by:

The Council, on the nomination of the Central Committee. He may be removed by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

#### Committee on Supplies

Functions:

To consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and Central Committee the policy on supplies.

Membership:

Members of the Council representing members likely to be principal suppliers. To be appointed by the Central Committee with approval of the Council.

- \* Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, USSR, and the United States.

#### \*Subcommittee of the Committee on Supplies

Functions:

To advise the Director General on whether a government is in a position to pay (under section 17 of the Financial plan).

Membership:

Five members appointed by the Committee on Supplies of whom a majority will be drawn from the Committee on Supplies and a minority from the Committee on Financial Control.

#### \*Committee on Financial Control

Functions:

To review budgets and quarterly reports submitted by the Director General;

To recommend to the Council the share of administrative expenses to be borne by each member government;

To advise the Council on all financial matters other than those within the scope of the Committee on Supplies.

Membership:

China, Greece, Mexico, Norway, Union of South Africa, United

Kingdom, USSR and the United States. Additional members may be appointed by the Council or, between Council sessions, by the Central Committee.

\* Technical Committees

Membership: Such members of the Council as indicate to the Director General their intention to participate in the work of a committee or committees, or alternates appointed by such members who are experts in the field of the committee's work.

\* Committee on Agriculture

Functions: To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on agriculture, fisheries, food production and the rehabilitation of related industries.

\* Committee on Displaced Persons

Functions: To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on displaced persons.

\* Committee on Health

Functions: To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on health, medicine and nutrition.

\* Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation

Functions: To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on the rehabilitation of public utilities and services, industries producing urgently needed goods, and on rehabilitation supplies.

\* Committee on Welfare

Functions: To advise the Council, the Central Committee and the Director General on welfare problems, including the relief of victims of war through other than normal economic distribution channels, the care of mothers and children, the aged and disabled.

Committee of the Council for Europe

Functions: To consider and recommend to the Council and Central Committee policies on relief and rehabilitation within its area. (To replace the Inter-Allied Commission on European post-war relief which was established in London on Sept. 24, 1941.)

- \* To recommend bases for overall requirements for its area and advise the Director General on the apportionment of supplies.

Membership:

All members of the Council representing member governments within the European area and other members of the Council, to be appointed by the Central Committee, which are directly concerned with European relief and rehabilitation problems.

- \* Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, United Kingdom, USSR and Yugoslavia; and Brazil, Canada, and the United States. Additional members may be appointed by the Council or, between Council sessions, by the Central Committee.

Meetings:

To be held within its area.

Finances:

Expenses to be borne by the governments which its members represent.

Committee of the Council for the Far East

Functions:

To consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies on relief and rehabilitation within its area.

- \* To recommend bases for overall requirements for its area and advise the Director General on the apportionment of supplies.

Membership:

All members of the Council representing member governments within the Far Eastern area and other members of the Council, to be appointed by the Central Committee, which are directly concerned with Far Eastern relief and rehabilitation problems.

- \* Australia, China, France, India, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, United Kingdom, and the United States. Additional members may be appointed by the Council or, between Council sessions, by the Central Committee.

Meetings:

To be held within its area.

Finances:

Expenses to be borne by the governments which its members represent.



## Atlantic City Conference

### Participants and Agenda

The UNRRA Agreement provided for a Council to act as a governing body and on November 10, 1943, the day following the signing of the agreement, the UNRRA Council, composed of representatives of the 44 signatories, opened its first session in Atlantic City, New Jersey. On November 11 Herbert H. Lehman was elected Director General and assumed office. In addition to the members of the Council, observers from the following intergovernmental agencies attended the sessions: Combined Civil Affairs Committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff; Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations; Health Service of the League of Nations; International Labour Office; and United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture.

The Council had before it the task of taking the first steps to make effective the determination of the 44 nations that the population of areas liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations should receive food, clothing, and shelter and assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of public services. This necessitated consideration of the scope of activities to be undertaken by the Administration, of the procedures for obtaining and distributing supplies, and of the best means of distributing the burden equitably among the contributing nations. Finally, rules were required to govern the conduct of the Administration itself, so as to secure effective representation of the interested nations in the formulation of the policies of the Administration, and to facilitate the operations of the Director General in carrying out the policies agreed on.

The work of the Council was done by four main Committees and a Committee whose function it was to coordinate the work of these four committees. The resolutions were arranged according to subject matter and adopted by the Council in this form.

Committee I on Organisation and Administration and its four sub-committees considered: The composition and functions of the Regional Committee for Europe and the Far East; the composition and functions of the Standing Technical Committees on Agriculture, Displaced Persons, Health, Industrial Rehabilitation and Welfare; the rules and procedures for the Council and its Standing Committees; personal policies; and the administrative budget.

Committee II on General Policy and its three sub-committees dealt with the broad policies of the Administration and its relations with governments and intergovernmental bodies.

Committee III on Finance and Supplies had one sub-committee to study the financial plan for the Administration, and another to examine the procedures for ascertaining and meeting deficits in supplies. It was also charged with setting up the Standing Committees on Supplies and Financial Control and defining their functions.

Committee IV on Relief and Rehabilitation Policies was divided into six sub-committees to discuss the technical aspects of relief distribution, health and medical care, welfare services and voluntary relief agencies, assistance to displaced persons, and rehabilitation of agriculture, industry, transport, and other services essential to relief.

### Resolutions

In addition to resolutions governing the membership and functions of the various committees of the Administration which are shown by the starred passages of the section on organisation, and resolutions governing administrative matters, the session passed certain general resolutions:

Relief will be distributed without discrimination because of race, creed or political belief.

In general, the responsibility for the distribution, within an area, shall be borne by the national government of the area.

All classes of the population, irrespective of their purchasing power, shall receive needed supplies; and the responsible government shall set up the necessary rationing and price controls.

Distribution shall be carried out, as far as possible, through private trade channels.

The Director General shall be kept informed by the responsible government on the distribution of supplies, and it was recommended that the responsible governments keep the Director General informed of any surpluses in agricultural products or other supplies and make these surpluses available to other countries.

Health and welfare services shall be administered, as far as possible, by local governmental authorities.

In regard to agricultural rehabilitation and food production, policies were laid down for integrating short-term rehabilitation and production with the long-term reconstruction objectives of the United Nations Organisation for Food and Agriculture. Plans were also made for the first crop-year to ensure the maximum yield of essential food products.

It was recommended that pools of processing materials, machine tools, mobile power units, maintenance equipment, industrial machinery and spare parts, transport equipment, etc. be created.

It was stated that no new construction, reconstruction or general rebuilding programmes were contemplated.

Resolution No. 14 set forth the financial plans of the Administration.

In Resolution No. 17 policies for the preparation and presentation of over-all and national requirements, and procedures for obtaining supplies were laid down.

The Council approved a budget of \$10 million for the calendar year 1944, and fixed the percentages to be borne by each member.



Comments on the Conference

Dean Acheson, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and chairman of the Conference, declared: "If we are asked what we have done here, I believe that we can answer: we have reached agreement upon a practicable programme... fully possible of achievement in action. A general purpose has been translated into a definite plan."

The work at Atlantic City, according to Colonel John J. Llewellyn, head of the United Kingdom delegation, was "a crusade to bring food to the hungry, shelter to the homeless, clothing to those who are in rags; a crusade against the scourge of epidemics, a crusade to help the return to their homes of many millions who are prisoners or who are being treated as slaves."

In his message to Congress asking for appropriations for the administration, President Roosevelt said: "UNRRA will be able to make only a beginning in the vast task of aiding the victims of war. The greatest part of the job will have to be done by the liberated peoples themselves. What UNRRA can do is to help the liberated peoples to help themselves so that they may have the strength to undertake the task of rebuilding their destroyed homes, their ruined factories and their plundered farms.... They do not want charity. They seek the strength to fight and to do their part in securing the peace... "

Herbert H. Lehman, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said: "If UNRRA succeeds, the world will know that international cooperation is possible, that common interests can be stronger than separate differences. Having done it once, the United Nations will have more confidence that they can do it again. The habit will have been formed."



## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

### Origin and Purpose

The International Labour Organisation is an association of nations to promote social justice in all the countries of the world. It was created, under a charter forming Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, as a result of a resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labour in November 1914, proposing that representatives of the organized workers of the world meet at any postwar conference to protect labour interests.

### Membership

All members of the League of Nations are automatically members of the ILO, but non-League members (like the United States, Brazil, China, and Venezuela) may join. The following states were members in March, 1944:

Abyssinia	Dominican Republic	Netherlands
Afghanistan	Ecuador	New Zealand
Albania	Egypt	Norway
United States of America	Estonia	Panama
Argentine Republic	Finland	Peru
Australia	France	Poland
Belgium	Greece	Portugal
Bolivia	Haiti	Sweden
Brazil	Hungary	Switzerland
British Empire	India	Thailand
Bulgaria	Iran	Turkey
Canada	Iraq	Union of South Africa
Chile	Ireland	Uruguay
China	Latvia	Venezuela
Colombia	Liberia	Yugoslavia
Cuba	Lithuania	
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	
Denmark	Mexico	

### Organisation

Like the League, the ILO is a tripartite body. Its machinery consists of:

The International Labour Office - a permanent secretariat, information centre, and publishing house, with branches and correspondents in many countries.

The Governing Body - the executive council of the ILO (corresponding to the Council of the League of Nations), composed of 16 representatives of government, 8 of management, and 8 of labour.

The International Labour Conference - a world parliament for labour and social questions.

Each national delegation to the annual meetings of the Conference comprises four delegates, two representing the government, one management, and one labour. Each of these three sections speaks and votes independently.

The Conference adopts minimum international standards which are formulated in special international treaties called "Conventions", and in "Recommendations". As a two-thirds majority of the Conference is required for their adoption, they represent the general agreement of informed world opinion. Since the first Conference in 1919, 67 Conventions and 73 Recommendations have been adopted, dealing with such matters as working hours, paid vacations, and

insurance against accident, unemployment, or distitution in old age. The decisions of the Conference are not automatically binding, but must be submitted by governments to their national legislatures. If a legislature accepts a Convention, the government is bound to apply the Convention and to submit to a special ILO committee an annual report showing how it is being applied.

Philadelphia Conference, - April 20 - May 12, 1944

Participants

The twenty-sixth session of the International Labour Conference met in Philadelphia from April 20 to May 12, 1944. Delegations included 74 government delegates, 28 employers' delegates, and 30 workers' delegates, together with their advisers, making a total of 360 members of delegations. In addition to the 41 participating states listed below, observers were present from Denmark and from three non-member countries, Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay.

Argentina	France	Switzerland
Australia	Greece	Turkey
Belgium	Haiti	United States of America
Bolivia	India	Union of South Africa
Brazil	Iran	Uruguay
British Empire	Iraq	Venezuela
Canada	Ireland	Yugoslavia
Chile	Liberia	
China	Luxemburg	
Colombia	Mexico	
Costa Rica	Netherlands	
Cuba	New Zealand	
Czechoslovakia	Norway	
Dominican Republic	Panama	
Ecuador	Peru	
Egypt	Poland	
Ethiopia	Sweden	

Agenda

The following problems were entrusted to the Conference by the Governing Body:

1. The future policy, programme, and status of the International Labour Organisation.
2. Recommendations to the United Nations on present and postwar social policy.
3. The organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace.
4. Social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war.
5. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

Resolutions:

"The Declaration of Philadelphia"

In the first of the twenty-three Resolutions adopted at Philadelphia, the Conference issued a Declaration of the aims and purposes of the Organization. This Declaration reaffirms the ILO's conviction that labour is not a commodity that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere", and that, in the words of President Roosevelt, "Economic policy can no longer be an end in itself; it is merely a means for achieving social objectives." The Declaration pledges the Organization to promote full employment, higher living standards, minimum wages, labour-management cooperation, social-security measures, decent nutrition and housing, and equality of educational and vocational opportunity.



### Social Provisions in the Peace Settlement

The Conference recommended that the United Nations:

- Reaffirm the Declaration of Philadelphia as a part of the peace settlement, and incorporate it in any United Nations treaties.
- Recognise a formal obligation to maintain a high level of employment. In any dependent territories for which the United Nations accept "international accountability", direct all policies primarily toward the well-being and development of the peoples of those territories.
- Include safeguards for workers' interests in all international transport arrangements.

### Economic Policies for Attaining Social Objectives

The Conference endorsed:

- The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
- International cooperation to deal with postwar food and agricultural problems.
- International cooperation to establish a satisfactory international monetary system, promote international movement of capital, and foster international trade.
- Encouragement of migration of workers and settlers according to the economic needs and social conditions of the various countries.

### Organisation of Employment in Transition from War to Peace

In adopting the "Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944," the Conference went on record as supporting:

- Determination, in advance, of the scope and character of the problems of re-employment.
- Clear-cut plans for demobilisation and re-employment.
- National programmes for industrial demobilisation and reconversion planned in cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations.
- Utilization of the transition period for training.
- Measures to regularise employment in industries and occupations where work is irregular.
- Maintenance of wartime employment services in peace time.

### Social Security

On income security, the Conference recommended:

- A unified social-insurance system for each country.
- Benefits for free-lance, as well as employed, workers.
- Periodical cash benefits for sickness, maternity, invalidism, old age, death of breadwinner, and disablement or death from employment injuries; conditional on reasonably regular payment of contributions during the period prescribed.
- Sickness, unemployment, and injury benefits based on the previous earnings of the beneficiary.
- Invalidism, old age, and death benefits based on the current rate of the unskilled workers' wages, so that the benefit rate will reflect changes in the cost of living.
- Equitable distribution of the cost of income-security system among insured persons, employers and taxpayers.

The Recommendation on medical care, which envisaged a complete medical service embracing the entire population, advocated:



Provision for both curative and preventive care, by means of either a social-insurance service or a public service.  
Furnishing of medical care by group practice at centres working in effective relation with hospitals.  
High standards of professional training and adequate remuneration for members of the medical and allied professions.  
Option for beneficiaries to choose the doctor they want, subject to reasonable conditions.  
Central supervision of medical services unified within appropriate health areas.

### Atrocities

The Resolution on Axis atrocities in occupied Europe included a formal protest against "Nazi crimes which violate the fundamental principles of humanity and of international law," endorsed the statement on atrocities signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin on November 1, 1943, following the three-power conference in MOSCOW and urged the United Nations to take all possible steps to stop the mass slaughter of the populations of occupied countries.

### Conference of Governing Body, London, January 25 - 31, 1945

#### Organization

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organization held its 94th session in London from January 25 to 31, 1945. Members from the following countries were present:

<u>Government Representatives</u>	<u>Employers' Representatives</u>	<u>Workers' Representatives</u>
Belgium	Belgium	Canada
Brazil	France	China
Canada	India	Czechoslovakia
Chile	Mexico	France
China	Norway	Mexico
France	South Africa	Netherlands
Greece	United Kingdom	United Kingdom
India	United States	United States
Mexico		
Netherlands		
Norway		
Peru		
Poland		
United Kingdom		
United States		
Yugoslavia		

#### Agenda:

There were three major problems to be considered:

1. Proposals for setting up industrial committees.
2. Working conditions among merchant seamen.
3. Constitutional questions affecting the scope and functions of the ILO in the future world organization, and its relations with other international bodies.

Work Done

Industrial committees - It was decided that ILO industrial committees should be established for the inland-transport, coal-mining, textile, metal, building, and petroleum industries, and that these should be tripartite committees, with representatives of labor, management, and government. It was further decided that the inland-transport and coal-mining committees should be international rather than local in character.

Merchant seamen - The conference considered the proposals submitted by the Joint Maritime Commission of the ILO after its meetings in London earlier in January. The following proposals were approved by the Governing Body:

International Seamen's Charter (drafted by the International Transport Workers' Federation and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association), which called for the formulation of minimum standards for merchant seamen in all countries, abolition of the system of hiring for the duration of a voyage only, and the creation of an international agency on which seamen and management should be represented through their international organizations.

A preparatory technical conference of maritime countries should be held in October 1945 to prepare drafts on wages, working hours, leave, accommodation, food and catering, and the recognition of seafarers' organizations.

A maritime session of the International Labour Conference should meet early in 1946 to take final decisions on formal international agreements.

ILO and world security - A resolution welcoming "the progress made in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations toward laying the foundations of a system of world security" was passed. It affirmed "the desire of the International Labour Organisation for association with the general international organisation now contemplated on terms which will permit the ILO, with its tripartite character, to make its best contribution to the general effort of the organization of international machinery for the better ordering of a peaceful and prosperous world, while retaining for the ILO the authority essential for the discharge of its responsibilities under its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia."

\* \* \*

For official text see:

"The Twenty-Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference" - International Labour Review, Vol. L, No. 1, July 1944 (Reprint also published separately by I.L.O.)

"Resolutions Adopted by the Twenty-Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, Philadelphia, April-May, 1944" - International Labour Office Official Bulletin, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, June 1944 (Reprint also published separately by I.L.O.)

BRETTON WOODS

July 1 - 22, 1944

Organisation and Agenda

On July 1, 1944, delegates from forty-four nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, for the opening session of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference to draft a plan for international financial co-operation. The following nations were represented :

Australia	India
Belgium	Iran
Bolivia	Iraq
Brazil	Liberia
Canada	Luxembourg
Chile	Mexico
China	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Cuba	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Panama
Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Ecuador	Peru
Egypt	Philippine Commonwealth
El Salvador	Poland
Ethiopia	Union of South Africa
France	U.S.S.R.
Greece	United Kingdom
Guatemala	U.S.A.
Haiti	Uruguay
Honduras	Venezuela
Iceland	Yugoslavia

Present as observers were delegations of four international organisations, as follows :

UNRRA  
The International Labour Office  
The United Nations Interim Commission on Food  
and Agriculture  
The Economic, Financial, and Transit Department of  
the League of Nations

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., chairman of the U.S. delegation, presided over the Conference, which was divided into three technical commissions :

Commission I - International Monetary Fund (chairman, Harry D. White, U.S. Treasury, co-sponsor, with Morgenthau, of the plan for a "United and Associated Nations Stabilisation Fund").

Commission II - Bank for Reconstruction and Development (chairman, Lord Keynes, head of the United Kingdom delegation, author of the "International Clearing Union" plan).

Commission III - Other Means of International Financial Co-operation (chairman, Eduardo Suarez, Mexican Minister of Finance, head of the Mexican delegation).



## Background of the Conference

### The Bank for International Settlements

The Bretton Woods conference was the culmination of an era of financial confusion between nations and groups of nations extending over more than two decades. Of the various inter-war attempts to resolve these difficulties, the most significant was the Young Plan Conference in Paris in 1929, leading to the establishment in 1930 of the Bank for International Settlements, founded by the U.S., Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Japan.

This Bank, which had its origin in the hotly debated problem of reparations, was beset with obstacles almost from the beginning. Hampered by limited funds and over-cautious leadership, it lacked both the authority and the resources to stabilise exchanges; it was the agent of the central banks of member countries, and was not fully supported by their governments. Its already limited activities were further curtailed after the closing of the Austrian Kredit-Anstalt, (May 13, 1931), and the subsequent freezing of European credits led to financial collapse and the abandonment of the gold standard by England in 1931. Virtually all non-axis support of the Bank was lost after the confusing and widely misunderstood transfer of gold from the Bank of England to the German-dominated Czech institution. The general loss of faith in the plan was expressed in the recommendation for liquidation of the Bank incorporated in the Final Act of the Bretton Woods Conference.

### International Finance During the Thirties

Between 1931 and the beginning of the present war, the field of international finance was marked by comprehensive and almost universal restrictions on exchange transactions, multiple currency practices, economic warfare, and control of international trade designed to support government-dominated production programmes, such as the rearmament of Germany. The prevailing degree of stability of exchange rates was the result of special measures, largely isolationist in character.

There were, however, a number of exchange agreements, notably the Tripartite Agreement of 1936 providing for the interchange of funds at stable rates by the United States, Britain, and France. Inevitably, large idle balances accumulated, especially in London and New York, and with the outbreak of war these were frozen. As a result, the difficulties already conspicuous in 1931 became critical. The breaking up of international finance into a series of compartments separated by tight bulkheads destroyed the foundation of world economic relations, leaving confusion in its place.

### The World Bank Plans

Of the numerous solutions proposed up to 1944 by Milhaud, Feis, Schacher, and others, the boldest and most promising were the two World Bank plans first published in 1942 by Lord Keynes, Bank of England Director and author of The Economic Consequences of the Peace, and Harry D. White, director of Monetary Research for the U.S. Treasury Department. The essential features of the two plans are shown below for comparison.

Keynes Plan

1. International exchanges to be handled by an "International Clearing Union", which would have no capital of its own. This institution to be only supplementary to existing arrangements, which - including gold - would continue as before.
2. Exchanges to be made by means of a new international currency called "Bancor", the value of which would not be definitely tied to gold.
3. The value of all member currencies to be fixed in terms of Bancor; controlled changes to be authorised later if trade and other conditions necessitated.
4. Debits and credits (analogous to bank loans and deposits) to be arranged in Bancor for treasuries or central banks of member countries to compensate for short-term fluctuations in their international accounts and thus maintain the stability of the relative values of their currencies.
5. Excessive debits or credits to be penalised.
6. Recommendations and help to be provided for debtor and creditor nations to remove underlying causes of currency instability.
7. Special measures to be undertaken to deal with the large volume of blocked balances expected after the war.
8. Recommendations for a second new international institution to facilitate long-term capital investments in undeveloped countries, increase productivity, and raise living standards.

White-Morgenthau Plan

1. International exchanges to be handled by a "United and Associated Nations Stabilisation Fund", starting with a capital of five billion dollars. This institution to be only supplementary to existing arrangements, which - including gold - would continue as before.
2. Exchanges to be made by means of a new international currency called "Unitas", the value of which would be permanently fixed in gold.
3. The value of all member currencies to be fixed in terms of Unitas; controlled changes to be authorised later if trade and other conditions necessitated.
4. Purchases and sales of currencies to be made for the accounts of treasuries or central banks of member countries, foreign currency being paid for in the money of the purchasing country, in effect building up debits and credits in Unitas analogous to loans and deposits.
5. Excessive or continued debits to be penalised; recommendations to be made for the use of excessive credits.
6. Recommendations to be made for removing underlying causes of currency instability.
7. Specific provisions to deal with postwar blocked balances (gradual liquidation over a 20-year period).
8. Implied need for organisation to facilitate long-term capital investments in undeveloped countries.



Publication of the Keynes and White plans led to a series of informal meetings in Washington in June 1943. These discussions, in which technical experts from seventeen countries participated, brought to light the background of attitudes against which the new plans would have to be built - concern over the willingness of countries to contribute gold to an international fund; fear of limited inflation; fear lest international policies force deflation on any country; emphasis on the special needs of occupied countries, on the importance of the creditor country, and on the desirability of avoiding deflationary measures initiated to exact payment from the debtor.

A new draft of the White plan, more closely approaching that of Keynes, was issued on July 10, 1943, shortly after the conclusion of the Washington talks. Discussion of this draft by British and U.S. economists led to the publication on April 21, 1944, of a "Joint Statement by Experts on the Establishment of an International Monetary Fund of the United and Associated Nations". This document, with the revised White plan, formed the basis for discussion of the Fund at Bretton Woods. Plans for the international bank were based on a "Preliminary Draft Outline of a Proposal for a Bank for Reconstruction and Development", issued by the U.S. Treasury November 24, 1943, a document called "Questions and answers on the Bank", and a draft proposal of July 4, 1944.

### The Bretton Woods Proposals

The Final Act of the Bretton Woods Conference dated July 22, 1944, set forth proposals for two separate but mutually dependent institutions - an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

#### The Fund

The objectives of the Fund may be summarised as follows:-

1. To promote international monetary co-operation;
2. To facilitate the balanced growth of international trade, thus promoting high levels of employment, real income, and development of productive resources;
3. To promote exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements;
4. To assist in the establishment of a multi-lateral system of payments;
5. To give confidence to members by making the Fund's resources available under adequate safeguards;
6. To shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the balance of payments.



Rejecting bilateral theories of international trade, the Fund is based on the assumption that a free and unrestricted flow of goods and services across national barriers is in the common interest of all countries. By establishing a central pool of national currencies to which each nation can apply for the particular currencies it needs to pay for its imports, the Fund aims to bind nations together much as states or provinces within a country are bound together by a single price structure and a freely interchangeable money. Designed to avert the serious damage to trade and employment caused in the past by adverse balances of payments, as in the world depression of 1930, the Fund seeks to prevent competitive currency depreciation by removing, as far as possible, the causes that lead to it. By granting short-term overdrafts to member countries, the Fund would enable them to meet temporary balance-of-payment difficulties without resort to measures likely to undermine national or international prosperity.

These overdrafts, subject to moderate interest charges, would be met from a fund of 8,800 million dollars contributed by member countries in accordance with a quota schedule. Individual quotas range from 2,750 million dollars for the United States to half a million for Liberia. Quotas would be payable partly in local currency and partly in gold, the minimum gold payment for each country to be ten percent of its holdings of gold and gold-equivalent reserves, or twenty-five percent of its quota, whichever is less. Par values of currencies are to be expressed in terms of gold or in terms of the United States dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944.

The actual operation of the Fund may be illustrated in terms of a hypothetical country A wishing to import goods from country B. From the central Fund, A buys the necessary amount of B money in exchange for its own currency. A is thus receiving credit from the Fund, since it has been given part of the Fund's holding of B money in exchange for A's paper money. But presumably country C will be wanting A money to pay for goods imported from A, and A will not necessarily be in debt to the Fund on balance. It will be in debt for a long time only if it is over-importing, or if its balance of payments is in deficit because it has to pay interest on external debts.

If a country remains in debt to the Fund, the Fund's holding of that country's money will increase to the point where the Fund will eventually refuse to accept any more, and will take measures to help that country correct its deficit tendency. The Fund may publish a report on a country's monetary or economic situation, and if the country is in a state of "fundamental disequilibrium", it must be permitted to devalue its currency if it so desires, subject to rigid limitations by the Fund.

An important feature of the Fund is that it provides penalties for excessive credits as well as for excessive debits. If a country persists in having a credit balance, the Fund's stocks of its currency may run low. Should the country refuse to renew them by loan or sale for gold, that country's currency is declared "scarce", and is rationed to other countries needing it. Such countries are then free to discriminate against the scarce-currency country by import and exchange control, regardless of any other agreement on limitation of controls.

## The Bank

The long-term credit facilities of the Bank, which arose from the need for loans to rebuild war damage and exploit the resources of undeveloped countries, are a necessary supplement to the short-term accommodations offered by the Fund. Its aims may be summarised as follows:

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 guarantees or participation, and when private capital is not available on reasonable terms, to supplement it from its own resources;
3. To promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade;
4. To arrange loans in such a way that the most urgent projects may be dealt with first;
5. To conduct its operations with due regard to assisting the transition from war to peacetime economy.

The total nominal capital of the Bank is to be 10 billion dollars, of which two billion will be called up to be lent directly at moderate interest rates with annual repayment, so that it will be a revolving fund. The 8 billions not called up will constitute the reserve against which the Bank will guarantee loans or borrow on the market to lend again for approved purposes. The total amount of loans outstanding at any time which may be met or guaranteed by the Bank is limited to 10 billion dollars, that is, the total capitalisation of the Bank.

The Bank's capital stock is to be divided into 100,000 shares having a par value of \$100,000 each, available for subscription by member countries. Individual subscriptions are based on a quota schedule approximating that of the International Monetary Fund. In effect, these subscriptions are investments with the possibility of a moderate return on capital. An important function of the Bank would be to subject requests for loans to an expert examination, and it is specifically provided that all loans must be guaranteed by the government of the country receiving them.

## Comments on the Proposals

### British

In Britain, the Bretton Woods proposals met with resistance from several groups of critics. Some feared that if the plans were adopted the "economic preponderance" of the United States would be increased, rather than limited. R. P. Schwarz wrote in the Fortnightly that the plans meant "the total maintenance of U.S. economic bargaining power, with complete renunciation of bargaining power by the debtor nations", and described the U.S. attitude as one of "Heads I win, tails you lose".

Others, like Robert Boothby, M.P., feared a virtual return to the gold standard, and urged a policy of bilateral trade agreements "developing into regional agreements".



Some objected that two of Britain's biggest postwar problems - full employment and balance of payments - might require protective measures inconsistent with the acceptance of universal multilateralism. Paul Einzig, a leading spokesman of this group, declared in Time and Tide that full acceptance of the plans would mean an unconditional surrender of British interests.

On the other hand, many felt that to reject the whole idea would be a grave mistake on Britain's part. The London Times said that such rejection "would threaten the community of interests on which, ultimately, co-operation for peace and security must be based". Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, came out strongly in favour of the proposals in October, insisting that no restoration of the gold standard was involved. This position was supported by arguments such as that of Oscar R. Hobson, who pointed out in the Liberal magazine that, in effect, all currencies are linked to gold if any one currency is based on it, and that in this sense the pound sterling, rigidly pegged to the gold-based dollar for the past five years, is more on the gold standard now than ever before. He also warned that bilateralism leads to the brutal Schacht policy of buying from other countries and then either not paying at all, or forcing them to accept unwanted goods at prices fixed by the exporter. In general, those in favour of the plans seemed to feel that Britain's economic future will ultimately demand a multilateral policy, and that the only fundamental error would be to expect any purely monetary scheme to solve all economic problems.

#### American

On February 8 the American Bankers Association issued a report recommending that the Fund proposal be discarded, with certain of its projected features relating to currency stabilisation incorporated into the functions of the International Bank. Their objections to the Fund were that it introduced a method of lending contrary to accepted credit principles and failed to protect the interests of United States citizens, and they concluded by declaring that "Total rejection of the Bretton Woods plan might delay and endanger future progress towards international understanding in this and other fields, but this does not mean that Congress must accept the conclusions of Bretton Woods in their entirety".

Roosevelt's answer to this report was to emphasise that both of the Bretton Woods proposals were concrete evidence that America's economic goals were identical with those of the other United Nations, and that the Bank alone could not protect world trade in the future. A sound and prosperous world economy would demand the establishment of exchange rates by an organisation similar to the fund. "In a nutshell", he declared, "the fund agreement spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war, or a world in which the members strive for a better life through mutual trust, co-operation and assistance".

In a message to Congress on February 12 urging immediate ratification of the two Bretton Woods proposals, the President said, "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 to it that institutions of peace rest firmly



on the solid foundations of international political and economic co-operation..... the cornerstone for international economic co-operation is the Bretton Woods proposals". This direct appeal presented Congress with the difficult choice of acting contrary to the advice of the nation's leading bankers, or repudiating the agreement which the U.S. Treasury helped to frame and which was reached after prolonged discussions by economic authorities of forty-four nations.

While the American Bankers Association is not the only group that has taken exception to the suggestions, the proposals as they stand have met extraordinary support throughout the country. The American Economic Association, which favours the plan, conducted a survey of 250 of the nation's leading economists and found that 224 of them approved both proposals. The Washington Post on February 19 came out in favour of the President's speech, a particularly noteworthy endorsement since the publisher, Eugene Meyer, a former governor of the Federal Reserve Board and a member of the Board of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has opposed many of the Administration's financial measures.

A statement issued by the Federal Reserve Board declared that ratification of the agreements would be an important step toward reviving world trade and protecting American postwar interests. Further support of the plan was given when the members of the U.S. Congress Banking and Currency Committee who had been delegates at the Conference presented to Congress for consideration "The Bretton Woods Agreement Act", which contained concrete provisions for financing the large American contributions to the Bank and Fund by drawing on the U.S. stabilisation fund, without requiring Congress to appropriate a single dollar. Senator Wagner, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, predicted after a conference with President Roosevelt on March 22 that the Senate would vote for both the Fund and the Bank.

\* \* \*

For official text see:

International Monetary Fund; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, July 1-22, 1944 - U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944

United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, July 1-22, 1944, Final Act - H.M.S.O. 1944

DUMBARTON OAKS

Meetings:

The Dumbarton Oaks conversations on World Organisation were held in Washington from August 21 to October 7, 1944. The first talks were between the United States, Great Britain and the USSR and were held from August 21 to September 29 and the second were between the United States, Great Britain and China and were held from September 29 to October 7.

The United States delegation was headed by Edward R. Stettinius, Under-Secretary of State; the British delegation by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; the Soviet delegation by Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the United States; and the Chinese delegation by Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to Great Britain.

At these conferences a tentative Charter was drawn up for an international organisation to be known as "The United Nations." The Purposes and Principles of the organisation are incorporated in the text of the Charter and thereby become binding obligations on the signatories.

United Nations Organisation:

Purposes and Principles:

The purposes of the Organisation, as set forth in the Charter, are to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and humanitarian problems, and to "afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends."

The member nations agree to carry out these purposes in accordance with the following principles: the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and the renunciation of force or the threat of force in international relations, and they further pledge themselves to fulfill the obligations assumed by them under the charter, to give every assistance to the Organisation in carrying out its work and to deny assistance to any nation against which action is being taken by the Organisation.

ORGANISATION:

General:

General Assembly  
Security Council  
International Court of Justice  
Military Staff Committee  
Economic and Social Council  
    Economic Commission  
    Social Commission  
Secretariat

General Assembly:

Membership: All members of the United Nations Organisation, with a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

Functions: To submit recommendations on security, disarmament, etc. to the Security Council.  
To initiate studies in political, economic and social fields.  
To admit new members.  
On the recommendation of the Security Council, to suspend States from membership or from any privileges of membership.  
To elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council, and on the recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organisation.  
On recommendation of the Security Council to determine the conditions under which non-member States may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.  
To apportion expenses.

Voting: Each member of the Organisation to have one vote.  
Recommendations on the maintenance of security, elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, admission and suspension of members and budget questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority; other questions by a majority vote.

Meetings: Annual and special sessions.

Security Council:

Membership: One representative of each of 11 members of the Organisation.  
The permanent members to be the US, Britain, the USSR, China and (eventually) France.  
The non-permanent members to be elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms, three retiring each year.

Functions: To have primary responsibility for international security.  
To investigate any dispute or any situation to determine whether it is a threat to international security and to recommend measures for adjustment to the parties concerned.  
In cases in which the Security Council has found that a threat to international security does exist and where direct negotiation among the parties has failed, to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force shall be applied.  
In cases in which the Security Council determines that diplomatic or economic measures are inadequate, to employ armed force.  
To determine, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, the strength of the national armed forces to be placed at its disposal, the plans for their combined action, and their command. (The Military Staff Committee



is responsible, under the Security Council, for the strategic direction of these armed forces).

To formulate plans for submission to the members of the Organisation, for the regulation of armaments.

To recommend to the General Assembly the admission of new members, the suspension of membership or of any rights of membership, or the expulsion of members.

To restore any rights of membership suspended by the General Assembly.

To recommend to the General Assembly the conditions under which non-member States may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

(Paragraph 7 of Section B of Chapter VIII provides that the action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council shall be taken by all members of the Organisation in cooperation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine, by their own action and through the action of the appropriate specialised agencies of which they are members.)

**Voting:** (The voting procedure was not decided at Dumbarton Oaks but was determined at Yalta, and was set forth in the invitation to the San Francisco Conference.)

Each member of the Security Council to have one vote.

Decisions on procedural matters to be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members.

Decisions on all other matters to be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter 8 Section A (the pacific settlement of disputes) and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter 8 Section C ("The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council"), a party to a dispute should refrain from voting.

**Meetings:** The Security Council to be so organised as to be able to function continuously with each State member permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organisation. Periodic meetings to be held at which each State member of the Council can, if it desires, be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.

Meetings may be held at places other than the headquarters of the Organisation.

Any member of the Organisation to participate in the discussion by the Security Council of any question which the Council considers affects its interests.

Any member not having a seat on the Council or any non-member of the Organisation which is a party to a dispute being considered by the Council to be invited to participate in the discussion of its case.

#### International Court:

**Membership:** All members of the Organisation to be ipso facto parties to the Statute.

Conditions under which non-member States may become parties to the Statute to be determined by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Election of judges to be determined by the Statute.

**Functions:** Court to be set up by Statute, which would become a part of the Charter of the Organisation; the Statute to be either the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice with modifications, or a new Statute based

on that of the Permanent Court.

Military Staff Committee:

Membership: Chiefs of Staff of permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives.

Any member of the Organisation not permanently represented on the Committee will be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the Committee determines that the efficient discharge of its responsibilities requires that State's participation. Questions of the command of military forces not yet determined.

Functions: To advise the Security Council on military requirements, on the regulation of armaments, and on the employment of the armed forces at the Council's disposal.

To be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of the armed forces at the Council's disposal.

Economic and Social Council:

Membership: Representatives of 18 members of the Organisation elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, each member State having one representative.

Representatives of specialised agencies to participate in deliberations but without voting privileges.

Functions: To make recommendations on economic, social and other humanitarian matters.

To carry out, within the scope of its functions, the recommendations of the General Assembly.

To consider reports from agencies affiliated with the Organisation, to coordinate the activities of these agencies, and to make recommendations on their budgets to the agencies concerned.

Voting: Majority.

Meetings: Not specified.

Economic Commission:

Membership: Experts and a permanent staff which will constitute part of the Secretariat.

Representatives of specialised agencies which will participate without vote in its deliberations.

Functions: To be responsible to the Economic and Social Council. Otherwise not specified.

Social Commission:

(As above)

Secretariat:

Membership: Secretary-General, to be elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council, and Staff. Term of office to be specified in the Charter.

Functions: Secretary-General to be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation and to act in this capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council.

Secretary-General to make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation.



Secretary-General to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international security.

Settlement of Disputes:

Member States who are parties to any dispute which is a threat to international peace and security are obligated to seek a solution among themselves by peaceful means. At any time during the dispute the Security Council is empowered to make recommendations for settlement to the parties. Failing settlement, however, any State, whether a member of the United Nations or not, may refer the dispute and any member State is obligated to refer it, to the General Assembly or the Security Council, or, in the case of "justiciable" disputes, to the International Court. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to determine whether a dispute is a threat to international peace; what diplomatic, economic, or other measures should be employed to enforce its decisions, and to call upon the member States to apply these measures. These measures may go as far as the complete severance of diplomatic or economic relations. If the Security Council decides that these measures are inadequate, it is empowered to take military action by the military forces placed at its disposal. Agreement on the size and types of forces and facilities at the Council's disposal will be negotiated among the member States, subject to approval by the Security Council and ratification by the signatory States. Each member State will hold immediately available air force contingents for combined enforcement action. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Council will be taken by all members in cooperation or by such of them as the Council determines. Plans for the application of armed force will be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Any State, whether member or non-member, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of the Security Council measures has the right to consult the Security Council in regard to the solution of these problems.

The Charter specifically states that nothing in it shall preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies, provided that these arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and that the Security Council will encourage the settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements or by regional agencies. However, no enforcement action shall be taken on a regional basis without the authorisation of the Security Council, and the Security Council must be kept informed of regional activities and contemplated activities.

Economic and Social Cooperation:

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations," an Economic and Social Council is established under the authority of the General Assembly to deal with international economic and social problems. Its function is primarily that of an advisory body to the General Assembly but it is empowered to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly. Under its jurisdiction an Economic, a Social, and other Commissions of experts are to be set up whose activities will be coordinated by the parent Council. Representatives of these Commissions will participate, but without voting privileges, in the debates of the Council.

Amendments:

Amendments are applicable to all members when adopted by a two-thirds majority of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by the respective governments of the permanent Security Council members and of the majority of the other members of the Organisation.

Transitional Agreements:

Pending the coming into force of special agreements for making national military forces available to the Security Council the members will consult with one another on joint action for the preservation of peace.



Joint Statements:

A joint statement by the representatives of the US, United Kingdom, and USSR Governments at the conclusion of the Dumbarton Oaks talks was issued on September 29.

"Conversations between the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union Delegations in Washington regarding the establishment of a World Security Organisation have now been completed. These conversations have been useful, and have led to a large measure of agreement on recommendations for the general framework of the Organisation, and in particular for the machinery required to maintain peace and security. The three Delegations are making reports to their respective Governments who will consider these reports and will in due course issue a simultaneous statement on the subject."

The following statement, issued simultaneously by the other participating Governments, was released to the American press on October 9.

"The Government of the United States has now received the report of its delegation to the conversations held in Washington between August 21 and October 7, 1944, with the delegations of the United Kingdom, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of China on the subject of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

"There follows a statement of tentative proposals indicating in detail the wide range of subjects on which agreement has been reached at the conversations.

"The Governments which were represented in the discussions in Washington have agreed that after further study of these proposals they will as soon as possible take the necessary steps with a view to the preparation of complete proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference."

Comment:

American:

In a statement to the press on October 9, 1944, President Roosevelt said:

"I wish to take this opportunity to refer to the work of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations between the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China on the plans for an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

"The conversations were completed Saturday, October 7, 1944, and proposals were submitted to the four Governments for their consideration. These proposals have been made public to permit full discussion by this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all important subject.

"Although I have not yet been able to make a thorough study of these proposals my first impression is one of extreme satisfaction, and even surprise, that so much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so a short a time. This achievement was largely due to the long and thorough preparations which were made by the Governments represented, and in our case, was the result of the untiring devotion and care which the Secretary of State has personally given to this work for more than two and a half years - indeed for many years.

"The projected international organization has for its primary purpose the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of the conditions that make for peace.

"We now know the need for such an organization of the peace-loving peoples and the spirit of unity which will be required to maintain it. Aggressors like Hitler and the Japanese war lords organize for years for the day when they can launch their evil strength against weaker nations devoted to their peaceful pursuits. This time we have been determined first to defeat the enemy, assure that he shall never again be in position to plunge the world into war, and then to

so organize the peace-loving nations that they may through unity of desire, unity of will, and unity of strength be in position to assure that no other would-be aggressor or conqueror shall even get started. That is why from the very beginning of the war, and paralleling our military plans, we have begun to lay the foundations for the maintenance of peace and security.

"It represents, therefore, a major objective for which this war is being fought, and as such, it inspires the highest hopes of the millions of fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters are engaged in the terrible struggle and suffering of war.

"The projected general organization may be regarded as the keystone of the arch and will include within its framework a number of specialized economic and social agencies now existing or to be established.

"The task of planning the great design of security and peace has been well begun. It now remains for the nations to complete the structure in a spirit of constructive purpose and mutual confidence."

#### British:

Mr. Churchill reported to the House of Commons on September 28, 1944, on the war and the international situation. Referring to the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet talks at Dumbarton Oaks, he said:

"These conversations have been upon the official level only and do not in any way bind these governments represented. There has, however, been assembled a body of principles and the outline of the kind of structure which, in one form or another, it is a prime purpose of the Allies to erect after the unconditional surrender and total disarmament of Germany has been accomplished.

"...The whole scene has been explored and many difficulties have been not merely discovered but adjusted. There are, however, still some important outstanding questions and we ought not to be hurried into decisions upon which united opinion by the various governments responsible is not at present ripe. It would not be prudent to press in a hurry for momentous decisions governing the whole future of the world."

#### Russian:

On November 6 in a speech on Soviet Foreign Policy, Marshal Stalin talked also of international security problems and, in particular, of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. "There is talk of differences between the three Powers on certain security problems", he said. "Of course, there are differences, and they will arise on a number of other issues too. Differences of opinion occur even among people in one and the same Party. All the more are they bound to occur between representatives of different States and different Parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that they are so few and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and coordination among the three Great Powers. What matters is not that there are differences but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three Great Powers allow and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. It is known that more serious differences existed between us on the questions of the opening of the Second Front. But it is also known that finally these differences were resolved in a spirit of complete agreement. The same thing may be said of the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic of this Conference is not that certain difficulties were revealed there, but that nine-tenths of the security problems were solved at this Conference in a spirit of complete unanimity."



Brief Comparison between the Provisions of the League Covenant and the United Nations Charter.

General Provisions

The Purposes and Principles of the Organization form an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations and are, therefore, binding obligations on the signatories; the purposes of the Covenant of the League were set forth in a preamble to the Covenant and were, therefore, not binding in the same way. On the other hand, the procedures under which action should be taken under the Covenant were set forth specifically in the Covenant, while in the Charter the procedures are left to the discretion of the Security Council and thus do not bind it to take action except in certain specified circumstances. The Security Council has power to take action when it has decided that a threat to peace does, in actual fact, exist.

In general, any action by member states or by the Organization itself which was not in accordance with the Principles incorporated in the Charter would be illegal. These Principles, therefore, act as a protection against the arbitrary use of power by any member state or by the Organization itself, while at the same time laying an obligation on all members to cooperate in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Withdrawal of Members.

While under the League Covenant members could, after two years' notice of intention to do so, withdraw from the League, under the Charter member states have no right of withdrawing voluntarily.

Council and Assembly.

The composition of the Security Council follows that of the League Council in that provision is made for 5 permanent seats; but the 6 non-permanent seats on the Security Council, as against 4 non-permanent seats on the League Council, gives the non-permanent members of the Security Council a majority voice. In the Charter, as distinguished from the Covenant, no provision is made for increasing the size of the Security Council in order to prevent it from becoming so large that rapid and decisive action would be impossible.

The powers given to the Security Council are considerably more comprehensive than those given to the League Council. The Security Council is given not only the right to interfere in a dispute between nations on its own initiative, but the power to take action in the name of all the member states, even though the member states may not all be in agreement. While under the League Covenant both the Assembly and the Council could take action with regard to the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security, under the Charter such action will rest solely with the Security Council. Under the Charter the Assembly has the right to discuss any question relating to world peace, but it is for the Security Council to make decisions and to take action. The Covenant of the League laid down specific conditions under which the Council was to take action, whereas in the Charter the procedures under which action shall be taken have been left flexible and the Security Council is bound only by the Purposes and Principles of the Organization.

Whereas the League Council met regularly three times a year, and could be summoned to emergency session at the request of any League member, provision is made in the Charter for representatives of the members of the Security Council to be in permanent session at the headquarters of the Organization so that they will be continually informed of changing conditions which might become a threat to world peace and presumably, therefore, able to act more quickly than it was possible for the League Council to act.



## Settlement of Disputes

### Action Before the Fact.

Unlike the League Covenant under which it was the responsibility of the members to submit any dispute "likely to lead to a rupture", under the Charter responsibility for determining when a dispute constitutes a threat to peace rests with the Security Council. The parties to the Charter obligate themselves to seek a solution among themselves by peaceful means, but the Security Council may interfere on its own initiative or the Secretary-General, thus providing for early action or for action when no member of the Organization is willing to take the initiative in referring it to the international body. In the Covenant there is specific definition of the circumstances under which sanctions are to be called for. The Security Council is bound only to adhere to the Purposes and Principles of the Organization and is responsible for determining itself when action is to be taken.

### Economic and Diplomatic Action

After the Security Council has determined that a dispute is, in fact, a threat to peace, the various successive steps which it shall take toward a settlement are laid down in Chapter VIII of the Charter: first, the use of its good offices to bring about a peaceful settlement; and then, if this method is unsuccessful, the imposition of economic sanctions which may go so far as the complete severance of economic and diplomatic relations by any or all members of the Organization. While it is obviously impossible for the Security Council itself to apply economic sanctions, it is empowered to "call upon members of the Organization to apply such measures" and under Chapter VI all members "obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter." Provision is also made in the Charter for the assistance of the new affiliated specialised organizations and agencies in the enforcement of economic sanctions.

Under the Covenant the League Council could only "recommend" economic action by member states and each member could decide for itself whether it would or would not put them into force. Article 16 of the League Covenant, however, states that, should any Member of the League "resort to war" in disregard of its pledge to submit a dispute to arbitration or judicial settlement, "it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations...." and the Members of the League agreed that they would "mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures to be undertaken."

### Military Action

All other measures failing, the Security Council has at its disposal an armed force to impose its decisions, either in the event of a breach of the peace or a threat to peace. This armed force is composed of quotas from member states but is an integrated unit ready for immediate action under the strategic direction of the Military Staff Committee. Having put at the disposal of the Security Council a quota of its national forces, a member would be itself the judge of any further force that it might be necessary for it to provide for the common purpose.

While awaiting the bringing into force of the special agreements for the supply of armed forces among a sufficient number of members to allow the Organization to function efficiently, the signatories of the Moscow Declaration will take the necessary action to maintain international peace and security.

The League Covenant provided that, if any Member of the League should "resort to war" in disregard of its covenants, it was the duty of the Council to "recommend" to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League should "severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League". However, there was no provision in the Covenant for the preparation and coordination of the military forces to be placed at the disposal of the Council, except the Advisory Body established under Article 9 which never, in practice, functioned for this purpose. More than this, there was no obligation on League Members to intervene with force to repress violence until war had actually broken out which made possible the indefinite postponement of the use of armed force on the pretext that no war had been declared.

### Judicial Settlement

In Chapter VIII of the Charter it is provided that justiciable questions should normally be settled by the Court. The word "normally" is presumably used because a particular dispute, even though justiciable in character, might be more appropriately dealt with by other means, such as reference to the Security Council; and it is always open to the parties to agree upon a reference to some other tribunal.

Although the composition and jurisdiction of the proposed International Court of Justice were not decided upon at Dumbarton Oaks, it was proposed that they should be decided in a special statute to be annexed to and to become a part of the Charter. It was proposed that all members of the Organization should be parties to this statute and that the conditions under which non-member states might become parties to the statute should be determined in each individual case by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

The Statute of the Court of International Justice is a treaty entirely separate from the League Covenant, and member states of the League did not necessarily accept the jurisdiction of the World Court.

### Disarmament

Under the United Nations Charter, the Military Staff Committee is the principal adviser of the Security Council on the whole problem of the regulation of armaments which, under the Moscow Declaration, was to be the subject of conference and cooperation between the United Nations. Decisions on this subject are, however, necessarily dependent on decisions as to what forces a member shall contribute toward the maintenance of international peace and security.

Under the League Covenant the preparation of plans for world disarmament was the responsibility of the Council and an attempt at the settlement of disarmament problems was made at the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments which the League sponsored. This Conference met in Geneva in 1932 and, although it was never formally closed, it suspended sessions in 1933 without having reached any agreements.

### Economic and Social Work.

Under the League Covenant international cooperation in economic and social fields was confined to a rather narrow range of subjects. The United Nations Charter opens a wide field of operations to the new Organization. While in the League economic and social objectives were dealt with by both the Council and the Assembly, the Charter leaves these questions entirely to the General Assembly which will work mainly through the Economic and Social Council whose members it will elect. This delegation of responsibility in the economic field to the Assembly was apparently based on the belief that,



while in the field of security, the main responsibility should rest with the states possessing the greatest military potential, power in the economic field should be much more widely distributed. There is no provision in the Charter which requires that the member states with the greatest economic potential should necessarily be elected to membership on the Economic and Social Council.

Provision is also made in the Charter for bringing existing and contemplated specialised organisations and agencies into relationship with the Organization through the Economic and Social Council which is responsible with certain limitations, for coordinating their activities. The relationship of each of these specialised organisations to the United Nations Organisation is to be established by individual agreement in each case.

#### Amendments

The great difficulty in amending the League Covenant was to obtain ratifications of such amendments after they had been approved by the members of the Assembly. Consequently, in the provisions of the Charter, while a two-thirds vote would be necessary in the General Assembly, it is proposed that ratifications should only be required from rather more than a majority of the members before amendments come into force. This majority would be comprised of the members with permanent seats in the Security Council and a majority of the rest, i.e. three more than a simple majority.

Amendments so adopted would be binding on all members, even on those voting against them. Members are not allowed to withdraw from the Organisation on this ground, as was provided in the League Covenant.



SECOND QUEBEC CONFERENCE  
September 11-16, 1944

Meeting

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met for the second time at Quebec between September 11th and 16th, 1944. They were accompanied by their respective Chiefs of Staff and other military advisers. They were later joined by Henry Morgenthau, United States Secretary of the Treasury, Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary and Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office. Marshal Stalin had been invited to the conference but declined because of military necessity.

Joint Statement

The following joint statement was issued at the close of the Conference on September 16th.

"The President and Prime Minister, and 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 the marshalling against Japan of the massive forces which each and all of the nations concerned are ardent to engage against the enemy."

Official Comments on the Conference.

Both Roosevelt and Churchill held press conferences at the conclusion of the meetings.

According to Roosevelt, the outstanding fact of this conference was that there was less argument and complete unanimity was reached in less time than ever before. Plans had been made, he said, for as far ahead as anyone could see in a world in which situations change as rapidly as they do in the world today. The logistics of the Pacific War presented the greatest problems confronting the conference, the President said, and required endless planning, but the question of Pacific commands had not been discussed.

Mr. Churchill said that the decisions of this conference would be spelled out in action on the Pacific just as those of the first Quebec Conference were even then being realised in Europe. The only "little bit of friction" during the conference, he said, arose over the desire of the British for a greater part in the final Pacific campaign, but that this question had been amicably resolved and the conference had been conducted "in a blaze of friendship".

Subsequent Roosevelt-Churchill Meeting at Hyde Park.

The British Foreign Office announced on September 26 that following the Quebec Conference Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill held further discussions on September 18 and 19 at Hyde Park, N.Y., on subjects dealing with post-war policies in Europe. The announcement said that the results of these discussions could not be disclosed at that time for military reasons and pending their consideration by the other Allies. A Joint Statement on decisions regarding Italy was, however, released:

Joint Statement on Italy

"The Italian people, freed of their Fascist and Nazi overlordship, have in these last twelve months demonstrated their will to be free, to

fight on the side of the democracies, and to take a place among the United Nations, devoted to the principles of peace and justice.

"We believe we should give encouragement to those Italians who are standing for a political re-birth in Italy and are completing the destruction of its Fascist system. We wish to afford the Italians a greater opportunity to aid in the defeat of our common enemies.

"The American and British peoples are, of course, horrified by the recent mob action in Rome, but feel that a greater responsibility placed on the Italian people and on its Government will most readily prevent a recurrence of such acts.

"An increasing measure of control will be gradually handed over to the Italian administration, subject, of course, to that administration's proving that it can maintain law and order and the regular administration of justice. To mark this change the Allied Control Commission will be renamed 'The Allied Commission'.

"The British High Commissioner in Italy will assume the additional title of Ambassador. The United States representative in Rome already holds that rank. The Italian Government will be invited to appoint direct representatives to Washington and London.

"First and immediate considerations in Italy are the relief of hunger and sickness and fear. To this end we instructed our representatives at the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration conference to declare for the sending of medical aids and other essential supplies to Italy. We are happy to know that this view commended itself to the other members of the UNRRA Council.

"At the same time first steps should be taken toward the reconstruction of an Italian economy - an economy laid low under the years of misrule of Mussolini, and supplies ravished by the German policy of vengeful destruction.

"These steps should be taken primarily as military aims to put the full resources of Italy and the Italian people into the struggle to defeat Germany and Japan. For military reasons we should assist the Italians in restoration of such power systems, their railways, motor transport, roads and other communications as enter into the war situation, and for a short time send engineers, technicians and industrial experts into Italy to help them in their own rehabilitation.

"The application to Italy of the Trading with the Enemy Acts should be modified so as to enable business contacts between Italy and the outside world to be resumed for the benefit of the Italian people.

"We all wish to speed the day when the last vestiges of Fascism in Italy will have been wiped out, when the last German will have left Italian soil, and when there will be no need for any Allied troops to remain - the day when free elections can be held throughout Italy, and when Italy can earn her proper place in the great family of free nations".



UNRRA CONFERENCE - MONTREAL

September 16 - 26, 1944

Participants.

The second meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was held in Montreal between Sept. 16 and 26, 1944. In addition to representatives of the 44 Council members, delegates from the following intergovernmental agencies attended as observers: Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, International Labour Organization, League of Nations Health Research Unit, League of Nations Economic, Financial and Transit Department, and the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. The Danish Minister to the United States attended in a personal capacity.

Resolutions.

The Council adopted the following resolutions:

Administrative budget

Provided for a budget of \$11,500,000 to cover administrative expenses for the calendar year 1945, and fixed the amount to be contributed by each member government toward the \$7,500,000 of new funds required in addition to the 1944 unexpended balance.

Membership of Denmark

Authorized the Central Committee to admit Denmark as a member "if the urgency of the situation requires a consideration of the application before the next session of the Council."

Health measures

Provided that the 1933 International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation should be modified as a safeguard against epidemics in Europe.

Displaced persons

Provided for the care and repatriation of:

Racial, religious and political deportees, chiefly United Nations nationals now in Germany, estimated at approximately 2,000,000 excluding those in prisoner camps.

Displaced persons of other than United Nations nationality, or stateless persons, found in liberated territory.

Displaced persons in territory never occupied by the enemy.

Persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality found in United Nations territory, including colonists settled in occupied countries under the Nazi colonisation program, and petty officials who failed to escape to Germany when Allied forces captured their headquarters. UNRRA would repatriate such colonists or officials only at the request of the authorities of the liberated area in which they were found, and all expenses would be payable by the enemy or ex-enemy country concerned.

Research

The Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons recommended that UNRRA prepare a statement on the categories of displaced persons with whom UNRRA is empowered to deal, and authorized the appointment of an ad hoc subcommittee to report on the problems of displaced persons in the Western Hemisphere.

Aid to Italians

Allocated \$50,000,000 for medical supplies and for a limited



program of aid to mothers, children, and displaced persons in Italy. The resolution stated that operations in Italy should not constitute a precedent for other enemy or enemy countries.

Authorized aid to the citizens of the Dodecanese islands, recognizing the fact that these persons are of Greek origin although of Italian nationality.

Aid to populations in strategic zones

Authorized aid to populations threatened with famine or disease in areas important to the United Nations military program, contingent upon permission of the civil or military authority exercising administration in the area.

Relief priorities

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

Long-term rehabilitation

Drew attention to the inability of UNRRR to deal with the entire problem of rehabilitating production and trade in liberated areas, and urged member governments to provide means for joint consideration of the problem.

For official text see:

Report of the Director General Presented at the Second Session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration held at Montreal, September, 1944 - U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944

Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Montreal, September, 1944: Part I, Report of the Director General; Part II, Reports and Resolutions - H.M.S.O., 1944

CHICAGO AIR CONFERENCE

November 1. - December 7, 1944

Participants and Agenda

The International Civil Aviation Conference opened at Chicago, Illinois, on November 1, 1944.

Invitations to the conference were issued by the United States and included "the European and Asiatic neutral nations, in view of their close relationship to the expansion of air transport which may be expected along with the liberation of Europe."

Russia was invited to the conference but, according to a Tass dispatch of October 29, had declined "in view of the fact that such countries as Switzerland, Portugal and Spain, who have for many years adhered to a pro-fascist policy hostile to the Soviet Union, have been invited to the conference..."

The following 52 nations were represented:

Afghanistan	Lebanon
Australia	Liberia
Belgium	Luxembourg
Bolivia	Mexico
Brazil	Netherlands
Canada	New Zealand
Chile	Nicaragua
China	Norway
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Cuba	Peru
Czechoslovakia	Philippine Commonwealth
Dominican Republic	Poland
Ecuador	Portugal
Egypt	Salvador
Ethiopia	Spain
France	Sweden
Greece	Switzerland
Guatemala	Syria
Haiti	Turkey
Honduras	Union of South Africa
Iceland	United Kingdom
India	United States
Iran	Uruguay
Iraq	Venezuela
Ireland	Yugoslavia

The Minister of Denmark in Washington and the Minister of Thailand in Washington were invited to attend in their personal capacities.

The conference was called to plan routes and services; to draft agreements for the "transitional period" and appoint a governing committee for air transport in this period; to adopt certain universal technical standards for air navigation, air traffic rules, licensing of aircraft, exchange of meteorological data, etc.; and to draft plans for a multilateral aviation convention and international aeronautical board. The length of the "transitional period" during which provisional arrangements were to remain in force was to be determined by the conference.

Four technical committees were established to carry on the work of the conference: Multilateral Aviation Convention and International Aeronautical Body, Technical Standards and Procedures, Provisional Air Transport Services, and Recommendations Concerning Interim Council.

Work of the Conference

Final Act

The Final Act is the formal, official record of the work of the Conference. It was signed by all the participating nations, with the single exception of Liberia. Signing did not, however, commit the nations to the acceptance of the appendices, which required separate signature, but was only certification that it was an accurate account of what the Conference accomplished.

Prior to the full reproduction of the five Appendices, the Act listed 11 Resolutions and Recommendations:

(1) Recommending Appendix V to the nations for further study and the acceptance of its recommendations as models for the standardisation of the technical aspects of civil aviation;

(2) Recommending the appointment of technical personnel to the Secretariat of the provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation to study international standards and recommended practices;

(3) Recommending the use of the metric and English systems as an international standard of measurement;

(4) Recommending the calling of an international conference on private international air law for the purpose of adopting a convention dealing with the transfer of title to aircraft;

(5) Recommending the adherence to the Convention for the unification of certain rules relating to the precautionary attachment of aircraft signed at Rome on May 28, 1933 during the Third International Conference on Private Air Law;

(6) Recommending resumption of the sessions of the Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens, which was created by the First International Conference on Private Air Law held in Paris in 1925; and of coordinating the activities of the CITEJA with those of the provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation and the Permanent International Civil Aviation Organisation;

(7) Recommending that each state agree not to include any specific provisions in any agreement which would grant exclusive or discriminatory rights of transit, non-traffic stop or commercial entry to any other state or airline; and that each state terminate any existing exclusive or discriminatory rights under presently outstanding agreements as soon as possible;

(8) Recommending the form of a standard agreement for provisional air routes;

(9) Recommending that the provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation, when established, consider the question of the publication of flight documents and forms in representative languages of areas through which major international air routes are operated;

(10) Recommending that the matters on which it had not been possible to reach agreement at the Conference be referred to the Interim Council provided for in the Interim Agreement; and

(11) Recommending that the Government of the United States be authorised to publish the final act of the Conference.



Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation-Annex 1

General Provisions

The Interim Agreement recognised the complete sovereignty of every state over the air space above its territory and confined its application to civil aircraft. Agreements were reached regarding landing for customs and other inspection, entry and clearance regulations, designation of routes and airports, charges for the use of airports and facilities, applicability of air regulations, traffic rules, measures to facilitate air navigation, and other technical matters.

The Agreement is to come into force when it has been accepted by 26 states and any signatory state may withdraw on six months' notice.

Provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation

Since the general convention is to be in treaty form and will, therefore, require considerable time for ratification by the signatory states, a provisional organisation was established. This organisation will operate until the permanent convention comes into force but, in any case, for a period not to exceed three years. It will have its headquarters in Canada and will be financed by the member states.

Its organisation follows closely that of the permanent Civil Aviation Organisation to be established and will undertake for the interim period a large number of the functions to be performed by the permanent organisation. The Interim Assembly will be composed of representatives of all member states and the Interim Council of representatives of 21 member states elected by the Assembly for two-year terms. Representation on the Council will be given to states of chief importance in air transport, states which make the largest contribution to the provision of facilities, and states whose election will insure that all major geographical areas of the world are represented. A Committee on Air Transport and a Committee on Air Navigation were established to study some of the problems initiated at the Conference with a view to putting recommendations into final form for the permanent convention and organisation.

Elections to Interim Council

At the final session of the Conference, the members of the Interim Council were elected:

States of chief importance in air transport:

Belgium  
Brazil  
France  
Netherlands  
Mexico  
United Kingdom  
United States  
Empty (reserved for Russia)

States which make the largest contribution to the provision of facilities:

Canada  
Cuba  
India (coded by Norway)  
Iraq  
Peru

States representing major geographical areas:

Australia  
Chile  
China  
Colombia  
Czechoslovakia  
Egypt  
Salvador  
Turkey

Signatories

Afghanistan	New Zealand
Australia	Nicaragua
Canada	Peru
China	Philippine Commonwealth
Dominican Republic	Poland
Egypt	Portugal
France	Spain
Greece	Sweden
Haiti	Switzerland
Honduras	Syria
Iceland	Turkey
India	United Kingdom
Iraq	United States
Ireland	Uruguay
Lebanon	Venezuela
Mexico	
Netherlands	Minister from Denmark
	Minister from Thailand

Convention on International Civil Aviation-Appendix 2

General Provisions

The Convention recognises the complete sovereignty of every state over the air space above its territory, confines its application to civil aircraft, and binds the contracting states not to use civil aviation for any purpose inconsistent with its aims. The contracting states grant mutual rights of transit and stops for non-traffic purposes to aircraft not engaged in scheduled international air service and the right of such aircraft to take on or discharge passengers, mail or cargo with certain limitations. Each contracting state reserves the right, however, to refuse permission, on a non-discriminatory basis, to the aircraft of other states to take on pay loads destined for another point within its territory.

It was agreed that every airport in a contracting state which is open to public use by its national aircraft shall be open under uniform conditions to the aircraft of all other contracting states and that all charges for the use of facilities shall be equal.

Provision was also made for the standardisation of many operational practices and for the financing in whole or in part by the permanent organisation of new



facilities or improvements in facilities in the territory of member states.

Other agreements of a technical nature on customs regulations, navigational aids, meteorological data, licenses and airworthiness certificates, etc. were reached.

### International Civil Aviation Organisation

The proposed International Civil Aviation Organisation is to be composed of an Assembly, on which all contracting states will be represented; and a Council elected by the Assembly whose membership will consist of 21 of the contracting states, giving representation to the states of chief importance in air transport, the states which make the largest contribution to the provision of facilities, and states not otherwise represented whose membership will ensure that all major geographic areas of the world are represented.

Any disputes among contracting states may be referred by any party to them to the Council. Appeal may be made from Council decisions to an ad hoc arbitral tribunal agreed upon with the other parties to the dispute, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Convention is open for adherence by members of the United Nations, the states associated with them in the present war, and by states which remained neutral during the present war. States other than these may be admitted by a four-fifths' vote of the Assembly of the permanent organisation, subject to the approval of the world security organisation when it is established.

The Convention is subject to ratification by the signatory states and will come into force when it has been ratified by 26 signatory states.

### Signatories

Afghanistan	Mexico
Australia	Netherlands
Canada	New Zealand
Chile	Nicaragua
China	Peru
Dominican Republic	Philippine Commonwealth
Ecuador	Poland
Egypt	Portugal
France	Spain
Greece	Sweden
Haiti	Syria
Honduras	Turkey
Iceland	United Kingdom
Iraq	United States
Ireland	
Lebanon	Minister from Denmark
	Minister from Thailand

### International Air Services Transit Agreement - Appendix 3

Under this agreement, which was drawn both in provisional form as an executive agreement and in permanent form as a treaty or convention, the contracting state grants to other contracting states two "freedoms of the air": "the right to fly across its territory without landing, and the right to land for non-traffic purposes. A contracting state granting the right to land for non-traffic purposes may, however, require the airline to offer reasonable commercial service at the



points at which such stops are made and may designate the route to be followed within its territory. This agreement applies only to scheduled international air services.

Signatories

Afghanistan	Peru
Ecuador	Philippine Commonwealth
Egypt	Poland
France	Spain
Greece	Sweden
Haiti	Turkey
Honduras	United Kingdom
India	United States
Iraq	Uruguay
Lebanon	Venezuela
Mexico	
Netherlands	Minister from Denmark
New Zealand	Minister from Thailand
Nicaragua	

International Air Transport Agreement - Appendix 4

Under this agreement, which was drawn both in provisional form as an executive agreement and in permanent form as a treaty or convention, the contracting state grants to other contracting states five "freedoms of the air" - the two "freedoms" granted in the Air Services Transit Agreement, plus: the right to put down passengers, mail and cargo taken on in the territory of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses; the right to take on passengers, mail and cargo destined for the territory of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses; and the right to take on passengers, mail and cargo destined for the territory of any other member state and the right to put down passengers, mail and cargo coming from any such territory. Regarding the last three "freedoms", the undertaking of each contracting state relates only to through services on a route which is a reasonably direct line out from and back to the homeland of the state whose nationality the aircraft possesses. Any signatory state could, however, in signing this agreement, elect not to grant and, therefore, not to receive the fifth "freedom". Turkey signed with this reservation.

Signatories

Afghanistan	Sweden
China	Turkey
Dominican Republic	United States
Ecuador	Uruguay
Haiti	Venezuela
Honduras	
Mexico	Minister from Denmark
Nicaragua	Minister from Thailand
Peru	

Draft on Technical Annexes - Appendix 5

This Annex contains recommendations for the standardisation of the purely technical aspects of civil aviation. These recommendations were presented to the participating governments for further study and the Annex did not require signature.

The recommendations cover the fields of : airways systems; traffic rules and traffic control procedures; licensing of flight and ground personnel; aircraft registration and identification; aircraft logs and airworthiness requirements;

aircraft construction affecting safe operating load factors; construction of airports and navigational ground facilities; aeronautical charts; communications procedures; collection and dissemination of meteorological data; aircraft in distress; investigation of accidents; customs procedures and manifests; etc.

## Comment on the Conference

### American

At the final plenary session of the Conference on December 7, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Chairman of the United States' delegation and President of the Conference, said:

"I am bold to think that history will approach the work of this conference with respect. It has achieved a notable victory for civilisation, for it has begun to put an end to the era of anarchy in the air.

"When we met, the air of every country was closed to every other country. Every plane which passed its own national border was assumed to be an enemy...

"By two companion documents, effective both provisionally as executive agreements and permanently in treaty form, the free planes of peace-loving nations are offered peaceful passage through the air of other free nations, and the right to find free ports of call.

"The first of these documents is the agreement of the two freedoms--the freedom of peaceful transit and the freedom of non-traffic stop to refuel, repair or take refuge in storm. It is a lasting tribute to the underlying fairness and justice of Great Britain that she proposed and sponsored the general adoption of these freedoms. This meant to her... giving up a possible stranglehold on the Atlantic crossings, which must take off or land at Newfoundland, making it possible for planes from North America to transit the Atlantic Ocean.

"I am glad to think that on our side acceptance means that in the Pacific, where we hold a like stranglehold, we have made it possible to connect the great British Commonwealths of Australia and Canada...

"The second agreement may be called the agreement of the five freedoms...(It was submitted by the delegation of the United States and) proposes to all nations who agree an exchange, not merely of the freedoms of transit and of non-traffic stop, but likewise freedom to take traffic from the homeland to any country which may agree, to bring traffic from any country to the homeland, and to pick up and discharge traffic at intermediate points. There is, of course, reserved to each country the sole right to carry traffic within its own territories and each country may reserve, should it so desire, the right to prevent pick-up traffic within its borders. By this mutual exchange of privileges the outlines of the future trade of the air begin to appear....

"But the nations here assembled have realised that these freedoms, like all freedoms, are capable of abuse. Therefore, they have established a world organisation consisting of a Council which is responsible to a periodic Assembly of all nations...

"Other clauses protect the rights of small nations to



have service from planes which use their territory, and protect all nations from discrimination or exclusion.

"Finally, from now on, air agreements throughout the world must be open covenants known to all. The day of secret diplomacy in the air is past.

"The opportunities thus provided are available to every nation, great and small. This Conference has not sought to protect any vested interest, and it has also safeguarded the position of the air carriers who are presently rendering service. By democratic procedure and open vote it has offered representation to the entire world, as it has safeguarded opportunity for all.

"We met in the 17th Century in the air. We close in the 20th Century in the air. We met in an era of diplomatic intrigue and private and monopolistic privilege. We close in an era of open covenants and equal opportunity and status.

"These issues were before the Air Conference of Paris in 1919, at the close of the last war, and that Conference was unable to find a solution. They were met again at the Havana Convention in 1929, and that Conference passed the problem by. Here we have met the issue squarely and have, I think, laid the foundation for its solution.

"Let me pay my tribute to the delegation of Great Britain, which approached the problem primarily from the point of view of order in the air. We, on our side, approached it...from the point of view of freedom of the air. From these opposite angles we have, nevertheless, found common ground..."

#### British

At the close of the Conference, Lord Swinton, head of the British delegation, summarised its achievements as follows:

"We have agreed over the whole of the technical field of air navigation. We have agreed on a number of general provisions relating to air transport. We have agreed to set up an international organisation. We have also agreed that freedoms one and two, the right of innocent passage and non-traffic stop, shall be mutually granted by all countries who are willing to do so...On other important aspects of air transport no agreement has been reached. But it has been agreed to refer all these matters to the Interim Council."

\* \* \*

For official text see:

International Civil Aviation Conference, Final Act;  
Part 1, Text of Final Act and Appendices I-IV;  
Part 2, Appendix V - (U.S. State Department  
Document 488, GD/70)



MOSCOW CONFERENCE

October 9 - 18, 1944

Participants and Agenda:

During the second week in October, 1944, Mr. Churchill, accompanied by Mr. Eden, went to Moscow for his third wartime meeting with Marshal Stalin. In a series of talks lasting ten days, the heads of the Soviet and British governments exchanged views on military plans and political problems. Averell Harriman, U.S. Ambassador to the USSR, was present as an observer.

Work Done:

The results of the conference were summarised in an official communique issued on October 20:

"Meetings were held at Moscow from October 9th - October 18th between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden representing the United Kingdom, and Marshal Stalin and Mr. Molotov assisted by their political and military advisers. The unfolding of the military plans agreed upon at Teheran was comprehensively reviewed in the light of recent events and the conclusions of the Quebec Conference on the war in Western Europe, and the utmost confidence was expressed in the future progress of Allied operations on all fronts.

"A free and intimate exchange of views took place on many political questions of common interest.

"Important progress was made toward the solution of the Polish question which was closely discussed between the Soviet and British Governments. They held consultations both with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government, and with the President of the National Council and the Chairman of the Committee of National Liberation at Lublin. These discussions have notably narrowed differences and dispelled misconceptions. Conversations are continuing on outstanding points.

"The march of events in South-East Europe was fully considered. Agreement was reached on remaining points in the Bulgarian armistice terms. The two Governments agreed to pursue a joint policy in Yugoslavia designed to concentrate all energies against the retreating Germans and bring about a solution of Yugoslav internal difficulties by a union between the Royal Yugoslav Government and the National Liberation Movement. The right of the Yugoslav people to settle their future constitution for themselves after the war is of course recognised as inalienable.

"The meeting took place with the knowledge and approval of the United States Government, who were represented at the conversations by the United States Ambassador at Moscow, Mr. Averell Harriman, acting in the capacity of observer."

Comment on the Conference:

British Comment:

The main points of Churchill's report to Commons after his return from the conference were the following:

Allied unity: "The enemy has two hopes. The first is that, by lengthening the struggle, he may wear down our resolution. The second and more important hope is that division will arise between the three great powers by whom he is assailed and whose continued union spells his doom... You would not expect three great powers so differently circumstanced as Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia not to have many different views about the treatment of the various and numerous countries into which their victorious arms have carried them. The marvel is that all has hitherto been kept so solid, sure and sound between us all... I am satisfied that the results achieved on this occasion at Moscow have been highly satisfactory."

Poland: "The most urgent and burning question was...that of Poland" - the double problem of territorial and political decisions. Joint discussions were held with representatives of both the London and the Lublin groups; no solution was found, but it was "a great deal nearer." Churchill expressed the hope that Mikolajczyk could soon return to Moscow and form a government which would be recognised by all the great powers, adding that "if the Polish government had taken the advice we tendered them at the beginning of this year, the additional complications produced by the formation of the Polish National Committee of Liberation at Lublin would never have arisen."

France: On the recognition of the French National Liberation Committee by the United Kingdom, U.S., USSR, Australia, Brazil, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa on October 23, Churchill replied to critics who asked why recognition was not given earlier. He said the British and American armies "had something to do with the liberation of France," and the two Allied governments, therefore, were responsible for making sure the new French government was representative and not imposed on the country from without. "It is not for us to choose the government or rulers of France at this particular juncture." He expressed satisfaction with the representative character of de Gaulle's government and its capacity for the task ahead, and reaffirmed his opinion that France must not be excluded from discussions of the Rhine problem and of Germany.

Balkans: Churchill emphasized the complete agreement reached on the "tangled questions" of the Balkans, giving as an example the policy of joint action toward Yugoslavia, but added that "all permanent arrangements await the presence of the United States."

Greece: Commenting on the liberation of Athens and of much additional Greek territory, Churchill praised General Wilson's choice of the right moment to intervene "so that hardly any loss of life has occurred and no damage has been done to the immortal capital..." He affirmed the British intention to help the Greeks to recover, but emphasized that as soon as order was restored, the Greeks should make their own decisions on the form of government they want.

The importance of the conference in strengthening Allied unity was underlined by a London Evening Standard editorial, which said, "...German hopes of disintegration are vain. Agreement has been reached in the Balkans, that traditional happy hunting ground of the Fascist trouble-maker. There are good hopes of the conflicts that have arisen in Yugoslavia and Greece finding their solution, and no danger that our strength will be diverted from our major tasks."

#### Russian Comment:

The official government paper, Izvestia, called the conference "a new forward step toward strengthening Soviet relations with the United States as well as with Great Britain," and said that it opened up "a vast prospect of democratic development for the Balkans."

Pravda, the Communist party organ, said that the Moscow talks were of great international importance, and proved the Allies' ability to solve problems by coordinating their points of view. The article added that the joint policy for the coordination of Tito's troops and the Red Army would "bear fruit in the shape of an even greater development of the struggle against the German invaders and in the successful solution of difficulties inside the country by way of a still wider union of Yugoslavia's national forces."

#### American Comment:

Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, commenting on the conference in the New York Herald-Tribune, said that the Moscow talks would greatly assist in the shaping of initial plans for international organization. On the Polish question, he recalled that the British, U.S., and Russian governments were all committed to the reconstitution of Poland as a great nation, and added, "There will most certainly be



no chance of a peaceful Europe in our lifetime unless that objective is achieved after the war, not only in letter, but in spirit as well." An editorial in the same paper a few days earlier said that, while the joint statement on Poland was not explicit, "certainly it holds out the hope that the problem of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union is not insoluble, and has not simply been dismissed by Britain and Russia as something upon which they had agreed to disagree." The writer added: "To discover that difficulties among the Allies - of which Germany, of course, is well aware - are being ironed out in a spirit of friendly cooperation must be a blow to Nazi morale...(Churchill's) journey to Moscow represents the sort of diplomatic shuttle-bombing which hits Germany where it hurts."

The New York Times and the Washington Post also commented editorially on the failure of Hitler's hopes for Allied disunity. On Poland, the Times said, "Churchill's discussion of the Polish situation proves that Russia is willing to go some distance...to satisfy British and American opinion. When the question has got to this point, solution is certainly possible."



WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE  
London, February 6-17, 1945

Agenda and Participants

The World Trade Union Conference was the result of an emergency resolution adopted at the 1943 assembly of the British Trades Union Congress. Its purpose, as broadly stated by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the British TUC, was "to consider the most pressing problems both of policy and organization affecting the interest of the working people, and thereby to promote the widest possible unity, in aim and action, of the International Trade Union Movement."

More than 200 delegates and observers, together with their interpreters, met in the County Hall in London on February 6 for the opening session of the Conference. Members of thirty-five nations and thirteen international organizations were present, representing more than 50,000,000 organized workers. The size of national delegations was based on trade-union membership, the largest delegations being those of Russia, with 35 delegates, the United Kingdom and France with 15 each, and the United States with 13. The countries and international bodies represented were as follows:

Allied Nations

Australia  
Belgium  
Canada  
China  
Colombia  
Cuba  
Czechoslovakia  
France  
India  
Mexico  
Netherlands  
New Zealand  
Norway  
Poland  
South Africa  
USSR  
United Kingdom  
United States  
Yugoslavia

Nation having broken  
diplomatic relations  
with the Axis

Uruguay

Nation occupied by  
United Nations forces.

Iceland

Neutral nations

Eire  
Spain  
Sweden  
Switzerland

Ex-enemy nation

Finland

British Mandated  
Territories

Palestine  
Cyprus

International organizations

International Federation of Trade Unions  
Confederacion de Trabajadores de America  
Latina\*  
13 international Trade Secretariats

British Crown Colonies

British Guiana  
Jamaica  
Nigeria  
Sierra Leone  
Gambia  
Gold Coast  
Northern Rhodesia

\*The Latin American Workers' Federation was represented by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who also attended as an observer for the National Trade Union Centres of Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Paraguay.

## Work of the Conference

The decisions of the Conference were announced in a series of declarations issued at the conclusion of the talks. These declarations concerned the Allied war effort, the labor attitude to the peace settlement, the establishment of a World Trade Union Federation, and the postwar aims of trade unions. A summary of each of the declarations follows.

### Furtherance of the Allied War Effort

The Conference paid tribute to the armed forces and the workers of the United Nations, and listed the measures it considered vital to shorten the war:

Aid in raising and equipping armed forces in liberated countries; increased supplies of arms for China from the other countries at war with Japan.

Full mobilization of workers through defence of their vital economic needs (adequate wage levels; equal pay for equal work without discrimination because of nationality, race, sex, or membership in a minority group; better housing and social insurance; proper food rationing; enforcement of all agreements and Government regulations for workers' protection).

Application in liberated countries of policies which will mobilise full popular support of the war effort. These policies must include: establishment of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, and political organization, and the right to organize unions; formation of governments supported by the people; provision of food and raw materials to enable full use of manpower and productive facilities.

Reconsideration by the Allied governments of economic and other relations with Franco Spain, Argentina, and other Fascist countries aiding the enemy under the pretence of neutrality. Immediate action by the Allies to prevent such aid from continuing, and to exact guarantees from these countries against giving refuge to war criminals.

In conclusion, the Conference pledged itself to help preserve and strengthen the unity of the United Nations, and to combat enemy agents within its own lands.

### Attitude to the Peace Settlement

The Conference welcomed the declaration on Allied policy toward Germany issued after the Crimea Conference, but demanded:

Consultation of trade-union representatives on the treatment of war criminals; liquidation of Nazi organizations; the control of German industry, transport, banking, and property of the trusts; the use of German resources to rebuild devastated countries; and reparations.

Participation by resisting victims of German aggression in the occupation and control of Germany.

International supervision of German labor used in reconstruction work so that such labor will not degenerate into slave labor and thereby reduce the standards of other workers.

Complete liquidation of the German "labor front" and establishment, during the occupation period, of a democratic trade-union movement under international trade-union supervision.

Recovery of trade-union funds and property taken from workers by the Nazis, such property to be turned over to the trade unions of the countries from which it was taken, for use in rebuilding labor organizations.

Trade-union participation in the reconstruction of the German



educational system and in the organization and conduct of anti-Fascist propaganda.

Application to Japan of the same principles recommended for the peace settlement with Germany; in particular, the Mikado must be held responsible for Japanese aggression, the Empire must be replaced by a democratic republic, and the terms of the Cairo Declaration must be rigidly applied to territories seized by Japan.

The Conference acclaimed the decision to summon a United Nations conference in San Francisco, and strongly urged speedy establishment of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a world security organization, and demanded:

Removal of the economic causes of war, the first steps being to destroy international cartels and monopolies "which militate against the public interest," and to end the system of colonies and dependencies as spheres of economic exploitation.

International action after the war to redress the wrongs inflicted on Jews, protect them against future oppression, and enable them to continue the rebuilding of Palestine, with due regard for the legitimate interests of other national groups.

Prompt establishment of the Economic and Social Council proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, and trade-union participation in its development.

Trade-union representation in the Assembly of the international organization, as well as in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

Trade-union representation at the San Francisco conference, with labor delegates serving in an advisory and consultative capacity.

#### World Trade Union Federation

The declaration on the formation of a new World Trade Union Federation appointed a committee, with headquarters in Paris, to draft the charter of the Federation for the approval of the next World Trade Union Conference, to meet not later than the end of 1945. The following countries and international bodies were represented on the committee:

	Number of members
U.S.A.	3
United Kingdom	3
France (C.G.T.)	3
U.S.S.R.	3
Canada	1
Australia	1
India	1
Rest of British Commonwealth	2
Latin-American countries	3
China	1
Belgium	1
Netherlands	1
Norway	1
Sweden	1
Switzerland	1
Yugoslavia	1
Spain	1



Iceland	1
Ireland	1
Bulgaria	1
Italy	1
Rumania	1
Finland	1
International Federation of Trade Unions	2
International Trade Secretariats	2
Confederacion de Traba- jadores de America Latina	1
International Confedera- tion of Christian Trade Unions	1

Postwar Reconstruction and Immediate Trade Union Demands:

The Conference demanded government action in the following fields:

Relief and re-employment

- Extension of UNRRA's powers to enable it to provide fuller relief in stricken areas.
- Provision for the reinstatement in industry of repatriated exiles and deportees.
- Free medical aid and sickness benefits for disabled servicemen, as well as free training to requalify them for employment. Adequate life benefits for the permanently disabled.

Labour Legislation

- Government responsibility for providing adequately-paid jobs for all able-bodied men and women who need them.
- Universal establishment of a maximum working week of 40 hours without loss of pay, with a minimum annual holiday of two weeks with full pay.
- Safeguards for workers' health and safety; free sanatoria and rest homes for workers.

Social insurance

- Establishment in each country of a single comprehensive system of State social insurance, financed mainly by contributions from governments and employers.
- Adequate grants to families who have lost their breadwinners.
- Family allowances and child-welfare facilities.

Financial and economic measures

- Protection of the public against monopoly exploitation, either by preventing the theformation of monopolies, controlling them where they exist, or eliminating them by transferring the industries in question to public ownership.
- Price control to avoid inflation and a speculative profit boom.
- Cooperation of all governments in establishing an international monetary system and institutions of international economic coordination capable of promoting a steady expansion of foreign trade; of

regulating international trade and tariffs; of reaching international agreement to regulate prices of staple commodities of international trade; of making long-term loans for economic development; and of promoting the orderly migration of people from country to country.

Trade-union participation in industrial reconversion

In conclusion, the Conference proclaimed a Workers' Charter which it determined must be universally recognized. The full text of the Charter follows:

- a. Workpeople shall be free to organise themselves in Trade Unions and to engage freely in all normal Trade Union activities, including that of collective bargaining.
- b. Workpeople shall be free to establish cooperatives and any other mutual aid organisations.
- c. There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and political association.
- d. Every form of political, economic or social discrimination based on race, creed, colour or sex shall be eliminated, and in this sense equal pay for equal work shall be established. In cases where young people are doing adult work they shall receive the adult rate of pay.
- e. There shall be equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people.
- f. There shall be suitable employment available at adequate rates of pay for all requiring work.
- g. There shall be adequate protection in all the circumstances of life where this is required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen.

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For official text see:

Report of the World Trade Union Congress, February 6-17, 1945 -  
Cooperative Printing Society, Ltd., London, 1945

THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE

February 4 - 12, 1945

Participants

During the first week in February, 1945, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin met in the Black Sea resort town of Yalta for a series of talks since known as the Crimea Conference. The heads of the three governments were accompanied by their Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff, and other advisers.

Work of the Conference

On February 12, eight days after the conference opened, a joint communique setting forth the allies' decisions was issued simultaneously in London, Washington, and Moscow. Its main points were as follows:

Germany:

- Military defeat - Combined plans have been completed.
- Postwar treatment - The Allies do not propose to destroy the German people, but are determined to disband the Army, break up the General Staff, remove all military equipment and control all industry capable of arms production, wipe out Nazism, its laws, organizations, and institutions, and bring all war criminals to justice and swift punishment.
- Occupation - The U.S., USSR, and Britain will each occupy a separate zone, with the three Supreme Commanders forming a Central Control Commission in Berlin. France will be invited to take a fourth zone, to be fixed by the four governments through the European Advisory Council, and to sit on the Control Commission.
- Reparations - Germany must compensate in kind to the greatest extent possible.

Liberated Europe:

- General - The peoples of liberated countries are to choose their own governments. The U.S., USSR, and Britain will help in achieving peace, relief, interim governments, and free elections. It is hoped that France will participate.
- Poland - A Polish "provisional government of national unity," pledged to the holding of free elections as soon as possible is to be formed from democratic leaders within Poland itself and from Poles abroad. The eastern frontier of Poland is to follow approximately the Curzon Line. The western frontier will be determined at the Peace Conference.
- Yugoslavia - The Tito-Subasich agreement (Tito to be Premier and Subasich Foreign Minister; a Regency Council to be chosen; Peter not to return until a free vote has been taken) is to take effect at once, as the basis for a new government. The Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation should be extended to include non-collaborationist member of the last Yugoslav Parliament, thus forming a new temporary parliament to enact legislation subject to ratification by a Constituent Assembly.



## Collective Security

World Security Organization - A conference of the United Nations will meet April 25 in San Francisco to draft the charter of the new international security league. Crimea decision on voting procedure in Security Council to be published after consultation with France and China on invitation list for San Francisco

Tripartite Cooperation - Permanent machinery to be set up for regular consultation by the Foreign Secretaries of the three powers participating in the Crimea Conference. The three governments pledge themselves to continued cooperation to ensure lasting peace.

## Report to Commons

On February 27, Churchill gave a full report to the House of Commons, asking for support of the Yalta decisions, particularly on the unity of the three allies. In his speech he made the following major points:

## Collective Security

The new organization to be set up at the San Francisco Conference will benefit by the experience of the League of Nations and will embody much of its structure and characteristics, but will differ from it in "the essential point that it will not shrink from establishing its will against the evil doer or evil planner."

The Yalta decision on voting procedure in the proposed Security Council will allow the Great Powers scope for effective action while, at the same time, preventing their exercising a virtual dictatorship.

Germany - The Allied policy toward Germany is not revenge; it is to take whatever measures are needed to ensure peace. Germany can return to the community of nations only after Nazism and militarism have been finally extirpated.

France - "The first principle of British policy in Western Europe is a strong France and a strong French army." However, the three Great Powers, who bear the main burden of the war, could not allow any restriction on their freedom to meet to frame their policies. The role projected for France in the occupation of Germany, the European Advisory Commission and the San Francisco conference were fully explained to Bidault during his talks in London, and he was able to express France's views in this matter.

Poland - "The freedom of Poland is more important than its frontiers." Britain and the U.S. join with Russia in assuring the maintenance of Poland's sovereign independence. There is no question of Russian good faith. A schism between Russia and the western Allies might be followed by dire consequences.

The Middle East - The visit to Cairo after the Yalta talks was made for the sake of friendly personal contacts and not in an attempt to shape a new policy for the Middle East. Britain seeks both the independence of Syria and Lebanon and the preservation of French privilege in the Levant, but it is not for Britain alone to defend either of these aims by force.

Greece - "There is no subject in my recollection in which the policy of His Majesty's Government has received more complete vindication." However, many problems still remain now that political order has been restored. The future of the Greek people is in their own hands, and the task of rebuilding cannot be left to outsiders.

Churchill's report opened a debate which ended three days later in a unanimous vote of confidence.

## Report to Congress

Back in Washington on March first, President Roosevelt reported to a joint session of Congress. Following closely on Churchill's lengthy exposition, Roosevelt's speech was shorter and less detailed. Some of its highlights are given below.

Collective Security - "The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world...The Crimea conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries and have failed."

Germany - "Unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them, for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins and deceive their people into continued useless resistance...We do not want the German people to starve or to become a burden on the rest of the world. Our objective in handling Germany is simple: it is to secure the peace of the future world."

Liberated Europe: "The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from the Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three Governments...I am sure that, under the agreements reached at Yalta, there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before."

Poland: "The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was practically a compromise (I did not agree with all of it, by any means. It did not go as far as I wanted in certain areas. But all British and Russian desires were not satisfied)...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."

Tripartite Unity: "We argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And, more important even than agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together. It was Hitler's hope that we would not agree...But Hitler has failed."

## Voting Procedure

Announcement of the Yalta decision on voting on the Security Council was finally made on March 5, when the governments of the United States, USSR, Britain, and China issued their invitation to the San Francisco Conference. The Yalta plan provided that:

Each member of the Security Council (composed of one representative of each of 11 members of the United Nations Organization) would have one vote.

Decisions on procedural matters would require an affirmative vote of 7 members.



Decisions on all other matters would require an affirmative vote of 7 members including the concurring votes of the permanent members, providing that, in decisions under Chapter 8 of the "Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization," Section A (the pacific settlement of disputes) and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter 8 (ibid.) Section C ("The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council"), a party to a dispute should refrain from voting.

### Comment on the Conference

#### American

Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew called the conference one of the most important of the entire war, and singled out for special praise the reaffirmation of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the proposal for periodic meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries, and the calling of a United Nations conference to complete the work of Dumbarton Oaks.

Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, said the Yalta agreement represented "as great a victory as any that has ever been won upon the fields of battle." CIO President Philip Murray called it "one of the greatest forward steps in history toward the goals of democracy, security, and peace that are common to all liberty-loving humanity," and Herbert Hoover in a Lincoln's Birthday speech said it would provide "a strong foundation on which to rebuild the world."

#### Russian

Popular endorsement of the Yalta decisions took the form of an agreement by many groups of workers to work Stakhanovist shifts in order to hasten "the death sentence on German militarism passed by the highest tribunal of the allied peoples." The Government paper Izvestia hailed the conference as the biggest political event of our time, and said that it "opened the greatest possibility in the whole story of mankind for creating a long and durable peace." Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party, said the Crimea declaration expressed "the will of the whole of freedom-loving humanity." A statement issued by the Patriarch of Moscow declared that "the decisions of the Crimea Conference... have met with the greatest satisfaction and joy on the part of the Church circles of our Motherland."

#### British

Harold Butler, British Minister in Washington, addressing the National Institute of Social Sciences on February 15, stressed the progress made at Yalta toward the establishment of a lasting peace. "The new world organization...", he said, "will be based on a solid rock, because overwhelming power will be placed at the service of peace... A week ago the partnership between the United States and the British Commonwealth in the construction and enforcement of peace was still a matter for doubt and speculation, I believe it is now a certainty. Together with the Soviet Union we have entered upon a solemn bond to work together to establish and maintain peace."

The London press devoted a large part of its limited space to commendation of the Yalta decisions. The Times said, "The central fact... is the magnitude of the commitment which the three signatory powers have jointly undertaken and the degree of unity between them which it presupposes... The development of a common policy for Europe is the signal of a recognition... that a divided Europe is the inevitable seed-bed, in the future as it has been in the past, of world-wide war." The Express called the communique "a design for living," and the Telegraph said, "What first strikes the mind is the number and extent of the problems it dealt with - then the comprehensiveness of the conclusions. Nothing has been shirked. No difficulties have been ignored. In the long communique there are no loose ends." The Daily Mail hailed the conference as "a landmark in human history," declaring, "Never has there been held in so short a time a meeting of such tremendous scope coming to such momentous decisions."



### Polish

"The decision of the Big Three in the Crimea was a great blow to the Polish nation," M. Arciszewski, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in London, declared at a press conference on February 15. "The Polish nation does not believe in the words of Russia when she promises free democracy for Poland. We are waiting for words to be put into practice and not for promises." Two days earlier the Arciszewski government had issued a declaration protesting that "The intention of the three Powers to create a 'Provisional Polish Government of National Unity' by enlarging the foreign-appointed Lublin Committee with persons vaguely described as 'democratic leaders from Poland itself and Poles abroad' can only legalize Soviet interference in Polish internal affairs." The territorial decisions made at Yalta called forth a protest from the American-Polish Association's coordinating Committee in Washington, assailing the Allies' plan as a "fifth partition" of Poland.

### French

France's position in relation to the "Big Three" was one of the most widely discussed aspects of the Crimea Conference. With the exception of the Communists and Communist sympathizers, the French themselves, both before and after the conference, were unanimous in expressing resentment over the Allies' failure to invite de Gaulle to participate. They felt that France had worked her way back to a place of equality with the three great powers, and also that no effective settlement of the German problem could be achieved without French advice. De Gaulle warned the Allies that France would not be bound by any decisions taken in her absence; he took advantage of a visit to Alsace to affirm his determination to make the Rhine "a French highway from one end to the other," and made the Indo-Chinese New Year festival the occasion for declaring that, in Indo-China as elsewhere, France is and will remain "her own mandatory."

On February 12, de Gaulle received a copy of the Crimea communique and an invitation to join President Roosevelt in Algiers to discuss the conference decisions. By declining this invitation on the grounds that internal problems prevented his leaving Paris, he precipitated a fresh controversy. While some of the leading organs of French opinion staunchly supported his refusal to go to Algiers, many deplored the action and regarded his intransigence toward the United States as a serious disservice to the Fourth Republic. Anglo-American comment revealed widespread sympathy with French sensitiveness, but disapproval of de Gaulle for standing on ceremony at so critical a stage in international relations.

It was hoped that French Foreign Minister Bidault's visit to London toward the end of February would result in France's final decision to join the four other powers in sponsoring invitations to the San Francisco conference in April. Shortly after Bidault's return to Paris, however, the French Government renounced the privilege of sponsorship by proclaiming its unwillingness to accept in their present form the Yalta decisions on the voting procedure in the Security Council. This decision was interpreted by some commentators as foreshadowing an identification of French interests with those of the smaller nations in preference to accepting a role of secondary importance among the great powers.

On March 22, only a month before the opening of the San Francisco conference, the French Government submitted its proposals for amendments, a primary object of which was to permit regional security agreements, such as the Franco-Soviet pact, to operate automatically without prior authorization from the Security Council. On the question of voting in the Council, the French Government suggested that a distinction be drawn between recommendations and decisions. Recommendations, according to the French proposal, since they do not imply the use of force, would be adopted by any majority, while decisions would be adopted only by a two-thirds majority, involving the unanimity of the permanent members.

MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE  
February 21-March 8, 1945

Participants

On February 21, 1945, representatives of nineteen American republics met at Chapultepec Castle near Mexico City for the opening session of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace.

The two American nations not represented at the opening session were Argentina, excluded from the entire conference for "noncooperation in hemisphere war measures," and El Salvador, whose new government had not yet established relations with the other American governments and who consequently did not participate until the March 1, 1945 session. The twenty republics who took part in the conference and signed the Final Act on March 8 are listed below. (Argentina, after declaring war on Germany on March 27, became a signatory on April 4.)

Bolivia  
Brazil  
Chile  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Cuba  
Dominican Republic  
Ecuador  
Guatemala  
Honduras  
Mexico  
Nicaragua  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Salvador  
United States  
Uruguay  
Venezuela

Agenda

The following agenda were adopted at the opening session on February 21, 1945 and listed in the Final Act as the "definitive agenda" of the conference.

1. Further cooperative measures for the prosecution of the war to complete victory.
2. Consideration of problems of international organizations for the maintenance of peace and collective security
  - a) World organization;
  - b) The further development of the Inter-American system and its coordination with the world organization.
3. Consideration of the economic and social problems of the Americas
  - a) Economic cooperation during the war and in the transitional period;
  - b) Consideration of methods to develop such cooperation for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the peoples of the Americas, with a view to raising their standard of living.
4. Pursuant to the desires of the Governments consulted, whenever the foregoing topics are disposed of, consideration would be given to the resolution adopted by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union at its meeting on Monday, January 8, relative to the request of the Argentine Government."



Background

The Mexico City conference followed neither of the two established forms of inter-American meetings. It was not sponsored by the Pan-American Union, whose eighth and last regular conference was held in Lima in 1938, nor was it one of the regular consultative meetings of foreign ministers such as those held in Panama in 1939, in Havana in 1940, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1942.

War-time Conferences of Foreign Ministers

The outbreak of war in Europe led to the Panama meeting of American foreign ministers in 1939, which issued a general declaration of continental neutrality and set up an Inter-American Neutrality Committee.

At the Havana meeting in 1940, the foreign ministers agreed to create an Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration of any American region attacked or threatened by outside aggression. Another resolution adopted at this meeting declared that any outside attack on the integrity of any American state should be considered an act of aggression against all. This resolution was translated into action in December 1941 when Japan attacked the United States. Within a week, nine Latin American nations declared war on Japan and Germany, and three broke off diplomatic relations.

A month later the foreign ministers met again in Rio. They recommended that all states break off diplomatic, commercial, and financial relations with Germany and Japan. Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay took action before the meeting adjourned, and Ecuador followed the next day. The Rio conference also created the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defence, and the Inter-American Defence Board which functions in Washington.

Organization of the Mexico City Conference

Ezequiel Padilla, Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was elected President of the conference by acclamation at the preliminary session on February 21. Major-General Avila Camacho, President of the United Mexican States, designated Manuel Tello, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, as Secretary General and Rafael de la Colina, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, as Assistant Secretary General.

The following committees were set up:

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Chairman</u>
Credentials	Gustavo Julio Henriquez (Dominican Republic)
War problems	Pedro Leao Volleoso (Brazil)
Dumbarton Oaks	Edward R. Stettinius (United States)
Inter-American relations in connection with world organization	Alberto Lloras Camargo (Colombia)
Postwar economic problems	Gustavo Cuervo Rubio (Cuba)
Economic problems in war-time and the transition period	Manuel C. Gallagher (Peru)
Coordination	Jacobo Varola (Uruguay)

Work of the Conference

The sixty-one resolutions, recommendations, and declarations adopted at Mexico City were set forth in a document issued on March 8, entitled "Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace."\*

\*The official text of the Final Act is in Spanish. An official English version is being prepared by the Pan-American Union. The present report is based on a provisional English translation issued by the U.S. delegation to the conference.



(A complete list of the titles of these articles is appended to this report.) A summary of the most important articles follows.

### Political and Military Security

#### Dumbarton Oaks (Article XXX)

Since "the Dumbarton Oaks proposals constitute a basis for an invaluable contribution to the setting up of a general organization which may permit the achievement of a just, peaceful order and the welfare of all nations," the Conference resolves to present to the nations participating in the San Francisco conference the comments and suggestions of the American republics, particularly the following points, which represent a consensus of the views of the American republics that did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks talks:

- a. "Universality" as a future ideal of the Organization.
- b. Fuller and more specific explanation of the principles and purposes of the Organization.
- c. Fuller and more specific powers for the General Assembly, in harmony with the powers of the Security Council.
- d. Fuller powers for the International Tribunal.
- e. Creation of an international agency to promote and direct an "oral cooperation" between nations.
- f. Solving inter-American controversies according to inter-American methods and procedures.
- g. Adequate representation for Latin America in the Security Council.

#### Act of Chapultepec (Article VIII)

Proclaims that:

1. All American sovereign states are juridically equal.
2. Each state's independence is respected by all other states.
3. Any attack against the territory or political independence of one state will be considered aggression against all states.
4. In case of danger of aggression, or actual attack, on one state, all states shall confer on action to be taken in behalf of the endangered state.
5. During the present war, and until postwar treaties are concluded, all states will take measures against an attack or contemplated attack by an aggressor upon one state. The measures will be within the scope of the states' constitutional war powers and may include the breaking of diplomatic, communications, and economic relations or the use of armed force.
6. Principles and procedures of the Act of Chapultepec will become effective immediately, since any aggression now would interfere with the war effort of the United Nations.

#### Permanent Military Agency (Article IV)

Recommends the creation of a permanent agency comprising representatives of each of the General Staffs of the American Republics to propose to their Governments measures for better military collaboration and hemisphere defense.

#### War Criminals (Article VI)

Recommends that the Governments of the American Republics give no refuge to war criminals or their accomplices, and surrender such persons to the United Nations or whatever

agency may be established for trial and punishment of such criminals.

Crimes of Aggression (Article XVI)

Recommends that American governments that have not done so pass laws making it a national crime to support a non-American state that has attacked an American state.

Control of Armaments (Article V)

Proposes that the American Republics adopt necessary measures to reserve to their governments the control over the manufacture and distribution of armaments within their territory as well as the international traffic in arms.

Hemisphere Solidarity

Declaration of Mexico (Article XI)

Reaffirms the principles governing the relations between the American nations, emphasizing the primacy of international law and the non-recognition of gains acquired by aggression.

Strengthening the Inter-American System (Article IX)

The Conference resolves that:

1. The International Conference of American States shall meet every four years.
2. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall meet annually upon call by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union.
3. The Pan-American Union shall, within limits imposed by the International Conference of American States or on specific direction of the meetings of Foreign Ministers, take action on "every matter which affects the effective functioning of the inter-American system and the solidarity and well-being of American Republics."

Tribute to Canada (Article XXII)

The Conference expresses its admiration and gratitude to Canada for its "magnificent war effort in the defense of the American Continent," and hopes that Canada's collaboration with the Pan-American system will become increasingly close.

Resolution on Argentina (Article LIX)

Urges that Argentina put herself in a position to subscribe to the resolutions passed at Mexico City and to the United Nations Declaration.

Basic Human Rights

Essential Rights of Man (Article XL)

Proposes a system of international protection of the rights of man, and charges the Inter-American Juridical Committee with the preparation of a draft declaration of these rights, to be submitted to all the Governments of the Continent within the next six months.

Atlantic Charter (Article XII)

The Governments of America reaffirm the principles and purposes of the Atlantic Charter.

Equality of Race, Religion, and Sex (Articles XLI, XXVIII, LX)

Reaffirms the principle of equality of rights and opportunities for all men regardless of race or religion; states the rights of women; specifically condemns the Hitlerite persecution of the Jews; proposes the drafting of a "charter for women and children."

## Commerce and Finance

### Economic Charter of the Americas (Article LI)

The American republics "declare their firm purpose to collaborate in:

1. Continued mobilization of their economic resources until total victory.
2. Orderly economic transition from war to peacetime conditions, with joint action to maintain economic stability during the transition.
3. Sound economic development and higher levels of living and consumption through development of natural resources, industry, transportation, agriculture, power facilities, and public works; the encouragement of private capital investment, managerial capacity, and technical skill, and the improvement of labor standards and working conditions, including collective bargaining.

The guiding principles for attaining these ends include:

Equality of access to the trade and raw materials of the world;  
Elimination of excesses of economic nationalism;  
Restriction of private business arrangements that obstruct international trade;  
Just and equitable treatment for foreign enterprise and capital;  
Promotion of the system of private enterprise.

### Wartime Economic Controls (Article XII)

The Conference resolves:

That special controls on international trade necessitated by the war be removed as soon as possible, with due regard for maintenance of economic stability during the transition period.

That each American Government adopt a gradual procedure for modifying wartime controls.

### Economic Adjustment of the Hemisphere during the Transition Period (Article XIII)

The American Governments agree:

That when it becomes necessary to reduce the volume of procurement of basic products and strategic materials to a degree liable to affect the stability of the economy of producing countries, the producing and the purchasing countries shall adopt bilateral measures to minimize adverse effects on national economies.

That every effort be made to re-establish normal commercial trade in such commodities as rapidly as possible.

That plans be made as far in advance as possible so that each country shall have the maximum time for readjustment in connection with reductions in procurement.

### Monetary Meetings (Article LIV)

Recommends that monetary authorities hold meetings to deal with inter-American monetary problems prior to the entry into force of the Bretton Woods Agreements.

## Social Measures

### Declaration of Social Principles of the Americas (Article LVIII)

The Conference resolves:

1. "To consider of international public interest the enacting by all the American republics of social legislation that will protect the working class and that will embody guarantees as well as rights on a scale not inferior to the one recommended by the International Labor Organization."
2. To establish in all countries of the hemisphere a minimum living wage based on local conditions and changing with price increases to protect the worker's purchasing power.



3. To develop the application of social insurance for illness, old age, disability, death, maternity, and unemployment.
4. To promote legislation covering medical, nutrition, hygiene, and insurance services.

#### Information and Education

##### Free Access to Information (Article XXVII)

Recommends that the American republics, recognizing their obligation to "guarantee to their people free and impartial access to sources of information," abandon as soon as possible after the war the censorship and control of press and radio necessitated by wartime conditions.

##### Textbook Revision (Article XXIX)

Recommends to the American Governments:

1. "The most careful deletion from the official textbooks used in their schools of everything which might tend to jeopardize the inter-American system."
2. "The greatest vigilance" to see that teaching in their schools is based on principles of peace, justice, freedom, and equality.
3. The deletion from textbooks of everything sustaining racial or totalitarian theories, directly or indirectly.

#### Comment on the Conference

##### U. S. Comment

In a statement at the conclusion of the conference, Secretary Stettinius said that it marked "an historic turning point in the development of inter-American cooperation," and that it would contribute much to the success of the United Nations conference in San Francisco.

Reviewing the many agreements reached at the conference, he mentioned six as being outstandingly significant:

- (1) "We have reaffirmed our wartime collaboration in the common struggle against the Axis...Under the resolutions adopted here, no Axis leader...will be able to escape punishment by finding refuge in this hemisphere."
- (2) "The twenty American republics have endorsed the Dunbarton Oaks proposals...The world can rest assured of the unanimous resolve of the American republics here represented to join with the other United Nations in successfully establishing and maintaining the new world organization."
- (3) "In the Act of Chapultepec we have taken a significant step beyond the act of Havana (providing that any outside attack on one American nation should be considered an act of aggression against all the American nations - Ed.) in developing machinery for united action by the American states in the face of aggression."
- (4) "It is my firm belief that as a result of the decisions taken at this conference, the inter-American system of the future will be far stronger and more effective than it has ever been in the past."
- (5) "In the declaration of Mexico and in other resolutions we have rededicated ourselves at this conference to American principles of humanity and to raising the standards of living of our peoples, so that all men and women in these republics may live decently in peace, in liberty, and in security...We have faced squarely the difficult immediate economic problems of transition from war to peace, and we have found an answer which we believe will protect the economies of our countries during this period of adjustment."
- (6) "It is our common desire that Argentina be able to resume her traditional place in the family of the American nations and restore in full measure the solidarity of this hemisphere."

Senator Tom Connally of Texas, who as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was instrumental in framing the Act of Chapultepec so that the United States could constitutionally endorse it, called the Act "one of the greatest state papers in the world." He described it as "a new Monroe Doctrine, backed by all the Americas instead of just the United States," and pointed out that it not only fends off attack from abroad, but serves notice that "no ambitious power in this Hemisphere can contemplate the conquest of another republic of this hemisphere."

#### Latin-American Comment

Joaquin Fernandez y Fernandez of Chile called the conference "a bridge from Yalta to San Francisco." The Mexican delegates also emphasized the significance of the agreements as a step toward world organization for peace. "All the American peoples here represented," Padilla of Mexico said, "will give the firmest collaboration to the high purposes which it is sought to achieve at San Francisco." Dr. Pablo Campos Ortiz, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, denied that collaboration meant the sacrifice of national autonomy. "This war," he declared, "has been to all of us a great lesson in the value of cooperation."

Pedro Leao Valloso, Brazilian Foreign Minister, commented on the economic agreements. He said that none of the delegates wanted to "try to construct an economic power-bloc to lock Europe out of this hemisphere," but that one of their chief preoccupations was "to integrate our inter-American system with a world system, (which) implies developing trade and industry on an international scale, not exclusively here in our hemisphere."

Eduardo Rodriguez Larreta of Uruguay hailed the Act of Chapultepec as one of the major achievements of the conference. "America in this goes in the vanguard of the world," he said. "This is a democratic concept - that a majority can decide on the use of force." He stressed the protection the Act would afford small nations, and concluded, "If peace is indivisible in the world, so it is in the continent."

\* \* \*

For official text see:

Final Act of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Mexico, D.F., Mexico, March 8, 1945 - U.S. Del 118, c/4 (Provisional translation of official Spanish text, prepared by U.S. delegation, pending publication of official translation by Pan-American Union)



THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Announcement of the conference.

The Big Three plan for a conference to create an international security organization was announced in Article 4 of the joint communique issued on February 12 after the Crimea conference. After stating that the three powers had agreed on the voting procedure to be followed in the proposed Security Council, the communique continued:

"We have agreed that a Conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States of America 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 U.S.S.R. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed the text of proposals on voting procedure will be made public."

Text of Invitation and Announcement of Voting Procedure in Security Council.

"The Government of the United States of America, on behalf of itself and of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of China invites the Government of (.....) to send representatives to a conference of the United Nations to be held on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco in the United States of America to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The above named governments suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of chapter 6.

"C. Voting. 1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote. 2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members. 3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under chapter 8, section A and under the second sentence of paragraph 1 of chapter 8, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting."

"Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently. In the event that the Government of (.....) desires in advance of the conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments."

Nations Invited to the Conference.

The following 47 nations qualified for participation in the San Francisco conference by declaring war on Germany or Japan and signing the United Nations Declaration:



Australia	France	Panama
Belgium	Greece	Paraguay
Bolivia	Guatemala	Peru
Brazil	Haiti	Philippine Commonwealth
Canada	Honduras	Poland (see below)
Chile	India	Saudi Arabia
China (sponsor)	Iran	Syria
Colombia	Iraq	Turkey
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Union of South Africa
Cuba	Liberia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (sponsor)
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	United Kingdom (sponsor)
Dominican Republic	Mexico	United States (sponsor)
Ecuador	Netherlands	Uruguay
Egypt	New Zealand	Venezuela
El Salvador	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Ethiopia	Norway	

Poland's participation was dependent upon the establishment of a Government of National Unity in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference. The U.S. Government opposed the Russian request that, in the absence of such a Government of National Unity, the Lublin Committee of National Liberation be invited to represent Poland; and on March 14 the Polish Government in London lodged a protest with the British, American, and Chinese governments for failing to invite the London Poles to the conference. Up to April 10, no Polish Government of National Unity had been formed.

By April 10, 43 nations had formally accepted the invitation, and the acceptance of three more - Peru, Syria, and Lebanon - was expected shortly, thus bringing the total number of delegations to 46 without Poland.

#### Conference Voting

The U.S. State Department announced on March 20 that each participating nation would have one vote in the Conference.

#### Assembly Voting

On March 29 the White House announced that, by a decision reached at the Crimea Conference, Russia and the United States would each ask for three votes in the United Nations Assembly, instead of the single vote proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. The announcement said:

"The Soviet representatives at the Yalta conference indicated their desire to raise at the San Francisco conference of United Nations the question of representation for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the White Russian Soviet Republic in the assembly of the proposed United Nations organization.

"The American and British representatives at the Yalta conference were requested by the Soviet representatives to support this proposal when submitted to the conference of the United Nations at San Francisco.

"They agreed to do so, but the American representatives stated that if the United Nations organization agreed to let the Soviet Republics have three votes the United States would ask for three votes also. The British and Soviet representatives stated that they would have no objections to the United States and its possessions having three votes in the assembly if it is so desired.

"These conversations at Yalta related to the submission of the question to the San Francisco conference, where the ultimate decision will be made."

At a press conference on April 3, Stettinius announced President Roosevelt's decision that the United States would not request a triple vote in the Assembly. He pointed out that the Russian request for extra votes had been kept secret because it was a question which would have to be decided at the Conference itself.

### Preliminary Conferences

#### Jurists' Meetings, Washington

Under the sponsorship of the governments of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and China, the United Nations Committee of Jurists, representing thirty nations, held a series of meetings in Washington beginning April 9 to draft the statutes of the proposed new International Court of Justice. It was not decided at Dumbarton Oaks whether the new Court would be a modification of the old permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague or an entirely new organization. The legal experts meeting in Washington planned to draw up two alternative proposals from which the San Francisco Conference could make a choice.

#### U.S. Delegation Meetings, Washington

On April 3 the U.S. delegates met in Washington to discuss preliminary plans with Secretary Stettinius. The object of the talks, which were expected to last a week, was to formulate a common policy so that the U.S. delegation would be able to act as a unit at the conference.

#### British Commonwealth Meetings, London

British and Dominion delegates to the San Francisco conference met in London April 4 for the first of a series of discussions of matters concerning the British commonwealth preparatory to entering into international discussions.

### Delegates

The following lists of delegates are based on information available up to April 10.

#### Sponsoring Nations

##### United States

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State  
Cordell Hull, former Secretary of State  
Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Senator Arthur Vandenberg  
Comdr. Harold Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota  
Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College  
Representative Charles Eaton

##### Great Britain

Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary  
Clement Attlee, Lord President of the Council  
Viscount Cranborne, Dominions Secretary  
Viscount Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States  
George Tomlinson, Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour  
Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Home Security

Miss Frances Horsbrugh, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health  
William Mabane, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Food  
Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Economic Warfare

U.S.S.R.

Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the United States  
Novikov, Minister  
Konstantin Tsarapkin, Minister, Foreign Office, Moscow  
Arkadiy Sobolev, Minister to Great Britain  
Rear-Admiral Rodionov  
Professor Golunsky  
Professor Krylov  
Lieut.-Gen. Alexander Vassilyev, Head of Military Mission in London

China

Dr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Ambassador to Great Britain  
Dr. Wang Chung-Hui, Secretary-General of the Supreme National Defence  
Council  
Wei Tao-Ming, Ambassador to the United States  
Dr. Hu Shih, former Ambassador to the United States  
Dr. Wu Yi-Fang, Member of the Presidium of the People's Political  
Council  
Li Hwang, Member of the Presidium of the People's Political Council  
Dr. Carson Chang, Member of the People's Political Council  
Tung Pi-Wu, Member of the People's Political Council  
Hu Lin, Member of the People's Political Council

Other Nations:

Australia:

Belgium

Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Auguste De Schrijver, former Deputy Prime Minister  
Senator Henri Rolin, former Secretary of State

Bolivia:

Brazil:

Canada:

Mackenzie King, Prime Minister  
L. S. St. Laurent, Minister of Justice  
Gordon Graydon, Leader of Progressive Conservative Party  
M. J. Coldwell, National Leader of Cooperative Commonwealth Party  
Mrs. Cora Casselman, Liberal Member for Edmonton East  
Senator J. H. King, Government leader in the Senate  
Senator Lucien Moraud, Progressive Conservative of Quebec

Chile:

Colombia:

Costa Rica:

Cuba:

Czechoslovakia:

Dominican Republic:



Ecuador:

Egypt:

El Salvador:

Ethiopia:

France:

Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister  
Rene Pleven, Minister of Finance  
Francois Billoux, Minister of Health  
Joseph Paul-Boncour, former Premier  
Henri Bonnet, Ambassador to the United States

Greece:

John Sophianopoulos, Foreign Minister  
Kyriakos Varvaressos, Governor of the Bank of Greece  
M. Delivanis, Secretary at the Foreign Ministry  
M. Gulonis, legal adviser

Guatemala:

Haiti:

Honduras:

India:

Iran:

Iraq:

Arshad el Amari, Foreign Minister  
Ali Jowdat, Minister to the United States  
Fadhil Jamali, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Nasrat Elfarisi, former Foreign Minister  
Nouri el Said, former Premier  
Tewfik el Suweidi, former Premier

Lebanon:

Liberia:

Luxembourg:

Mexico:

Ezequiel Padilla, Foreign Minister  
Castillo Najera, Ambassador to the United States  
Manuel Tello, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs  
Villa Michel, President of Import Coordinating Committee

Netherlands:

New Zealand:

Nicaragua:

Norway:

Panama:

Paraguay:

Peru:

Philippine Commonwealth:

Poland:

Saudi Arabia:

The Emir Feisal, second son of King Ibn Saud and Viceroy of the  
Hedjaz

Syria:

Turkey:

Hasan Saka, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Union of South Africa:

General Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister  
D. Forsythe, Secretary for External Affairs

Uruguay:

Venezuela:

Yugoslavia:

Dr. Ivan Subasich, Foreign Minister

## Appendix I

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

#### History

At the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the War of 1914-18 President Wilson was Chairman of the commission which drafted the League of Nations Covenant and it was on his insistence that the Covenant was incorporated as Part I of the peace treaties. The League came into existence on January 10, 1920 through the coming into force on that date of the treaty of Versailles.

The 32 Allied and Associated Powers who signed the peace treaties were to be the "original members" of the League.\* The 13 neutral states were also invited to join.\*\* At one time or another there have been 63 member states, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia being the only independent nations which never joined. 17 states withdrew at various times and for various reasons. Germany was admitted to the League in 1926 and Russia in 1934. Japan and Germany withdrew in 1933 and Italy in 1937 and in 1939 Russia was expelled because of her attack on Finland. After the collapse of France the Vichy Government notified the League that France would withdraw but just before the end of the two years required for the withdrawal to take effect Gen. de Gaulle and Gen. Giraud notified the League authorities that the notice of withdrawal was made under German pressure and was, therefore, illegal. As of the date of this report 45 states are still officially members of the League.\*\*\*

40 disputes in all have been dealt with by the League. The last meeting of the Assembly was held in December 1939.

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*	**	***
Australia	Argentine	Afghanistan
Belgium	Chile	Albania
Bolivia	Colombia	Argentina
Brazil	Denmark	Australia
British Empire	Netherlands	Belgium
Canada	Norway	Bolivia
China	Paraguay	Bulgaria
Cuba	Persia	Canada
Czechoslovakia	Salvador	China
Ecuador	Spain	Colombia
France	Sweden	Cuba
Greece	Switzerland	Czechoslovakia
Guatemala	Venezuela	Denmark
Haiti		Dominican Republic
Hedjaz		Ecuador
Honduras		Egypt
India		Eire
Italy		Estonia
Japan		Ethiopia
Liberia		Finland
New Zealand		France
Nicaragua		Greece
Panama		Haiti
Peru		India
Poland		Iran
Portugal		Iraq
Rumania		Latvia
Serb-Kroat-Slovene State		Liberia
Siam		Lithuania
Union of South Africa		Luxembourg

(Note: This footnote continued at bottom of Page ii.)



Organisation

General

Assembly  
Council  
Secretariat  
(Supervisory Commission)

Principal Auxiliary Organisations

Advisory Commission on Social Questions (Central offices in Geneva)  
Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (Central offices in Washington, D.C.)  
Permanent Central Opium Board (Central offices in Washington, D.C.)  
Supervisory Body (Central offices in Geneva)  
Committee on Epidemics and Communicable Diseases (Central offices in Geneva)  
Committee on Traffic in Women and Children (Central offices in Geneva)  
Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery  
Commission of Enquiry for European Union  
Committee on the Allocation of Expenses (Central offices in London)  
Economic and Financial Organisation (Functioning as Economic, Communications and Transit Organisation- (Financial & Transit Dept. at Princeton, N.J.)  
Health Organisation (Central offices in Geneva)  
High Commission for Refugees (Central offices in London)  
International Labour Organisation (Central offices in Montreal)  
Intellectual Cooperation Organisation  
Permanent Mandates Commission  
Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air questions  
Supervisory Commission (Central offices in Geneva)

Assembly

The Assembly consisted of representatives from all member States, each member having one vote and the right to send to assembly sessions not more than three representatives. It was empowered to deal with any matter "within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the world". All decisions, except those on procedure, had to be taken by unanimous vote.

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Footnote continued from Page i. :-

\*  
United States  
Uruguay

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Mexico  
Netherlands  
New Zealand  
Norway  
Panama  
Poland  
Portugal  
Sweden  
Switzerland  
Thailand  
Turkey  
Union of South Africa  
United Kingdom  
Uruguay  
Yugoslavia

## Council

The Covenant originally provided that the Council should consist of 9 members: 5 permanent members which were to be the great powers - Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the U.S.; and 4 non-permanent members to be elected by the Assembly for three-year terms. The U.S. never occupied the seat which she was allotted and Germany was given a permanent seat when she was admitted in 1926. Russia was given another permanent seat when she entered in 1934. The non-permanent members were elected in such a way as to provide representation for various regional groups of nations. Regular meetings were held three times a year.

Its duties were to safeguard League members against aggression, the consideration of political disputes, the preparation of plans for world disarmament, and supervision over the carrying out of the mandates entrusted to certain states. Appointments to the staff of the Secretariat were made by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

In practice, the Council handled the more immediate questions and acted as an executive committee to carry out the recommendations of the Assembly.

Whenever the Council considered a question in which a member State without a seat was interested, that State was invited to send a representative.

## Secretariat

The Secretariat was the permanent, resident staff of the League at Geneva, headed by the Secretary-General who was appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly. His staff of experts was divided into fourteen sections: internal administration (of the Secretariat), political, legal, information, minorities, mandates, disarmament, financial, economic relations, communications and transit, health, intellectual cooperation, social questions and opium traffic, and treasury. The Secretary-General served as secretary to the Assembly and Council. He was the official representative of the League when its bodies were not in session, and it was his duty to summon an emergency session of the Council at the request of any member.

## Supervisory Commission

The Assembly in September 1938 gave new powers to the so-called Supervisory Commission. This Commission was originally intended to advise on financial matters and to hold meetings more frequently than the larger Council or Assembly could hold them. In 1938 it had become apparent that a critical international situation might prevent regular meetings of the Council and the Assembly. The new resolution provided that, if an emergency arose, the Supervisory Commission, meeting with the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the ILO, would have power to make administrative or financial decisions having the same force and effect as if taken by the Assembly. With the outbreak of the war in September 1939 the Supervisory Commission reduced the budget and the number of people employed by the Secretariat.



## Economic and Social Organisations

The Economic and Financial Organisation of the League was made up of two distinct committees, one composed of economic experts and the other of financial experts. These experts were not representatives of their countries but were chosen by the Council on professional qualifications only. The Economic and Financial Committees held two meetings in 1942, one in London and one in Princeton, New Jersey.

The Communications and Transit Organisation dealt with rules for river navigation, transcontinental rail and air transport, passport problems, wireless regulations, international motor traffic, lighting and buoyage of coast and calendar reform.

The Commission of Enquiry for European Union, which all European member states were invited to join, was established in 1930 to investigate the possibilities of closer cooperation among the European States. It studied harvest distribution, tariffs, agricultural credit, and trade and unemployment problems.

The League was called upon at the end of the War of 1914-18 to take charge of the fight against epidemics in Europe. It conducted an emergency campaign against typhus in Eastern Europe in 1920-21, furnishing doctors, drugs, and hospital supplies and cooperating in directing the work. These emergency services were already being conducted in the field when the Health Organisation of the League was set up in Geneva. An Eastern Bureau of this Organisation was established in Singapore to receive reports on plague, cholera, smallpox and similar diseases which were then broadcast to health centers all over the world. When Singapore fell to the Japanese the Eastern Bureau set up operations in Australia.

Public Health aid has been extended to individual governments in reorganising and improving their public health services and special aid has been extended to countries in which wars, famines and floods have caused widespread damage and endangered health. Studies of specific diseases such as leprosy and malaria have also been undertaken. Another phase of the health work is the standardisation of units of measurement for drugs. As corollaries to its health work, the Organisation also made extensive studies of nutrition and of housing.

The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs has conducted surveys of world production and manufacture of drugs in relation to world medical needs, which showed that the amount manufactured was roughly ten times what was necessary for medicinal purposes. A League conference in 1924 agreed on a plan to limit production by reducing poppy cultivation. Another conference in 1925 established an import certificate system to control the trade in drugs. The Convention for the Limitation of Manufacture of Narcotic Drugs which went into effect in 1933 was ratified by more nations than any other League Convention.

The Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, when operating regularly, consisted of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation composed of 18 scholars and scientists, a section of the League Secretariat, the International Institute in Paris, and 45 national committees which acted as a link between the



International Committee and their countries. The Committee explored the field of cooperation in science, letters, art, education and intellectual rights.

### Proposed Reorganisation

In July 1936 the Assembly adopted a resolution asking League members to submit "proposals... to improve the application of the principles of the Covenant". Some 20 states forwarded their proposals to Geneva and the matter was discussed by a special committee, as well as by later meetings of the Assembly.

Broadly speaking, the replies from the various governments showed two opposing lines of thought. Some held that the provisions for peace enforcement contained in the Covenant should be made stronger, that is, they favoured a "coercive" League, even though that League might be smaller. Others felt that the all-important thing was a "universal" League and that, consequently, provisions for peace enforcement should be dropped, if all League members would not agree to carry them out. Another proposal was that obligations of League members under the Covenant should be put on a "regional" basis, with each nation asked to support sanctions against an aggressor only in its own part of the world.

Almost all suggestions for the reorganisation of the League stressed the need for better provisions for "peaceful change" or for putting to use the provisions which do exist in article 19, which stated that the Assembly could consider international situations which it deemed to be threats to world security and advise the reconsideration of treaties which had become inapplicable.

### Settlement of Disputes

The Covenant provided three methods of peaceful settlement. League members agreed under articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant to submit any dispute "likely to lead to a rupture" (1) to arbitration, (2) to judicial settlement (by the World Court), or (3) to inquiry by the Council.

Arbitration involved the appointment of a committee of investigation with powers of decision, this committee to be made up of disinterested parties acceptable to the nations involved.

Judicial settlement by the World Court was based on interpretations of treaties and on existing international law or international precedent. There was no provision for enforcing the Court's decisions but its decisions were, in practice, invariably accepted.

The procedure of the Council in handling disputes is set forth in article 15. A dispute could be submitted by any party to it by notifying the Secretary-General of its existence and by presenting its case to the Council which the Council would then publish. The Council would then attempt to effect a settlement but, if it was unsuccessful, would make and publish a report of the dispute with its recommendations. If this report was unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agreed not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complied with the recommendations of the report. However, if the Council failed to submit a report which was unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, then the members of the League reserved to themselves the right to take such action as they considered necessary "for the maintenance of right and justice".

The Covenant stated in Article 16 that, if any nation did go to war in violation of its pledge, it should be considered to have made war on all members of the League, which would then undertake to subject the transgressor to certain sanctions: (1) severance of trade and financial relations; (2) prohibition of all intercourse with their own nations; and (3) prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the Covenant-breaking State and any other State - in other words, complete blockade. It was the duty of the Council in such a case to "recommend" to the League members what contribution they should make to any armed forces needed to carry out these measures. In actual fact, the last two sanctions were never used, and the first one only partially (Italy vs Ethiopia).

The only means for dealing with situations before they became crucial was provided in Article 19 which stated that "the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration . . . . of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions" dangerous to world peace.

### Collective Security Conferences

The first attempts at collective security were the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, drafted in 1923, and the Geneva Protocol of 1924. Neither was to come into effect until a disarmament agreement had been reached. Neither was finally adopted. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance declared aggressive war illegal and provided that states on the same continent would aid each other against an aggressor. One of the principal reasons for its failure was the absence of any clear idea as to what constituted "aggressive" war. The Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes tried to settle this question by defining an aggressor as a state which refused to submit to peaceful settlement and resorted to war in violation of its agreements. Great Britain, however, refused to ratify the Protocol, apparently fearing to become too deeply involved in the defense of peace on the continent.

The next attempt was the conference held in Locarno in 1925 which resulted in the Locarno Treaties. They included a Treaty of Mutual Guaranty in which Germany, France and Belgium agreed to respect their existing frontiers and not to resort to war against one another. Great Britain and Italy agreed to take up arms against an aggressor whenever the Council of the League declared a violation had occurred, or when either nation was satisfied that a flagrant violation had made immediate action necessary. Separate arbitration treaties were signed by Germany with France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland, by which the contracting parties agreed to settle by peaceable means all disputes that might arise between them. The Treaties were not to come into effect until Germany was admitted to the League, which she was in 1926.

The Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments met in Geneva in 1932. This Conference was to consider a draft treaty which had been drawn up by the Preparatory Commission for a General Disarmament Conference appointed by the League Council in 1926. The Conference decided that aggressive weapons should be abolished, but ran aground over what were to be considered "aggressive" weapons. When it became clear to Germany in September of '32 that she would not be permitted to reach equality of arms until 1940, she withdrew from the Conference and in October 1933 from the League. Although the Conference was never formally closed, no full meetings have been held since 1933.



In 1921 the leading naval powers held a conference in Washington at which the 5-5-3 ratio for the naval power of the U.S., Great Britain and Japan was agreed upon. This arrangement applied to battleships only, but the London Conference of 1930 extended the ratio to all types of naval vessels. At that time, however, France and Italy, as the next most important naval powers, were unable to agree on their relative standing. Japan ratified the London Treaty, which was to be effective for five years, but announced in 1935 that she would not renew it. As the U.S. and Britain refused to grant Japan the equality which she demanded, since the end of 1935 there has been no agreement regulating the size of navies.

### Economic and Social Conferences

Article 23 of the League Covenant states that League members will provide "equitable treatment for the commerce of all members".

In 1927 the League held an Economic Conference in Geneva in which nearly every country in the world participated. This conference laid down a comprehensive programme for economic cooperation, but the programme was not followed out. Another economic conference was held in 1929 but the nations were unwilling to adopt the recommendations of the Conference experts.

At a meeting of the League itself in 1929 Briand proposed a United States of Europe. One of the features of the plan was the removal of economic barriers among the nations of Europe. This proposal was not, however, accepted.

The Young Plan Conference was held in Paris in 1929 and another Monetary and Economic Conference was held in London in 1933. The Young Plan Conference led to the establishment of the Bank for International Settlements.

In 1935 the Assembly of the League recommended that governments attempt to encourage freer trade through bilateral agreements, since they refused more general action.

In May 1939 the League Council appointed a Committee of Seven to consider how the League's non-political work could be expanded and how non-member states could cooperate more actively in it. The report of the Committee, known as the Bruce Report, was adopted at a special meeting of the Assembly in December 1939. It recommended the setting up of a new Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions (including health, refugees, child welfare, and similar problems) to which should be entrusted full direction of the League's work in those fields. Non-member states were to cooperate on the same basis as member states and pay their share of the budget. A small committee to organise the new Central Committee met at The Hague in February 1940 but all work was suspended by the invasion of France and the Low Countries.

### World Court

#### History

In 1898 Czar Nicholas II of Russia issued a call for a world peace conference which was held at The Hague. As a result of this conference there was set up a Court of International Arbitration which, in spite of its name, was not a court but a panel of eligible persons from which boards of arbitration might be chosen by any country wishing to arbitrate a dispute.



A second Hague Conference in 1907, called at the suggestion of President Theodore Roosevelt, tried to increase the scope and efficiency of the Court of Arbitration, but little progress was made. One of the great difficulties encountered was the question of how judges were to be elected, since there was no international body in existence competent to elect them. Once the League was in operation, however, it was possible to elect the judges. Article 14 of the League Covenant called for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and the World Court, as it came to be called, was established at The Hague in 1921, with its judges elected by the Council and Assembly of the League.

The first session of the Court was held in 1922. 60 cases have come before it. Two sessions have been held since the outbreak of the war, the latest being in February 1940. The election of judges scheduled for 1939 was postponed by the League Council and Assembly and the present judges are continuing officially, although no action has been taken since February 1940.

### Organisation

The World Court is not a "League Court". The only relation between the two bodies is that the judges of the Court are elected by the League and the Court is financed through the League's budget, mainly as a matter of convenience.

It is composed of 15 judges who serve for nine-year terms. These judges are chosen not as representatives of their own countries but for their professional qualifications and as representatives of the different legal systems of the world. Nominations are made by national groups on the panel of the Court of Arbitration and the judges are elected by the League Council and Assembly voting independently.

If the Court does not include on the bench judges of the nationality of the parties to a case under consideration, such judges will be added, as any nation which is a party to a dispute has the right to have a judge of its nationality sitting on the Court. Decisions are by majority vote.

### Jurisdiction

The Court Statute is a treaty entirely separate from the League Covenant. Member states of the League do not necessarily accept the jurisdiction of the Court and states may accept the Court's jurisdiction without having joined the League.

A case may be referred to the Court only by a nation and only with the consent of both parties to the dispute.

The Court renders judgment on legal questions, not on political disputes. Its judgments are based on interpretations of treaties and on existing international law or international precedent. More than 400 international treaties have been made which provide for the Court's jurisdiction.

The Court Statute contains an "optional clause" which members of the Court may elect to sign. Governments accepting this clause undertake in advance, subject to any reservations made at the time of signing, to submit to the Court any legal dispute concerning (1) the interpretation of a treaty, (2) any questions of international law, (3) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation, (4) the reparation to be made for a breach of international obligation.

There is no provision for the enforcement of the Court's decisions but, in practice, these decisions have invariably been accepted.

## Appendix II

### THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

#### The High Contracting Parties:

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security  
by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,  
by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,  
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and  
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,  
Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

#### Article 1.

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.
2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.
3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

#### Article 2.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

#### Article 3.

1. The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.
2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.
3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.
4. At meetings of the Assembly, each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

#### Article 4.

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.



Article 4. (Continued)

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council. The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility. (This Amendment came into force on July 29th, 1926, in accordance with Article 26.)
3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.
4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.
5. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.
6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Article 5.

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.
2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.
3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6.

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.
2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.
3. The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.
4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.
5. The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly. (This Amendment came into force on August 13, 1924, in accordance with Article 26).



Article 7.

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.
2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.
3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.
4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.
5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article 8.

1. The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.
2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.
3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.
4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.
5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.
6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

Article 9.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10.

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11.

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.
2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12.

1. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.
2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

(The Amendments underlined relating to these Articles came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26.)

Article 13.

1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.
2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.
3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.
4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

(The Amendments underlined relating to these Articles came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26.)



Article 14.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article 15.

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

(The Amendment underlined came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26).

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any part to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force



as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16.

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.
2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.
3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.
4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17.

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.
2. Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.
3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.
4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20.

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 21.

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22.

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a state of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.



Article 22 (Continued)

6. There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24.

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

Article 24 (Continued)

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article 25.

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26.

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.





## Appendix III

### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

#### DRAFT AGREEMENT

The governments or authorities whose duly-authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,  
Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes, for the resumption of agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services, to the end that peoples once freed may be preserved and restored to health and strength for the tasks and opportunities of building anew,

Have agreed as follows:

#### Article I

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

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

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

(a) To plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing and other basic necessities, housing facilities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in areas receiving relief the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the coordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such coordination measures as the member governments authorize.

(c) To formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments and approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

#### Article II

##### Membership

The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action by the Council or between sessions of the Council, by the Central Committee.

Wherever the term "member government" is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to embrace such authorities as shall have signed the Agreement or shall subsequently become members of the Administration.



### Article III

#### The Council

1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session.

2. The Council shall be convened in normal session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by a majority of the members of the Council.

3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director General presiding. Between sessions of the Council it shall exercise all the powers and functions thereof. It shall invite the participation of the representatives of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate, and recommend to the Central Committee and the Council policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area, and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area as shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area, and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to the Council's ratification. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European postwar relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in paragraph 5 of this article with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such technical standing committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Central Committee, with the approval of the Council if it be in session and otherwise subject to its ratification. Should a regional committee so desire, subcommittees of the technical standing committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

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

8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.



## Article IV

### The Director General

1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director General may be removed by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.
2. The Director General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall, in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations, prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies, and create or select the emergency organization required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director General. The powers and duties of the Director General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.
3. The Director General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c).
4. The Director General shall appoint such Deputy Directors General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Director General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and subcommittees. Such Deputy Directors General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation program within the region.
5. The Director General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential. The Director General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee, and the respective regional committees.

## Article V

### Supplies and Resources

1. Each member government pledges its full support to the Administration, within the limits of its available resources and subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, through contributions of funds, materials, equipment, supplies and services, for use in its own, adjacent or other areas in need, in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.
2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.
3. All purchases by any of the member governments, made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

## Article VI

### Administrative Expenses

The Director General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council



the total amount approval shall be allocated to the member governments in proportion to be determined by the Council. Each member government pledges itself, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the administrative expenses so determined.

#### Article VII

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

#### Article VIII

##### Amendment

The provisions of this agreement may be amended by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and two-thirds vote of the Council.

#### Article IX

##### Entry into Force

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

## Appendix IV

### THREE-POWER CONFERENCE - MOSCOW 1943

#### Joint Four - Nation Declaration

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

United in their determination in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of Jan. 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 responsibilities to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognising the necessity of insuring 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 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 reestablishment 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 the regulation of armaments in the post war period.

#### Declaration on Italy

The foreign secretaries of the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union have established that their three governments are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed, and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.



The foreign secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom declare that the action of their governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy.

In furtherance of this policy in the future the foreign secretaries of these governments are agreed that the following measures are important and should be put into effect.

1. It is essential that the Italian government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism.
2. Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups.
3. All institutions and organizations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed.
4. All Fascist or pro-Fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character.
5. All political prisoners of the Fascist regime shall be released and accorded full amnesty.
6. Democratic organs of local government shall be created.
7. Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

In making this declaration the three foreign secretaries recognize that so long as active military operations continue in Italy the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles stated above will be determined by the commander-in-chief on the basis of instructions received through the combined chiefs of staff.

The three governments, parties to this declaration, will, at the request of any one of them, consult on this matter. It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

#### Declaration on Austria

The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination.

They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938 as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria, and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.

Statement on Atrocities

Signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin.

The United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by Hitlerite forces in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being expelled. The brutalities of Nazi domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of the territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers, and that in their desperation the recoiling Hitlerites and Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by monstrous crimes on the territory of the Soviet Union, which is being liberated from Hitlerites, and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries, having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece including Crete and other islands, to Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, France and Italy.

Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged.

Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies.





Appendix V

DUMBARTON OAKS

STATEMENT OF TENTATIVE PROPOSALS

Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organisation.

There should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

Chapter I. - Purposes.

The purposes of the Organisation should be :-

- (1) To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
- (2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
- (3) To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
- (4) To afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

Chapter II. - Principles.

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organisation and its members should act in accordance with the following principles :-

- (1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States.
- (2) All members of the Organisation undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organisation, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.
- (3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.
- (4) All members of the Organisation shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organisation.
- (5) All members of the Organisation shall give every assistance to the Organisation in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.



(6) All members of the Organisation shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organisation.

The Organisation should ensure that States not members of the Organisation act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Chapter III - Membership.

Membership of the Organisation should be open to all peace-loving States.

#### Chapter IV. - Principal Organs.

(1) The Organisation should have as its principal organs:-

- (a) A General Assembly;
- (b) A Security Council;
- (c) An International Court of Justice; and
- (d) A Secretariat.

(2) The Organisation should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

#### Chapter V. - The General Assembly.

##### (A) Composition.

All members of the Organisation should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

##### (B) Functions and Powers.

(1) The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organisation or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

(2) The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organisation upon recommendation of the Security Council.

(3) The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organisation against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered upon recommendation of the Security Council to expel from the Organisation any member of

the Organisation which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

(4) The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter LX. It should be empowered to elect upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organisation. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the Statute of the Court.

(5) The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organisation and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organisation.

(6) The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

(7) The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specialised agencies brought into relation with the Organisation in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organisation.

(8) The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the Organisation:

#### (C) Voting.

(1) Each member of the Organisation should have one vote in the General Assembly.

(2) Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; the election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

#### (D) Procedure.

(1) The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

(2) The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.

(3) The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

### Chapter VI. - The Security Council.

#### (A) Composition.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organisation. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great



Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and in due course France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats. These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

(B) Principal functions and powers.

(1) In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organisation, members of the Organisation should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

(2) In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.

(3) The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

(4) All members of the Organisation should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

(5) In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organisation.

(C) Voting.

(Note. - The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.)

(D) Procedure.

(1) The Security Council should be so organised as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organisation. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each State member of the Security Council could, if it so desired, be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.

(2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee.

(3) The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

(4) Any member of the Organisation should participate

in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organisation are specially affected.

(5) Any member of the Organisation not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the Organisation if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

#### Chapter VII. - An International Court of Justice.

(1) There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organisation.

(2) The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a Statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organisation.

(3) The Statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new Statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

(4) All members of the Organisation should, ipso facto, be parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

(5) Conditions under which States not members of the Organisation may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

#### Chapter VIII. - Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression.

##### (A) Pacific Settlement of Disputes.

(1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

(2) Any State, whether member of the Organisation or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

(3) The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether



the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

(6) Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court for advice legal questions connected with other disputes.

(7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

(B) Determination of threats to the peace or acts of aggression, and action with respect thereto.

(1) Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph (5) of Section (A), constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.

(2) In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

(3) The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organisation to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

(4) Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organisation.

(5) In order that all members of the Organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the Signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

(6) In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organisation, there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organisation national Air Force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph (5) above.

(7) The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organisation in co-operation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organisation by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialised Organisations and agencies of which they are members.

(8) Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph (9) below.

(9) There should be established a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the Organisation not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

(10) The members of the Organisation should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

(11) Any State, whether a member of the Organisation or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

#### (C) Regional Arrangements.

(1) Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organisation. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

(2) The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilise such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action



under its authority but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council.

(3) The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX. - Arrangements for International Economic and Social Co-operation.

(A) Purpose and Relationships.

(1) With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organisation should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly in an Economic and Social Council.

(2) The various specialised economic, social and other organisations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organisation or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organisation on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialised organisation or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

(B) Composition and Voting.

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the Organisation. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

(C) Functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council.

(1) The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:-

(a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;

(b) To make recommendations on its own initiative with respect to international, economic, social and other humanitarian matters;

(c) To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organisations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organisation, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organisations or agencies;

(d) To examine the administrative budgets of such specialised organisations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organisations or agencies concerned;

- (e) To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;
- (f) To assist the Security Council upon its request; and
- (g) To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

(D) Organisation and Procedure.

(1) The Economic and Social Council should set up an Economic Commission, a Social Commission, and such other Commissions as may be required. These Commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organisation.

(2) The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialised organisations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

(3) The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

Chapter X. - The Secretariat.

(1) There should be a secretariat comprising a Secretary-General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He should be elected by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

(2) The Secretary-General should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council, and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation.

(3) The Secretary-General should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

Chapter XI. - Amendments.

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organisation when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organisation having permanent membership on the Security Council and of a majority of the other members of the Organisation.

Chapter XII. - Transitional Arrangements.

(1) Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VII, section (B), paragraph (5), and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, the 30th October, 1943,\* the States parties to that declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organisation with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organisation as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.



(2) No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorised in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

\* Paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration :-

"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."

## Appendix VI

### SUMMARY OF FINAL ACT OF UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

#### Summary of Resolutions and Recommendations Adopted

1. Resolution authorising preparation of the Final Act by the Secretariat.
2. Resolution authorising publication of the Final Act and other documents of the Conference by the U.S. Government.
3. Resolution to request the U.S. Government to inform approved member countries of all signatures of the Articles of Agreement and to hold funds transmitted to it until the first meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund.
4. Statement regarding silver pointing out that this question was discussed but not settled at the conference, and that it should be further studied by interested nations.
5. Recommendation urging liquidation of the Bank for International Settlements at the earliest possible moment.
6. Recommendation advocating that the United Nations take measures to prevent transfer of enemy assets and looted property, and to facilitate their ultimate delivery to the post-armistice authorities.
7. Recommendations to the participating governments to take measures supplementary to those which were the subject of the Conference to promote international trade, high levels of employment, and rising standards of living.
8. Resolution expressing gratitude to President Roosevelt, Henry Morgenthau, and the Conference Secretariat for their efforts on behalf of the Conference.

#### Summary of Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund

##### 1. Purpose

To promote international monetary cooperation.

To facilitate the balanced growth of international trade, thus promoting high levels of employment, real income, and development of productive resources.

To promote exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements.

To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments.

To give confidence to members by making the Fund's resources available under adequate safeguards.

To shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the balance of payments.



## 2. Membership

Original members to be those of countries represented at Conference whose governments accept membership before December 31, 1945. Times and terms of membership for other countries to be prescribed by Fund.

## 3. Quotas

Original members' quotas fixed (schedule appended)\*; others to be determined. Quotas to be reviewed every 5 years; a four-fifths majority of the total voting power required for any change in quotas, plus consent of member concerned. Subscription, equal to quota, to be paid part in gold and the rest in country's own currency; minimum gold subscription to be either 25% of quota; or 10% of country's holdings of gold and U.S. dollars, whichever is smaller. If a quota is raised, 25% of the increase is to be paid in gold and the rest in country's own currency. Certain securities may be substituted for currency at the discretion of the Fund.

## 4. Par values of currencies

Par values of members' currencies to be expressed in gold or in terms of U.S. dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944. Gold purchases to be based on par values within a margin to be prescribed by the Fund. Foreign-exchange dealings to be based on parity within a 1% margin for spot exchange transactions, and within a margin approved by the Fund for other exchange transactions. Members are pledged to promote exchange stability, maintain orderly exchange arrangements with other members, and avoid competitive exchange alterations. Changes in par values to be made only to correct a fundamental disequilibrium, and must not exceed 10% of the initial par value except by permission of the Fund on penalty of dismissal from membership. Gold value of Fund's assets to be maintained regardless of changes in par value of member currencies.

## 5. Transactions with the Fund

Members shall deal with Fund only through their Treasuries, central banks, stabilisation funds, or other similar fiscal agencies. Operations on account of Fund to be limited to purchase of another country's currency, subject to limitations by the Fund. Purchase of currencies in exchange for gold is authorized (either own or another country's currency). Any member buying another member's currency in exchange for own currency shall pay uniform service charge of 3/4% in addition to parity price. Fund may levy reasonable handling charges on purchases or sales of gold, and shall levy uniform charges on average daily balances of members' currency held by Fund in excess of members' quotas.

## 6. Capital Transfers

Fund's resources not to be used to meet a large or sustained outflow of capital. If Fund's holdings of member's currency have been less than 75% of its quota for not less than six months preceding, such member may buy another member's currency for capital transfers within limits fixed by the Fund.

\* (Note: Schedule appended to Final Act, but not included in this summary)

7. Scarce currencies

Fund may report scarcity of a particular currency and recommend measures to end it. If scarcity continues, Fund is to ration it to buyers.

8. General obligations of members

Members agree to avoid restrictions on making of payments and transfers for current international transactions and discriminatory currency practices. Members to buy balances of their own currency held by other members if purchase is to be made for current transactions, and shall have option to pay either in gold or in currency of the selling country. Fund may require members to furnish information on monetary and financial problems. Prior international agreements to be adjusted by consultation between members.

9. Status, immunities and privileges

Fund to have the power to contract, to acquire and dispose of real and other property, and to institute legal action. It is to have immunity from judicial process and from search, requisition, or any other form of seizure. Its archives are to be inviolable and its assets free from restrictions and controls. Its officers shall be immune from legal process with respect to their official acts. The Fund is to be immune from taxation and customs duties.

10. Relations with other international organisations

Fund is to cooperate with other international organisations within terms of present agreement.

11. Relations with non-member countries

Members agree not to sanction any transactions with non-members contrary to purposes of the Fund.

12. Organisation and management

Board of Governors - One governor and one alternate appointed by each member to serve for five years. All powers of the Fund to be vested in Board of Governors, which will meet annually. Quorum for any meeting to be a majority of the governors exercising not less than two-thirds of the total voting power.

Executive Directors - There are to be not less than 12 Directors, five to be appointed by the five members having the largest quotas, five elected by members not entitled to appoint directors, other than American Republics, and two elected by American Republics not entitled to appoint directors. Elections of directors to be held every two years.

Managing Director - Executive Directors to select a Managing Director who is not a governor or an executive director. Managing Director to be chairman of Executive Directors, but vote only to decide in case of an equal division. Managing Director is chief of Fund's operating staff.



Voting - Each member to have 250 votes plus one additional vote for each part of its quota equivalent to 100,000 U.S. dollars.

13. Offices and depositories

Fund's principal office shall be in territory of member having largest quota; branches in territories of other members. Each member to designate its central bank or other institution as depository for Fund's holdings of its currency, and guarantee all assets of Fund against loss resulting from failure or default by the depository.

14. Transitional period

Fund is not intended to provide facilities for relief or reconstruction or deal with international indebtedness arising out of the war. In postwar transitional period members may maintain restrictions on payments and transfers for current international transactions if not contrary to purposes of Fund.

15. Withdrawal from membership

Voluntary withdrawal may be made at any time by notice in writing; withdrawal will be compulsory if member is declared ineligible as a result of failure to fulfil any obligations under present agreement.

16. Emergency provisions

In emergencies or unforeseen circumstances, the Executive Directors by unanimous vote may suspend for not more than 120 days certain provisions on parity of currencies, limitations on operations, capital transfers, and dealings with non-member countries. Fund may not be liquidated except by decision of the Board of Governors, but may be suspended by Executive Directors pending Board's decision.

17. Amendments

Proposed amendments must be approved by Board and submitted to all members for approval. Amendments may be adopted if accepted by three-fifths of the members, having four-fifths of total voting power, except for amendments modifying right to withdraw from Fund, rule requiring members' consent to changes in their quotas, and provision that par value of a member's currency may be changed only on proposal of that member. Such amendments require acceptance by all members.

18. Interpretation

Questions on interpretation of provisions of the present agreement are to be decided by Executive Directors, with Board of Governors as final court of appeal. Disagreements between the Fund and a member who has withdrawn will be arbitrated by a tribunal of three, one appointed by Fund, one by member, and an umpire appointed by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice or other authority prescribed by regulation adopted by the Fund.

19. Explanation of Terms

(Definitions of terms used in the present agreement, for guidance in interpretation of specific provisions.)

## 20. Final Provisions

The present agreement is to enter into force after signature by governments having 65% of the total of the quotas listed in the appended schedule, but not before May 1, 1945. Each government shall deposit with the U.S. Government its written acceptance of the agreement and one one-hundredth of one percent of its total subscription in gold or U.S. dollars to meet administrative expenses of the Fund, such monies to be returned if Fund has not come into force by December 31, 1945. Governors are to be appointed as soon as agreement enters into force, and member having largest quota will call first Board Meeting. Initial par values are to be based on rates of exchange prevailing on the sixtieth day before agreement enters into force. Fund will begin exchange transactions after members having 65% of total of quotas have become eligible, but in no event until after major hostilities in Europe have ceased.

### Summary of Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

#### 1. Purposes

To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes.

To promote private foreign investment by guarantees or participation, and when private capital is not available on reasonable terms, to supplement it from its own resources.

To promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade.

To arrange loans in such a way that the most urgent projects may be dealt with first.

To conduct its operations with due regard to assisting the transition from war to peacetime economy.

#### 2. Membership in and capital of the bank

Original members will be those members of the Fund which accept Bank membership before December 31, 1945. Times and terms of membership for other countries to be prescribed by the Bank. Authorized capital stock to be ten billion dollars, divided into 100,000 shares having par value of \$100,000 each, available for subscription only by members, according to a quota schedule appended. Of each subscription, 20% is to be paid or subject to call as needed, and 80% is to be subject to call only when required to meet Bank obligations resulting from direct loans or guarantees of loans made by private investors. 2% of the price of each share is to be paid in gold or U.S. dollars, and when calls are made the remaining 18% is to be paid in currency of the member. When par value of a member's currency is reduced or its foreign exchange value has depreciated significantly, the member must pay Bank an amount of its own currency sufficient to maintain initial value of Bank's holdings of such currency. When par value is increased, Bank will return to member an amount of his currency equal to the increase.



### 3. General provisions relating to loans and guarantees

Bank's resources to be used exclusively for members' benefit with equitable consideration for development and reconstruction projects alike. Members shall deal with Bank only through their Treasuries, central banks, stabilisation funds, or other similar fiscal agencies. The total amount of loans and guarantees outstanding may not be increased at any time if such increase would raise total to more than 100% of the unimpaired subscribed capital, reserves, and surplus of Bank. Loans to member governments or enterprises are authorised when fully guaranteed, unobtainable from other lenders, and recommended in writing by a competent committee. Loans are to be used only for the purposes for which they were granted.

### 4. Operations

Loans may be made by Bank out of its own funds, by participating in loans out of funds borrowed by Bank, or by guaranteeing loans made by private investors. Currencies may be loaned only with approval of member whose currency is involved. Bank will determine terms and conditions of interest and amortization payments, maturity, and rates of commission for direct loans. A guarantee commission will be charged by Bank on loans placed through usual investment channels.

### 5. Organisation and Management

Board of Governors - One governor and one alternate appointed by each member to serve for five years. All powers of the Bank to be vested in Board of Governors, which will meet annually. Quorum for any meeting shall be a majority of governors exercising not less than two-thirds of the total voting power.

Executive Directors - There are to be twelve Executive Directors, one to be appointed by each of the five members having largest number of shares, and seven to be elected by all the Governors other than those appointed by the five members having the largest number of shares. Directors shall be appointed or elected every two years.

President - Executive Directors to select a President who is not a governor nor a Director nor an alternate for either. President shall be chairman of Executive Directors, but vote only to decide in case of an equal division. President is chief of Bank's operating staff.

Advisory Council - An Advisory Council of not less than seven persons shall be selected by the Board of Governors, including representatives of banking, commercial, industrial, labour, and agricultural interests, with as wide a national representation as possible. Councillors serve for two years.

Loan committees - To be appointed by the Bank, and to include one expert from the country requesting loan and at least one member of Bank's technical staff.

Provisions on relationship to other international organisations, location of offices and depositories are similar to those of Fund.

6. Withdrawal and Suspension of Membership: Suspension of Operations

Voluntary withdrawal may be made at any time by notice in writing; membership may be suspended for failure to fulfil obligations under present agreement. Any Fund member who ceases to be member of Fund automatically ceases after 3 months to be a member of the Bank unless Bank by 3/4 of the total voting power agrees to allow it to remain a member.

7. Status, immunities and privileges

Bank to have power to contract, to acquire and dispose of property, and to institute legal action. Action may be brought against Bank only in a court of competent jurisdiction in member territories, but no action may be brought by members or their agents. It is to have immunity from search, requisition, or any other form of seizure. Its archives are to be inviolable and its assets free from restrictions and controls. Its officers shall be immune from legal process with respect to their official acts. Bank is to be immune from taxation and custom duties.

8. Amendments

Proposed amendments must be approved by Board and submitted to all members for approval. Amendments may be adopted if accepted by three-fifths of members, having four-fifths of total voting power, except for amendments modifying right to withdraw from Bank, provision on the right to increase subscriptions if Bank's capital stock is increased, and provision for limitation of liability on shares.

9. Interpretation

Questions on interpretation of the provisions of the present agreement are to be decided by Executive Directors, with Board of Governors as final court of appeal. Disagreements between the Bank and a member who has withdrawn will be arbitrated by a tribunal of three, one appointed by Bank, another by country involved, and an umpire appointed by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice or other authority prescribed by regulation adopted by Bank.

10. Approval deemed given

When approval of any member is required for action by Bank, except in the case of adopting amendments, approval shall be deemed to have been given unless member objects within a reasonable period fixed by Bank in notifying member of proposed act.



11. Final provisions

The present agreement is to enter into force after signature by governments having 65% of the total subscriptions listed in the appended schedule, but not before May 1, 1945. Each government shall deposit with the U.S. Government its written acceptance of the agreement and one one-hundredth of one per cent of the price of each share in gold or U.S. dollars to meet administrative expenses of the Bank, such monies to be returned if the Bank has not come into force by December 31, 1945. Governors are to be appointed as soon as the agreement enters into force, and the member having the largest number of shares shall call the first Board Meeting, at which arrangements will be made for the selection of provisional Executive Directors.

Appendix VII

THE CRIMEA COMMUNIQUE (February 12)

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For the past eight days, Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and Marshal J.V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., have met with the Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff and other advisers in the Crimea.

In addition to the three Heads of Governments, the following took part in the Conference :

For the U.K.

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;  
Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport;  
Sir A. Clark Kerr, his Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow;  
Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of  
State for Foreign Affairs;  
Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet;  
Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial  
General Staff;  
Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Sir Charles Portal,  
Chief of Air Staff;  
Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord;  
Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister  
of Defence;  
Field-Marshal Sir Harold Alexander, Supreme Allied  
Commander, Mediterranean Theatre;  
Field-Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, Head of the  
British Joint Staff Mission, Washington;  
and Admiral Sir James Somerville, Joint Staff Mission,  
Washington,  
together with diplomatic and military advisers.

For the U.S.A.

Edward R. Stettinius, junior, Secretary of State;  
Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, United States Navy, Chief  
of Staff to the President;  
Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President;  
Justice James F. Byrnes, Director of the Office of War  
Mobilisation;  
General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff,  
United States Army;  
Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, United States Navy, Chief of  
Naval Operations and C.-in-C. United States Fleet;  
Lt.-Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army  
Service Forces;  
Vice-Adml. Emery S. Land, War Shipping Administrator;  
Maj.-Gen. L.S. Kuter, United States Army, Staff Committee  
Commanding General, United States Army Air Forces;  
Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.;  
H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, State  
Department;  
Alger Hiss, Deputy Director of Office of Special Political  
Affairs, Department of State, and  
Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State,  
together with political, military and technical advisers.



For the Soviet Union

V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs  
of U.S.S.R. ;  
Admiral Kuznetsov, People's Commissar for the Navy;  
Army General Antonov, Deputy Chief of General Staff  
of the Red Army;  
A. Ya. Vyshinski, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign  
Affairs of U.S.S.R. ;  
I.M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign affairs  
of U.S.S.R. ;  
Marshal of Aviation Khudyakov;  
F.T. Gousev, Ambassador in Great Britain;  
A.A. Gromyko, Ambassador in U.S.A.

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 the People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the result of the Crimean Conference.

The Defeat of Germany

1. 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 Powers have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer co-ordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before.

The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and co-ordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from 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

2. 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 is accomplished.

Under the agreed plans the forces of the three Powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Co-ordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a Central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Powers with Headquarters in Berlin.

It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three Powers, if she should so desire, to take a zone of occupation, and to participate as 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 ensure 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 times 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 justice and swift punishment and exact reparations in kind for the destruction wrought by Germans;

Wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organisations and institutions;

Remove all Nazi and militarist influences from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and

Take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to 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

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

#### United Nations' Conference

4. We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organisation 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 people. 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 the difficulty.

We have agreed that a Conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States of America on April 25, 1945, to prepare the Charter of such an organisation along the lines proposed in the informal



conversation 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 U.S.S.R. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed the text of proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

#### Declaration on Liberated Europe

5. We have drawn up and subscribed to a Declaration on Liberated Europe. This Declaration provides for concerting the policies of the three Powers and for joint action by them in meeting the political and economic problems of Liberated Europe in accordance with democratic principles.

The text of the Declaration is as follows :-

"The Premier of the U.S.S.R., 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 of Europe liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the people of the former Axis satellite States 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 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 the 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 authority or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to themselves are under consideration.

"When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European Liberated State or any former Axis Satellite State in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this Declaration.

By this Declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build in co-operation with other peace-loving nations a 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 themselves in the procedure suggested.

#### Poland

6. We came to the Crimea Conference resolved to settle our differences about Poland. We discussed fully all aspects of the question. We reaffirmed our common desire to see established a strong, free, independent and democratic Poland. As a result of our discussion we have agreed on the conditions in which a new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity may be formed in such a manner as to command recognition by three major Powers.

The agreement reached is as follows :

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 reorganised on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new Government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorised as a Commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with the members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to reorganisation 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, will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three Heads of Government consider that the Eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres (approximately three to five miles) in favour of Poland. They recognise 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 delimitations of the Western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the Peace Conference.

#### Jugoslavia

7. We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasich 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 (Skupshina) 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 Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

(The Tito-Subasich agreement was reached on Nov. 1 after M. Subasich had consulted Marshal Stalin in Moscow. Its provisions included: Marshal Tito to be Premier and M. Subasich Foreign Minister in a Provisional Government; a Regency Council; King Peter not to return to Yugoslavia until the people have given a decision by a free vote - Ed.)

#### Meetings of the Foreign Secretaries

8. 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 Organisations.

Unity for Peace as for War

9. 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 the people of the world.

Only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realised--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."

It is considered that victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed International Organisation will provide the greatest opportunity in all to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

Signed:

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.  
J.V. STALIN.





Appendix VIII

RESOLUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND DECLARATIONS OF  
THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

(Mexico City, February 21 - March 8, 1945)

<u>Article Number</u>	<u>Title, as in Final Act, March 8, 1945</u>
I	Tribute to Benito Juarez.
II	Invitation to Members of the Mexican Congress.
III	Invitation to the Press.
IV	Creation of a Permanent Military Agency.
V	Control of Armaments.
VI	War Crimes.
VII	Elimination of Remaining Centers of Subversive Influence and Prevention of Admission of Dangerous Deportees and Propagandists.
VIII	Reciprocal Assistance and American Solidarity.
IX	Reorganisation, Consolidation and Strengthening of the Inter-American System.
X	Tribute to Dr. Leo S. Rowe.
XI	Declaration of Mexico.
XII	Reaffirmation of the Principles of the Atlantic Charter.
XIII	Incorporation of International Law into Municipal Legislation.
XIV	Economic Cooperation in the Prosecution of the War.
XV	Application of Wartime Price Controls.
XVI	Renewal of Capital Equipment.
XVII	Preparatory Measures for the Washington Economic Conference.
XVIII	Modification of Resolution V of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics.
XIX	Control of Enemy Property.
XX	Economic Controls in Wartime and in the Transition Period.
XXI	Economic Adjustment of the Hemisphere during the Transition Period.
XXII	Tribute to Canada.
XXIII	Tribute to the Members of the Inter-American Juridical Committee.
XXIV	Character of the Declarations, Recommendations, and Similar Acts of the Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
XXV	Reorganisation of the Agencies Engaged in the Codifica- tion of Public International Law.
XXVI	Crimes of Aggression against the American Republics.
XXVII	Free Access to Information.
XXVIII	Rights of the Women of the Americas.
XXIX	Revision of Textbooks.
XXX	On Establishment of a General International Organisation.
XXXI	Cooperation of Women in International Conferences.
XXXII	Regulations of the Inter-American Juridical Committee.
XXXIII	Improvement of Cooperation between International Organisations.
XXXIV	On Abolition of the Recognition of De Facto Governments.
XXXV	Inter-American Committee on Social and Economic Problems.
XXXVI	Coordination of Inter-American Peace Agreements.
XXXVII	Organisation of a Pan-American Institute of Education.
XXXVIII	Defense and Preservation of Democracy in America.
XXXIX	Inter-American Peace System.
XL	International Protection of the Essential Rights of Man.



<u>Article Number</u>	<u>Title, as in Final Act, March 8, 1945</u>
XLI	Racial Discrimination.
XLII	Postwar Immigration.
XLIII	Peaceful Orientation of the American Peoples.
XLIV	Intensification of Cultural Relations and Peaceful Orientation.
XLV	Health Security.
XLVI	Sale and Distribution of Primary Products.
XLVII	Measures for Preventing Unemployment.
XLVIII	Inter-American Transportation.
XLIX	Work of the Inter-American Development Commission.
L	Industrial Development.
LI	Economic Charter of the Americas.
LII	Exchange of Information concerning Measures of Economic Control.
LIII	Meeting of Monetary Authorities.
LIV	Processing of Primary Commodities.
LV	Charter for Women and Children.
LVI	Social Questions.
LVII	Inter-American Cooperation in Behalf of European Children.
LVIII	Declaration of Social Principles of America.
LIX	No title (resolution on Argentina).
LX	No title (condemnation of Hitlerite persecution of Jews)
LXI	Vote of Thanks (to Mexico, Avila Camacho, Padilla, et al)



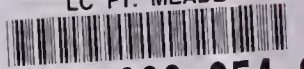








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