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Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

Mueble 7
Estilla 47

REPUBLICA ARGENTINA

DIRECCION DE ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

GUERRA EUROPEA

Expediente 618 TOMO IV **Año** 1945.-

COMENTARIOS GENERALES SOBRE LA CONFERENCIA DE CRIMEA

GUERRA EUROPEA 618 TOMO IV

FORM. 64

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P. Guerra 618
T. IV

LEGACIÓN
DE LA
REPÚBLICA ARGENTINA

Nº 39 M.R.E.

Lisboa, febrero 5 de 1945

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
12 ABR 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES y CULTO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
A
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Señor Ministro:

Tengo el honor de elevar a V.E. la presente Nota, relativa a las repercusiones de índole social y política que producen en Portugal el avance de los ejércitos soviéticos en dirección a Berlín y el estado de intranquilidad existente en España pese a su apariencia de completa normalidad.

En Notas anteriores y en sucesivos Boletines Informativos he venido poniendo en conocimiento de la Superioridad, el incremento que aquí vá progresivamente tomando la propaganda subversiva, realizada unas veces con simple caracter antifascista y otras con abierta manifestación comunista, pero siempre ligadas entre sí y formando un frente común. Por otra parte, el ambiente político se encuentra también bastante enrarecido en las otras esferas, dando lugar a incidentes como los que acaban de ocurrir con algunos generales y de los que se informó en el Boletín nº 58.

ANOTADO

Sin embargo, la gravedad de la cuestión depende principalmente de los sucesos que se vienen dando en el frente del Este y del clima político de España. Lo primero, porque para las masas, aquéllos no suponen un triunfo de Rusia como pais, sino el éxito de la U.R.S.S., el dominio del proletariado sobre las otras clases sociales. Lo segundo, porque hay una afinidad tal entre los dos paises ibéricos, que cualquier cambio político y hasta cualquier agitación de cierta envergadura se refleja en Portugal con las naturales consecuencias.

Para la opinión portuguesa - y aquí por unos u otros motivos entran todos los elementos desde el ultra-conservador hasta el comunista - el derrumbamiento del frente oriental alemán y la irrupción de las fuerzas bolcheviques en el corazón de Alemania y por tanto en el centro de Europa, suponen una modificación de este continente y acaso la sovietización del mismo, tanto por influencia e imposición - según los casos - de los ejércitos de la U.R.S.S., como por reacción de las masas obreras de cada pais. Como ejemplo de lo primero, señalan los casos de Bulgaria, Rumania y Yugoeslavia - de los que se carece de noticias concretas y fidedignas de su situación pero de los que aparecen síntomas de cierta bolchevización - y los de Polonia, Estados Bálticos y Hungría en los que la ley impues-

/////

A S.E.
el Señor Doctor Cesar Ameghino
Ministro Interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

BUENOS AIRES

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ta,no es liberal y aliada,sino netamente comunista. Como muestra de lo segundo,se hace referencia a lo ocurrido primero en Francia,luego en Bélgica y más tarde y con más graves caracteres en Grecia,sin contar con la dificil situación interna de Italia.

Todos estos antecedentes hacen temer a algunos,que ni los ejércitos anglo-sajones,ni fuerza alguna,sean capaces de impedir una sovietización europea y antes de ello una época de caos y anarquía absolutas,si el derrumbamiento alemán se produce sin que los soldados ingleses y norteamericanos dominen efectivamente la mayor parte de Alemania.

Por otro lado,la situación interna de España,aunque aparentemente normal,parece bastante dificil. Se dice que sucesivamente se van descubriendo complots comunistas y que son sofocados con fusilamientos inmediatos,llegándose según se afirma,en algunos casos a realizar esas ejecuciones sin esperar a que recaigan las correspondientes sentencias,por estimarse que las pruebas que aparecen en poder de los reos son piezas de tan evidente convicción que imponen tan radical medida. Parece ser que hace pocos días hubo en Ciudad-Real uno de esos complots y la semana pasada otro en Toledo,ambos con ramificaciones tan importantes,que hay fuertes rumores de que se llegó a fusilar incluso mujeres. También se asegura que funcionan tres piquetes de ejecución que tienen casi cotidianamente esta espantosa tarea y que a pesar de ello la subversión crece por todos los lados y los elementos rojos cada día se sienten con mayor coraje y atrevimiento.

El mismo Embajador de España en Portugal,D.Nicolán Franco,ha suspendido una cacería que tenía proyectada en Sierra Morena,precisamente por ofrecer esos parajes cierta inseguridad.

La Falange ya no ofrece tampoco absoluta garantía de lealtad,debido a los elementos de aluvión que en ella han entrado y que inspiran recelo y desconfianza. Por ello se constituyó el Consejo de la Vieja Guardia de Falange,con la consigna de echarse a la calle a defender por la fuerza el régimen si fuera preciso,y la opinión española cree que la única solución sería la de una dictadura enérgica,estrictamente militar.

En las clases derechistas y medias comienzan a notarse señales de miedo,llegando ya algunos más timoratos a empezar a retirar algunos depósitos de los Bancos. Estos recelos son causados más que por la situación interna descripta,hoy todavía controlable,por la que se originaría si los rusos llegan a dominar en Alemania.

Facilmente puede suponerse cual es el eco que en Portugal tiene la situación española: para unos sectores,de estímulo y envalentonamiento;para los contrarios de desanimo y desconfianza. Los agitadores portugueses,una vez que estallara un movimiento en España,procurarían probablemente movilizar aquí las masas,en el caso de que no les conviniera adelantarse,pues es indudable que en la hipótesis de una subversión española estaría sincronizada con la portuguesa y ambas marcharían de común acuerdo, obedeciendo acaso a superiores directrices que les imponen de afuera.

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La esperanza de que nada de esto llegue a ocurrir, estriba en la actual Conferencia de los Tres y en que en ella Churchill y Roosevelt, logren contener las aspiraciones de Stalin y llegar a un acuerdo con garantías para evitar que un estado caótico en Alemania después de su derrota o un dominio efectivo del territorio alemán por parte de la U.R.S.S., produzcan en Europa las consecuencias que se temen.

Por eso la expectativa ante esa Conferencia es grande y hay aquí importantes sectores de opinión que piensan se impone una modificación en la fórmula aprobada en Casablanca de "rendición incondicional" de Alemania, puesto que ya no se trata según ellos del vencimiento de un país, sino de la salvación de Europa, la que exige que cada parte ceda un poco de sus anteriores posiciones y se conceda a los alemanes una paz honrosa en la que, si bien se tomen garantías para evitar que vuelva a surgir una conflagración mundial, se la coloque también en condiciones de impedir que al final sea solo el comunismo el triunfador en esta contienda.

La carta más favorable que se estima tienen a su favor los anglo-sajones en esta Conferencia de los Tres, es la del abastecimiento y municionamiento que hacen a Rusia, al amparo de la Ley de Empréstito y Alquiler. De como quieran y puedan jugarla depende en gran parte el resultado de esa reunión.

.....

Aprovecho la oportunidad para reiterar a V.E. el testimonio de mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Buenos Aires, abril 6 de 1945.

Acúsese recibo juntamente con la nota nº 51, y archívese.

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Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
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D.A.P.

Buenos Aires, abril 10 de 1945.

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Señor Ministro:

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a V.E. a fin de acusar recibo de sus notas nº 39 y 51, de fechas 5 y 14 de febrero último, en las que informa sobre los efectos de carácter social y político que produce en Portugal y en España el avance de los ejércitos soviéticos hacia Berlín.

Al manifestarle que la Cancillería ha considerado con atención sus interesantes comentarios acerca de la actual y eventualmente futura situación política en Eurasia, aprovecho la oportunidad para saludar a V.E. con mi alta y distinguida consideración.

MINISTERIO RELACIONES EXTERIORES
10 ABR 1945
Dirección General Asuntos Políticos

OSCAR IBARRA GARCIA
SUB-SECRETARIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

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A S.E. el Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario de la República Argentina en Portugal, Dr. Edgardo Pérez-Quesada.

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POR CORREO AEREO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
1 - MAR 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES y CULTO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Guerra 618 - T. IV

Embajada de la República Argentina

Washington, 12 de febrero de 1945.-

R. E. No. 91

Señor Ministro:

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a V. E. acompañando los artículos aparecidos en los diarios de este país los días 8, 9, 10 y 11 del corriente de interés para esa Cancillería.

1.- Editorial del New York Herald Tribune sobre la conferencia de los Tres Grandes que en estos momentos se celebra en algún lugar del Mar Negro;

2.- Editorial del Washington Post que se refiere al discurso del Senador Vandenberg;

3.- Artículo de La Prensa de Nueva York sobre la negativa argentina de apelación a la compañía inglesa "Primitiva de Gas";

4.- Artículo de La Prensa de Nueva York que comenta declaraciones del Señor Grew, desmintiendo que los Estados Unidos hayan pedido a Hispano-América que declarara la guerra al Eje;

5.- Artículo del Washington Post por Paul Winkler sobre las esferas deinfluencia de Estados Unidos, Gran Bretaña y Rusia;

6.- Artículo de La Prensa de Nueva York sobre la fecha de la próxima conferencia de México;

7.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune que se refiere a la cooperación panamericana;

ANOTADO

NOTA Nº ANEXOS CONFORME

A S. E. el Señor Ministro interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto,
Doctor César Ameghino,
BUENOS AIRES.-

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8.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune sobre cifras estadísticas del comercio exterior de América Latina;

9.- Artículo del Washington Post sobre la declaración de guerra del Paraguay a los países del Eje;

10.- Artículo del New York Times por James B. Reston que se refiere al reto del gobierno holandés a las decisiones de Dumbarton Oaks;

11.- Artículo del Baltimore Sun por Paul W. Ward, sobre las declaraciones del Senador Vandenberg;

12.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune que trata sobre las declaraciones del Sr. Grew acerca de la intervención de varios países latino-americanos en las conferencias de post-guerra;

13.- Artículo del Washington Post por Mark Sullivan sobre la Conferencia de los Tres Grandes;

14.- Editorial del New York Times sobre los problemas de carteles;

15.- Texto del discurso pronunciado por el gobernador del estado de Nueva York, Señor Dewey, aparecido en el New York Herald Tribune;

16.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune comentando la acción de los Tres Grandes en la Post-guerra;

17.- Editorial del New York Times que se refiere a la Conferencia de los Tres Grandes;

18.- Editorial del New York Herald Tribune que se refiere al discurso pronunciado por el Sr. Dewey con motivo del día de Lincoln;

19.- Editorial del Washington Post que trata sobre la legalización de los carteles;

20.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune por Joseph Newman sobre el tratado anglo-argentino;

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21.- Artículo del Washington Post que se refiere a declaraciones de Lord Van Stittart, sobre el pacto anglo-argentino;

22.- Artículo del New York Times que se refiere a la declaración de guerra del Paraguay al Eje;

23.- Artículo del New York Herald Tribune con manifestaciones del Sub-secretario de Estado Sr. Grew; con respecto a la declaración de guerra del Paraguay al Eje;

24.- Artículo del P.M. de Nueva York que se refiere a declaraciones del doctor Rodolfo Moreno, comentando otros anteriores del Sr. Sumner Welles;

25 y 26.- Dos artículos publicados en periódicos de Chicago: (a) Majority think Argentina is unfriendly y (b) Argentine people must shed tirany;

27.- Artículo del New York Times por Bertram D. Hulen que menciona la lista de la delegación norteamericana a la Conferencia de México.

Me es grato saludar al Señor Ministro con mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Rodolfo Moreno

Buenos Aires, 9/III de 1945

ACÚSESE RECIBO Y ARCHÍVESE.-
Conjuntamente con las notas anteriores

103 y 139

RELACIONES EXTERIORES
12 MAR 1945

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N.Y. TIMES, FEB 11

CONGRESS LEADERS WILL GO TO MEXICO

Connally, Austin, Mrs. Rogers and Bloom to Aid Stettinius at Inter-American Parley

L. A. JOHNSON ALTERNATE

Staff of Nearly 40 Selected—Brazil Wants the Monroe Doctrine Redefined

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10—Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. will be accompanied by Congressional advisers when he goes to Mexico City for the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which will open Feb. 21. The delegation will be one of the largest that has represented the United States at a Pan-American conference in many years.

The list of nearly forty delegates, advisers and assistants was made public by the State Department today.

Special Congressional advisers will be Senator Tom Connally, Democrat, of Texas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Warren R. Austin, Republican, of Vermont, a member of the Senate committee; Representative Sol Bloom, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican, of Massachusetts, a member of the House committee. Representative Luther A. Johnson, Democrat, of Texas, also a member of the House committee, will be an alternate for Mr. Bloom.

The Congress has been represented in the past on our delegations at full-dress Pan-American conferences but not on the smaller groups we have sent in recent years to conferences of Pan-American Foreign Ministers.

The selection of the Congressional group for the Mexico City conference is evidence of the importance attached to the discussions that will take place there concerning the relationship of small nations and the Western Hemisphere to the world security plan projected at Dumbarton Oaks, a plan that will eventually be submitted to the Senate for approval.

The Congressional group, while bi-partisan, is made up of Senators and Representatives who for the most part have been strong advocates of the Dumbarton peace plan.

Apart from this aspect, the size of the delegation and its broadly representative character reflect the importance we attach to the Mexico City conference and the wide variety of war and peace problems that may come before it for consideration.

Mr. Stettinius is the delegate and is expected to arrive in Mexico City in time for the conference. He is now attending the conference of the Big Three in the Black Sea area. If he is delayed his place will be taken temporarily by Nelson A. Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of American republic affairs, whose designation as alternate delegate had previously been announced.

The advisers and assistants include high officials, representatives of labor, management and agriculture, Army and Navy officers and technical specialists from government agencies concerned with inter-American affairs.

Among them will be Will L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs; Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Adolf A. Berle Jr., Ambassador to Brazil and until recently an Assistant Secretary of State; George S. Messersmith, Ambassador to Mexico; Wayne C. Taylor, acting Secretary of Commerce; Vice Admiral Russell Willson, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Chiefs of Staff; Lieut. Gen. Stanley D. Embick; and Eric A. Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

The list of advisers and assistants follows:

ADVISERS

Samuel W. Anderson, program vice chairman, War Production Board.
Adolf A. Berle Jr., American Ambassador, Rio de Janeiro.
Will L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State.
Oscar Cox, deputy Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration.
Maj. Gen. George C. Dunham, United States Army, president Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.
Lieut. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, United States Army.
Green H. Hackworth, legal adviser, Department of State.
Alfred S. Goss, Master, National Grange, Washington.
Francis A. Jamieson, Assistant Coordinator, Press and Publications Department, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.
Eric A. Johnston, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
Katharine F. Lenroot, chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor.
Julian G. Luhrsen, executive secretary, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington.
David McDonald, secretary-treasurer, United Steel Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Pittsburgh.
George Meany, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of Labor, Washington.
George S. Messersmith, American Ambassador, Mexicy City.
Edward A. O'Neil, president, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago.
Leo Pasvolsky, special assistant for International Organization and Security Affairs, Department of State.
James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union, Denver.
Warren Lee Pierson, president and general manager, Export-Import Bank of Washington.
Wayne C. Taylor, acting Secretary of Commerce.
Rear Admiral Harold C. Train, United States Navy.
Avra M. Warren, director, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State.
Leslie A. Wheeler, director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture.
Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.
Vice Admiral Russell Willson, United States Navy, Commander in Chief, Combined Chiefs of Staff.

SPECIAL ASSISTANTS TO DELEGATES

Robert J. Lynch and G. Hayden Raynor, special assistants to the Secretary of State.

SPECIAL ASSISTANTS TO ALTERNATE DELEGATE

Dudley B. Bonsal and John C. McClintock, special assistants to the Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs, Department of State.

CHIEF TECHNICAL OFFICER

John E. Lockwood, deputy director, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State.

CHIEF PRESS RELATIONS OFFICER

Michael J. McDermott, special assistant to the Secretary of State.

SECRETARY-GENERAL

Warren Kelchner, chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

RIO DE JANEIRO, Feb. 10—Brazil may plead at the Mexico City Conference for a permanent place among the big nations in asking for a revision of the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

Brazil feels that her aid in the war and her air force, navy and army, now fighting in Italy, entitle her to such a place as representative of Latin-American thought.

Moreover, this country is represented as believing that the Monroe Doctrine should be defined as a doctrine of all the Americas and that Dumbarton Oaks is the door through which Latin-American thought should gain entrance. In other words, Brazil is said to feel that the Monroe Doctrine should have wider scope and bring the Latin and other American nations together as associates.

A study by Mario de Pimental Brandao, Ambassador to Belgium, analyzes different aspects of the Monroe Doctrine. It also analyzes such zones of influence as the British and Russians are believed to be discussing with regard to Europe, and concludes that without the help of the United States and Latin America, world peace cannot last.

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HAVANA, Feb. 10—President Ramon Grau San Martín signed today a decree designating the Cuban delegation to the Foreign Ministers conference in Mexico City. Minister of State Gust Cuervo Rubio heads the delegatic composed of fifteen other member as follows:

Guillermo Belt, Cuban Ambassador to Washington; Ramiro Hernandez Portela, Ambassador to Argentina; Marco Kholy, Ambassador to Mexico; Gonzalo Guel, secretary of the delegation; Mariano Brull, Ministry of State; three Senators, Pelayo Cuervo and Emilio Nunez Portuondo and Eduardo Chibas; two Representatives, Manuel Bisbe and Manuel Dorta Duque, and Cesar Salaya, Ernesto Dihigo, Alberto Espinosa, university professors, and Drs. Luis Machado and Gustavo Gutierrez.

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The Chicago Sun. Jan. 7-945

Majority Think Argentina Is Unfriendly

Special to The Chicago Sun.

DENVER, Jan. 6.—In the opinion of the man in the street the Argentine government is unfriendly to the United States.

Fifty-seven per cent of American civilian adults interviewed by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, say Argentina is unfriendly. Only 12 per cent think she is friendly.

On the other hand a majority, 55 per cent, think the Mexican government is friendly and only 14 per cent unfriendly.

Many in Doubt.

In the case of both governments, 31 per cent either feel too ill informed to judge or think the governments are equally friendly and unfriendly.

N.O.R.C. interviewers asked a miniature population throughout the United States:

"Do you think the government of Argentina (Mexico) is friendly or unfriendly to the United States?"

Argentina.		Mexico.	
Friendly	12%	Friendly	55%
Unfriendly	57	Unfriendly	14
No Opinion	31	No Opinion	31
	100%		100%

Residents of the Mountain and Pacific states, which have proportionately more people of Mexican descent than any other section and most of whose population centers are closer to Mexico, are more aware of official Mexican friendliness than any other population group analyzed. Persons who have attended college are the next largest group judging Mexico friendly.

Significant Differences.

The college educated lead in viewing Argentina's government as unfriendly, followed closely in this view by the most prosperous sixth of the population.

The more significant differences are:

	Mexico. Friendly.	Un-friendly.	Don't Know.
New England and Atlantic states.	54%	15%	31% — 100%
Midwest	55	15	30
South	50	14	36
Mountain and Pacific states.	70	11	19
College	67	13	20
High School.	62	13	25
Gr. School.	44	16	40
	Argentina. Friendly.	**Un-friendly.**	**Don't Know.**
College	10%	79%	11% — 100%
High School.	13	62	25
Gr. School.	11	43	46

Comments made by those who consider the Argentine government unfriendly range from that by a carpenter in an Indiana war plant: "Absolutely not friendly; she'll stick with Germany," to that by a Washington (D.C.) maker of scientific instruments for the Naval Observatory: "Unfriendly, because they feel that we are trying to dictate to them and tell them what to do."

Distinction Made.

Some persons who answer that Mexico is friendly distinguish between official and actual friendliness. Not all persons who answer that Mexico is friendly are convinced that she is a real friend.

A Virginia historian says that Mexico is friendly "only out of fear, and for economic advantages." A farmer near Laurinburg, N.C., thinks that "Mexico is friendly now but there could be some question about it lasting."

This scientific survey sampled a typical miniature of the population of the United States with the proper proportion in each geographical section of rich and poor, young and old, men and women, various minority groups and residents of urban, town and rural areas.

The National Opinion Research Center is an opinion-finding organization. As such it simply reports the results of national surveys made by its personally trained staff of more than 200 interviewers throughout the United States. The center is an academic institution working under a grant from the Field Foundation and the University of Denver. The survey reported herewith included 2,549 confidential interviews. Statistically, these are sufficient to be within 3 per cent correct 997 times in 1,000.

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The Chicago Daily News.
Feb. 10 1945

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Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

Argentine People Must Shed Tyranny

THIS column is concerned not with currency but with heads. The heads in question are those of the "Christian Nationalist" Fascists now unhappily in control of Argentina, which are now being deflated so fast you can hear the hot air oozing out of them. The exclusion of Argentina from the coming Mexico City meeting of the American republics symbolizes the final and definitive collapse of the kind of "Grande Argentina" that these dwarf Hitlers, Lilliput Mussolinis and sub-Francos have hoped, schemed and swaggered for.



The Hitler-fostered dream of a wonderful Argentine career of conquest in South America, a glorified Argentine revival of the old Spanish vice-royalty of the Rio de la Plata restored to include Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and (why not?) with Chile added, is gone — probably forever.

The origin of this Argentine epilepsy — as of all other fascism — was not capitalism or agrarian feudalism but furious nationalism seeking to streamline itself for battle.

The Argentine nationalists, strong in the army, allied with the beef and wheat barons, but not identical with either, hate everything that the United Nations stand for.

* * *

'We Must Live Arrogantly.'

HERE is a typical example of what these gentlemen introduced into the Argentine schools:

"The fatherland is always right.

"Argentina has a liberating and teaching mission. It has an inalienable right to exercise a directing function in Latin America. Whoever denies this is an enemy of the fatherland.

"To be worthy of our traditional leadership we must live arrogantly."

Whom does this barking remind you of? That's right, of Hitler and Mussolini and Franco—and only of them. Add a big lump of un-Christian clericalism, sprinkle liberally with the usual Jew-baiting and you have the dish upon which this group is asking one of the most civilized of Latin American peoples to feed.

What made this particular attack of the fascist sickness so virulent? Superficially, the prospect of a Hitler victory. But the fundamental cause, according to Frank Tannenbaum, the able Columbia University historian, lies deeper. Argentina, Mr. Tannenbaum says, has always been ambitious. The Argentine, favored by nature with incomparable agricultural riches, has always thought of itself as a great power. Until about 1920 its dream of becoming a people of 60 or a 100 millions and the dominant power of Latin America, seemed likely to be realized. Then the population practically ceased increasing.

* * *

No Economic Basis for Big Population.

THE reason, according to Mr. Tannenbaum, was quite simple: Mechanical cultivation of the fertile black soil required increasingly fewer hands, and there is little or no basis for industrialization. In other words, no economic basis for a large population.

Quick, then, to some other means! What about Hitler's idea — lebensraum, conquest, expansion, glory? This — plus a Hitler victory — looked to these people like the real McCoy. Argentine clerico-fascism was therefore the result of thwarted, ingrowing nationalism.

Now, in 1945, Argentine fascism is visibly involved in the downfall of European fascism. Argentine conquest of weaker neighbors will, if necessary, be stopped by a flock of U.S. bombers acting in the name of the other American republics.

Must the Argentine people continue to suffer indignity? Only so long as they tolerate a fascist tyranny. For the good people of Argentina those of the United States feel nothing but friendship.

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P.M. FEB 9

24

Conservative Latin Leader Hits Welles

Using Argentine Problem for Own Ends, Says Exile

PM Exclusive

Former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles is using the Argentine question to advance his own political ends, charges Rodolfo Moreno, chairman of the Argentine Conservative Party, in an article published in *Pueblo Argentino*, organ of Argentine exiles fighting the Farrell-Peron clique from Montevideo.

Moreno, a member of this group which is known as *Patria Libre*, is a former member of the Chamber of Deputies and served as Argentine Ambassador to Japan. In his article, released exclusively to PM by the Council for Pan American Democracy, Moreno says:

". . . There are many who for various reasons seek to confuse the issues, to cloud the judgment of the people, and to collaborate with their enemies. Sumner Welles, whose good faith I do not doubt, but whose erroneous judgment I condemn, is one of these.

"Sumner Welles has admitted that there is a real danger that fascist doctrines may find fertile soil in which to take root in some quarters of the Americas, but he adds that the policy pursued by the U. S. A. has 'created a wave of ultra-nationalism in that country (Argentina), which has apparently increased and not lessened support of the dictatorship.'

"What are the symptoms of the antagonism toward the U. S. A. that this attitude has provoked? Sumner Welles does not tell us.

"In Buenos Aires, the streets were thronged for three days with more than half a million people celebrating the liberation of Paris, but I know of only one supposed reaction against the U. S. A. One afternoon, several months ago, on Corrientes Street in Buenos Aires, some leaflets were distributed on which were printed lewd anti-Roosevelt verses. They were distributed by soldiers in uniform, marching in formation.

"There is only one solution to the Argentine problem—the restitution of a constitutional government, and free, legal elections."

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 9 23

Grew Acclaims Paraguay for Joining in War

Its Declaration Against Axis Is Seen as Bid for Seat at Peace Table

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, welcomed today a declaration of war against Germany and Japan by Paraguay, whose action followed within a week the Ecuadorean government's declaration of war against Japan. Their moves were linked by diplomatic observers to reports that President Roosevelt had informed seven South American republics which had not declared war against the Axis that they would not be invited to the peace conference.

Mr. Grew, in commenting on these reports yesterday, said that all South American governments which have declared war have done so on their own initiative. In a statement issued today he asserted: "The initiative taken by Paraguay in declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany and Japan is one more manifestation of inter-American solidarity within the framework of the United Nations."

The governments reported to have been notified by President Roosevelt were Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela, Chile and Argentina. All the central American nations have declared war against Germany and Japan, as have Brazil and Bolivia. The government of Colombia has proclaimed a "state of belligerency" to exist with the Axis nations.

War Declaration Signed

ASUNCION, Paraguay, Feb. 8 (UP).—President General Higinio Morinigo today signed a declaration of war against Germany and Japan, approved last night by the state council.

Paraguay had severed diplomatic relations with the Axis countries on Jan. 28, 1842. Its declaration of war leaves only four "associated nations" in South America—Chile, Peru, Uruguay and Argentina—which have broken relations but not declared war on the Axis.

Paraguay's declaration comes on the heels of Ecuador's declaration of the state of war with Japan over the week end.

President Morinigo's decree stated that Paraguay's declaration of war is based on the principle of continental solidarity. It recalled that since the Japanese attack on the United States Paraguay had adopted a series of measures of collaboration with the United Nations that have "carried it to a virtual state of belligerance."

It pointed out that "several other America nations had been unjustifiedly attacked either on their shipping or their coastlnes by the powers of aggression" and concluded by stating that "any measure tending to reaffirm Paraguay's absolute solidarity and determination to continue its cooperation for the reciprocal protection of the common interests of the continent is in comformity with its moral international position."

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N.Y. TIMES, FEB 9

[From Late Edition of Yesterday's TIMES.]

PARAGUAY JOINS IN WAR

Declaration Completes Break in January, 1942, with Axis

ASUNCION, Paraguay, Feb. 7 (U.P.)—The Paraguayan Council of State approved tonight a declaration of war by Paraguay against the Axis nations. The formal decree will be signed tomorrow.

Paraguay severed relations with the Axis nations Jan. 28, 1942. Her declaration of war follows an announcement by Ecuador on Monday that she considered herself at war against Japan.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 9

Briton's Speech Held Violation Of Argentine Pact

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Buenos Aires, Feb. 8.—Lord Van Sittart's criticism of Argentina and other neutral countries in a speech yesterday on Axis war criminals is regarded here as a violation of the spirit of a secret understanding between the British and Argentine governments.

General Orlando Peluffo, when Argentine Foreign Minister, said the British Foreign Office asked Argentina to supply it with a formal note to the effect that Argentina will not permit Axis war criminals to enter the country or to make deposits in Argentine banks. Peluffo added the note was requested to avert a Van Sittart statement scheduled to be made in September regarding the alleged escape of Axis war criminals to Argentina, and to prevent traditionally friendly relations between Britain and Argentina from being damaged by publication of such a statement. The note was delivered and nothing more was said about the matter until yesterday, when Van Sittart referred to the issue, thereby violating an understanding that such references would not be

Quezon's Apartment Intact in Phili...

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 9

British-Argentine Deal Bared For Exclusion of War Criminals

By Joseph Newman

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 8.—Lord Vansittart's criticism of Argentina, together with other neutral countries, in his speech in the House of Lords at London yesterday on Axis war criminals is regarded here as a violation of the spirit of a secret understanding between the British and Argentine governments last September.

In view of the recent withdrawal of General Orlando Peluffo as Argentine Foreign Minister, this correspondent feels he may now report Peluffo's disclosure of this understanding, a disclosure made at a private interview in November.

Peluffo said the British Foreign Office, through the Argentine Ambassador at London, asked the Argentine government to supply it with a formal note to the effect that Argentina will not permit Axis war criminals to enter the country or to make deposits in Argentine banks. Peluffo added that the note was requested by the British Foreign Office in order to have Vansittart withhold a statement

(Continued on page 22, column 7)

he was scheduled to make in the House of Lords in September regarding the alleged escape of Axis war criminals to Argentina and in order to prevent traditionally friendly relations between Britain and Argentina from being damaged by publication of such a statement.

Peluffo said there was no question about the fact that the British government took the initiative, and he described the British action as a "Godsend" because it prevented Vansittart's scheduled declaration, the merits of which he could not discuss, as they were never made public.

Peluffo cited this incident to point out how the British government's considerate diplomacy differed from the American government's hostile attitude toward the regime of General Edelmiro Farrell. He left the inference that if Washington would adopt the conciliatory policy of London, a settlement could easily be reached with the Argentine government.

As a result of the understanding concluded by the British and Argentine Foreign Offices an announcement was made simultaneously at London and Buenos Aires on Sept. 28 that the Argentine Ambassador at London, Miguel Angel Carcano, had delivered a note to the British government saying that Axis war criminals would not be permitted to enter the country or make deposits in Argentine banks.

Vansittart consequently withheld the statement he was scheduled to make in September and nothing more was said about the matter in the British Parliament until yesterday, when Vansittart referred to the issue, thereby violating an understanding that such references would not be made in the future. However, it is realized here that the British government can not be held entirely to blome, in view of the fact that it does not exercise complete control over statements made by members of Parliament.

An indication that the British government intends to continue its conciliatory policy toward Argentina was provided by the report Tuesday that Sir Andrew Napier Noble is en route to Buenos Aires to take over the office of counselor of the British Embassy here. Since suspension of diplomatic relations with Argentina the United States government has been unable to accredit new officers to the American Embassy here because this would involve entering into official relations with the Argentine government. Such an obstacle does not exist for the British government, which has maintained de facto relations with Argentina since it suspended formal diplomatic relations.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 9

Legalized Cartels

The trouble with the anticartelists like Attorney General Biddle is that they think American foreign business will operate in a free-enterprise world of their own fashioning. It will not. We must take the world as we find it, and frame an economic policy which fits the facts. This is what the National Foreign Trade Council has just suggested. A memorandum issued by its president, Eugene P. Thomas, seeks to reconcile "the competitive enterprise principles of American business with the methods of commerce prevalent in many major foreign countries." The recommendations of the council were preceded by intensive study of the legal and economic aspects of international business agreements, the results of which are summarized in a "Memorandum on Regulatory Measures Affecting American Foreign Trade."

That study provides abundant evidence to show that the principle of free competition favored by the anticartelists is not universally accepted even in the domestic field. This country, in spite of the Sherman Act, is no exception. In other words, the system which the anticartelists seek to bind upon American foreign business is not operative even in American domestic business. Numerous legislative exceptions to the rule of competition are applicable to labor, agriculture and various industries. As for the important nations of Europe, these authorize or permit cartelization of domestic and foreign businesses under government supervision. In some instances cartelization is compulsory. The Allied nations have been quite as ready to embrace the cartel principle as the Axis countries. And from present indications the postwar world is likely to see "more rather than less government operation of business" among our allies. For, as the council memorandum points out, it will "not be easy to overcome the precedents established by lend-lease and other bulk purchasing programs and to revert to free competition in world trade between individual buyers and sellers in the respective countries; nor for foreign governments to discontinue completely restrictions such as those on exchange and import quotas."

Attempts on our part to induce other nations to embrace free competition would thus be efforts to push back the clock. They likewise amount to unwarranted interference with the internal affairs of sovereign states In any event we should not get very far with our conversion efforts in most cases—certainly not with Russia. Hence, it is apparent that if American firms were compelled to operate abroad after the war under the limitations imposed by the Sherman Act, they would be severely handicapped in competition with foreign concerns.

Starting from this premise, which is amply supported by an imposing mass of data, the Foreign Trade Council recommends that American firms be authorized to enter into international business agreements valid under foreign laws, provided they do not result in unreasonable restraint of trade within the United States, such agreements to be filed with the Department of State. It is further recommended that the Department of State be authorized to give "revocable approval" to such agreements, and that Congress "specify the standards and objectives of our foreign economic policy tc be considered in determining the reasonableness of possible restraints of trade in international business agreements."

We find this proposal eminently reasonable. Such a program would enable American business to chart a clear course, undeterred by existing uncertainty as to whether the Sherman Act prohibitions apply outside the United States. It would put emphasis where it belongs: namely, on the question whether agreements in restraint of trade are reasonable, instead of committing us to quixotic assaults on all forms of international trade restraints, when we are perfectly well aware that we would be tilting at windmills. Finally, it would force the Government to adopt a consistent policy in respect to international agreements and make the Department of State (or possibly some other Government agency) responsible for protecting the public's interest.

Of course, the council program is sketched only in broad outline. Congress will face a difficult task in filling in details of legislation. But the Foreign Trade Council is thinking along lines that in our opinion suggest a sane and practicable solution of the problem presented by international cartels.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 9

Republican Reaffirmation

Governor Dewey's dignified and forceful reaffirmation of the Republican position was made, with peculiar appropriateness, at a time when his opponent in the recent election was speaking on behalf of the United States in a momentous conference of the powers. The effect of Mr. Dewey's speech was, unquestionably, to strengthen the President's hand in presenting an American policy to the representatives of Great Britain and Russia—a policy of active participation in world affairs on a basis of right and human liberty, one which recognizes the just claims of this country's allies and the need for reconciling conflicting points of view but which insures that America's influence be exerted in the direction of what the American people believe to be wise solutions.

Such a policy, the United States has been assured, it was the President's intention to adopt, although, as Mr. Dewey pointed out, American participation in major European political decisions has hitherto been either fragmentary or wholly lacking. If this bashfulness on the part of the Administration was due to any doubts as to the willingness of the American people to do what is necessary to foster a lasting peace—doubts which may have arisen from the words of a dwindling but still noisy minority—they may now be dispelled. As Mr. Dewey phrased it:

> Those who speak for our country need no longer hide behind fine phrases and glittering generalities. There need no longer be any doubt anywhere that the American people are prepared to exercise their great power actively, continuously and effectively in the interest of a just and lasting peace.

In this speech Governor Dewey has again revealed the fine sense of responsibility which governed him in the campaign. His promise of support for the Administration by no means precludes criticism; it is an expression of that agreement on fundamentals which must exist if there is to be a truly national foreign policy. And his fine statement on domestic policy, on "the classical liberal concept that every man is his own master and that government exists to keep him free," is a challenge to the best efforts of those who are in opposition to the present Administration. It does not wave away economic realities with a slogan or deny the crucial nature of the great dilemma of democratic government: "How to achieve our objective, security and full employment and also preserve individual liberty!" But neither does it take the "easy way" of advocating free spending and ever-expanding government control. In the leadership afforded by Governor Dewey the Republican party can find its essential constructive role. In words which he applied to the United States in relation to world affairs, the party need "accept neither isolationism nor abdication."

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N.Y. TIMES, FEB 9

THE BIG THREE MEET

The new conference between President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin may well be the most fateful meeting of our times. It is the first full-dress conference of its kind, in which the principals no longer deal with one another in a free and easy fashion, exchanging ideas, sounding out one another's views, and formulating broad policies, as at Teheran; this time the principals are flanked by their chief military, political and economic aides, whose task it will be to translate broad agreements into concrete plans for action.

It was the great achievement of Teheran that it produced the first overall agreement between the three Powers on major lines of strategy. But the failure to get down to more concrete details in both military and political affairs prepared the way for later misunderstandings. This time the presence of large staffs of experts suggests that the decisions of the present conference will be made with greater precision, in order to avoid a repetition of such misunderstandings. But this very fact is bound to give to whatever agreements are reached the character of a framework for the coming peace, which it will be difficult to alter later. In that sense the meeting may indeed be more important than any peace conference that may follow.

As is inevitable, and as the first official statement makes clear, the conference must deal with both military affairs and with the outstanding political issues which have been a cause of misunderstanding. The military phase of the discussions has ended, and it has ended with a result that marks final defeat for all Nazi efforts to split the United Nations. At a moment when the Russian armies are breaking the Oder line on their way to Berlin and when the Western Allies, in a new offensive, are beating their way through the Westwall toward the heart of Germany, the spokesmen of the three Powers declare that "there is complete agreement for joint military operations in the final phase of the war against Nazi Germany." This agreement is now being translated by the military staffs into operational plans. Whatever the issues of the peace, whatever the differences on cencrete political questions among the Allies themselves, no issue of any kind will be permitted to affect the victorious march of the Allied armies. In fact, the tenor of the announcement suggests that the operational plans are concerned not only with the concerted offensives from east and west already under way, but also with joint operations of the Allied armies in the interior of Germany to crush any Nazi centers of resistance, and to hunt Hitler and his henchmen down to their last lairs. In that sense, the declaration is a sharp and crushing defeat for Nazi propaganda, matched only by the defeat of the German armies.

But from the standpoint of the Allies themselves, the harder part of the conference is still ahead. The official statement says that the discussions still to come will deal with plans for the occupation and control of Germany, the political and economic problems of liberated Europe, and the proposals for the earliest possible establishment of a permanent international organization to maintain peace. According to general understanding, the conferees propose to avoid for the present the difficult and delicate problem of the future frontiers, but the ultimate settlement of that problem is already involved in whatever agreements are reached in the other fields. In these fields there has been in recent months uncertainty, doubt and confusion, because of the unilateral actions of individual Powers and because of the failure thus far to establish an effectively functioning organization to reconcile conflicting claims and assume a general responsibility for the decisions made. Now these problems must be faced. And on the degree of success which the conference achieves in settling these great questions will depend the shape of the forthcoming peace and the security and well-being of Europe and the Atlantic World.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 9

Political and Economic Action Of Big 3 Awaited by Congress

Mark Sullivan Says Conclusions of Conference as to Liberated Europe Are the Most Likely to Excite Criticism and Contention

By Mark Sullivan

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—When the White House announced that the conference of President Roosevelt with Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin has been under way for some days, the conventional course for newsmen was to report Washington's reaction. But there really was no reaction. Washington had known for several days that the conference was under way. Many had surmised it from personal observation that Mr. Roosevelt has been away from Washington since soon after his inauguration Jan. 20, though war regulations prevented publication of the fact. Others had learned the conference was under way through statements to that effect made in European capitals, and reported to America. Consequently the official announcement that the conference was under way did not come as news, and led to no particular reaction. Washington's reaction will now wait for the formal communique promised when the conference is concluded.

This week's official announcement said that the conference has finished consideration of the military program looking to the ending of the war. On this part of the conference's work no reaction in Washington is likely, certainly not any criticizing one. It is a remarkable and cheering fact that throughout this war, from the time we entered it, there has been no serious criticism of military policy. The men who were the heads of the armed forces when we entered the war, General Marshall and Admiral King, are still the heads, and continue to be as strongly approved as they have been throughout.

No Serious Protest on Strategy

During the early part of the war there was some disquiet about the decision to make the war against Germany our primary effort, the war against Japan secondary. But this was never serious, and does not now exist, either in Congress or throughout the country. That decision was justified by sound military judgment at the time it was made, and is now justified by success.

Reaction to the present conference, when it comes, will deal with the other parts of the conference's work, still under way. These are described in this week's announcement as: "The political and economic problems of liberated Europe" and "establishment of a permanent international organization to maintain peace."

If these two could be kept separate from each other the latter would encounter no critical reaction in Washington. Congress is as overwhelmingly in favor of an organization to maintain peace as it has been since the Senate, a year and a half ago, indorsed the principle by a vote of 86 to 5. But unhappily, the organization to maintain peace cannot be wholly separated from the other subject of the present conference's work, "the political and economic problems of liberated Europe"; and developments in the latter field, emerging during the last three months, have caused some apprehension in Congress.

The apprehension expresses itself in a mood of, so-to-speak retarded impetuosity. During last December there was vigorously under way a movement to amend the Constitution so that the organization to maintain peace (and other treaties) could be confirmed by a simple majority vote of both branches of Congress, instead of by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, as now required. It was hoped that the proposed amendment could be adopted by Congress in time to get it before the state legislatures which were to meet in January. It is now apparent this cannot be done.

Shift in Congress Mood

The changed mood of Congress arose from one clear cause. It was the news that, as so far contemplated, the future of liberated countries, such as Poland and Greece, was to be determined, not by the joint action of all the United Nations, and not in accord with the Atlantic Charter, but by the individual interests of one or another of the United Nations, such as the interest of Russia about Poland and that of Britain about Greece.

This is within that portion of the present conference's work which is described as "the political and economic problems of liberated Europe." It is about this that the conclusions of the conference will be most eagerly awaited, and will be most liable to excite criticism and contention. And decisions made in this field undoubtedly carry some peril to the proposal for establishing permanent peace.

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Hit by Guns of Parked Plane

ABILENE, Tex., Feb. 8 (AP).—The guns on a parked single-engine fighter plane were discharged accidentally yesterday, killing a soldier and injuring a Wac. Sergeant Paul M. Stewart, thirty-seven years old, of San Francisco, was killed, and Private Margaret L. Bateman, twenty-two, of Houston, Tex., was injured. Private Bateman was hit in the left arm. Her injuries were not critical.

Baby Borrower, 13, Paroled

Cecilia de Palma, thirteen years old, of 1329 Croes Avenue, the Bronx, who wanted a "live doll" so badly that she wheeled away Wednesday the unattended infant daughter of Mrs. Louise Pungello, of 1267 Fteley Avenue, the Bronx, was paroled yesterday at Bronx Children's Court in care of her parents, for hearing March 2. Justice James M. Bolin ordered a medical examination before that date.

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N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 9

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1945

Text of Governor Dewey's Lincoln Day Address on U. S. Foreign Policy

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 (AP).—Following is the complete text of a Lincoln Day address here tonight by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York:

At this Lincoln Day dinner we Republicans traditionally take stock of ourselves. We ask ourselves how far we have strayed from the fundamentals of our political faith. We rededicate ourselves to the eternal principles of human freedom for which the name of Lincoln stands.

It is particularly important that we re-examine our faith after a national election. It fell to us to conduct a campaign when our country was engaged in the greatest war of all history. That was a grave and difficult responsibility for an opposition party, because any campaign has within it the dangers of divisions on national purposes. Instead, the campaign made it clear to all the world that the united determination of the people of America to fight the war to total victory was greater than ever before. Moreover, our will to build a lasting peace was lifted by our party above partisanship, and we made a lasting contribution toward the actual building of the structure for international peace.

At the same time we vigorously performed our duty as the party of the opposition in pointing out the defects in the policies of the present Administration and the startling contradictions between its promises and its performances.

As Americans we accept with good grace the verdict of the majority. As members of the party of opposition we shall stanchly carry forward the banner of our political faith. There are 22,000,000 of us—nearly 48 per cent of the voters—who believe today in that political faith.

Says Tragedy Stalks World

We have no excuse for existence as a political party—we have no excuse for our service in public office—unless we are deeply conscious of the overwhelming tragedy which stalks the world today. The normal life of a majority of the people of the world has either been uprooted or its natural development set back. Tens of millions of young men have been giving their most productive years to warfare. An appalling number of them will come back to their homes with deep scars, and many will never come home.

Over almost every home in our land there is a sense of brooding fear or of irreparable loss. At the same time there is a gallant courage and determination in the heart and mind of every American to beat down the forces of evil and this time to keep them down.

Certainly this is the time for re-examination and re-affirmation of the things we believe in. It is the time to cast aside those things that are not fundamental and to re-affirm those things that are true.

It is increasingly clear to every one that neither justice nor freedom can long continue to exist in a world beset by periodic total wars. Modern warfare strikes down the youth of the world. It also strikes at the heart of freedom itself. By its very nature it forces even freedom-loving countries to regiment their people in order to fight total war.

Moreover, the terrifying developments of science have made war no longer a matter between next-door neighbors. We have learned to our sorrow that aggression anywhere in the world endangers all the rest of the world. We now know that, in the future, aggression will be possible by air from bases thousands of miles away. If there is an aggressor anywhere in the world, all of us are his imperiled neighbors.

"Must Not Risk Another War"

It is obvious that we cannot and must not risk another great war. It is equally obvious that aside from adequate military forces and bases for our defense in the future our only hope of avoiding war lies in effective international co-operation for peace.

War is an evil which has scourged mankind from the beginning of time. It is not likely suddenly to disappear from the earth of its own accord. As I have said so often, peace must be waged with all the vigor and skill with which we wage war or we shall always be having to wage war.



Herald Tribune—Acme telephoto

Left to right following a luncheon yesterday at the capital, Senator Robert Taft, of Ohio; Arthur Vandenberg, of Michigan; Governor Dewey, Wallace White, of Maine, and Kenneth Wherry, of Nebraska

We have nailed to our masthead one principle to which I believe we must everlastingly adhere, or principles will count no more in the face of force. That is, that we, as a nation, can, we will, and we must take a full, responsible part in the establishment of collective security among nations.

The opinion of our people has crystallized. They want the United States to accept its responsibilities for the vital decisions affecting the future of the world. Those who speak for our country need no longer hide behind fine phrases and glittering generalities. There need no longer be any doubt anywhere that the American people are prepared to exercise their great power actively, continuously and effectively in the interest of a just and a lasting peace.

There is now in progress a conference among the three great powers among the United Nations. The results of that conference will go far to determine the course of the rest of the war and the nature of the peace to come. At that conference the President of the United States has, I am sure, the wholehearted support of both political parties and the prayers of the American people for his every effort in the interest of our country and of world peace.

Our people are prepared to uphold the hands of their own representatives. They ask in return that the decisions to be made shall be in harmony with our American ideals of liberty and justice. They ask that the actions to be taken shall not be concealed and shall not be devious. They ask that they shall not ignore the opinion of mankind. Our people insist that mighty decisions shall not be made in the cynical spirit of power politics. The structure of international peace must progress further and faster or it will be left behind in the swift movement of world events.

"Our Government Was Absent"

In the last three months the liberation of peoples and nations has pressed forward with increasing speed. The governments of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece, the government and boundaries of Poland have one after the other in rapid succession required action and decision. Yet we learned, day after day, that events required action and our own government was absent from the scene. We have seen the American people in the humiliating situation where they were compelled to learn of these tremendous events from the debates in the British House of Commons. Moreover, we learned from those debates that while the powder kegs of Europe were being dealt with once again, the representatives of our own government were uttering pleasant generalities and leaving our Allies to decide the fate of the world.

During all of that critical three-month period the clearest call for constructive action came from the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan, Arthur H. Vandenberg.

In giving their wholehearted support to decisions to be made at the present conference and to action in the future our people are perfectly aware that they cannot have everything just as they want it. Our allies have strong views of their own. We know that conflicting views must be reconciled. But we insist that decisions be made with us and not without us, with our representatives in the discussion every day on every subject, and not occasonally or part of the time. Our people cannot accept compromises without a new, firm knowledge that the American government took its part and did its best in advancing the principles and faith for which Americans are dying all over the world. We shall accept neither isolationism or abdication.

The time has come for the hard, painstaking labor of translating ideals and generalities into reality and action. The conference now in progress is, we hope, a great step to that end. From now on these problems cannot hang in suspense for many months at a time. They cannot be left to the rare meetings between the heads of nations. Time and events move too fast. Ideals and great purposes are too easily lost by default. We are not content that our government sit idly by and merely, as we have been told, be "kept informed." Millions of Americans are in the front lines of battle. Our government must likewise be in the front line of decisions which flow from these victorious battles.

Have Support of People

There have been those in other countries and some in our own who choose to interpret the almost equal division of the American people between candidates and parties in the last election as proof of division in our fundamental purposes and intentions. The fact is that our differences concerned only who were the most effective individuals and what were the most effective methods of carrying out the ideals and purposes upon which we as a people are strongly united. Let it be understood by every one, everywhere in the world. Let is be understood that the representatives of our government have the wholehearted support of the American people in every step they take which advances the cause of a just and lasting peace.

So as we give all-out support to action toward carrying out our ideals, we want to be sure that those ideals have been vigorously represented. We want to be sure of action guaranteeing the permanent disarmament of Germany and Japan. We want to be sure of action to transform the agreements reached at Dumbarton Oaks from pieces of paper into living reality. We want to know that the things left unfinished are moving toward solution.

As a nation we have strong views concerning the freedom of the peoples of Europe. We want to know that these views are represented in the decisions concerning the future of the people who have suffered so much through conquest and re-conquest and final liberation. We want to know that it is liberation in truth—that we have in fact crushed out war-breeding totalitarianism wherever it infected those nations. We want to know that we have not fought this war in vain.

As, in the name of Lincoln, we take stock of our purposes in the world, we must also inquire whether we are upholding his ideals at home.

Our nation was founded upon the classic liberal principle that government is the servant of its people and not their master. Hand in hand with this political idea of human freedom went the belief that men may be free politically only so long as they are free economically. These were the contagious, compelling, exciting truths out of which our country was established and became great.

"Not Our Ideals Alone"

These were not our ideals alone. They were in response to the clarion call to human freedom which swept over the western world in the eighteenth century. During that century the French Revolution and the American Revolution were fought to establish the right of people to rule themselves and the right of the individual to be free. By evolution the same principles were then also being established in Great Britain and elsewhere.

Today these liberal principles are under challenge. They are no longer self-evident to a large portion of the world. It is said that individual freedom can no longer exist in a modern industrial society: that government must be supreme, and the people must be its dependent servants.

The wheel has had a full turn between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The intrusive idea today is again that all wisdom is in government, and that it should exercise all power. Even as we fight a total war against that idea, it infects the minds of people everywhere.

We find people from all walks of life and of all shades of political thoughts right here in our own country who are afraid that we cannot have security and full employment and at the same time maintain the liberty and dignity of the individual. There are others who joyously proclaim that the new road to Utopia is through government action alone, which leads inevitably to totalitarian control over our people. While professing their concern for the individual they would crush him, leaving only a soulless automaton who takes his orders from the State.

Adding together those who are afraid for human freedom and those who basically have no interest in it, we have a large body of opinion in our own country going down the primrose path toward totalitarianism.

Core of Every Decision

How to achieve our objective, security and full employment, and also preserve individual liberty! This is the crucial question of our time. It is the hard core of every political decision we make.

We have seen in our country a long, persistent effort to increase the power of government over the individual. We have seen a cavalier willingness to saddle the people with unlimited debt in the peace time behind us and in the plans for the peace ahead of us. We have seen a smooth willingness on the part of government to find pleasant excuses in the name of false liberalism to bring the daily lives of our people under its increasing control.

There are those who want to take the easy way of spending the nation into bankruptcy and chaos, while the government takes over the control of the lives of every individual. They believe that to cure every ill you pass a law and appropriate $1,000,000,000. They would like to have the government finance every business, from a gasoline station to a steel corporation, while it quietly takes over control of every aspect of our economy. It is by that process that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness would be stifled and liberalism would become a dead thing in history.

Here is the real battle of the years to come. Must the people of America deny their own heritage and surrender to an absolute state? Must we, too, when peace comes, join the march backward 200 years to individual subservience to the master state? Let us on this occasion proclaim our faith in a better way. It is the way of progress not only toward ever-increasing security but also toward ever-greater freedom of the individual. At times it may be the slower, harder road. But it is the only road for Americans to take.

Cites Production Record

It is perfectly obvious to the rest of the world and it ought to be to us that America has staggeringly outproduced every other nation in the world. Our 130,000,000 people have produced many of the winning instruments of war for Great Britain, Russia and China as well as for ourselves. It is obvious to the rest of the world, and it ought to be to us, that this is because of the enormous initiative and inventive genius which springs from the very heart of our system. Ours is a system which rewards achievement, in which men can create and build with the full knowledge that they and their families will benefit, as well as society as a whole. Ours has been a system whereby labor is free to work, to organize and to share to the limit of its productive capacity in the good things of life which are produced by all.

The very heart of that system is the classic, liberal concept that every man is his own master and that government exists to keep him free. It is in the natural development of that system that we assert that neither accumulations of great wealth nor monopoly — that neither government nor any individual—shall control the lives of other Americans. It is that system which guarantees and must make effective equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

These are the principles for which Lincoln lived and died. If we are to justify the purpose for which we exist we must follow in the path he set. It is of little importance whether the course is popular or unpopular at the moment.

What is important is that we follow unfalteringly the road of freedom on every issue. It is that road which 12,000,000 young Americans will want to take when they come home to enjoy the peace they have won. It is that road which opens to them unlimited vistas of achievement. To travel that road is their inalienable right. It is the right freely to produce to the maximum for their own enjoyment. It is the right to join a union free from the dictation of either government or employer. It is the right to become an employer without government dictation, whether on a farm or in a shop.

"Right to Use Initiative"

It is the right to use the initiative, the character and skill these young Americans have developed in these dreadful years of warfare for the advancement of their country and themselves and for the security of their families. It is the right to enjoy social security without any leader or party claiming a political debt for it.

It is the right of 12,000,000 young Americans to come home to a country where we have preserved and enlarged the area of human freedom while they fought and bled for it. It is the right to come home without finding the heavy hand of government telling them where they shall work, at what and for how much. It is the right to have a government which knows that it is their servant and not their master.

If we who follow the faith of Abraham Lincoln will hold high the principles of that faith, liberal government under God shall not perish from the earth.

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N.Y. TIMES, FEB 9

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THE PROBLEM OF CARTELS

The existence of national and international cartels in the post-war world will present a serious problem. No matter what policy we ourselves adopt, it is probable that our importers and exporters will find themselves confronted with buying or selling monopolies in certain countries or in certain lines. The question will then arise whether our Government should permit corresponding import or export monopolies for defensive purposes, and whether it can safely do this without fostering aggressive monopolies which will in turn lead to retaliatory measures on the part of other countries. Questions will also arise regarding the kind of cartels that originate through the exchange of patents. Is the Government grant of patent monopolies in itself desirable? If it is, what is the objection to cross-licensing of patents? If Government supervision is needed, precisely what kind should it be?

These are real problems which need careful study. The vehement and sweeping condemnation of cartels in some political quarters does not help to solve these problems. The other side of the question is now presented in a pamphlet by Prof. J. Anton de Haas of Harvard University, "International Cartels in the Post-War World," published by the American Enterprise Association. Professor de Haas makes some good *ad hominem* arguments when he points out that opposition to cartels is inconsistent with our high-tariff policy, with our restriction program on cotton and with the international wheat agreement to which our Government is a party. His own suggestion is that cartels and combines be approved in principle, but that they be compelled to register their agreements with some Government commission and be subject to its approval.

Unfortunately, the greater part of Professor de Haas' pamphlet is as one-sided as some of the arguments he attacks. He constantly insists that "free competition will lead to chaos." He fails to recognize the essential role that free competition must play for the very functioning of a system of free enterprise. It is the attempt to "stabilize" prices arbitrarily, the attempt to restrict production, the attempt to keep inefficient high-cost producers in business, that leads to "chaos"—as the history of the British rubber restriction and the American cotton restriction programs so sadly illustrates. Moreover, if the essential self-regulating mechanism of free competition is not allowed to operate, we are driven to Government domination and control as the alternative. Professor de Haas seems to recognize this. For he writes: "The answer to all this is control. * * * Free competition is not the answer."

This reminds us of the warning of F. A. Hayek in "The Road to Serfdom": "The modern movement for planning is a movement against competition as such, a new flag under which all the old enemies of competition have rallied. * * * What in effect unites the Socialists of the Left and the Right is this common hostility to competition and their common desire to replace it by a directed economy." The planning against which all his own criticism is directed, Professor Hayek adds, is "solely the planning against competition—the planning which is to be substituted for competition."

In this lies the danger of cartels. In this lies the reason why, though it may be necessary to make certain exceptions (as in the case of patent monopolies or purely defensive combinations), our main effort should be to keep competition vigorous, to depend upon it as the main regulator of supply and demand and of private enterprise, and to frame laws that will allow it to work as effectively and beneficially as possible.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 9

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Big Three Conference

By Mark Sullivan

Washington's Reaction

WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE announced that the conference of President Roosevelt with Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin has been under way for some days, the conventional course for newsmen was to report Washington's reaction. But there really was no reaction. Washington had known for several days that the conference was under way. Many had surmised it from personal observation that Mr. Roosevelt has been away from Washington since soon after his inauguration January 20, though war regulations prevented publication of the fact. Others had learned the conference was under way through statements to that effect made in European capitals, and reported to America. Consequently the official announcement that the conference was under way did not come as news, and led to no particular reaction. Washington's reaction will now wait for the formal communique when the conference is concluded.

THIS WEEK'S official announcement said that the conference has finished consideration of the military program looking to ending of the war. On this part of the conference's work no reaction in Washington is likely, certainly not any criticizing one. It is a remarkable and cheering fact that throughout this war, from the time we entered it, there has been no serious criticism of military policy. The men who were the heads of the armed forces when we entered the war, General Marshall and Admiral King, are still the heads, and continue to be as strongly approved as they have been throughout. During the early part of the war there was some disquiet about the decision to make the war against Germany our primary effort, the war against Japan secondary. But this was never serious, and does not now exist, either in Congress or throughout the country. That decision was justified by sound military judgment at the time it was made, and is now justified by success.

Reaction to the present conference, when it comes, will deal with the other parts of the conference's work, still under way. These are described in this week's announcement as "the political and economic problems of liberated Europe" and "the establishment of a permanent international organization to maintain peace."

If these two could be kept separate from each other, the latter would encounter no critical reaction in Washington. Congress is as overwhelmingly in favor of an organization to maintain peace as it has been since the Senate, a year and a half ago, indorsed the principle by a vote of 86 to 5. But unhappily the organization to maintain peace cannot be wholly separated from the other subject of the present conference's work, "the political and economic problems of liberated Europe"; and developments in the latter field, emerging during the past three months, have caused some apprehension in Congress.

THE APPREHENSION expresses itself in a mood of, so to speak, retarded impetuosity. During last December there was vigorously under way a movement to amend the Constitution so that the organization to maintain peace (and other treaties) could be confirmed by a simple majority vote of both branches of Congress, instead of a two-thirds vote of the Senate, as now required. It was hoped that the proposed amendment could be adopted by Congress in time to get it before the State Legislatures which were to meet in January. It is now apparent this cannot be done.

The changed mood of Congress arose from one clear cause. It was the news that, as so far contemplated, the future of liberated countries, such as Poland and Greece, was to be determined, not by the joint action of all the United Nations, and not in accord with the Atlantic Charter, but by the individual interests of one or another of the United Nations, such as the interest of Russia about Poland and that of Britain about Greece.

This is within that portion of the present conference's work which is described as "the political and economic problems of liberated Europe." It is about this that the conclusions of the conference will be most eagerly awaited, and will be most liable to excite criticism and contention. And decisions made in this field undoubtedly carry some peril to the proposal for establishing permanent peace.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 8

Peace Table Ban On Latin States Unconfirmed

Grew Declines to Answer Query on 7 Nations Which Did Not Declare War

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, avoided a direct answer today when questioned about reports that President Roosevelt had informed seven Latin-American nations which have broken relations with Germany, but have not followed through with declarations of war, that they will not be invited to the peace conference.

Asked at a press conference whether the United States had urged the South-American governments to make formal declarations of war against the Axis, Mr. Grew replied that all South American countries which have declared war against the Axis have done so "on their own initiative."

Latin-American diplomatic officials questioned today either refrained from commenting on the reports or indicated that they were awaiting official notification from their governments as to whether such a communication had been received. The countries recently mentioned as being barred from the peace table were Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela, Chile and Argentina.

The reports were given added credence in dispatches from Caracas today, which stated that Venezuela among other South American nations appeared to be taking a prominent part in protesting any effort to exclude them from the peace table. Foreign office circles in the Venezuelan capital were reported as taking the matter up with the interested governments.

The reported message of President Roosevelt, if confirmed, was considered in some Latin American diplomatic quarters here as affecting the success of the inter-American conference which will begin in Mexico City on Feb. 21.

Later today the State Department disclosed that advisors representing the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the railroad brotherhoods will be members of the United States delegation to the inter-American conference. Each of the three organizations has been invited to send a representative at the instance of Edward R. Stettinius jr., Secretary of State, marking the forthcoming conference as the first in which labor union representatives have participated as United States delegates.

Ecuador Ready to Sign Pact

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (AP).—Ecuador will sign next week the United Nations declaration, the thirty-seventh country to affiliate itself with the Allied group, it was learned today. Formal announcement of the signing is expected to be made later by the State Department.

The step follows Ecuador's declaration earlier this week that a statae of war had existed between her and Japan since Dec. 7, 1941.

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BALTIMORE SUN, FEB 8

VANDENBERG SEES CURB ON PETRILLO

Declares Pending Bill Would Block Radio Ban On School

By PAUL W. WARD

[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, Feb. 7—James C. Petrillo's latest move as president of the AFL's American Federation of Musicians to keep off the air the National Music Camp Orchestra at Interlochen, Mich., will be blocked if the House concurs in a pending bill already passed by the Senate, Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) contended today.

The Michigan Senator, author of a Bill (S. 63), which the Senate passed by unanimous consent last Thursday, said:

"I know nothing about the details of this latest episode in Mr. Petrillo's battle with the schoolchildren of America.

Calls Bill Well Rounded

"I do know, however, that the United States Senate, with the approval of the Federal Communications Commission, has twice unanimously said that freedom of the air shall not be foreclosed to noncommercial, cultural programs from accredited educational institutions.

"If the House of Representatives agrees, I expect to see the law enforced. It clearly reaches any conspiracy to defy its mandate."

The union's international executive board as of January 19, it was revealed last night, ordered the Interlochen school put on the federation's "unfair list."

The union contends the Interlochen camp orchestra, which operates two months each summer, is a commercial undertaking in that its sponsors accept from its student members substantial fees for the training they receive.

Two-Year Union Move

The union, which has been trying for two years to block what it regards as the resultant competition between the student orchestra and professional musicians, puts the jobs of the students' instructors in jeopardy by its latest action.

Most of them are members of the union and would be debarred from teaching at the Interlochen school while it is on the "unfair" list.

Similarly, any radio station broadcasting concerts by the camp orchestra would be in danger of boycott by the professoinal orchestras whose music it also broadcasts.

What Bill Provides

The Vandenberg bill, an amendment of the Federal Communications Act, provides that "it shall be unlawful for any person, or any person representing an organization or group, to interfere with . . . the production or transmission by means of any radio station of any noncommercial educational or cultural program presented by any academically accredited and tax-exempt educational institution."

It also declares unlawful any conspiracy to interfere with or stop such programs, "unless such interference, work stoppage or group action is part of a general action for other purposes and is of general and broader nature or purpose than to prevent or interfere with the broadcasting of such . . . programs."

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N.Y. TIMES, FEB 8

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DUTCH OPPOSE IDEA OF OAKS BIG 5 VETO

Plea to Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin Asks Wider Small Nations' Role in Security

By JAMES B. RESTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 — The Netherland Government transmitted to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, just before the Big Three meeting, a seventeen-page document containing "suggestions" for the improvement of the Dumbarton Oaks world security plan.

These suggestions, it was learned today, include proposals for strengthening the position of the smaller powers on the proposed World Security Council, and they argue specifically against the right of the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia, China and France to judge all charges against themselves.

The Netherland note, which was handed to our Government by Ambassador A. Alexander Loudon before Mr. Roosevelt went to confer with Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin, is open to several interpretations, one of which is that unless the position of the smaller powers is strengthened the Netherland people might not enter the security organization with satisfaction, but in general it seems to stress two points:

(1) It concedes that the powers

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DUTCH OPPOSE IDEA OF OAKS BIG 5 VETO

Continued From Page 1

that would have special responsibility for putting down any future aggression must have special authority in the new security organization but emphasizes that specific standards of conduct should be laid down to guide the permanent members of the Council in the exercise of their authority.

(2) It expresses the "hope" that the great powers will not insist on the unlimited right of veto and it proposes that the small non-permanent members of the Council receive greater influence than they would have under the rules arranged by the Big Four at Dumbarton Oaks.

"If the great powers," the Motherland aide memoire states, "were given the right to veto in cases to which they are a party, the Dumbarton Oaks plan would be useful only for promoting orderly settlement of international disputes between smaller states. In cases of disputes between great powers or between a great power and a smaller state, the plan would afford no protection."

Procedure on Voting

Under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, there would be eleven members of the Security Council, five of whom, the United States, Britain, France, Soviet Russia and China, would be permanent members; the other six members would be elected for two-year terms by the general assembly.

The voting procedure on this council was not announced and there was disagreement among the powers at Dumbarton Oaks as to the extent of the veto power in cases in which the permanent members were charged with aggression, but in all other cases it was agreed that the permanent members would each have the right to veto any proposal to use diplomatic, economic or military sanctions against an aggressor.

Thus, under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, to take specific action, it would be necessary merely for the five permanent members, plus one non-permanent member, to vote in favor of any proposition to produce the necessary majority of the eleven members of the council.

The Netherland Government suggested that this proposal be changed. It suggested that instead of requiring merely one of the smaller powers on the Security Council to side with the five permanent officers, at least two, or preferably three, smaller powers should be obliged to side with the big powers. Thus, the Netherlands, while willing to to give the major powers a veto on questions on questions affecting themselves, would grant them a veto in other cases but insist that seven or eight members of the eleven-nation council vote affirmatively before the security council could be empowered to act against an aggressor.

Contradictions Indicated

The Netherland document seems in some phases to contradict itself. Thus, for example, in accordance with the Netherlands' long fight for collective security measures to prevent aggression it argues that any organization under almost any rules would be preferable to no organization alone. On the other hand, it states that it is difficult to see what advantage or attraction the Dumbarton Oaks plan could have for the Netherlands if the great powers received the right to veto any proposals for action against themselves.

On the one hand, it states that the "inequities" between the great and small powers are at variance with the principle of sovereign equality pronounced by the Dumbarton Oaks document itself, but on the other hand it emphasizes that the Security Council must have as much freedom of action as possible.

Lack of Declared Principles

What apparently disturbs the Netherlands Government about the Dumbarton Oaks proposed charter almost as much as "the special and privileged position of the great powers" is the lack of declared principles governing the way in which the great powers are to use their authority, and the lack of any appeal from decisions of the Security Council.

Waste paper carries bombs and shells to the enemy. Give yours to the salvage collection.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 8

Paraguay to Declare War on Axis Nations

Asuncion, Paraguay, Feb. 7 (U.P.). The Paraguayan council of state approved a declaration of war by Paraguay against the Axis nations tonight and the formal decree will be signed tomorrow.

Ecuador declared war against Japan but not Germany Monday.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 8

Traders Told to Watch Closely Latin America's War Balances

Foreign Credit Interchange Bureau Warned That Nations May Wish to Liquidate Frozen Debts or Create Reserves

A warning that American foreign traders are relying too heavily on the $3,000,000,000 balances which Latin-American nations have accumulated in the war period was sounded yesterday at a round-table meeting of the Foreign Credit Interchange Bureau in the Hotel Pennsylvania.

Foreign-trade bankers pointed out that these nations may wish to liquidate various frozen debts held here or create reserves with some of these balances. We should change our thinking, one banker said, "and proceed on a basis of what they can sell us to create exchange. We must eventually get on that basis anyhow."

It was said that some Latin-American nations in the past have dissipated their resources very quickly. At present, one member added, these nations are war minded and their governments may be forced to spend large sums on munitions and armaments to satisfy pressure from their military establishments.

It was also noted that several countries, despite their large balances here, have taken measures to control the importation of luxury items and to place their trade on a pay-as-you-go basis. Bolivia and Peru, both said to have substantial balances here, were mentioned in connection with restriction of imports to essential goods.

R. C. Thompson, export manager of Electric Auto-Lite Co., who was a member of a business mission that recently returned from the Mediterranean area, said that for the duration of the war import programs in the Middle East will be continued and that exchange will be available for purchases programmed from the United States. Not until the war with Japan is over, he said, will full private trade be resumed. Even then, he continued, foreign traders cannot be "simple salesmen" in the Middle East and sell when and as they like, but must form permanent organizations and apply constructive programs, just as the government also must do if American trading is to continue there on a substantial scale.

L. L. Horch, assistant regional director of the Foreign Economic Administration, said in answer to a question that F. E. A. is establishing procedures to handle commercial licensing to the Philippines. Pending military developments, he said, it is a little too early to make a detailed announcement on the matter.

It was announced that Brazil has inaugurated import licensing on a long list of products, effective as of Jan. 23. The list, which includes glass products, refractory materials, minerals, iron alloys, machinery, machine tools, locomotives and pumps, may be "amplified or reduced" at a later date.

Sylvester F. Majestic, of Chemical Bank and Trust Co., and Mr. Thompson were co-chairmen of the meeting.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 8 .7

Pan-American Co-operation Council Set Up

Private Group Takes Over Duties of U. S. Agency WhichRockefellerHeaded

The Council for Inter-American Co-operation, Inc., was established yesterday after organization meetings held at tmeporary headquarters at 30 Rockefeller Plaza. The council will take over activities in the United States formerly handled by the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The council is headed as president by Joseph C. Rovensky, vice-president in charge of the foreign department of Chase National Bank. For three years, up to May, 1943, he served in Washington as Assistant Co-ordinator for Inter-American Affairs. W. Randolph Burgess, vice-chairman of National City Bank, is chairman of the board of trustees, while the daily management is in the hands of Raymond T. Rich, director, a former member of the co-ordinator's office.

Formation of the council carries out the promise of former Co-ordinator Nelson A. Rockefeller, now Assistant Secretary of State, that the domestic activities of the government agency would henceforth be better carried out by private rather than official organizations. Mr. Rovensky said yesterday at a press conference that the immediate aims of the New York council would be to form local chapters all over the country and conduct a fund-raising campaign for about $500,000 with which to carry on promotion work.

Centers Established

Inter-American centers, established by the Office of the Co-ordinator, already are in existence at Boston, Providence, Hartford, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Akron, Chapel Hill, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, Kansas City, Denver and Los Angeles. It is planned to add in the immediate future similar centers at Miami, Houston and Seattle.

Questioned on what the eventual blueprint for an inter-American center in a large city would be like, Mr. Rovensky said that he envisaged a project like the International House, with reception rooms, perhaps dormitories, auditoriums and other facilities.

Mr. Rovensky emphasized that the council will not duplicate the work of other organizations but will try to help them in their work. The general aim of the council, he said, is "to mobilize the support of business, cultural, labor and educational leaders in hemisphere co-operation."

More specifically, Mr. Rovensky explained, it will be the object of the council to see that interchange of ideas is promoted. Deserving Latin doctors, he felt, should have an opportunity to study in the United States, and there should be a greater exchange of students, newspaper men and labor leaders throughout the Americas.

Calls Guidance Necessary

He said he felt strongly that the motion-picture industry and manufacturers should be guided on some of the products which they plan to sell below the Rio Grande lest avoidable misunderstanding and friction develop.

The council is not advocating, Mr. Rovensky emphasized, that the Americas join together in a self-sustaining hemisphere bloc, but rather that they demonstrate unity among the nations. In the specific case of Argentina, he said, the council is not "going to add any fuel to the fire," but otherwise will be guided by official Washington policy.

The council's board is composed of thirty-seven members who will guide this non-profit organization. Represented among the trustees are the Department of Commerce, the State Department, educators, the coffee trade, the Catholic Church, the advertising business and a Governor of a state, as well as shipping, industrial interests and the American Legion.

Also, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, department stoers, insurance companies and the Mayor of New York City.

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LA PRENSA, FEB 8

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El 21 a las 11 de la mañana reúnese la Conf. de México

La primera sesión será para elegir los dignatarios de la Conferencia

MEXICO, D. F., febrero 7. (AP) El señor Manuel Barros Sierra, jefe de la sección de prensa de la conferencia de México, anunció que la citada Conferencia Interamericana se inaugurará en el Castillo Chapultepec, el 21 de febrero, a las 11 de la mañana, con una sesión para la elección de dignatarios.

A las seis de la tarde el presidente, señor Manuel Avila Camacho, inaugurará oficialmente la reunión en la Cámara de Representantes. Al día siguiente los jefes de las 19 delegaciones se reunirán en Chapultepec, donde los principales delegados, incluyendo el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores señor Ezequiel Padilla, el Secretario de Estado de Norteamérica, señor Edward Stettinius, y otros, llevarán la palabra. Esto será en efecto la sesión plenaria. En seguida los comités comenzarán sus trabajos y la duración de la conferencia depende de la extensión de los problemas, manifestó el señor Barros Sierra. En el programa original se fijó 13 días para la conferencia, pero ahora parece muy posible que se tome tres semanas.

Lista la delegación uruguaya

MONTEVIDEO, febrero 7. (AP) Se anunció que la delegación uruguaya a la Conferencia de México, encabezada por el doctor Jacobo Varela, saldrá de Montevideo el 14 de febrero por la vía aérea. Los embajadores de Uruguay en México y Washington, señor Juan Blanco y Mateo Márquez Castro, se unirán a la delegación en la capital mexicana.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 8

Spheres Of Influence

By Paul Winkler

What Alternative?

IT HAS NEVER BEEN definitely admitted that the Teheran conference recognized the principle of the establishment of spheres of influence for the principal Allied nations. But Mr. Churchill referred in a recent speech to "our military sphere," in a context which clearly implied the existence of a British sphere of political influence—at least for the duration of the war.

This, however, does not necessarily mean that Britain has established any new principle. This might simply be a tacit renewal of an existing system of spheres of influence—so far as Britain is concerned, a sort of equivalent of America's Monroe Doctrine.

As long ago as the period of the preliminary discussions which led to the signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact "outlawing war," British Foreign Minister Sir Austen Chamberlain wrote to American Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton on May 19, 1928, that it was, of course, understood that in accepting this treaty the British government took it for granted that its freedom of action as regarded certain territories was not to be prejudiced.

"There are certain regions of the world," this letter said, "the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's government has been at pains to make it clear in the past that interferences with these regions cannot be suffered." Referring specifically to the protection of such territories against attack, Sir Austen mentioned "comparable interests" of the United States. He could hardly have meant anything except the Monroe Doctrine, under which the United States assumes the duty of protecting the states of the Western Hemisphere from attack or encroachment from without, which, however benevolent the intention, is clearly equivalent to the establishment of an American sphere of influence.

What Territories?

This statement, made on behalf of the British government by its responsible foreign minister, was weaker than the American Monroe Doctrine, in that where the Monroe Doctrine delimits the area which the United States, protects, Sir Austen did not define the "certain regions" of which he spoke. As the 1928 survey of the British Royal Institute on International Affairs said: "The British government refrained from announcing what geographical limits of the application of the postulate were. This silence exposed them to criticism."

It also exposed them to unending speculation about the geographical limits of Britain's interests. Some of them were clear enough so that there could be little room for doubt as to the regions whose defense were considered by Britain to be her special prerogative and duty. One of them, for instance, was certainly Egypt, of which Sir Austen said in a speech delivered on December 15, 1924:

"The welfare and integrity of Egypt are necessary for the peace and safety of the British Empire and will, therefore, always be maintained as an essential British interest."

Later Statement

One of the clearest and most precise speeches on this subject is less than a year old—Anthony Eden's categorical denial, made on May 25, 1944, of the assertions of German propagandists that Britain had made a deal "with the Soviet Government, or, it may be, with somebody else, by which we would cease to interest ourselves in certain parts of Europe." Mr. Eden affirmed on that occasion that Great Britain would continue to interest herself in the security of the entire Continent—but "it is of course true that there are certain parts of Europe (western Europe and the Mediterranean) where our interests are more directly concerned than in others."

The present great power discussions are said to include consideration of the British and Russian claims to the right to maintain spheres of influence as one of their principal topics. It may be useful, instead of regarding this matter purely from the viewpoint of an outsider, to consider also how it looks to the British, for whom the essential consideration is one of security—which is the case for America's Monroe Doctrine also. (We may, for the purpose of this discussion, leave out of consideration the question whether the establishment of such zones may not tend in practice to take on a broader meaning than that of simple security).

If, therefore, we ask England to renounce her policy of maintaining her own sphere of influence, we are asking her at the same time to give up what for her is the equivalent of the American Monroe Doctrine. What alternative security system have we to offer her in exchange? Are we ready to go into a world organization which can give satisfactory guarantees of being able to assure collective security, in order to make it unnecessary for Britain to look to her individual security? And how would American public opinion react if, in exchange for a renunciation of her sphere of influence, she asked the United States to abandon the Monroe Doctrine?

England may look upon the creation of her sphere of influence as an emergency parachute—the smaller safeguard which may operate if the larger one (Dumbarton Oaks) fails to open. It may be difficult, unless its opening can be guaranteed, to criticize either Britain or Russia for taking out insurance against such an accident.

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LA PRENSA, FEB 8

"E. U. NO HAN PEDIDO A HISPANOAMERICA QUE DECLARARA LA GUERRA AL EJE," GREW

Añadió que los países que lo hicieron obraron por su propia cuenta.—Venezuela preocupada por la noticia que se la excluirá de la conferencia de la paz

WASHINGTON, febrero 7. (U. P.)— El Secretario de Estado interino, Grew, eludió hacer comentarios sobre los rumores de que los Estados Unidos han pedido a los países hispanoamericanos que rompieron sus relaciones con el Eje que también declarasen la guerra.

Grew fué interrogado en rueda de periodistas sobre este particular. Replicó que hace días emitió una declaración en relación con la actitud de Ecuador, que había declarado la guerra al Japón y que había dado ese paso siguiendo su propia iniciativa. Agregó que todos los países hispanoamericanos que han declarado la guerra lo han hecho siguiendo sus propias iniciativas.

Crítica

Declinó contestar las preguntas que se le hicieron acerca de que Roosevelt había enviado cartas a los presidentes de las naciones asociadas sobre este asunto. Grew fué también informado que se ha criticado al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos por no haber sido lo bastante explícito en cuanto lo que necesita hacer la Argentina para obtener su reconocimiento. Fué interrogado asimismo sobre los once puntos publicados por el periodista socialista de Buenos Aires "La Vanguardia", que se podrían utilizar como base para su reconocimiento.

Protesta en ciernes

Por EVERETT BAUMAN

CARACAS, Venezuela, febrero 7. (UP)— Parace que Venezuela asumirá la dirección de un movimiento de protesta por seis países hispanoamericanos, de las naciones asociadas, contra un plan que se ha anunciado que trata de excluirlas de las sesiones de la conferencia de la paz por no haber declarado la guerra al Eje aun cuando rompieron sus relaciones con Alemania y el Japón

La revelación de que Venezuela se ha dirigido a los gobiernos interesados, afectados por la decisión de excluirlos de las negociaciones de la paz, ha agitado profundamente la opinión pública aquí, y la noticia fué desplegada prominentemente en todos los periódicos.

El anuncio de que el embajador de Venezuela en Estados Unidos venía de Washington inesperadamente, dió lugar a que se especulara si Venezuela está determinada a tomar una acción vigorosa para proteger lo que consi-

(Sigue en la tercera página)

"E. U. no han pedido a Hispanoamérica que declarara la guerra al Eje," Grew

(Continuación de la primera página)

dera como su derecho a estar representada en el Congreso de la Paz, en cambio por su máxima cooperación con la causa de las Naciones Unidas.

Si como aparece, Venezuela ha encabezado el movimiento en defensa de las naciones asociadas de Sur América, lo ha hecho en un momento propicio, cuando los representantes de todos los países bolivianos (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panamá y Perú) están celebrando el 150. aniversario del nacimiento del mariscal Antonio José de Sucre, uno de los generales más prominentes en la guerra suramericana de emancipación de España.

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LA PRENSA, FEB 8 3

Argentina niega la apelación de Compañía inglesa

Los obreros de la citada empresa elevan memorial al presidente Farrell

BUENOS AIRES, 7 de febrero (UP).—La Cámara Federal rechazó la apelación extraordinaria presentada por la empresa británica primitiva de gas, contra la posesión por el Estado, de sus instalaciones. El dictamen sostiene que no existe relación directa entre la cuestión resuelta y las garantías constitucionales invocadas por la compañía.

La delegación de la "Agrupación de Obreros y Empleados de Gas" presentó un memorial a Farrell, denunciando las irregularidades cometidas por la compañía primitiva de gas, señalando que en carta publicada la compañía niégase a reconocer la soberanía argentina, no haciendo caso de las reglamentaciones. Para tal efecto transcriben unos párrafos de la carta que dice: "que seguirán suministrando gas hasta que no venga contraorden de Londres."

Refiriéndose a la valuación hecha por la YPF, la cual la compañía la consideró errónea, los obreros dicen si se demora más el asunto YPF, "no podría suministrar gas a la población de Buenos Aires por falta de material y tiempo para realizar las reparaciones."

El memorial señala el estado de abandono en que se halla la fábrica de productos químicos y consideran la elaboración de ácido sulfúrico se necesitará en breve para las reparaciones que la compañía elide realizar, "con el consiguiente perjuicio de la economía del país al que restaría un producto útil para las necesidades de la nación." Los firmantes solicitan audiencia a fin de expresar sus aspiraciones.

Junta de industriales

BUENOS AIRES, 7 de febrero (UP).—Se realizó la reunión de industriales presidida por el oficial mayor de la presidencia, Juan Fontanés, con asistencia del Subsecretario de Industria y Comercio, Teniente Coronel Alfredo Baisi. Fontanés señaló el propósito del Gobierno de constituir un organismo madre, al que todos los organismos del interior enviarían sus representantes a fin de hacer llegar al Gobierno las necesidades, preocupaciones e ideas. Expresó la necesidad de realizar una reunión para discutir los estatutos de agremiación total. Baisi expresó que la secretaría a la que pertenece, tendrá la intervención técnica, agena al aspecto gremial.

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WASHINGTON POST, FEB 8

Vandenberg's Speech

Senator Vandenberg's speech at Detroit calling for a treaty with our allies for the demilitarization of the common enemy reinforces the impression which his famous speech in the Senate created. He stated his thesis with pith and point. Uncertainty over American policy is responsible for the "disunifying" steps on the part of our allies since Teheran. The Michigander therefore proposed an American commitment to relieve them of a legitimate need to make unilateral decisions in the name of self-defense. The treaty would be a hard-and-fast one, solemnly ratified by the Senate, pledging this country's "constant armed cooperation, instantly and peremptorily available through the President of the United States without further reference to the Congress, to keep Germany and Japan out of piracy for keeps."

It was a pity that the Administration frowned upon a follow-up in the Senate of this constructive suggestion by Senator Vandenberg. That the Senate would have adopted the Vandenberg plan is implied by the poll undertaken by the *New York Times*. The President needed some such demonstration for his meeting with Churchill and Stalin. For, on top of their memory of 1920, both statesmen seem to be bewildered about our intentions and appear to feel, indeed, that, in the light of our post-Teheran rebukes, they have been misled. Their "disunifying" steps since Teheran were not undertaken because American silence gave them consent, as Senator Vandenberg says. It is plain now that they felt they actually got the green light for those steps, either by a signal from Mr. Roosevelt or by a disavowal of American interest in eastern Europe. How the President imagined that this country could so treat the political settlements cannot be explained except in terms of a reluctance to accept responsibility.

This country can no longer escape the responsibility of insuring victory. That much is recognized in logic in the minds of the American people. What we need is expressed responsibility. Just as clear and unmistakable as our aims must be our actions in preparing for the next ordering of world society. As Senator Vandenberg says, "Candor now will do more for this priceless unity than will disillusionment tomorrow." In this connection the President is habitually less than candid. He uses signals where he should use plain words, and the habit has bred misunderstanding and confusion on the home front. The same "signaling" seems to have gone on in Teheran and Quebec and, if persisted in, will cloud the hope of a real and effective system of collective security. In the long run only disaster can result from such a course. The Vandenberg plan, which is plain and unequivocal, would give our diplomacy a policy in line with our responsibility. Our word cannot be respected if nobody knows what it is.

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N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, FEB 8

The Conference Has Begun

"Security," already wearing very thin, has now been lifted to the extent of the revelation that Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, with their chiefs of staff and foreign secretaries, are in conference somewhere by the ancient and pleasant shores of the Black Sea. There is a reassuring crispness about their first communique. They are in complete agreement on military measures—a statement which will probably silence the Russian newspaper cries for a west-front offensive and which should, but unfortunately probably will not, silence the local fools and experts who can still convince themselves that the greatest assault in history is somehow just Russian window dressing. We may assume now that there are no misunderstandings in the military sphere.

For the rest, the chiefs of state are advancing to consider the treatment of Germany, the policy toward the liberated states and the ultimate creation of an international order. This implies that they are dividing the problem into its logical sections and taking first things first. With so businesslike an approach, one may hope that the results will be both definitive and clearly understood all around—as they seem not to have been after Tehran. But that remains a hope. Since the President has never managed to take the country into his confidence in his one-man conduct of policy, the country can offer him little help now. He is carrying on his own shoulders the full burden of what is probably the most significant single conference in modern history. For our own sake and for the world's one can do no less than wish him well.

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P. Guerra 618-
T. IV

LEGACIÓN
DE LA
REPÚBLICA ARGENTINA

Lisboa, febrero 14 de 1945

Nº 51 M.R.E.

MESA DE ENTRADAS
Y EXPEDICIONES
2 ABR 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES
EXTERIORES y CULTO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
A
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Señor Ministro:

Tengo el honor de elevar a V.E. la presente Nota informándole de las repercusiones que de momento se observan en Portugal, respecto al resultado de la llamada "Conferencia de los Tres".

Había despertado gran expectación la mencionada reunión, porque se juzgó que en la actualidad más que los problemas de la guerra, interesan los de la paz, ya que aquélla está virtualmente decidida y en cambio ésta presenta horizontes difíciles y confusos, especialmente desde el punto de vista portugués, que tanto teme un predominio bolchevique. Por eso los juicios que se formulan en los círculos lusitanos adolecen siempre de cierto pesimismo influenciado sin duda por ese recelo.

ANOTADO

El lugar donde se celebró la Conferencia ya se estimó aquí como un exceso de contemporización con los soviets, puesto que Stalin amparado en uno u otro pretexto apenas se desplaza nunca de su centro y son los otros los que tienen que ir en su busca. Esto constituye sin duda un efecto psicológico de importancia en las masas a cuyos ojos crece el prestigio del Jefe ruso.

Nadie olvida aquí que dadas las circunstancias la mayor parte de los triunfos estaban en manos de los bolcheviques y que se imponían ciertas concesiones si se quería llegar a un acuerdo, pero así y todo se califica de demasiado complaciente la actitud inglesa y norteamericana, especialmente en lo que se refiere a Polonia y a la libertad de régimen de los paises liberados. El honor británico se hallaba en juego con la intangibilidad de Polonia, causa inmediata de la conflagración mundial, ya que por defenderla se había desencadenado esta guerra. Resulta ahora que se concede a Rusia una parcela muy importante del territorio polaco - hasta la llamada línea Curzon -, dándole como compensación otros terrenos que se determinaran en su día - que serán sin duda sobre la Prusia oriental y resucitarán el temible y peligroso problema de las minorías raciales -. Por otro lado después de haber sostenido el Gobierno polaco residente en Londres, ahora lo abandona y se reconoce al Lublín, aunque sea ampliado, lo que indica que se cedió a la presión rusa, pues es un hecho que ya Stalin había exigido a De Gaulle dicho reconocimiento y si pasó porque no lo hiciera, se debe más bien al convencimiento que tenía de que más tarde tendría que terminar por acceder a ello.

Respecto a la tan hablada "Car-

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A S.E.
el Señor Doctor César Ameghino
Ministro Interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto
BUENOS AIRES

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ta del Atlántico", se observa aquí que existe entre su contenido y el acuerdo ahora tomado, grandes contradicciones. En efecto, se estableció en ella el principio de que cada pais era libre de elegir su propio régimen sin interferencia de ninguna Nación extranjera. Ahora bien, la nota publicada de la aludida Conferencia aunque sigue proclamando la vigencia de los principios de la Carta, se ingiere en los asuntos internos de Polonia, en los de Yugoeslavia y hasta parece dar por sentado otras futuras intervenciones. Esas ingerencias al fin y al cabo, se inclinan principalmente del lado ruso y la esfera de influencia de la U.R.S.S. parece ensancharse mediante esas intervenciones, considerablemente.

En nombre de la Democracia se violan precisamente sus más sagrados postulados y además no cabe pensar que los soviets sean un régimen de gran esencia demócráta, a pesar de basarse en la soberanía del pueblo, puesto que ésta es solo nominal y la realidad acusada por los testimonios que llegan aquí de las variadas fuentes, son los de que se trata de un sistema completamente totalitario donde el Estado lo absorve todo y el individuo no cuenta para nada. El balance que muchos hacen de la situación rusa es sumamente favorable a la organización estatal, cada día más potente y que coloca a gran altura al pais siguiendo sin embargo las ideas imperialistas de Pedro el Grande, pero desfavorable al individuo cuya condición no puede ser más precaria y cuya dignidad humana no es considerada debidamente, en lo que atañe a su supeditación al Estado, ya que en el orden intelectual se reconoce que se ha mejorado su nivel.

Hay otra cuestión de la Conferencia que produce aquí ciertas dudas y es la referente a la situación de la política asiática, que no ha quedado ni aclarada ni delimitada la acción de cada uno. Cuantos se ocupan de estudiar las condiciones, intereses y futuro de Asia, entienden que allí tienen necesariamente que chocar los rusos y los anglosajones, sobre todo en lo que concierne a China. La potencia soviética en la Siberia, que el nuevo régimen ha industrializado poderosamente y colocado en condiciones de llegar a una producción extraordinaria, los intentos que hizo para la bolchevización de China, las posibilidades de mercado que allí se pueden encontrar y el fondo grandemente asiático que tiene el conglomerado de razas rusificadas, son elementos que anuncian una pugna futura en el juego de intereses.

Para los portugueses, la Conferencia de los Tres, ha sido un éxito en el aspecto militar y se estima que han llegado a una unidad sobre los planos necesarias al triunfo pleno de las armas aliadas, pero en cambio ya no se considera así por lo que hace referencia a los problemas de la paz, muchos de ellos sin resolver, otros resueltos solo favorablemente del lado ruso y otros finalemnte con un aplazamiento que puede ser perjudicial.

Hay que hacer constar no obstante, que aunque siguen los recelos sobre la situación que se produzca con el desenlace de la guerra, la impresión ya no es tan pesimista como la de hace días, pues se espera que el colapso alemán no se produzca en condiciones tan caóticas como se temía y que la fijación de zonas de ocupación de cada aliado, aparte el peligro de una bolchevización de todo el territorio alemán. En este sentido ha renacido un poco el ánimo en los medios portugueses y se juzgan las cosas con más tranquilidad y sin tanto nerviosismo.

La actitud que algunos aliados toman respecto a algunas naciones neutrales tampoco parece muy de acuerdo con los principios de la famosa "Carta del Atlántico". Si no hay interferencia directa, se intenta con presiones diplomáticas y con medidas económicas. Aquí mis-

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mo la mediatización inglesa y norteamericana se manifiesta en muchos aspectos. Así por ejemplo, al mismo tiempo que una censura oficial portuguesa, se ejerce de hecho otra anglo-sajona y los comunicados de guerra y noticias que se refieran a la política de esos paises pasan previamente por su tamiz y no salen a la publicidad sin una depuración previa.

Hasta ahora las reacciones que entre los lusitanos ha originado la Conferencia expresada, son las que se acaban de consignar, pero es de tener en cuenta que por un lado el pueblo portugués es bastante impresionable y se deja influir mucho por las situaciones de momento y por otro el que las circunstancias evolucian a veces con rapidez tal que producen repercusiones de la índole más variada.

Al elevar a V.E. esta información de la impresión aquí regogida, aprovecho la oportunidad para reiterarle el testimonio de mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Buenos Aires, abril 6 de 1945.

Acúese recibo juntamente con la nota n° 39, y archívese.

MINISTERIO
RELACIONES
10 ABR. 1945
Gen

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Argentina

P Suecia 618 - Leg. IV

EMBAJADA
DE LA
REPUBLICA ARGENTINA

Río de Janeiro, 19 de febrero de 1945.

R.E. Nº 175

Con anexo

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
23 FEB 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES Y CULTO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Señor Ministro:

24/5/85

Cúmpleme acompañar con la presente un recorte del diario "Correio da Manhã", del día de ayer, en el que aparece un reportaje al ex-Ministro Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, a propósito de las conclusiones de la Conferencia de Crimea.

Después de algunas consideraciones del Dr. Aranha a la Reunión de los "Tres Grandes" en Yalta y poniendo de manifiesto el espíritu democrático al dejar librado finalmente a la revisión de los pueblos las decisiones adoptadas, al interrogarlo el periodista sobre las relaciones del Brasil con Rusia, respondió:

"Siempre entendí que deberíamos reconocer al Go-
"bierno ruso, aún en el año de la victoria de la Revolu-
"ción de 1930, con la garantía previa y natural, que de-
"be y tiene que existir, entre los pueblos, de ninguna
"intromisión de unos en la vida política interna de los
"otros . Cuando Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, repe-
"tidas veces manifesté públicamente y ante el Gobierno
"esa misma opinión, que no tengo razones para modificar.
"Y mucho menos para temer. Además, no conozco actos del
"Gobierno ruso que de cualquier manera pudiesen ser inter
"pretados como motivos para reservas por parte del Brasil,
"de su Gobierno o de su pueblo. Siempre quiso Rusia co-
"merciar con nosotros, en condiciones iguales a las otras
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"o concesiones. Ultimamente, como en Bretton Woods, por
"ejemplo, el voto ruso vino a favorecer legítimas y jus-
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"puedo dejar de refirmar puntos de vista conocidos en
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"portante y delicada."

CON 1 ANEXO
CONFORME

ANTECEDENTES

Aprovecho la oportunidad para saludar a V.E. con mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Rolando J. Aguirre
Encargado de Negocios a.i.

A S.E. el Señor Dr. César Ameghino,
Ministro Interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto.
BUENOS AIRES

EMBAJADA
DE LA
REPUBLICA ARGENTINA

R.E. Nº 175

Con anexo

Río de Janeiro, 19 de febrero de 1945.

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
23 FEB 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES Y CULTO

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Señor Ministro:

28/2/45

Buenos Aires, ... de 19..
ACUSE DE RECIBO y ARCHIVESE.-

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A S.E. el Señor Dr. César Ameghino,
Ministro Interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto.
BUENOS AIRES

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"Correio da Manhã", 18-2-45.

"AO POVO CABERÁ SEMPRE A DECISÃO FINAL"

Importantes declarações do ex-chanceler Oswaldo Aranha sôbre a Conferência da Criméia

O **Correio da Manhã** solicitou do sr. Oswaldo Aranha uma entrevista sobre as conclusões a que chegou o Grande Trio, na histórica reunião de Yalta. Nada mais natural que fôssemos ouvir, a respeito, o ex-ministro das Relações Exteriores, um dos principais responsaveis pela participação ativa do Brasil na guerra contra o nazi-fascismo.

O sr. Oswaldo Aranha recebeu cordialmente o repórter no seu escritório de advocacia, na Esplanada do Castelo, mostrando-se de certo modo surpreso pelo nosso convite. Mas não se recusou a atender ao pedido do **Correio da Manhã**. Notámos sobre a sua mesa de trabalho uma cópia mimeografada das declarações dos "Big Three", remetida ao ex-chanceler pela Embaixada dos Estados Unidos.

Perguntámos de inicio se havia alguma diferença entre esse documento e o que foi publicado pelos jornais brasileiros.

— Não — respondeu-nos prontamente o sr. Oswaldo Aranha. A tradução talvez seja um pouco arbitrária. Mas diferença não há.

Tendo sempre em vista a cópia oficial das declarações, o sr. Oswaldo Aranha começou a sua entrevista declarando o seguinte:

— Os resultados da Conferência da Criméia só podem ser mal recebidos por aqueles que não conhecem os problemas da guerra e da paz. Essa reunião dos chefes das três nações mais decisivamente empenhadas no conflito universal encontrou, na verdade, as melhores soluções possiveis aos mais variados problemas, dentro das atuais circunstancias internacionais. A primeira diz com a guerra. Foi sem duvida a melhor e mais perfeita articulação de todas as forças em luta contra o nazismo para abreviar o advento da paz. Só este facto — a união de todas as forças de terra, mar e ar sob um controle comum para um objetivo comum — só este facto, repito, constitue uma vitória, e nos dá a certeza de que está próxima a derrota da Alemanha e do Japão.

E o sr. Oswaldo Aranha continua:

— Além dessa decisão, que é a fundamental, outras foram adotadas, muitas das quais vieram mesmo provocar criticas e reservas, como as decisões sobre a Polônia, a Iugoslávia e outras questões européias. A verdade porém é que todas essas decisões, adotadas pela necessidade de uma ação comum entre as Nações Unidas, foram transferidas do alto conselho, reunido em Yalta, para o povo de cada país, que as decidirá, em ultima instancia. Esta foi, ao meu ver, a maior segurança que nos poderiam oferecer os três grandes lideres, isto é, a submissão de suas decisões á vontade popular, nacional e internacional. Nenhuma questão ficou definitivamente encerrada, nem a da Polônia, nem a da Iugoslávia, senão no periodo da guerra, uma vez que á livre manifestação dos povos afingidos pelas deliberações da Conferência de Yalta ficou reservada a faculdade de rever, reexaminar e decidir todos os seus problemas internos e externos.

O sr. Oswaldo Aranha disse mais:

— As combinações russas, inglesas ou americanas se se sobrepuzeram a considerações de ordem nacional ou mesmo continental foi porque, nesta fase de ultimação da guerra, o objetivo maior é o de apressar a vitória. Ficou expresso, no entanto, que essas combinações dependeriam de uma revisão, que a paz vier aditar, mediante a livre consulta dos povos, assegurada para todas as nações. As decisões da Criméia foram fundadas no espirito de reconstruir o mundo com liberdade e justiça. Foi banido qualquer espirito autoritário ou imperialista. Já os governos não poderão mais contrariar a vontade do povo, pois ao povo caberá sempre a decisão final. As razões do Estado, as doutrinas do espaço vital, os mitos da superioridade racial, os principios dos super-homens foram expressamente condenados e assegurada a extinção delas na vida dos povos que desejam viver em paz. Questões, como a da Polônia e da Iugoslávia, não passam de remanescentes de eras condenadas. As deliberações, ainda que bem mais atenuadas do que as adotadas pela própria Polônia no caso da Tchecoslováquia ou da Alemanha e da Russia, no começo da guerra, não devem subsistir, pois acredito que os povos russo e polonês acabarão por ajustar melhor suas fronteiras e sua vida em comum quando vier a paz do que, agora, sob o império das necessidades da guerra.

O sr. Oswaldo Aranha timbra em falar claro, quando declara:

— Considero as deliberações da Conferência da Crimeia como o penhor de um futuro mais pacifico e mais humano para todos os povos do mundo, inclusive para nós, americanos Não sei mesmo de nenhuma outra guerra que haja terminado ou de tratado de paz que haja sido feito que tivesse de antemão um documento como este, antepondo seguranças maiores, quer sob o ponto de vista politico, quer sob o ponto de vista material, quer sob o ponto de vista moral. Essas deliberações, — é preciso ainda que se note, — não são as de um armisticio, que faz apenas cessar a luta entre dois exércitos, ou entre duas nações em armas, mas a fixação de normas capazes de apaziguar com justiça e previdência os conflitos internos e externos dos atormentados povos contemporaneos.

E observa:

— A paz não se faz com um tratado, muito menos com algumas conferências. Nem a realizam aqueles que fomentaram e dirigiram a guerra. A paz é obra do tempo, que reduz vencidos e vencedores ao seu denominador irremovivel. Creio que, ainda hoje, as lutas, guerras e desgraças que padece a Europa são restos de conferências e tratados de paz, de guerras que ainda não foram encerradas. Nós, brasileiros, temos um exemplo de que as guerras continuam, mesmo depois dos tratados de paz. E' o caso do Paraguai, que há pouco mais de um ano foi objeto de deliberações por parte do Brasil, da Argentina e do Uruguai, para cancelar regras de um tratado de paz, celebrado há mais de setenta anos. A paz não é, portanto, o resultado da vontade ou da deliberação de lideres ou de governos mas uma sedimentação que se opera através das gerações, pela compreensão, pela solidariedade, pelo aperfeiçoamento das relações humanas e sobretudo pela crescente autoridade da vontade do povo sobre o arbitrio dos governos. No exemplo que acabo de citar, a paz foi se sedimentando aos poucos, graças á compreensão da necessidade de boa vizinhança, de harmonia e solidariedade entre paraguaios, uruguaios, argentinos e brasileiros. O mesmo sucederá por certo na Europa, cujo ciclo de guerras é o mais trágico da história humana. Tenho esperanças de que se encerre definitivamente este ciclo, depois de ter lido as deliberações da Conferência da Criméia, na qual pude notar a aceitação de regras, normas e principios que regem a comunhão da familia pan-americana.

Ainda sobre a tarefa da paz, o sr. Oswaldo Aranha disse-nos o seguinte:

— A obra da paz só poderá ser duradoura e eficaz se os governos se submeterem á vontade popular. Os povos não são partidários da violência nem para a solução de seus problemas internos nem externos. Os antigos diziam que só o povo tem ouvidos para ouvir a Deus e boca para retransmitir a palavra divina. Quando em 1937, tomei posse do Ministério das Relações Exteriores, afirmei: "só a vontade do povo é seguro resguardo da paz e de uma sã politica internacional". Após minha longa experiência politica, só vi confirmada essa minha opinião. A guerra, meu amigo, é obra de muito poucos contra quase todos. Isto foi o que se viu na Europa. Criando doutrinas politicas que subverteram os fatores comuns e tradicionais da vida, os "super-homens" quiseram, pela guerra, se apossar do destino do mundo. Nessa hora trágica, que acompanhei minuto por minuto, não creio que a Alemanha ou a Itália tivessem iniciado o conflito mundial se seus povos fossem livre e previamente consultados. A paz, no verdadeiro sentido, só será possivel com a participação das massas populares.

Sobre o reatamento das nossas relações com a Russia, o sr. Oswaldo Aranha assim respondeu á nossa pergunta:

— Sempre entendi que deveriamos reconhecer o governo russo, mesmo no ano da vitória da Revolução de 1930, com a garantia prévia e natural, que deve e tem que existir, entre os povos, da não intromissão de uns na vida politica interna dos outros. Quando ministro das Relações Exteriores, repetidas vezes manifestei publicamente e no seio do governo essa minha opinião, que não tenho razões para modificar. E muito menos para temer. Aliás, não conheço atos do governo russo que de qualquer maneira pudessem ser interpretados como motivos para reservas por parte do Brasil, do seu governo ou do seu povo. Sempre quis a Russia comerciar conosco, em condições iguais ás das demais nações, algumas até mais vantajosas, sem privilégios ou concessões. Ultimamente, como em Bretton Woods, por exemplo, o voto russo veio favorecer legitimas e justas aspirações brasileiras. Dou esta opinião porque não posso deixar de reafirmar pontos de vista conhecidos em tais assuntos, e sem o menor propósito de querer influir nas deliberações do governo. Como simples cidadão, não possuo elementos suficientemente atualizados, como deve possuir o governo para resolver essa matéria de tanta delicadeza e relevancia.

Queriamos saber, finalmente, quais as influências da politica pan-americanista que o sr. Oswaldo Aranha pôde encontrar nas deliberações de Yalta.

— Tenho a impressão — respondeu-nos o ex-chanceler — de que nada existe de mais auspicioso naquele documento do que a indicação da aceitação de nossos métodos americanos para a solução dos problemas europeus e de outros continentes. Pode-se dizer que, nesse sentido, a declaração de Yalta é um documento tipicamente rooseveltiano. Primeiro, o panamericanismo é uma politica de povos e não de governos, pois não há lugar, no seio da comunhão americana, para um governo contra a vontade de seu povo. A democracia é a base mais sólida do panamericanismo. A sua adoção, em Yalta, como instancia ultima para as questões internacionais, virá a dar estabilidade e paz aos povos de outros continentes, tal como a usufruimos aqui, nas Américas. Segundo, a regra da consulta prévia, tal como a praticamos, para a solução de qualquer pendência politica, econômica ou militar. Terceiro, a criação, como entre nós, de um mecanismo permanente para consultas regulares entre os secretários do Exterior. Quarto, o restabelecimento do principio da igualdade entre os povos, violentado pelo conflito, que criou uma eventual hierarquia entre as Nações Unidas, consequência do maior ou menor sacrificio, esforço e responsabilidade na conduta e no desfecho da guerra. Quinto, a reafirmação dos principios da Carta do Atlantico, que mais do que de qualquer outra parte do mundo é filha da América. Enfim, a declaração de Yalta é, no fundo e na forma, na inspiração e nos propósitos, uma página a mais na História do Mundo, que deixaria de ser escrita se não existisse a América, para decidir da guerra e para organizar a paz.



O sr. Oswaldo Aranha, num flagrante histórico, quando discursava, na sessão de encerramento da Conferência dos Chanceleres, reunida no Rio de Janeiro, em 1942.

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POR VIA AEREA

Guerra 618
D. IV

MESA DE ENTRADAS
Y EXPEDICIONES
20 MAR 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES
EXTERIORES y CULTO

Embajada
de la
República Argentina

Washington, 5 de marzo de 1945.-

R. E. No. 157

Señor Ministro:

A la Conferencia recientemente realizada en Yalta, con la participación de Estados Unidos, Gran Bretaña y la Unión Soviética, no se le han dirigido, hasta ahora, críticas fundamentales en lo que respecta la esencia del acuerdo. La prensa, casi en su totalidad, como así los diversos sectores de opinión en el Congreso, han exteriorizado aprobación de los resultados obtenidos en las discusiones de Crimea.

En realidad, Hugh Butler, senador republicano por el estado de Nebraska, ha sido la primera figura destacada en criticar el acuerdo, en un discurso que pronunciara días pasados en el Senado.

El senador mencionado sostiene en primer lugar, que la conducción de la política exterior de Estados Unidos se mantiene en el mayor secreto y que la opinión pública norteamericana permanece en ignorancia de los compromisos contraídos en las reuniones internacionales. En segundo término, que en la Conferencia de Crimea no se han observado los principios de la "Carta del Atlántico" -- que el acuerdo realizado contribuirá a perpetuar la dominación de las grandes potencias. Afirma Butler que, salvo algunas referencias vagas y poco satisfactorias respecto una "carta"

ANOTADO
CON EL ANEXO
CONFORME

A S. E. el Señor Ministro interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto,
Doctor César Ameghino,
BUENOS AIRES.

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para una liga internacional, "el único resultado práctico de la Conferencia de Yalta ha sido el endoso de las acciones unilaterales de uno de nuestros aliados, la Unión Soviética, con respecto a algunos de sus vecinos europeos". Acompaño texto del discurso.

Aprovecho la oportunidad para saludar a V.E. con mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Rodolfo Larreta

///nos Aires, Abril 7 de 1945.-

Se acusa recibo por nota mensual.

Libro I.-

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This section also amends the existing law to provide that it shall be the duty of any registrant who is now or hereafter deferred under section 5 (k), and who has been found to be unacceptable to the land or naval forces for training and service, not voluntarily to leave or discontinue such agricultural occupation or endeavor unless his selective-service local board, subject to appeal, has determined that it is no longer necessary in the interest of the war effort for him to remain in such agricultural occupation or endeavor or that he has a justifiable reason for discontinuing such agricultural occupation or endeavor. Individuals who violate the duty thus imposed upon them will be subject to the penalties provided for violations of the Selective Training and Service Act.

Section 12 contains the ordinary separability clause.

Section 13 contains a termination date for the following provisions of the bill: Section 2 (b) of the bill, which provides for the establishment of management-labor committees; section 4 (a), which provides for in-plant surveys and other investigations of manpower utilization by the War Manpower Commission; and section 4 (b), which authorizes regulations fixing ceilings upon the number of employees who may be employed and regulating the hiring of new workers.

Section 14 provides that the act may be cited as the War Manpower Act of 1945.

Mr. President, I thank the Senate for allowing me to proceed in my own way.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, a great portion of the Members of this body and, I believe, an equally great portion of the American people are viewing with increasing misgivings the foreign policy which is being followed by the American Government. Many of us suspect that the Government has no policy at all and is simply floundering in a gigantic maelstrom of events which is forcing our hand everywhere and making our policy for us.

It is my hope that this estimate is an incorrect one and that it will be proven, despite the disturbing circumstances with which we are now acquainted, that the Government of the United States does, indeed, have long-range goals and clearly defined views as to how these may be attained.

With few exceptions, the Members of both Houses of the Congress, without reference to party, have given the program of the President of the United States an unqualified loyalty and support. This has been so despite a major impediment the importance of which cannot be minimized. That impediment is the secrecy in which the discussions looking toward post-war security have been conducted.

By our election to the Congress, each one of us has been given a mandate by the people of America which obliges us to be fully informed as to all matters which will affect the national well-being and the future of the Nation. When in the interests of complete unity of command, we in this Congress have been willing to forego even this sacred trust, and thus to lay aside for the moment the usages of democracy, we are entitled to feel that we have equipped the President of the United States up to the hilt with the powers which it has been claimed he required if he was to conduct successfully the negotiations by which we are to be led out of this wilderness of international hatred, fear, and distrust.

This mandate, however, did not constitute an abdication by the Congress as the supreme law-making body of the United States. Though the Congress has thus in the national interest given Mr. Roosevelt a free hand, it has not decided to become another Reichstag. We have now come to the point where it seems necessary for us to take stock and to know actually what is taking place in our foreign relations. We must know now actually what our foreign policy is.

If we have lost the game in Europe, or if we are being forced to forsake the policies and ideals to which we are pledged as a nation, I think it is time that we should know it. It is time, in short, that the veil of secrecy and the cover of ambiguous phrases behind which the entire scheme of negotiation is being concealed should be removed.

What is it that we fear, that we must again be committed to the dangerous wiles of secret diplomacy? Our enemies are retreating step by step. Certainly, no one questions that in the fullness of time they will be irrevocably beaten and forever rendered powerless if it is our intention to make them so. Is the situation between ourselves and our allies so delicate, then, that at this moment, on the very eve of victory, it would give comfort to the enemies of the American people if the curtain of secrecy were to be removed? I, for one, cannot believe so.

Mr. President, after surveying what has taken place, I think we now must ask that some accounting be given to the American people, that some inventory be made of the result of these long-continued negotiations.

On the surface, it would appear that the unparalleled strength of our early position has been dissipated; that in the councils of the world we have lost ground step by step; and that decisions with which we are vitally concerned, and which directly affect the future of this Nation, are being made almost totally independent of our consent.

Let us survey briefly the events in an effort to get at this concealed ledger of profit and loss in our foreign relationships. In October 1943 the First Moscow Conference was held. Here the powers pledged themselves to a world league. Perhaps it has been forgotten by some, but they also pledged themselves not to use their armies in the territories of other nations without joint agreement. They agreed thenceforward to consult each other on all issues which concerned their mutual affairs, and a joint committee was to be set up for this purpose.

Last year we and our allies again met in a series of solemn conferences, with a result which has come to be known as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Those deliberations had exactly the same purposes as those of the previous Moscow Conference.

Although a legal framework was not actually erected, it was announced that the nations had come to an agreement and that thenceforward the United Nations, at least, would be governed by certain definitely defined conceptions of international law.

Since that time the states whose agreement was to have formed the keystone for the new world of international law and justice have been taking the law into their own hands. They have been making the decisions which have to do with their individual security and future well-being, without reference to any other considerations than their own will.

I do not state this fact as a measure of criticism against any of our allies. Perhaps the criticism should as much be directed to us, and to the unfortunate lack of clarity which suffuses our own foreign policy and its objectives. It may very well be, and probably is a fact, that those actions of individual strong-arm politics have been the result of a total lack of faith in the sanctimonious phrases and the glittering abstractions which have been the product of the previous conferences. If men are known by what they do, rather than by what they say, I am entitled to point out that all those unilateral actions by which our allies have shown plainly their lack of confidence in world security, took place not before the First Moscow Conference, or even before the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, but since.

We were entitled to believe, too, that at this dangerously late hour when the very future destiny of our Nation may be written in events now taking place in Europe, some decision would be made at the Crimean Conference of a decisive nature in relation to permanent world order, world security, and peace. Instead, we are told that there is to be still another conference of the United Nations, which is to meet in San Francisco, and that there are to be further discussions on what is now vaguely described as "a charter" for a world league.

Aside from this vague and unsatisfactory pronouncement, the sole practical result of the Yalta Conference has been to countersign the unilateral actions of one of our allies, the Soviet Union, in respect to certain of its European neighbors. One of those, the Polish Republic, is to give up a third of its territory to the Soviet Union and, to judge by the declarations of the Polish Government in exile, the remainder is to become a puppet state under the complete domination of the Kremlin. The Yalta Conference declared that various democratic elements among the Polish people are now to be included in the Government. This would appear to be a mere face-saving gesture for the benefit of the western democracies that have been compelled to acquiesce in this procedure. The only democratic elements that could be incorporated in the Polish Cabinet are those that are now in exile whom Moscow calls the reactionaries. In Poland, itself, all democratic groups have been liquidated or suppressed. In the provisional government at least 10 of the 17 members are Communists. Some of those, including the president, are not even Polish citizens.

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War and Navy Departments and in establishments operated by private contractors. We doubtless will hear more of such charges in the course of this debate. If, in fact, such mal-utilization of workers, labor hoarding, or labor waste exists in any such plants, the correction of such matters will reduce the demands for additional manpower, will release manpower for placement in urgent war work, and may relieve the necessity for bringing additional workers into already overcrowded communities. This bill provides for the discovery and elimination of these wasteful practices. With respect to production, repair, and maintenance activities of the War and Navy Departments, the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion is required under section 3 (b) to take appropriate action to eliminate mal-utilization of workers, labor hoarding, or labor waste if such conditions exist. With respect to other establishments important to the war effort, the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission is responsible under section 4 (a) of the bill for discovering whether or not such conditions exist. In cases where he finds that they do exist, he can do much to remedy them, both by pointing out means for better labor utilization and by the use of his other powers, such as the imposition of ceilings on the number of employees.

The only regulatory provision of the bill, as applied to nonagricultural activities, occurs in section 4 (b) of the bill. That section authorizes the Chairman to regulate the number of individuals who may be employed and to regulate the hiring of new workers, to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of the bill and to provide the manpower required for activities essential to the war effort. Employment ceilings may be prescribed for designated areas, activities, or places of employment; they may fix the maximum number of workers who may be employed by age, sex, or occupational qualifications. Through fixing employment ceilings, employers may be required to release workers found to be underutilized or unneeded. Workers employed in nonessential activities may similarly be required to be released. If the needs in a particular community are for additional workers possessing certain skills, employment ceilings on nonessential or less-urgent work may be limited to workers possessing the needed skills. If the needs in a particular community are for workers qualified for heavy work, employment ceilings in that community may be limited to male workers able to perform such heavy work; and if the needs in a particular community do not require additional workers, no employment ceilings will be applied.

Under the authority to regulate the hiring of new workers by employers, workers released through the application of employment ceilings, or otherwise available for work can be channeled to suitable jobs where they are most urgently needed for the war effort. Employers engaged in nonessential activities, or in less urgent activities, can be prohibited from hiring workers. Though the regulation applies only to employers, it indirectly limits the employment opportunities of workers and thereby channels such workers to the places where they are needed. The Chairman is directed to apply the employment ceiling and hiring regulations only to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of the act. The regulations will therefore be adjusted to the needs of particular activities and particular communities.

I emphasize that these regulations are directly applicable to employers; they indirectly affect employees. The committee was convinced that the additional manpower needed for our war-production effort can be provided when and where needed through these two devices. Employment ceilings will make available additional workers of the types and numbers required; the hiring regulation will assure that workers so made available can be hired only for the jobs in which they are needed.

In order to implement and supplement the recruitment efforts of our public employment offices, the bill includes, in section 4 (c), provisions for furnishing transportation, in cases where that is necessary to relieve manpower shortages which substantially impede the war effort, and includes, in section 6 (a), provisions for protecting the reemployment rights of workers who leave their jobs to become employed in work essential to the war effort in response to requests, or requirements made under the bill. The reemployment rights so provided are substantially those provided for veterans in section 8 of the Selective Training and Service Act, with two exceptions: First, the period within which application for reemployment in the former position must be filed is 30 days in lieu of the 90-day period provided for veterans; and, second, civilians accorded reemployment rights under this bill are not to secure greater employment rights than they would have had if they had remained in their original positions for the period during which they are employed in jobs accepted by them under the bill. The War Manpower Commission will issue certificates to persons entitled to reemployment rights under this section for the purpose of establishing the facts upon which the right to reemployment is dependent.

In order to enable discharged veterans entitled to reemployment rights under section 8 of the Selective Training and Service Act to accept war work without jeopardizing those rights, section 6 (b) of the bill provides that the period during which a veteran is employed in work accepted upon the request of the War Manpower Commission shall extend the period within which the veteran may apply for his old job.

Section 7 of the bill incorporates by reference paragraphs (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), and (8) of section 2 (a) of the act of June 28, 1940, as amended by title III of the Second War Powers Act of 1942. Those sections, as incorporated in this bill, are set forth in full in the report of the committee on the bill. They provide for necessary investigatory and subpena powers, they authorize the Chairman to delegate the exercise of his authority under this bill, they define the jurisdiction of the courts, and they provide that willful violations of regulations under the act shall constitute a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than $10,000 and by imprisonment for not more than 1 year, or both. The Senate knows that the inclusion of such penalties was a subject of marked differences of opinion in the committee. These penalties are applicable only to violations of regulations under section 4 (b) of the bill. They are applicable only to employers, because regulations under section 4 (b) of the bill are applied directly only to employers. In the opinion of the majority of the committee, compliance with those regulations would have been gravely endangered if, under the bill, their willful violation were not subject to criminal penalties. This matter is discussed at length in the committee's report.

The bill, in section 8, also provides an economic penalty for violation of employment-ceiling or hiring regulations prescribed under section 4 (b) of the bill. Any wage or other compensation paid for services rendered in an employment begun or continued in violation of those regulations, of which the employer had due notice, will not be allowed or allowable as a deduction from income, or as a cost or expense, for the purpose of computing taxes payable under any act of Congress or for the purpose of determining the amount to be paid to or recovered from any person with respect to any contract with the United States. This provision is somewhat similar to a provision contained in the Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942.

Section 9 of the bill requires the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission to submit quarterly reports concerning his activities under the act.

Section 10 (a) defines the term "employment" and similar terms so that the application of the bill will not be limited to cases where the technical employer-employee relationship exists. This is done to prevent avoidance of the act by establishing arrangements under which an individual performing services for another is not technically his employee.

Section 10 (b) provides that the act shall not apply to States or their political subdivisions, except with their consent.

Section 11 amends section 5 (k) of the Selective Training and Service Act. It incorporates the substance of Senate Joint Resolution 33, recently introduced by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS]. The first respect in which it amends the existing law is by providing that in classifying registrants for the purpose of determining whether they shall be deferred from training and service in the land or naval forces because they are necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, such determinations shall be based exclusively on whether the registrants are necessary to and regularly engaged in such an occupation or endeavor, and whether a satisfactory replacement can be obtained, without reference to the relative essentiality of the registrants in some other occupation, service, or endeavor.

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Premier Tomasz Arciszewski, of the Polish Government in exile, has bitterly assailed the occupation of his homeland and has stated for his Government that it will never accept the Big Three's decision for a new partition of Poland.

I shall not comment on this further than to remind the Senate that when Great Britain, with the warm approval of the entire free world, entered this war against Germany, it was for the declared purpose of adhering to a pledge to protect the territorial integrity of Poland. It is a pathetic fact of which I must remind Senators that the Polish Nation is not our enemy, but our ally.

It appears necessary, therefore, in the face of this violent objection on the part of our ally, Poland, that we take cognizance of what is a serious quarrel between nations allied to us. The mere fact that one is large and strong, the other weak and broken by the Nazi assault on its territories, does not alter any of the moral considerations involved.

If governments are to be guided only by expediency in their relationships with each other, there will be no base for a permanent foreign policy or an enduring peace. All that can result is the usual jockeying for position, covered by the usual insincere phrases, and the usual worthless treaties and assurances.

At no point where we have allowed pure and unalloyed expediency to govern our dealings with our allies and friends has the final result favored us. When we achieved what appeared to be a cheap and easy victory by throwing overboard the man who had been our friend and ally, Gen. Charles de Gaulle, and making a deal with the French Fascists of north Africa, in the end we paid a dear price. Our action in alienating the French resistance leaders resulted in building a suspicion of our methods and our motives which is observable all over Europe today. One of the results has been to throw de Gaulle directly into the arms of Stalin.

The same set of moral considerations which apply to our ally, Poland, must apply to the Greeks, the Serbs, the Czechs, and all others who have shed their blood with us on common battlefields.

Is it not a sad commentary upon the failure of our mutual policies that our ally, Greece, for example, should become a battleground in which the invader is not some enemy, but our other ally, Great Britain. The latter quite evidently was seeking to protect its own interests by guaranteeing by this invasion the security of its life line of empire, the route to India.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BUTLER. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. As I understand the gist of the Senator's remarks, he is decrying political expediency in international affairs, and making a plea for international morality. Is that not the essence of his statement?

Mr. BUTLER. I may say to the Senator from New Hampshire that it is not my desire to lay down a particular and exact formula to be followed today, but to plead that we do away with the secrecy which has enveloped our international dealings up to date. I think that we have no more right to consider in secrecy important questions with relation to our Nation and its future than to consider in secrecy any ordinary affairs involving the interests of our Nation.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, allow me to point out, with respect to the communique which came from Yalta, and which was received very favorably throughout the world, especially by this Nation, that one of the two tragic features of the communique was that it reaffirmed the principles of the Atlantic Charter by a definite system set forth therein, and a few lines later it set forth, on a very definite point, action entirely contrary to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Mr. BUTLER. I may say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I shall touch upon that point a little further on in my discourse.

Mr. President, I note in the declarations at Yalta what appears to be a cool recognition of the right of the larger states to protect their individual interests by the use of force, not only against our enemies but against our smaller allies. The three states meeting at Yalta have, in the circuitous language of the declaration which was issued, arrogated to themselves the full right of intervention in any liberated European state.

Wherever we look such intervention already has taken place. Certainly it exists in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. In those countries our press is barred, although I understand, according to an Associated Press release of February 10 from Rome, that two Canadian correspondents and one official French press agency correspondent have recently been allowed to enter Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from Italy. What is going on there no one knows, but obviously it is not in the direction of a free, democratic expression of the will of those people.

I do not make reference to the three Baltis States—Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—whose independent existence is officially recognized by our Government and courts, although their demise is covertly acknowledged in our diplomatic dealings.

Now we are told that we can control the situation by a gigantic W. P. A., by which we will endeavor to support the balance of the world with loans and the export of our manufacturing machinery. This is obviously a dangerous and futile approach to our problem, and can result in not the slightest real value to the United States unless we know what our goals are and unless they are clearly outlined so that all may see.

I am satisfied that the world cannot safely return to the old business of power politics, or to the old isolationism in any guise. We must face the real fundamental issues, and at some point hold rigidly to the moral causes involved. Isolationism and bilateral bargaining, which once might have served this Nation, are now clearly valueless. At this moment we must have a world settlement of some kind in which all the primary issues are recognized and the major outlines of their solutions agreed upon.

The decision at the Yalta Conference, for example, to underwrite the four-way partition of Germany, is not a decision resulting from mutual understanding and faith, but is a worthless solution based on mutual distrusts. The partition of Germany is a silly and uneconomic proposal which could end badly for us.

I want a peace in which the Nazis will be severely punished and in which Germany will be held under rigid control, but to adopt any policy which would assure perpetual resentment among the eighty to ninety million people of German stock in central Europe would hand the world another irreconcilable problem.

I should point out, too, in this bewildering complexity of circumstance, that our Government pledged itself, together with the others, to an Atlantic Charter, which presumably was to apply to all nations in the final post-war settlement by which the peace was to be secured. Later we were informed that the Atlantic Charter never really existed because it was not formally signed. Now, as a result of the Yalta Conference, reference again is made to it, as if the Atlantic Charter once again is an accepted portion of the creed of the United Nations. Either the charter applies or it does not apply; and if it does apply, it applies universally to Latvia, Poland, Greece, and India, as well as to the Philippines. One cannot blow hot and cold on it, or reserve it for application only to certain selected cases.

We cannot win the peace based on such a cynical appraisal as this evidence implies, without running the risk of disillusioning our own citizens, and particularly the returning soldiers who will become the mightiest force in this Republic. We must keep faith with these men and women, both as to our aims and our faith in democratic institutions, as well as in some common-sense relationship of the United States to the world. Neither can we continue to dignify with a cover of pious phrases the present dangerous and unbecoming scramble among the larger states for the spoils.

It is a commonplace remark, but I nevertheless again make it, that Americans yearn with every fiber of their being today for a system of peace and security which will endure. We want no more war and no more of this fearful carnage and dissipation of our national assets, such as is now making every 25 years a tragic period of national blood letting. And, I venture to say, that the American people want no part in the creation of new antagonisms which would bleed the youth of our Nation for generations to come.

We believe that this is a world which is going to have to hold all of us, large and small. It also seems to us that since the United States has been, with the Soviet Union, the most important force in winning this war, it must be, together with the Soviet Union, the most important force in directing the peace. In particular, the United States cannot sit supinely by and let the physical conditions of tomorrow's existence be ham-

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mered and fashioned into shape by others without reference to prior mutual agreement or the usages of international law and order.

If the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof, it is altogether possible that the present Dumbarton Oaks scheme for world organization is unfitted in its basic concepts to accomplish the objective to which the entire American Nation is committed—world peace and security. As presently constituted, the league would consist of a group of multilateral treaties, similar to the treaties which failed to protect Poland, and to that other whole succession of treaties which throughout history have been vacated wherever the immediate interests of the nations involved were no longer served by them.

It seems to me that in the present Dumbarton Oaks proposal we can see the creation of a grandiose supergovernment under the domination of three men who now, for good or for ill, hold the destines of the world in their hands. I say this advisedly because under the miscalled compromise agreement suggested by our President at Yalta, no check whatever can be placed in the way of future aggression which may be instituted by any one or all three of these men. Such a condition of affairs, if we allow our Government to become a party to it, would be the negation of every principle of freedom for which our ancestors fought and died on the battlefields of former wars.

Throughout the meetings since the Moscow Conference, has run this deplorable philosophy. The Russians, for example, have stated their unwillingness to be policed except with their own consent, a view which reduces the entire business of world organization to absurdity.

As a result of the Yalta Conference an effort is to be made to bridge this fundamental objection on the part of the Soviet Union. I understand that the agreement now will be that economic sanctions will be introduced against an aggressor, rather than military intervention. Economic sanctions are purely worthless, as was proved when Italy moved against Ethiopia. They cannot be introduced or implemented without final recourse to armed force, and will simply result in turning the world again into an armed camp.

I survey with profound anxiety the entire projected structure of the Dumbarton Oaks plan because I fear it not only to be faulty but also because I fear its adoption will be only the prelude to future and more terrible wars.

The new league is to contain, for example, a security council, which is frankly described by Mr. Stettinius as a power council. He states in an article in the current Reader's Digest, that since only the great powers possess the needed industrial capacity and other resources, wars "can be prevented and suppressed in the future only if the great powers employ their dominant, physical power justly and in unity of purpose to that end." In the future the world is to be policed by four or possibly five countries which are described as the great powers, and which will, in effect, control the destinies of the smaller states surrounding them. In the security council there are to be five permanent seats and six nonpermanent seats, representing the smaller nations.

Imagine the scramble on the part of the large nations to dominate the nonpermanent voting members. Let us imagine, for example, that one of these is to be Poland or Yugoslavia. How do Senators think the Lublin Committee would vote, for example, as a member of this council? Would it by any stretch of the imagination vote against the big boss in the Kremlin on any vital issue? Or could Iraq, Egypt, or a harassed and suppressed Greece vote against the interests of the British Empire?

Do we not see in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece the precise results of handing the small powers over to the mercies of the larger? How can anyone believe that overwhelming power and the right to use it can ever be handled unselfishly? Is it not certain to end with a big fish swallowing the small fish, with finally a deadly competition resulting between the big fish themselves?

We have made even a poorer beginning in the business of world organization than this estimate supposes. Three members of the proposed security council have met at Yalta, and have come to decisions, part of which are still on the secret list. They have met, deliberated, and concluded, with no more than lip service to the rights of any of the other nations or, indeed, without reference to the supreme lawmaking body of one of them, the Congress of the United States. They have laid down the shape of things to come. They have given factual recognition to situations and policies which, once having been set in motion, are almost impossible to change or reverse. They have, in short, countersigned and underwritten with legal sanction the unilateral actions and system of power politics to which I have referred. By so doing they have laid down the conditions of the future as surely as if it had been written in the classic laws of the Medes and Persians.

Despite executive approval of the Dumbarton Oaks program, there appears to be no actual unanimity of opinion among those in the Government itself who are dealing directly with this problem. Mr. Stettinius declares in his Reader's Digest article that the purpose of Dumbarton Oaks is to obtain:

> The progressive reduction of armaments, which in the modern world have become a crushing burden on the resources of all nations. If we—

He continues—

> in this country, for example, could have used for productive peacetime purposes only one-half of what we have devoted to arms for this war, we would have advanced beyond measure the standard of living of the American people.

Yet, despite this promise, at the identical moment we hear an equally distinguished and authoritative voice, that of the President's assistant, Harry Hopkins, saying in the current American Magazine that though we must go into the Dumbarton Oaks arrangement, we must also "accept a new and tough concept in world affairs—that the earth is not civilized enough to make world-wide disarmament practical for peace-loving nations."

He writes that it is not enough to form the world-wide security organization proposed by Dumbarton Oaks, but that—

> We can't take a chance. When this war ends we must immediately prepare to defend ourselves, particularly to make sure that our enemies realize that if they dare to strike again, they will lose again.

If Mr. Hopkins has painted a correct picture of the situation—and, be it noted, he is looked upon as a spokesman of our President—is it unreasonable for us to ask what possible good is going to come to the American people and the world at large from the international conference projected for April 25 in San Francisco?

All of this is extremely confusing, and is the self-evident result of muddled thinking and an unsound approach to our mutual problem. Whom is Mr. Hopkins talking about against whom we must immediately "defend ourselves" when the war is over? It cannot be the Germans and Japs—though he does refer to these nations—since they, it must be assumed, will have been beaten literally to a pulp, and will not be able to recover within the visible future.

What faith is this to offer to the American people, and what assurance to offer the war-weary peoples of the world.

At this moment I can say I am neither for nor against the Dumbarton Oaks solution. Frankly, I am in much doubt. I do not know, and I doubt whether any Member of Congress knows, in view of the lack of full information on this subject.

William B. Ziff's recent book, The Gentlemen Talk of Peace, presents strong evidence to show that an international league built on the basis of 70 independent sovereignties, or, as he terms them, 70 national egos, will not work. He maintains, as we have heard previously on this floor, that we must go a step further and regroup the world into great political federations capable of conforming to the demands of a modern manufacturing and distributing economy. This he believes to be the heart of the present dilemma.

At the moment I reserve judgment as to this or any other proposal. I am certain that we must create some type of world-security organization, but I do not think it will be done in the present atmosphere of secrecy. These propositions must be examined in the cold light of day, and not in the darkness of some hidden diplomatic convention. How far have our present leaders departed from President Wilson's great aspiration of open covenants openly arrived at?

What is at stake now is not some minor goal of statecraft, but the very lives of our sons and daughters and the very future of our Republic. It is not too much to expect that we have both the right and the duty to subject to critical scrutiny every proposition which would affect them.

Congress cannot continue to operate in the dark in reference to the details of our

foreign policy. Certainly the Senate of the United States, by reason of its constitutional position in the framework of our Government, is entitled to light upon all the isues involved. No matter how able and enlightened our representatives may be, the responsibilities with which we are charged cannot be further laid aside. It is we as a body who must accept the task of determining the national future and the nature of the national commitments. We must do it, not as a rubber stamp after the fact; we must do it now, in full, free discussion of all the issues.

It appears to me that the hour has come when the President of the United States and our State Department must give a full accounting to the Congress of what is actually taking place and what may be expected from this difficult situation. We must know now, and not be referred again to some indeterminate future time at which further discussions and parleys are to take place. For the decisions which are making the future of the world, and hence the future of this Nation, are being made at this very moment. It is these decisions which will outlive the pacts, arrangements, and conversations which have so far been the major result of the conferences.

If the Government of the United States is indeed a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, they are entitled to be entrusted now with an opportunity to consider their own foreign policy.

Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the body of the RECORD immediately following my remarks an article from the Washington Star of Sunday, February 25, 1945, written by Constantine Brown.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATORS SEEK MORE LIGHT ON AGREEMENTS AT YALTA—TRY TO PENETRATE SECRECY AROUND PARLEY TO DETERMINE WHETHER COMMITMENTS GO FURTHER THAN PUBLIC STATEMENT

(By Constantine Brown)

As far as official Washington disclosures are concerned, the Yalta Conference will not reach the front page of the newspapers until President Roosevelt returns to Washington and Secretary of State Stettinius is back from Mexico City to set the propaganda machinery in motion for the San Francisco conference on April 25.

But while the rank and file of the American people are giving little thought to the question, some Senators have turned their attention to the historical and dramatic decisions taken in the marble palace which once housed the Czars of Russia.

They are already trying to peer through the heavy curtain of secrecy which was drawn after the heads of the American, Russian, and British Governments adjourned and gave the world an exhaustive communique concerning only those points deemed advisable to reveal.

CONCERNED OVER COMMITMENTS

The communique issued at the end of the political conversations among President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill is believed to have been the handiwork of a former Associated Press reporter now President Roosevelt's press secretary, Stephen Early. The communique did not attempt to conceal in overvague diplomatic sentences the fact that the Polish and Yugo-

men toward the job." That is good military mobilization psychology, because, in mobilizing men for military service, the first thing taken into consideration is that the men mobilized are going into an industry or into a job about which they know nothing. All are drafted on an equal basis. In peacetime we operate with a small armed force, and we operate on the theory that this armed force will be able to handle and train the necessary increases in personnel and implements which are made available in time of war, after war is declared. The basis of that bill was the pushing of masses of individual workers toward a job, without taking into consideration their special qualifications or their special lack of qualifications. In the military mobilization we pick up a million men, we put them through a basic training course of 17 weeks, and we say that they are basically soldiers in the United States Army. Then we put them through an organizational training period. When we pick them up, we furnish them with shelter, clothing, food, and it is generally considered that they will leave their families. That is the military idea.

The original bill, H. R. 1752, was based upon that idea and contained language in keeping with that idea. In addition, it affected only a very small segment of our working population. It affected that segment represented by males between the age of 18 and 45, after deducting the 12,000,000 or more men already inducted, and the additional men who will have to be inducted from that group. So it affected but a small segment of our working population in the United States. It imposed no methods of controlling the number of men held out by overemployment in plants which could not accommodate the men on the pay roll. It did not take into account any classification of special skills. It did not take into account the places where women could and, in many cases, do even better work than men. It provided only a punitive measure against the residue of the men from 18 to 45 who might not be engaged in essential labor.

In addition to that the bill violated the principle under which we have operated since the foundation of this country. It violated the principle against—shall we better say in legal language—exercising eminent domain over human beings for the benefit of private industry. It granted to the Government the right to exercise that right of eminent domain over human beings, and was purely a punitive bill. In other words they called it work or fight. It would better be called work, take a job and sit down, or go to jail. And to the types of men against whom it was particularly aimed the going to jail would not occasion much worry. That would be just an easier way of obtaining a living. The punitive law is addressed to the small percentage of the citizenry who are not law-abiding; it is never addressed to the large percentage who are law-abiding. Wherefore, a statute that reverses the sound philosophy of the law and applies to the 90 percent of the citizenry a principle that is applicable to only 10 percent

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POR CORREO AEREO

Guerra 618 T. IV

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Embajada
de la
República Argentina

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
22 MAR. 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES y CULTO

Washington, 6 de marzo de 1945.

R.E. Nº 159

Señor Ministro:

Tengo el honor de acompañar a la presente texto del mensaje del Presidente Roosevelt al Congreso, sobre el acuerdo de Crimea. Asímismo los editoriales de la prensa sobre el asunto y los principales comentarios de los periodistas especializados en estas cuestiones.

Me es grato saludar a V.E. con mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

ANOTADO

Buenos Aires, 26/3/45

ACUSESE RECIBO y ARCHIVESE.-

MINISTERIO
2 ABR. 1945

Anexos: 9

A S.E. el Señor Ministro interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto,
Doctor César Ameghino,
BUENOS AIRES

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Report of President Roosevelt in Person to the Congress on

Following is President Roosevelt's address to Congress yesterday as recorded and transcribed by THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker and members of the Congress:

I hope that you will pardon me for the unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say, but I know that you will realize it makes it a lot easier for me in not having to carry about ten pounds of steel around on the bottom of my legs and also because of the fact that I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip.

First of all, I want to say that it is good to be home. It has been a long journey and I hope you all will agree that it has been, so far, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you here, in the halls of the American Congress—with the support of the American people—concur in the general conclusions reached in the place called Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

And that is why I have come before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal report to you, and at the same time to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly—together.

I am returning from this trip, which took me so far, refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I was not ill for a second until I arrived back in Washington. There I heard all of the rumors which occurred in my absence. Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired—the Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel; we seem to thrive on it.

In Constant Touch With Home

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communications has made this world very small; we must always bear in mind that fact when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say not only from the executive branch with all its departments, but also from the legislative branch—its two departments. And, except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And, of course, in a grave emergency we could even have risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimean Conference with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes in this Crimean Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German army, and the German people, are feeling the ever increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies and every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany, on German soil, toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

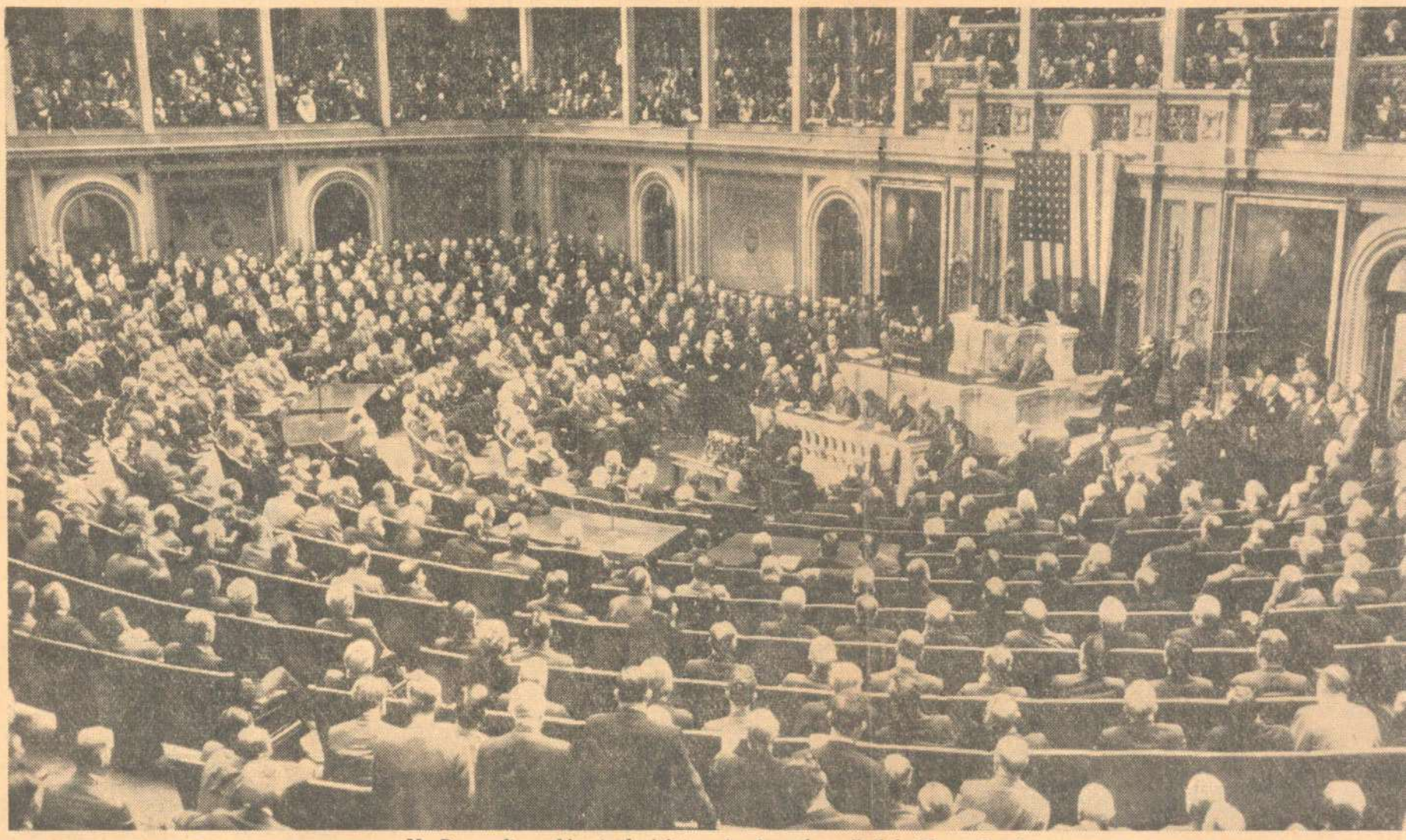
The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of the war and would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world. In that goal, toward that goal, a tremendous stride was made.

After Teheran, a little over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the chiefs of staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements were made and none was attempted.

Agreement Eagerly Sought

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field. There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of Teheran, a year ago, there had developed among all of us a—what shall I call it—a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the peace of the world. We know

THE SCENE IN CONGRESS AS THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS ADDRESS YESTERDAY



Mr. Roosevelt speaking to the joint session from the well of the House chamber

Associated Press Wir

vived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Secondly, again for example, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us with respect to the international security organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. As you remember at that time, I said afterward we had agreed 90 per cent. A pretty good percentage. I think the other 10 per cent was ironed out at Yalta.

Thirdly, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future, or which had been, liberated from the Nazi yoke. There are special problems—we over here find it difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands. But we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by a few instances, such as Poland and Yugoslavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters. We argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

Of course we know that it was Hitler's hope—and German war lords—that we would not agree, that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that would give him and his fellow-gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed.

"Never More Closely United"

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united—to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, they conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of the Allied powers. They completed their plans for the final knockout blow to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference the Russian front, for instance, was removed so far from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. They were too far apart.

But Russian troops have now crossed Poland, they are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany herself, British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Rhine River in the west. It is a different situation

President Put Many Interpolations in Text; Started With Apology for Remaining Seated

WASHINGTON, March 1 (AP)—President Roosevelt made an unusual number of interpolations today in the prepared text of his message to Congress on the Big-Three conference at Yalta.

Many of the changes were minor variations in phraseology characteristic of Mr. Roosevelt's public speeches. On occasion, entirely new matter was introduced.

An example was the President's apology to Congress for addressing it while seated. He explained that it was a relief not to wear the ten pounds of steel braces required for his legs when he must stand erect for such a speech.

One of the spots where Mr. Roosevelt left his text drop in some extemporaneous remarks was after his brief discussion of France and Yugosalvia. This is what he added: "There are a great many prima donnas in the world who want to be heard. We may have a little delay if we listen to all the prima donnas."

At another point Mr. Roosevelt went away from his prepared text with a brief lecture to home-front war workers:

"Lest some one lay off work in the United States," he said, "I repeat what I think I can say in my sleep: 'We haven't won the war.'"

The speech ended as follows:

"I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this (Yalta) conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live."

they can best be used in the combined war effort—American, British and Russian.

Details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets. But they are going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow, and I think all three of us at the conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day—and the day after that.

Unconditional Surrender

There will be no respite for these attacks. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. You know I have always felt that common sense prevails in the long run, quiet overnight thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here. The German people, as well as the German soldier, must realize, the sooner, the sooner they give up and surrender, surrender by groups or by individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to re-establish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or the 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—they are working at it day and night—for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, how to deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear

which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world, now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare.

To Protect German People

Now these objectives will not hurt German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for generations has produced only misery and only pain for the whole world.

During my stay in Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, this terrible destruction, that comes out of German militarism. Yalta, on the Black Sea, had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war it had been a resort, a resort for people like czars, princes and aristocracy, and their hanger-ons. However, after the war, after the Red Revolution, until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler a few years ago, the palaces, the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas, took them over for their own use. They are the only reasons that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable when we got there. It had been given, or had thought to have been given, to a German general for his own

Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting, of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind. At the Crimea Conference the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it publicly, but it will be in a short time.

With respect to voting, I made known, I think and I hope, that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. You might almost say it's a legislative problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

Hope in San Francisco

There is going to be held—and you know—after we have straightened that voting matter out, there is going to be held in San Francisco a meeting of all United Nations of the world, on the 25th of April, next month. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization upon which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again.

As you know, I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in the Constitution of the United States.

The charter has to be, and should be, approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now—I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are, and we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as Charter of the United Nations, when they all come together in San Francisco, next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this Government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates will consist of an equal number, and the Senatorial will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan.

But I think that world peace is not exactly a party question—I think that Republicans want

Press Photo Proposed As Model for Monun

By The Associated Press.

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Discusses Liberated Area

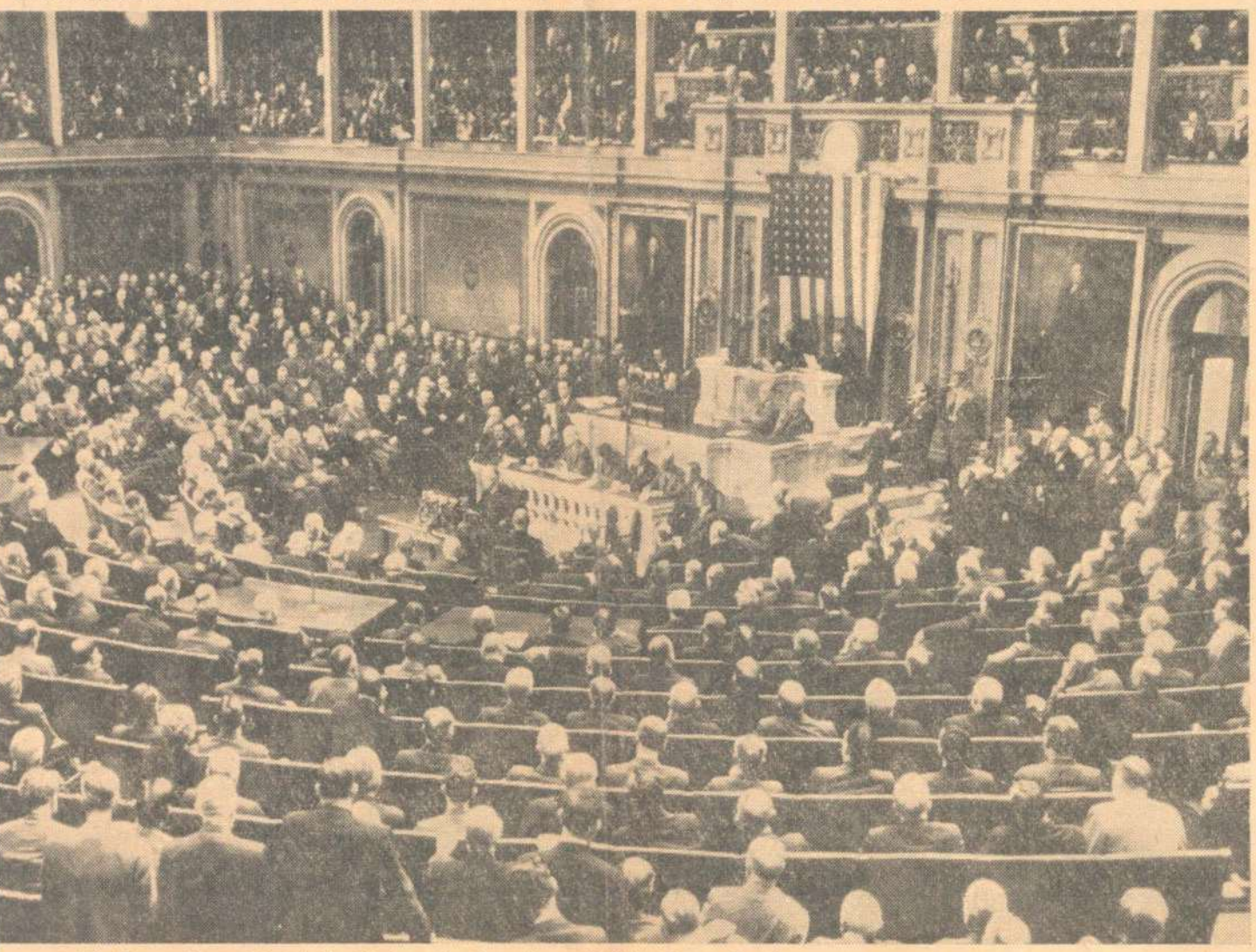
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Archivo Histórico Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto Argentina

oosevelt in Person to the Congress on the Crimea Conference

CONGRESS AS THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS ADDRESS YESTERDAY



Mr. Roosevelt speaking to the joint session from the well of the House chamber — Associated Press Wirephoto

esident Put Many Interpolations in Text; rted With Apology for Remaining Seated

ASHINGTON, March 1 (AP)—dent Roosevelt made an un- number of interpolations to- in the prepared text of his age to Congress on the Big- e conference at Yalta.

ny of the changes were minor tions in phraseology charac- ic of Mr. Roosevelt's public hes. On occasion, entirely new er was introduced.

example was the President's gy to Congress for addressing ile seated. He explained that s a relief not to wear the ten is of steel braces required for gs when he must stand erect ich a speech.

e of the spots where Mr. evelt left his text drop in some mporaneous remarks was after rief discussion of France and salvia. This is what he added: ere are a great many prima donnas in the world who want to be heard. We may have a little delay if we listen to all the prima donnas."

At another point Mr. Roosevelt went away from his prepared text with a brief lecture to home-front war workers:

"Lest some one lay off work in the United States," he said, "I repeat what I think I can say in my sleep: 'We haven't won the war.'"

The speech ended as follows:

"I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this (Yalta) conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live."

can best be used in the com- l war effort—American, Brit- nd Russian.

ails of these plans and ar- ements are military secrets. they are going to hasten the of the final collapse of Ger- . The Nazis are learning t some of them already, to sorrow, and I think all three at the conference felt that will learn more about them rrow and the next day—and ay after that.

Unconditional Surrender

re will be no respite for attacks. We will not desist ne moment until uncondi- l surrender. You know I have s felt that common sense ils in the long run, quiet ight thinking. I think that's in Germany, just as much as here. The German people, ell as the German soldier, realize, the sooner, the r they give up and surren- urrender by groups or by in- uals, the sooner their pres- agony will be over. They realize that only with com- surrender can they begin to ablish themselves as people the world might accept as t neighbors.

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which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world, now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare.

To Protect German People

Now these objectives will not hurt German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for generations has produced only misery and only pain for the whole world.

During my stay in Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, this terrible destruction, that comes out of German militarism. Yalta, on the Black Sea, had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war it had been a resort, a resort for people like czars, princes and aristocracy, and their hanger-ons. However, after the war, after the Red Revolution, until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler a few years ago, the palaces, the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas, took them over for their own use. They are the only reasons that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable when we got there. It had been given, or had thought to have been given, to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed he

Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting, of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind. At the Crimea Conference the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it publicly, but it will be in a short time.

With respect to voting, I made known, I think and I hope, that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. You might almost say it's a legislative problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

Hope in San Francisco

There is going to be held—and you know—after we have staightened that voting matter out, there is going to be held in San Francisco a meeting of all United Nations of the world, on the 25th of April, next month. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization upon which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again.

As you know, I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in the Constitution of the United States.

The charter has to be, and should be, approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now—I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are, and we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as Charter of the United Nations, when they all come together in San Francisco, next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this Government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates will consist of an equal number, and the Senatorial will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan.

But I think that world peace is not exactly a party question—I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. It is not a party question any more than is military victory.

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WASHINGTON, March 1—Use of a war picture taken by an Associated Press photographer as a model for a monument was proposed in Congress today.

Representative Hendricks, Democrat, of Florida, introduced a bill authorizing erection of the monument here as a tribue to "the heroic action of the Marine Corps as typified by the marines in this photograph."

Explaining his bill to the House, Mr. Hendricks declared:

"Never have I seen a more striking photograph.

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The photograph, taken by Joe Rosenthal, and distributed through the wartime still picture pool, shows a group of marines of the Fifth Division's Twenty-eighth Regiment planting the American flag atop Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima.

Poland or in Yugoslavia, and maybe more. Worse than that, there actually began to grow in some of these places queer ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked these developments might have had tragic results, in time.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

Discusses Liberated Areas

We met in the Crimea determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we can't see at this moment might happen suddenly, unexpected, next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—and incidentally, a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from Nazi conquest, or any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three Governments. They will join together during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see—to see to it that interim governing,

even though we are determined continuously to strive toward that ideal. But I am sure that under the agreements reached at Yalta there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a true expression out of the people's will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends, with the exception only of such action as may be agreed on by the international security organization we will set up.

Economic Help Needed

The United Nations must also begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy—I don't want them starving to death—so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools, and trucks and locomotives and things like that. They have left the industry of these places stagnant, and much of the agricultural areas are unproductive—the Nazis have left a complete ruin, or a partial ruin, in their wake.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest that all of us see to it that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive, so that they do not need continuous relief from us. I can say that as an argument based on plain common sense.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied powers was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, as it had been some time before, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution, and we did.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent and prosperous nation. That's the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me, the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation, with a Government ultimately to be selecteed by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve that objective it is necessary to provide for the formation of a new government, much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing provisional government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

Polish Election Scheduled

However, the new Polish provisional government of national unity will be pledged to hold a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation Germany has struck Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was quite a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it by any means, but we could go as far as Britain wanted in certain areas, go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas and we could go as far as I wanted in certain areas. It was a compromise. The decision was a compromise under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon line in the east.

The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. We know roughly that it will include in the new strong Poland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. And it was agreed also that the new Poland will have a large and long coastline and many a new harbor. Also that East Prussia, most of it, will go to Poland and the corner of it will go to Russia. Also (what shall I call it) that the "amanuensis" of the Free State of Danzig, I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

Curzon Line Called Fair

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian. They are not Polish, to a very great majority. And the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and East Germany which will go to new Poland. As far back as 1919 the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. You must also remember there was no Poland, there had not been any Polish Government, before 1919, for a great many generations.

I am convinced that this agree-

lay while we listen to more prima donnas.

Quite naturally, this conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe, and not with the Pacific war.

In Malta, however, our combined British and American staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes. They have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed." And we can add, having Iwo Jima in mind, "that the situation is well in hand."

Capture of Manila Lauded

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila, and that Admiral Nimitz is establishing his air bases right in their own back yard.

But, lest somebody else lay off work in the United States, I can repeat what I have said, even in my sleep, a short sentence, "We haven't won the wars yet," with an "s" on wars.

It is a long tough road to Tokyo. It is longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word.

The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, we must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific. But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany. I say that advisedly, with the thought in mind that that is especially true if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back from the Crimea I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

Problems Clearly Presented

Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans, I think would feel proud, as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional leaders, sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought and won.

I think that this is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimea was a turning point, I hope, in our history, and therefore in the history of the world. It will soon be presented to the Senate and the American people, a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States, and I think therefore of the world, for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

Planning Is Defended

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some circles. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning, and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning—reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the second time in the lives of most of us, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can en-

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Mr. Roosevelt speaking to the joint session from the well of the House chamber — Associated Press

all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly—together.

I am returning from this trip, which took me so far, refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I was not ill for a second until I arrived back in Washington. There I heard all of the rumors which occurred in my absence. Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired—the Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel; we seem to thrive on it.

In Constant Touch With Home

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracle of rapid communications has made this world very small; we must always bear in mind that fact when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington, I might say not only from the executive branch with all its departments, but also from the legislative branch—its two departments. And, except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And, of course, in a grave emergency we could even have risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimean Conference with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes in this Crimean Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and with the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German army, and the German people, are feeling the ever increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies and every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany, on German soil, toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of the war and would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world. In that goal, toward that goal, a tremendous stride was made.

After Teheran, a little over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the chiefs of staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements were made and none was attempted.

Agreement Eagerly Sought

At the Crimean Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field. There was on all sides at this conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of Teheran, a year ago, there had developed among all of us a—what shall I call it—a greater facility in negotiating with each other, which augurs well for the peace of the world. We know each other better.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached. There are a number of things that we did at the conference that were definite. For instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers have proved to be too long—fourteen months. During this long period local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

Therefore we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three Governments to do it, to meet more often in the future, and to make that sure by arranging that there would be frequent personal contacts for the exchange of views between the Secretaries of State, the Foreign Ministers of these three powers.

We arranged for periodic meetings, at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide cooperation and collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete, final military victory over Germany, there were other problems of vital political consequence.

For instance, there were the problems of occupational control of Germany after victory, the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither the Nazis nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and civilization of the world.

Secondly, again for example, there was the settlement of the few differences which remained among us with respect to the international security organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. As you remember at that time, I said afterward we had agreed 90 per cent. A pretty good percentage. I think the other 10 per cent was ironed out at Yalta.

Thirdly, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future, or which had been, liberated from the Nazi yoke. There are special problems—we over here find it difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands. But we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by a few instances, such as Poland and Yugoslavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters. We argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

Of course we know that it was Hitler's hope—and German war lords—that we would not agree, that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that would give him and his fellow-gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed.

"Never More Closely United"

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united—to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other, they conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of the Allied powers. They completed their plans for the final knockout blow to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference the Russian front, for instance, was removed so far from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. They were too far apart.

But Russian troops have now crossed Poland, they are fighting on the eastern soil of Germany herself, British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Rhine River in the west. It is a different situation today from what it was fourteen months ago. A closer tactical liaison has become possible—for the first time in Europe—and, in the Crimean Conference, that was something else that was accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under command of General Eisenhower, on the western front, and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy—without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington or London, as in the past.

Conference Coordinated Bombing

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombing by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used—in the day-by-day tactics of the war—and we have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side and strategy on the other. Day by day tactical war, in direct support of Soviet armies, as well as in the support of our own in the Western Front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves, German materials, to the Eastern and Western Fronts from other parts of Germany or from Italy.

Arrangements have been made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort—American, British and Russian.

Details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets. But they are going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow, and I think all three of us at the conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day—and the day after that.

Unconditional Surrender

There will be no respite for these attacks. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. You know I have always felt that common sense prevails in the long run, quiet overnight thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here. The German people, as well as the German soldier, must realize, the sooner, the sooner they give up and surrender, surrender by groups or by individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to re-establish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or the 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—they are working at it day and night—for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, how to deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at the Conference just what unconditional surrender does mean to Germany.

What "Surrender" Means

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany—and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated—coordinated in Berlin by a control council composed of representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender means something else. It means the end of nazism and of the Nazi party—and all of its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just—and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany, the destruction of its militarism, of its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff, which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations—reparations in kind for the damage which has been done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind—in plants, in machinery, in rolling stock and raw materials—we shall avoid the mistake that we and other people made after the last war, the demanding of reparations in the form of money, which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world, now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare.

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The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas, took them over for their own use. They are the only reasons that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable when we got there. It had been given, or had thought to have been given, to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own nice villa.

It was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time it was taken again by the Germans.

The Nazi officers took these places for their own use, and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, just almost a year ago—last April, I think it was—all the villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left in Yalta except blank walls, ruins, destruction.

Lesson of Sevastopol Cited

Sevastopol, that weather-fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away—there again was a scene of utter destruction—a large city with its great navy yards, its fortifications. I think less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry—but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta. And I know that there is not room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting, of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind. At the Crimea Conference the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

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Hope in San Francisco

There is going to be held—and you know—after we have staightened that voting matter out, there is going to be held in San Francisco a meeting of all United Nations of the world, on the 25th of April, next month. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization upon which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again.

As you know, I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in the Constitution of the United States.

The charter has to be, and should be, approved by the Senate of the United States under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now—I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are, and we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as Charter of the United Nations, when they all come together in San Francisco, next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this Government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates will consist of an equal number, and the Senatorial will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American delegation is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan.

But I think that world peace is not exactly a party question—I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. It is not a party question any more than is military victory.

When our Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1940, and then by the Japanese treachery in 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected, I think, by every patriotic American, by every human soul overseas, too.

Peace Rests on Cooperation

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation, it cannot be just an American peace, or British peace, or a Russian, or a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be what some people think—a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace, and it will be a peace, based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on the concept of the dignity of the human being—and on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four long years, whose economy had been reduced to ruins by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas—that is not unexpected—as in Greece or in

President Put Many Interpolations in Text; Started With Apology for Remaining Seated

WASHINGTON, March 1 (AP)—President Roosevelt made an unusual number of interpolations today in the prepared text of his message to Congress on the Big-Three conference at Yalta.

Many of the changes were minor variations in phraseology characteristic of Mr. Roosevelt's public speeches. On occasion, entirely new matter was introduced.

An example was the President's apology to Congress for addressing it while seated. He explained that it was a relief not to wear the ten pounds of steel braces required for his legs when he must stand erect for such a speech.

One of the spots where Mr. Roosevelt left his text drop in some extemporaneous remarks was after his brief discussion of France and Yugosalvia. This is what he added: "There are a great many prima donnas in the world who want to be heard. We may have a little delay if we listen to all the prima donnas."

At another point Mr. Roosevelt went away from his prepared text with a brief lecture to home-front war workers:

"Lest some one lay off work in the United States," he said, "I repeat what I think I can say in my sleep: 'We haven't won the war.'"

The speech ended as follows:

"I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this (Yalta) conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live."

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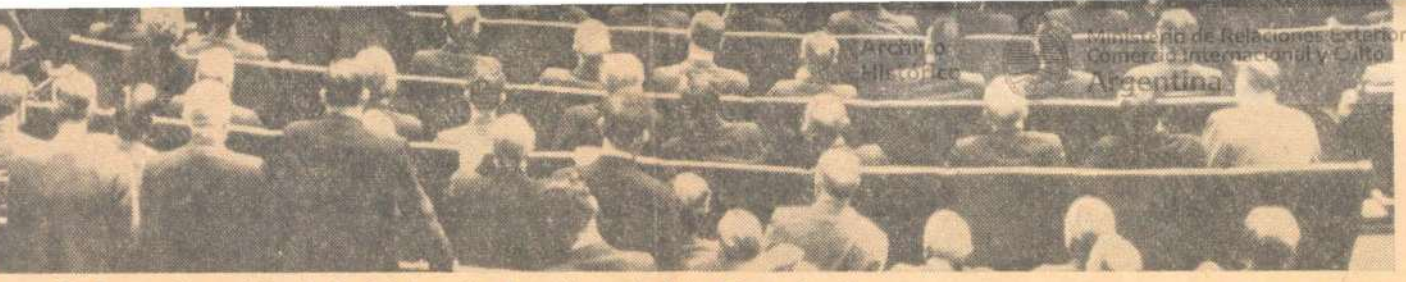
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Mr. Roosevelt speaking to the joint session from the well of the House chamber

Associated Press Wirephoto

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n best be used in the com-ar effort—American, Brit-Russian.

s of these plans and ar-nts are military secrets, y are going to hasten the the final collapse of Ger-The Nazis are learning ome of them already, to row, and I think all three the conference felt that ll learn more about them w and the next day—and after that.

conditional Surrender

will be no respite for tacks. We will not desist moment until uncondi-rrender. You know I have felt that common sense in the long run, quiet ht thinking. I think that's Germany, just as much as re. The German people, as the German soldier, realize, the sooner, the they give up and surren-render by groups or by in-s, the sooner their pres-ny will be over. They alize that only with com-rrender can they begin to lish themselves as people he world might accept as neighbors.

ade it clear again at Yalta, ow repeat—that uncondi-urrender does not mean truction or the enslave-the German people. The aders have deliberately d that part of the Yalta ion from the German nd radio. They seek to e the people of Germany e Yalta declaration does avery and destruction for hey are working at it day ght—for that is how the pe to save their own skins, deceive their people into ed and useless resistance. d, however, make it clear Conference just what un-nal surrender does mean any.

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ans the temporary control many by Great Britain, France and the United Each of these nations cupy and control a sepa-ne of Germany—and the tration of the four zones coordinated—coordinated in by a control council ed of representatives of r nations.

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ans for the Nazi war ls a punishment that is and just—and severe.

ans the complete disarm-of Germany, the destruc-its militarism, of its mil-quipment; the end of its ion of armament; the dis-of all armed forces; the ent dismemberment of the General Staff, which has n shattered the peace of ld.

ans that Germany will make reparations—repa-in kind for the damage as been done to the in-victims of its aggression. mpelling reparations in plants, in machinery, in tock and raw materials—l avoid the mistake that other people made after war, the demanding of ons in the form of money, which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple—it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world, now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare.

To Protect German People

Now these objectives will not hurt German people. On the contrary, it will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body, which for generations has produced only misery and only pain for the whole world.

During my stay in Yalta I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, this terrible destruction, that comes out of German militarism. Yalta, on the Black Sea, had no military significance of any kind, and no defenses.

Before the last war it had been a resort, a resort for people like czars, princes and aristocracy, and their hanger-ons. However, after the war, after the Red Revolution, until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler a few years ago, the palaces, the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas, took them over for their own use. They are the only reasons that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable when we got there. It had been given, or had thought to have been given, to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own nice villa.

It was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time it was taken again by the Germans.

The Nazi officers took these places for their own use, and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea, just almost a year ago—last April, I think it was—all the villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left in Yalta except blank walls, ruins, destruction.

Lesson of Sevastopol Cited

Sevastopol, that weather-fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away—there again was a scene of utter destruction—a large city with its great navy yards, its fortifications. I think less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry—but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta. And I know that there is not room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached. It involved the procedure of voting, of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind. At the Crimea Conference the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it publicly, but it will be in a short time.

With respect to voting, I made known, I think and I hope, that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. You might almost say it's a legislative problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

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As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated peoples whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four long years, whose economy had been reduced to ruins by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas—that is not unexpected—as in Greece or in Poland or in Yugoslavia, and maybe more. Worse than that, there actually began to grow in some of these places queer ideas of "spheres of influence" which were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked these developments might have had tragic results, in time.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

Discusses Liberated Areas

We met in the Crimea determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we can't see at this moment might happen suddenly, unexpected, next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement—and incidentally, a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from Nazi conquest, or any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three Governments. They will join together during the temporary period of instability after hostilities, to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see—to see to it that interim governing, and the people who carry on the interim government between occupation by Germany and true independence—that such an interim government will be as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great nation. Certainly, I don't want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller—smaller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace.

Responsibility Must Be Accepted

What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace, because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in either house of the Congress is known all over the world the following day. We will continue to exert that influence only if we are willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It would be our own tragic loss if we were to shirk that responsibility.

Final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly therefore, and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise.

The United States will not always have its way 100 per cent, nor will Russia, nor Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers, solutions to complicated international problems,

Press Photo Proposed As Model for Monument

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 1—Use of a war picture taken by an Associated Press photographer as a model for a monument was proposed in Congress today.

Representative Hendricks, Democrat, of Florida, introduced a bill authorizing erection of the monument here as a tribue to "the heroic action of the Marine Corps as typified by the marines in this photograph."

Explaining his bill to the House, Mr. Hendricks declared:

"Never have I seen a more striking photograph.

"I have provided in the bill that this picture be a model for the monument, because I do not believe any product of the mind of the artist could equal this photograph in action."

The photograph, taken by Joe Rosenthal, and distributed through the wartime still picture pool, shows a group of marines of the Fifth Division's Twenty-eighth Regiment planting the American flag atop Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied powers was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe, as it had been some time before, and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution, and we did.

Our objective was to help create a strong, independent and prosperous nation. That's the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me, the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation, with a Government ultimately to be selecteed by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve that objective it is necessary to provide for the formation of a new government, much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing provisional government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland.

Polish Election Scheduled

However, the new Polish provisional government of national unity will be pledged to hold a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation Germany has struck Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was quite a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it by any means, but we could go as far as Britain wanted in certain areas, go as far as Russia wanted in certain areas and we could go as far as I wanted in certain areas. It was a compromise. The decision was a compromise under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the north and west in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon line in the east.

The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final peace conference. We know roughly that it will include in the new strong Poland quite a large slice of what is now called Germany. And it was agreed also that the new Poland will have a large and long coastline and many a new harbor. Also that East Prussia, most of it, will go to Poland and the corner of it will go to Russia. Also (what shall I call it) that the "amanuensis" of the Free State of Danzig, I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

Curzon Line Called Fair

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian. They are not Polish, to a very great majority. And the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and East Germany which will go to new Poland. As far back as 1919 the representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. You must also remember there was no Poland, there had not been any Polish Government, before 1919, for a great many generations.

I am convinced that this agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish state.

Now the Crimean conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rest the chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, another nation was not included—France was not a participant in the conference—no one should detract from the recognition that was accorded there to her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied control council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the international conference at San Francisco next month.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreed on Yugoslavia

Agreement was reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communiqué, and we hope that it is in process of fulfillment. But it is not only that, but in some other places we have to remember there are a great number of prima donnas in the world, all who wish to be heard. Before anything will be done, we may have a little delay if we listen to all the prima donnas.

At another point Mr. Roosevelt went away from his prepared text with a brief lecture to home-front war workers:

"Lest some one lay off work in the United States," he said, "I repeat what I think I can say in my sleep: 'We haven't won the war.'"

The speech ended as follows:

"I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this (Yalta) conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live."

It is a long tough road to Tokyo. It is longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word.

The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, we must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific. But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany. I say that advisedly, with the thought in mind that that is especially true if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back from the Crimea I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

Problems Clearly Presented

Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing our Army and Navy and Air Force at work.

All Americans, I think would feel proud, as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional leaders, sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought and won.

I think that this is our chance to see to it that the sons and grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The conference in the Crimea was a turning point, I hope, in our history, and therefore in the history of the world. It will soon be presented to the Senate and the American people, a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States, and I think therefore of the world, for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

Planning Is Defended

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some circles. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning, and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning—reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the second time in the lives of most of us, this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for and sacrifice for it.

Says Failure Means Disaster

Twenty-five years ago American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world to survive again.

I think the Crimean conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of peace. It spells, it ought to spell, the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries, and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

And I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren, yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world, must live and can live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you, for I feel very deeply, and I know that all of you are feeling it today and are going to feel it in the future.

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AIRLINES FACE FIGHT FOR ATLANTIC TRADE

Granting of Permits to More Than One System Is Indicated at CAB Hearings

By JOHN STUART
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 1—Proceedings moved today toward the grant of certificates to more than one airline to carry the American flag in the lucrative North Atlantic trade. Pan American Airways will advocate tomorrow the formation of a single company, in which all airlines might be permitted to share in both finance and operation, but it will oppose the granting of certificates to any of the eleven applicants who, yesterday and today, have argued before the Civil Aeronautics Board for a direct share in the business.

Reports that the Administration was preparing and would ask for legislation changing the basic Civil Aeronautics Act, under which the board is apparently moving toward regulated competition, were authoritatively denied today. Also denied was a report that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate was preparing to challenge the whole result of the Chicago Civil Aviation Conference, on the ground that the Administration's adherence to the interim agreement reached by all the nations there should be subject to ratification by the Senate.

Chicago Agreements Valid

It was learned today that representatives of the Civil Aeronautics Board and of the State Department testified before the Foreign Relations Committee last week to their belief that the interim agreement reached at Chicago and formally accepted by the President in behalf of his country, was in every respect covered by the delegations of power contained in the Civil Aeronautics Act.

The oral arguments proceeded before the Civil Aeronautics Board today on that body's expressed theory that the law compels them to foster competition if it is in the best interests of the United States in international air transportation unless Congress by affirmative legislation directs it to do otherwise.

George A. Spater, attorney for Transcontinental & Western Air, made the principal plea before the board today. He said that while every other applicant for a trans-Atlantic route would have either to build or to reconvert airplanes suitable for the run, his company now owned five Boeing Stratoliners, recently returned from the Army's Air Transport Command, and now undergoing reconversion. These planes, he said, would be ready to fly the Atlantic at low rates and in luxury the moment a certificate was made effective.

Plan Round Trips Weekly

He said that TWA proposes to fly seven round trips weekly to London and two to Calcutta, all without subsidy of any kind. He took exception to the examiners' report before the board recommending certificates for American Export Air Lines, asserting that it would in effect give four Atlantic routes to that company, the purchase of which by American Airlines is now pending before the board for approval.

Mr. Spater also attacked what he called a community of ownership between Pan American Airways and American Airlines through the ownership of large blocks of stock in both lines by Aviation Corporation, the parent company from whose associate, Consolidated-Vultee, Pan American has proposed to buy a large fleet of 204-passenger, six-engine airplanes. Questioned by board members Harlee Branch and Welch Pogue as to what the effect would be if the board were to require a conclusion of such an ownership, Mr. Spater insisted that a community of interest would still remain.

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Seabees Reverse Role on Guam, Blasting Caves to Dispossess Foe

Interlude in Building Activity Is Devoted to Depriving Japanese of Jungle Homes, Some Close to Nimitz's Quarters

By WARREN MOSCOW
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GAUM, March 1—This correspondent has previously reported on the construction activities of the Seabees in their working hours. Today he wishes to report on what they do in their non-constructing time. Instead of bubilding things for Americans to ive in, they blast out and make uninhabitable the caves that are the sole habitations of the Japanese remaining on Guam.

Invited to go along on a typical demolition trip, this correspondent was not quick-witted enough to produce an alibi and was forced to accept. Fortunately, also along was "Dry Run" Baker, a reformed pharmacist's mate, who had been on fourteen such missions without encountering a Japanese. At the end of today's session this reporter was able to congratulate Mr. Baker on the completion of his fifteenth successful mission.

This is strictly a volunteer matter. Its purpose, technically, is to dynamite every Japanese cave that can be found in the jungle areas, some not more than a mile from Admiral Chester W. Nimitz's own cottage, so that when the rainy season comes the enemy will have no place to live.

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STEIN BLOCH



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British procedure thus differs from American practice in domestic as well as international air policy, for in the United States, all efforts by the railroad and steamship companies to enter the aviation field have been sternly resisted by the Government, as has the at-



ground that the Administration's adherence to the interim agreement reached by all the nations there should be subject to ratification by the Senate.

Chicago Agreements Valid

It was learned today that representatives of the Civil Aeronautics Board and of the State Department testified before the Foreign Relations Committee last week to their belief that the interim agreement reached at Chicago and formally accepted by the President in behalf of his country, was in every respect covered by the delegations of power contained in the Civil Aeronautics Act.

The oral arguments proceeded before the Civil Aeronautics Board today on that body's expressed theory that the law compels them to foster competition if it is in the best interests of the United States in international air transportation unless Congress by affirmative legislation directs it to do otherwise.

George A. Spater, attorney for Transcontinental & Western Air, made the principal plea before the board today. He said that while every other applicant for a trans-Atlantic route would have either to build or to reconvert airplanes suitable for the run, his company now owned five Boeing Stratoliners, recently returned from the Army's Air Transport Command, and now undergoing reconversion. These planes, he said, would be ready to fly the Atlantic at low rates and in luxury the moment a certificate was made effective.

Plan Round Trips Weekly

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The Prudential Life Insurance Company, largest of the companies, was asked for 890 employes, about 10 per cent of its staff. Factories, department stores and other businesses have been assessed on a similar basis since the drive began a week ago, following the acknowledged failure of a voluntary recruitment plan.

In a statement Mr. Pfaus said any difficulties encountered by the insurance concerns as a result of the shift could be overcome by extending the 42-hour work week schedule under which most of the companies operate.

Officials of Prudential said they would not comment on the situation until after a conference with Mr. Pfaus.

About 300 employes of the garment trades, breweries, jewelry manufacture, department and other retail stores and printing plants have been processed thus far in the project. Of these about 40 per cent have been placed in jobs in defense plants.

Miss Sells Appointed Attache

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WASHINGTON, March 1—Dorothy M. Sells, former expert on women's employment for the Office of Defense Transportation, has been appointed labor attaché at the United States Legation in Berne. Miss Sells is a graduate of Wellesley and received a Doctorate degree at the University of London.

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The British Overseas Airways Corporation—the chosen instrument of British international flying since 1940—will continue to run British Empire services, but in collaboration with the chosen instrument companies of the British Dominions. In the operation of other long-distance routes, the BOAC, the shipping companies and travel agencies will cooperate, using the world-wide organization built up before the war by the surface operators.

Air services in the British Isles and to Europe will be operated by a combined company in which the British independent airlines that ran internal services and a few overseas routes before the war will be invited to take capital.

Aircraft and crews for these services will be drawn from a central pool to be controlled by the BOAC, and there will be a centralized training organization for flying and ground staffs.

In effect, it is said, the Government's proposals that will be brought forward next week in a White Paper will give to BOAC and the shipping and railway interests a monopoly in the overseas sphere and to the railway air services a monopoly of internal flying. The travel agencies will have a financial interest in the entire structure.

Scrap paper is precious — the armed forces urgently need it. Save yours. Keep it clean.





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Communist Seeks Re-election

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REFUGEE TO LEAVE U. S.

Austrian Woman First of Those at Fort Ontario to Be Resettled

Mrs. Elsa Neumann, 60-year-old Austrian refugee, will be the first of 982 European refugees to leave Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y., it was announced yesterday at the office of the National Council for Jewish Women, 1819 Broadway, the organization that has arranged for her resettlement .

After escaping from Austria and later being interned in Italy, last August Mrs. Neumann was among those selected for temporary asylum in the United States. Arrangements now have been made for her trip to Capetown, South Africa, where her four children and three grandchildren live. Expenses for the trip are being paid through a fund deposited here by Mrs. Neumann's children.

Great Way
to relieve stuffiness, invite
Sleep
if nose fills up
Tonight
A FEW DROPS Make Breathing Easier
It's wonderful how a little Va-tro-nol up each nostril relieves stuffy transient congestion. Also relieves distress of head colds! Follow directions in folder.
VICKS VA-TRO-NOL

Light up and Let Up



NATURAL BLOOM
makers of QUALITY CIGARS for 46 years

HAVE YOU TRIED MOUNT VERNON LATELY?



IT'S THE

STEIN BLOCH CLOTHES...IN THE NEW YORK MANNNER



Two Inches and Eighty Years

IT ONLY TAKES A MOMENT to stitch inside a coat the two-inch

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

N.Y. TIMES, MARCH 2

THE GREAT DECISION

In his address yesterday before the two Houses of Congress President Roosevelt described the work of the Yalta conference as "a turning point in our history, and therefore in the history of the world." He then said:

> It will soon be presented to the Senate and the American people, a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States, and I think therefore of the world, for generations to come. There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

We believe that an overwhelming majority of Americans are wholly in agreement with this proposition. They have seen the almost incredible waste of blood and treasure caused by two great wars. They know that the world is growing smaller. They are convinced that a Third World War would involve us even more quickly and more disastrously than the two world wars which have already been fought within the lifetime of almost the whole adult population of this country. They are therefore determined to do everything within their power to prevent the outbreak of a Third World War, and they are convinced that the most hopeful way of accomplishing this purpose is through association with other powerful nations sharing the same objective. The old faith in American isolation is deader than the proverbial dodo. There remains no confidence at all—after Pearl Harbor, after the robot bombs, after war planes that can travel with the speed of sound—in the false security of a geographical position which was once supposed to be impregnable because it was defended by two oceans. We are out in the world now, with all its dangers. No responsible leadership anywhere in the country, no dominant faction of either major political party, no minor party with more than an insignificant following, now opposes the proposition that the best way to safety lies in collaboration, rather than in isolation.

This is the greatest certainty in the whole American political scene today. But if we accept, as we do—almost without dissent—the necessity of collaboration, what do we mean by this word? How, and when, and by what means shall we "collaborate" with other nations?

It is evident that at this point the near-unanimity of opinion ends, and different judgments appear. There are some who would have us collaborate, but only if the collaboration is wholly on our own terms: that is, only if we have our own American way in all of the important decisions to be reached, whether those decisions pertain to a frontier in eastern Europe or to a method of voting in the council of a new league of the United Nations. There are others who would postpone the whole business of collaboration to a later date: they would have us wait to take a look-see at the terms of peace ultimately arrived at, both in Europe and in Asia, and decide then, and only then, whether to go along or whether to return once more to the twice bombed-out cellar of isolation. There are still others who would have us collaborate willingly on the high plane of statesmanship which initiated such undertakings as Dumbarton Oaks, but not collaborate at all in difficult and messy things like border problems and the establishment of interim governments in war-torn countries, even though it is the solutions reached concerning these same difficult and messy questions that will determine in large measure the shape of the forthcoming peace.

In our own judgment the right way to collaborate is the method used at Yalta. That method involved an abandonment by our Government of its previous position that the settlement of all difficult political questions must wait until the war's end. It involved a recognition that some of these questions will breed deep trouble and disunity unless they are settled now. It involved a departure from the "hands off" policy which we followed in the case of Greece, and the acceptance of an American share of responsibility for decisions which must be made in other similar cases, now and in the future. It involved compromise where compromise could be defended as reasonable and consistent with the broad purpose of international security. It involved constant recognition of the superlative importance of keeping a united political front against two formidable enemies who have not yet been defeated.

It is because we believe that the method of collaboration pursued at Yalta was the right method, and because we believe the results achieved by this method are constructive and in the American interest, that we are certain Mr. Roosevelt was entitled yesterday to appeal for strong American endorsement of the agreements he has made in the name of the United States.

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

WASHINGTON POST, MARCH 2

Looking Toward Peace

President Roosevelt's address to Congress yesterday was a tribute to the thoroughness of the Big Three communique issued at the conclusion of the Yalta conference. That statement said almost everything that Mr. Roosevelt put into his address or that Prime Minister Churchill reported to the House of Commons. The President revealed that the Security Council voting plan unanimously adopted at Yalta for recommendation to the San Francisco conference was proposed by himself. He was more explicit than the communique as to the future borders of Poland. By comparison, however, these bits of new information are mere crumbs from the Yalta table.

What the address did convey is a more profound appreciation of the over-all achievements at the Crimean conference. The President said frankly that there had been too long a lapse between the meeting at Teheran, where only military problems were ironed out, and the Yalta conference, where the leaders of the three great powers came face to face with political issues. Local problems had thus become acute. Spheres of influence wholly incompatible with the idea of international collaboration began to grow up. That was inevitable, and it would be inevitable again, as President Roosevelt made plain, if the Nations that are winning the war should fail to work as a team to establish the peace.

The two major accomplishments at Yalta are yet to be put into concrete treaty form. The first will find fulfillment at San Francisco where a permanent international organization to keep the peace is to be set up. The second, that of binding the Allies together in a hard and fast agreement to demilitarize Germany, will presumably be brought to fruition in the peace treaty. So far as the three foremost powers are concerned, full understanding with respect to both has been reached. And the pattern for future cooperation has been fixed.

President Roosevelt spoke of these preliminary understandings with quiet assurance that a secure foundation for future peace has been laid. That assurance comes from his frank discussions and arguments and subsequent compromises with Messrs. Stalin and Churchill. In short, the three men have greatly strengthened the bond of mutual confidence between them. That fact is one of the most hopeful indications that a new peace system can be launched under favorable auspices.

The fact that the President personally conveyed his feeling of confidence in the future to Congress is also a hopeful portent. "Speaking in all frankness," he said, "the question of whether it [the Yalta conference] is to be entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands." Yalta was truly "a turning point in American history." But the Senate must decide whether we have really turned the corner toward international collaboration or merely deviated temporarily from the course which made the present war possible. The applause of Congress during this thoughtful address suggests that it is no less determined than is the House of Commons to accept the give and take of international compromise founded on democracy and aimed toward peace.

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Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

N.Y. TIMES, MARCH 2

RCH 2, 1945.

In The Nation

The News Content of the President's Speech

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, March 1—The President's personal report to Congress today on the proceedings at Yalta, and notably the fact that he made it so promptly and in such good temper, visibly and favorably impressed his auditors at the joint session. This was evident in their faces, in the volume and placement of their applause and in their public comment that followed. Mr. Roosevelt not only acknowledged Congress as his full partner in government; he also asserted the Senate's prerogative as to treaties and the special rights of the House.

Asks Congress to Concur

Emphasizing this in the most effective way possible, the President asked Congress to "concur in the decisions reached at Yalta" (not specifying the form of concurrence) and for the "active support" of the national legislature in making these decisions effective. In so doing he followed, in so far as our pattern of government permits, the course Prime Minister Churchill took two days ago in his speech to the Commons. There was much interest in whether he would merely imply or openly seek this approval, for he has never made a report of this nature before. This interest, satisfied on the one point, now turns to whether Congress —through whatever means it may employ to express concurrence—will give to the President a vote of confidence as overwhelming as that Mr. Churchill got from the Commons today.

For these and other reasons the President's address and his personal and prompt appearance made up a notable historical event. But, judging the speech from the news standpoint, the conclusion must be that once again the Allied world has first heard the facts of an international conference from the British Prime Minister, and once again more of these facts than in subsequent releases by Mr. Roosevelt or any members of the United States government. By his report two days ago Mr. Churchill continued to make the British people the best-informed as well as the first-informed among the United Nations.

A Later Opportunity

When the world security conference of these nations meets in April at San Francisco the President will have the advantages of geography and location as well as the privileges of a host. If the factor of geography is in any way responsible for the order of the reports on Yalta by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, then the latter will for once be in a position to make the first announcements of important news from San Francisco as well as the first summary, at the end of the conference, of what has been agreed on. It remains to be seen whether he will avail himself of this and thus enable the American people to hear the news when it is fresh from the lips of their own President instead of from Mr. Churchill's. But, even in this event, it is not probable that a speech by the head of any state will have the lambent quality that invariably distinguishes the addresses of the Prime Minister.

Very close readers of the newspapers, especially of the Yalta communiqué and the speech in Commons Tuesday, heard little from Mr. Roosevelt that comes within the category of fresh news. He stressed and clarified the fact that "provision has been made for daily exchange of information" between our armies and those of Soviet Russia, and gave the illustration of recent cooperation in the air over Germany. He defined "unconditional surrender" with more detail than he has defined it previously, and stressed that this would not be followed by the "enslavement" of the German people. He frankly conceded that the Polish settlement is a compromise for which he feels no enthusiasm, and he made it very positive that the Polish elections are to be conducted by secret ballot.

Light News Quantity

But this correspondent was unable to find any other passages or statements which can be classified as news—that is, fresh information—in any usual sense. So far as major information is concerned, Mr. Churchill had another "beat," as press jargon calls it, over his American colleague. He cannot be credited with one over Marshal Stalin because that potentate acknowledges no obligation to acquaint his people of decisions he has reached for them.

And there were several passages in the speech to Congress which increased the darkness in which certain future arrangements are concealed. The President spoke of "plants, and machinery and rolling stock and raw materials" as the "reparations in kind" which will be exacted of Germany. But he made no mention of the enforced, imported German labor which the Russians—and probably other Allies—insist shall be part of those reparations, seeming indeed to question the idea by his pledge against "enslavement" of the German people. It is said this was a point of disagreement at Yalta, but, while the President's speech leaves that implication, it does not say so.

In Summary

Mr. Roosevelt at another point declared that the peace must not be a peace written by the large nations or the small nations; that it must be the peace of all. But a moment later he seemed to assign responsibility for solving the problems of peace to "the major powers of the world" exclusively. Some attentive listeners may find a conflict in those statements.

On the whole, therefore, the President's report was not new, in some respects not clear, but an impressive, important and cooperative narrative.

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

WASHINGTON POST, MARCH 3

Turning Point

By Barnet Nover

The President Explains Yalta

IN HIS REPORT to the Congress on the Crimean Conference, President Roosevelt made a point which cannot be emphasized too often or too strongly.

Calling the conference a turning point in history, a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States and of the world for generations to come, the President said:

"There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

THE RESPONSIBILITY does not, of course, rest with us alone. It rests with the other great Allied countries as well, with all the United Nations. But responsibility is a function of power and authority and the power and authority which this Nation wields or can wield are very great, indeed.

They are not great enough, however, to dictate the peace settlement or the terms of the postwar security plan or the basis upon which we are to cooperate in making that plan work.

In 1918 Woodrow Wilson had the illusion that we were powerful enough to do all those things. He did manage to get the Allies to accept most of the Fourteen Points as the basis of the peace. But the translation of those Fourteen Points into the actual peace settlement fell far short of his hopes and the hopes of many Americans. The result was disillusionment.

It is evident from President Roosevelt's address that at Yalta he made no attempt to impose America's will on Britain and Russia. His emphasis throughout his report was on the fact that Yalta represents a compromise among conflicting viewpoints, with the ensuing agreement the result of concessions by all the participants.

Furthermore, what emerged from Yalta is not a system ordered down to the last detail but only "the groundwork of a plan" and one that after it has finally emerged from the forthcoming deliberations at San Francisco "will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years."

THE PRESIDENT is to be commended for the modesty of his claims regarding Yalta.

No one on earth can speak with assurance as to how the plans there agreed on will actually work out. But the choice facing the American people and the world is not between those plans and some other plans, but between the Yalta arrangement and nothing.

The same was true in 1919 when the choice was not between the League of Nations, as it actually was, and a different league, which certain critics were demanding, but between the League and chaos. We rejected the League and got chaos. If we reject Yalta we shall get chaos again.

IN ONLY ONE particular did the President allow his sense of relief and gratification over the agreements reached at Yalta to get the better of his judgment.

In the original text of the President's address there is this passage:

"The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground for peace. It spells the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries—and have failed."

As he actually delivered this passage, the President inserted after "it spells" the cautious words, "it ought to spell."

It ought to. But we had better not be too sanguine that it will. The forces that, in the past, were responsible for the creation of alliances, spheres of influence, balances of power, have by no means disappeared in the world. They are inherent in the very nature of an international system in which the concept of national sovereignty continues to be basic.

Yalta did not do away with the alliances already made, notably the Anglo-Russian and the Franco-Russian alliances. It did not eliminate spheres of influence. The Polish settlement was basically a more or less grudging acceptance by the United States and Great Britain of Russian dominance in the region directly west of the Soviet Union.

It is true that so far as the future government of Poland is concerned Russia gave way, or seemed to give way, to the wishes of Great Britain and the United States. Russia could afford to make such a concession. Governments come and go; the dependence of Poland on Russia has now been given international sanction.

AS FOR THE balance of power, Yalta did not eliminate it. It couldn't. All it did was to attempt to cushion the friction that might develop among the Big Three by equalizing their authority and generalizing their responsibility in regions where otherwise they might meet in head-on conflict.

The Yalta method is or can be a real advance over past practices. We must recognize that it is as yet an untried instrument.

The main thing about Yalta is not that it ushers in a new heaven and a new earth but that, as the President has said, it marks "the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build." That in itself is no mean achievement.

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

New York Times - Mayo 4/45

WE'RE ALL ON OUR WAY TO A NEW LEAGUE NOW

As Everyone of Importance Concerned Is Committed to Form World Body To Keep Future Peace

IT WILL NOT HAVE WAR-END JOB

By EDWIN L. JAMES

The United States, Great Britain and Russia are in agreement for the establishment of a world organization to prevent World War III. Not only that, but France is joining in issuing the invitations to all the countries at war with Germany or Japan on March 1 to attend the conference in San Francisco in April. Turkey, Egypt and Iran have declared war in order to be invited, and there is no indication that any country invited will not be on hand when the meeting opens.

When President Roosevelt told Congress that much depended on its action, he showed good political sense. It was President Wilson's failure to take Congress into his confidence which had no little to do with the defeat of the League of Nations. Mr. Roosevelt has also displayed acumen by putting members of the Senate, including Senator Vandenberg, Republican, on the United States delegation. Who knows what difference it might have made if Mr. Wilson had taken Senator Lodge to Paris with him? Lodge had long been an advocate of a world organization, but he became angered at Wilson and turned his successful fight against the League into a party issue and a personal issue.

Now, despite the circumstance that international political issues are more complicated and difficult than a quarter of a century ago, Mr. Roosevelt will start his fight for Senate ratification of the new League with both parties on record as favoring it, with both houses of Congress committed to it and with the real cooperation of Senators from both sides. In that respect the prospects are better than they were the last time.

Some New Differences

Those who followed closely the fortunes of the first League will recall the troubles which arose from handing to the League the job of completing the liquidation of World War I. Of course, Mr. Wilson, with great faith in the League, counted on it to rectify what he considered errors in the Treaty of Versailles. Theoretically, it may have been a good idea, but practically it was bad politics. There were sixty members of the League; there had been a total of nineteen nations fighting the Central Powers. And the result was that at any time there was a majority of the members of the League not interested from a national viewpoint in having the League carry out the provisions of the treaty which gave fruits of victory to the conquering Allies. It might well have been different if the United States had assumed its position in the League but, without us, the other great powers who never had much enthusiasm for the League went their nationalistic ways. As for the sociological, labor and educational features of the League organization, in which all the members were interested, they went ahead well and it may well be that the new League will inherit usefully some of the results of this branch of the old League's activity.

As far as one can guess—and it seems a very good guess indeed—the new League will not be given the task of making any important part of the peace terms. That is going to be handled by the Big Three in consultation with other powers interested legitimately in various regional problems. But the Big Three are going to make the peace; Germany is going to be occupied by armies of the Big Three nations and not by a League army.

Power of Big Three

There is logic in this, for why should Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Eire take part in settling with the Nazis? The settlement with Germany will be made by the powers which defeat Germany. Even were it tried to do it as a League proposition, it would be those three nations which would have to supply the force needed. When that is done, when the Reich shall have been disarmed and when the conditions of her defeat have peace to make plans to prevent another aggression.

True enough, even then it will be the three powers who will have defeated Germany which will be the bulwarks of the new order, but it will be easier and more politic if the new organization starts on its way in a period when there is no aggression or immediate danger of aggression.

Objections to Be Heard

Of course, this is not going to satisfy everybody. There will be those who, arguing for the brotherhood of man, will think that the whole world should join in making the peace terms for Germany and Japan. There will be those who will stick to the idea that the world organization should have powers over and above those of national governments and who will advocate popular elections to a world parliament. Others will adhere to their idea that there should be an international police force with an international command. But these things cannot be achieved, and what San Francisco should bring forth in its development of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is a plan which will be adopted.

Even now the question is being asked as to how the new League can enforce its rulings if it has no power. The answer is, of course, that when the powerful nations in the new League agree that aggression is looming, they will use their own national forces to curb it. There are theoretical loopholes in this plan, but it is the only plan that countries like the United States, Britain and Russia will accept today, and everything depends on finding a plan they will accept.

Leadership of Wilson

While Mr. Wilson did make mistakes, it is not to be forgotten that in many respects the new League is going to follow the set-up of the first League. The new organization is to be a voluntary association of national governments; that was the basis of the old League. The plan for a Council controlled by the big powers and an Assembly composed eventually of all nations is the same general plan on which the old League was founded. If the new League succeeds in cutting some of the red tape which cursed the old League, it may be said that it was the experience of the first League that points the way this time.

Naturally some of the smaller countries are going to make invidious comparisons between the powers and privileges of the new League and those given to Assembly members in the old League. But it is perfectly plain that at least in its first years the coming organization should weigh the relative proposition that the nations which will have to provide action when action is needed will have to have more to say about it than those countries which are not expected to act. If it be true that the amour propre of a country runs in inverse ratio to its importance, the answer will probably have to be that as the new League develops and earns power the role of the Assembly will in time increase over the status it will occupy to begin with.

Archivo Histórico — Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto — Argentina

As Everyone of Importance Concerned Is Committed to Form World Body To Keep Future Peace

IT WILL NOT HAVE WAR-END JOB

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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When President Roosevelt told Congress that much depended on its action, he showed good political sense. It was President Wilson's failure to take Congress into his confidence which had no little to do with the defeat of the League of Nations. Mr. Roosevelt has also displayed acumen by putting members of the Senate, including Senator Vandenberg, Republican, on the United States delegation. Who knows what difference it might have made if Mr. Wilson had taken Senator Lodge to Paris with him? Lodge had long been an advocate of a world organization, but he became angered at Wilson and turned his successful fight against the League into a party issue and a personal issue.

Now, despite the circumstance that international political issues are more complicated and difficult than a quarter of a century ago, Mr. Roosevelt will start his fight for Senate ratification of the new League with both parties on record as favoring it, with both houses of Congress committed to it and with the real cooperation of Senators from both sides. In that respect the prospects are better than they were the last time.

Some New Differences

Those who followed closely the fortunes of the first League will recall the troubles which arose from handing to the League the job of completing the liquidation of World War I. Of course, Mr. Wilson, with great faith in the League, counted on it to rectify what he considered errors in the Treaty of Versailles. Theoretically, it may have been a good idea, but practically it was bad politics. There were sixty members of the League; there had been a total of nineteen nations fighting the Central Powers. And the result was that at any time there was a majority of the members of the League not interested from a national viewpoint in having the League carry out the provisions of the treaty which gave fruits of victory to the conquering Allies. It might well have been different if the United States had assumed its position in the League but, without us, the other great powers who never had much enthusiasm for the League went their nationalistic ways. As for the sociological, labor and educational features of the League organization, in which all the members were interested, they went ahead well and it may well be that the new League will inherit usefully some of the results of this branch of the old League's activity.

As far as one can guess—and it seems a very good guess indeed—the new League will not be given the task of making any important part of the peace terms. That is going to be handled by the Big Three in consultation with other powers interested legitimately in various regional problems. But the Big Three are going to make the peace; Germany is going to be occupied by armies of the Big Three nations and not by a League army.

Power of Big Three

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True enough, even then it will be the three powers who will have defeated Germany which will be the bulwarks of the new order, but it will be easier and more politic if the new organization starts on its way in a period when there is no aggression or immediate danger of aggression.

Objections to Be Heard

Of course, this is not going to satisfy everybody. There will be those who, arguing for the brotherhood of man, will think that the whole world should join in making the peace terms for Germany and Japan. There will be those who will stick to the idea that the world organization should have powers over and above those of national governments and who will advocate popular elections to a world parliament. Others will adhere to their idea that there should be an international police force with an international command. But these things cannot be achieved, and what San Francisco should bring forth in its development of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is a plan which will be adopted.

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Naturally some of the smaller countries are going to make invidious comparisons between the powers and privileges of the new League and those given to Assembly members in the old League. But it is perfectly plain that at least in its first years the coming organization should weigh the relative proposition that the nations which will have to provide action when action is needed will have to have more to say about it than those countries which are not expected to act. If it be true that the amour propre of a country runs in inverse ratio to its importance, the answer will probably have to be that as the new League develops and earns power the role of the Assembly will in time increase over the status it will occupy to begin with.

But look at it any way you like, the new League has got to start out on a platform of complete agreement by Washington, London and Moscow. Or it will not start at all.

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

New York Times - Marzo 4/45

REPUBLICANS SUPPORT SAN FRANCISCO MEETING

But as 'Free Agents' They May Make Political Capital of Peace Program

By LUTHER HUSTON

WASHINGTON, March 3—The question of whether President Roosevelt, by appointing three Republicans as delegates to the San Francisco Conference on post-war security, gave the GOP a shiny red apple or a hot potato remains to be answered. Not until the international and domestic political issues indigenous to that conference are resolved can a clear answer be obtained.

But Republican leaders here indicated this week a firm belief that the appointments did not pose a dilemma for their party. There was reluctance to speculate upon the effect participation in the conference might have upon the personal ambitions or fortunes of the participants, but no admission that the President had put the party in a hole.

None the less there was ponderable opinion here and elsewhere in the country that attributed to President Roosevelt political guile in naming Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Representative Charles A. Eaton and Comdr. Harold E. Stassen as Republican members of the delegation.

A Bipartisan Conference

Even before President Roosevelt made his declaration to Congress on Thursday that the American delegation to the conference "is—in every sense of the word—bipartisan," Republican leaders were espousing that concept of their appointment to the delegation and proclaiming, as did the President, that "world peace is not a party question."

Senator Vandenberg is chairman of the Republican Conference in the Senate, the ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a foremost spokesman of his party in matters of foreign policy. He is currently in the limelight by reason of his advocacy of immediate treaty action, in advance of a peace settlement, to keep Germany and Japan forever disarmed.

Representative Eaton is the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and an influential member of Congress and his party.

Commander Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, had been a vigorous advocate of the abandonment of the traditional isolationism attributed to the intransigent element of the GOP.

There are those who contend that Mr. Roosevelt might well have had in mind spiking the guns, by making its members participants in the planning, of a trio which might shell his position if it did not like his plans for post-war security. The technique of silencing opposition by absorbing it has been used before.

Possible Nominees

In addition, Senator Vandenberg and Commander Stassen are possible Republican Presidential nominees in 1948. Their candidacies could be weakened by advance identification with plans and policies espoused by Mr. Roosevelt which might be an issue in the next campaign, regardless of whom the Democrats may nominate. Commander Stassen said he considered the appointment a political liability to himself or to any Republican, and while he did not enlarge upon that statement, few are so naive as to believe that he did not have future Presidential aspirations in mind.

Republican spokesmen here, however, decry the thought that partisan politics was involved or should enter into the selection of the delegates. They prefer to believe that their representatives on the delegation were chosen for reasons other than that they were Republicans. They point to the knowledge, experience and capabilities of Messrs. Vandenberg and Eaton and Commander Stassen and emphasize the contribution these three can make to a wise solution of the problems the conference will attempt to solve.

The idea that President Roosevelt has bought acquiescence in his program by these appointments is vigorously repudiated in circles very close to the delegates themselves. If they do not like the program or any agreements which may be reached at San Francisco, the delegates will be entirely free to reject and criticize them.

Parties in Accord

This does not mean that the Republicans are going to the conference with chips on their shoulders. It is pointed out that there is no basic disagreement between the Democrats and the Republicans on the fundamental concept of post-war collective security through international cooperation.

The Republicans say that their party's policy in this regard was defined in the Mackinac Charter, approved by the party leaders in advance of the 1944 Presidential campaign, and reiterated in the platform of the Chicago convention upon which Thomas E. Dewey sought the Presidency. They contend that their declarations of policy on this point came earlier and were more explicit than those of the Democrats.

The seed of contention at San Francisco and afterward might germinate, however, from the Republican position that collective security should be achieved by international cooperation and not by the creation of an international state. Republican spokesmen also profess to see a "great difference" between the Dumbarton Oaks plan, which the conference will discuss, and the GOP position. Republican doctrine, they say, places the emphasis on justice as a prerequisite to peace, whereas the Dumbarton Oaks plan, as they view it, places the emphasis on force.

Discord Is Remote

Consequently the possibility that the Republicans Mr. Roosevelt has appointed may oppose in whole or in part whatever treaties or declarations the San Francisco Conference may evolve is not remote. As one Republican spokesman expressed it, the Republicans represent the "loyal opposition," and difficulties are inherent when they are serving on a body under the leadership of the head of the party they are supposed to oppose.

The Republicans are aware, also, that representatives of many other nations will be present at San Francisco. Our foreign relations have been in the hands of President Roosevelt and the Democrats for more than twelve years and to many of the delegates from abroad Republicans may seem like strange and rather dangerous creatures. The responsibility to dispel any such misconceptions, so that the prestige of their party may not suffer when next it comes into power, rests not lightly upon the GOP contingent.

With weeks still to elapse before the conference convenes, the Republicans are proceeding slowly in planning their part in it. Commander Stassen has conferred with Governor Dewey. Governor Dewey has been in Washington and discussed the situation with the leaders here. Other conferences, formal and informal, have been held and will be held in the intervening weeks.

It is emphasized, however, that the delegates will go to the conference as free agents, not bound by any party agreements as to policy. They will not, as one high-ranking Republican phrased it, take with them any proxies or any votes, or participate in the conference as spokesmen for the Republicans.

Hence the contention that participation in the conference by Republicans presents no dilemma for the party. The inference there is that the party will not hesitate to avail itself, come election time, of any opportunities to make political capital out of the San Francisco Conference that may arise. Neither, for that matter, will the Democrats.

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

Sunday Star - Marzo 4/45

The Opportunity at San Francisco

Future Peace of World to Rest on Adherence to Principles of Justice

By Irvine L. Lenroot

Judge Lenroot was for many years a United States Senator from Wisconsin, serving as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. He was the American member of the Anglo-American Commission of Conciliation. At present he is a judge of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

I write this article as one who sincerely hopes that the United Nations Conference at San Francisco may agree upon a plan, patterned upon that of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, that will be ratified by our Senate and all the participating nations and which will contribute in some degree, at least, to the maintenance of peace in the world.

It would be folly, however, not to fully understand and frankly acknowledge that world peace for many years depends primarily upon the powerful nations now allied in the prosecution of the war against Germany. If these nations shall in the future fulfill their obligations and establish the same codes of honor for themselves as is expected from individuals, and is demanded from small nations, then the United Nations organization to be formed at San Francisco will be a great step forward in establishing world peace.

Already orators and writers, who call themselves liberals, are proclaiming to our people daily and nightly that the Crimea Conference was a triumph for the democratic peoples of the earth and that Russia is entitled to great credit for the happy outcome. In this a grave disservice is being done to the American people, for the disillusionment which is sure to follow from such propaganda may result in creating millions of isolationists who will render impossible any proper participation of the United States in world affairs.

People Entitled to Facts.

If our country is to take the part that it should in preserving world peace, its people must make their decisions upon facts, facts which they are entitled to know, for a public sentiment built upon untruths is like a house built upon the sands.

To illustrate how facts are being misrepresented to the American people today: They are being constantly told—and millions believe it—that the Covenant of the League of Nations for which President Wilson fought was defeated by his enemies in the Senate, and that if it had not been so defeated the Second World War might have been avoided.

The truth is that President Wilson himself was the cause of our failure to become a member of the League of Nations. Had it not been for his insistence that the Senate agree to Article X of the Covenant containing the promise that we would with our might and material resources preserve as against external aggression the boundaries of every nation member of the League as recognized by the Versailles Peace Conference the Senate would have ratified the treaty containing the Covenant of the League of Nations by an overwhelming vote.

Took Part in Contest.

I speak from first-hand knowledge upon this point for as a member of the Senate at that time I took a very active part in the contest over the ratification of the treaty as the Congressional Record will show. The day before President Wilson left Washington on his ill-fated Western trip to seek public support for the League Covenant without reservations he invited me to the White House to discuss the matter with him. Our discussion lasted nearly an hour in which I pointed out to him that the only real obstacle to the ratification of the treaty was Article X and that if he would agree to a reservation relieving the United States from the obligation of that article, ratification would be certain and his speaking trip would become unnecessary. He replied that he would not agree to such a reservation, for, in his opinion, Article X was the heart of the Covenant and that without it the League would be of no value in maintaining the peace of the world.

In accordance with his request his supporters in the Senate voted against ratification with the Lodge reservation and thus defeated it. I would here observe that Lord Grey, then the English Ambassador, indicated in a letter, published in the Congressional Record, that the Lodge reservations were acceptable to Great Britain.

Cites Shantung Issue.

The memories of most men are short and probably in the intervening 25 years few have remembered that if President Wilson had had his way we would have



JUDGE LENROOT.

of Germany is permanently destroyed. I am confident that this will be done, for the selfish ends of the United Nations require this. Beyond this we should co-operate with Russia and Great Britain to the fullest extent possible consistent with our American ideals of honor and justice, but our people are entitled to know, from the experience of the past, that too much trust must not be placed in some of the promises made at the Crimea Conference.

With these comments we come to a brief survey of how the promises of Great Britain and Russia have been kept since World War I. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, a wanton aggression, violating the promise of Japan in the League of Nations Covenant to respect and preserve the political independence and territorial integrity of China. This occurred under the Hoover administration and the United States vigorously protested against this aggression. Through our State Department we sought the co-operation of Great Britain to find means, short of war, to prevent it. While Great Britain was under a solemn obligation under Article X to preserve the territorial integrity of China, also a member of the League of Nations, she not only failed to keep such promise but declined to co-operate with the United States in measures of any kind against Japan.

Ethiopian Case Cited.

In 1934 both Italy and Ethiopia were members of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, Italy, without cause, attacked Ethiopia and while the League condemned the aggression and invoked economic sanctions against Italy, no serious efforts were made to put them into effect. Neither Great Britain nor France, separately, did anything to fulfill their promises to protect the territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

Furthermore there was never a time, prior to 1936, when Great Britain and France could not easily have prevented the rearmament of Germany. Not only was there no attempt to do so for several years prior to 1936 but the industries of France and Great Britain were permitted to sell to Germany vast quantities of war material. It is true that Winston Churchill protested the rearmament of Germany, but at that time his was a voice crying in the wilderness and had no effect.

There is no doubt that Great Britain and France welcomed the rearmament of Germany under the mistaken belief that Germany would make war upon Russia alone and thus prevent the spread of Communism in Europe. This tragic mistake has cost millions of lives.

With respect to Russia's record:

In 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations and subscribed to its obligations. Finland was also a member. In violation of her promise to preserve the territorial integrity of Finland Russia made war upon her. Because of this act of aggression Russia was expelled from the League of Nations.

Baltic States Violated.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent republics, created in 1918 and recognized as such by Russia who also signed nonaggression pacts with each of them. They were occupied by Russia in 1940 and shortly afterward pretended plebiscites, under Russian auspices, were held in each of them under which they were incorporated into the Soviet Union. With respect to these plebiscites it should be stated that in Latvia only 11 per cent of the population is Russian; in Estonia, 20 per cent, and in Lithuania, 3 per cent. In Latvia, 55 per cent of the population is Prot-

Poland of one-third of its prewar territory. In this connection it is interesting to note that a considerable part of the territory taken from Poland and given to Russia has no relation to the Curzon Line, viz: A part of former Galicia which did not belong to Russia but had belonged to Austria for more than 100 years prior to the First World War, at the conclusion of which it was granted to Poland by the Allies. In this territory there are extensive oil wells. Russia did not have the slightest claim upon it either ethnologically, politically on religious grounds, or otherwise.

Silent on Violations.

The second paragraph of the Atlantic Charter provides that the parties thereto "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." In signing the Declaration of the United Nations pledging the parties thereto not to make a separate peace with Germany, Russia expressly subscribed to the "purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter. Both President Roosevelt in his address to Congress and Prime Minister Churchill in his address to Parliament were silent upon the violation of the above provision of the Atlantic Charter in discussing the partition of Poland.

I do not criticize President Roosevelt or Prime Minister Churchill for making the agreements that they did at the Crimea Conference. They no doubt felt that violation of the Atlantic Charter was necessary to secure Stalin's full co-operation in the prosecution of the war and demilitarizing Germany afterward. Stalin might have said that the Russian armies had done their share and that America and Great Britain should finish the job. To represent the outcome of the Crimea Conference as a great diplomatic victory for the United States, however, is to misrepresent the facts. It was a great diplomatic victory for Stalin and for no one else.

While better terms undoubtedly could have been obtained from Russia in 1942, when she was sorely in need of material help from us, criticism of our failure to do so will profit nothing now.

Should Correct Wrong.

At the San Francisco Conference we should endeavor to correct the wrong done to Poland and the smaller countries of Europe. Russia should there be reminded of the promise of the Atlantic Charter that no territorial changes should be made that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. There every effort should be made to provide for an honest vote of the inhabitants of that part of Poland held by Russia upon the question of whether they desire to become a part of Russia or remain with Poland, and to secure an agreement with Russia and Poland to abide by the result.

With respect to submitting to the people of Western Poland the question of the form, character and personnel of their government I hope that the San Francisco Conference will endeavor to insure an honest election which can be had if it is placed under the supervision of an international commission upon which neither Russia nor Poland shall be represented but which will be composed of nationals of disinterested countries whose only concern shall be that the election be honestly conducted.

If the things I have mentioned should be provided for at San Francisco, and honestly carried out, the United Nations organization which will be created there can do much to prevent wars in the futurre. I hope that the experience of two world wars, and their awful cost, will convince those nations which have so frequently violated their obligations that in the future their promises must be kept if another world war is to be avoided.

Hope for Free Consultations.

At the very least we may hope that the organization to be formed at San Francisco will insure free consultation between all the nations upon all questions involving world peace and declarations with respect thereto which will tend to solidify the opinions of all peace-loving peoples and act as a deterrent to any nation contemplating aggressive war.

In my opinion one of the most important questions to be decided at San Francisco will be whether a nation charged with aggression shall be permitted to prevent any action against it

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Cites Shantung Issue.

The memories of most men are short and probably in the intervening 25 years few have remembered that if President Wilson had had his way we would have been in honor bound to fight on the side of Japan against China had China sought to recover Shantung which the Versailles Treaty gave to Japan. Shangtung was restored to China in 1929 as a result of the Nine Power Treaty adopted at the Washington Conference. It will be again restored to China at the end of our war with Japan.

Some supporters of the Dumbarton Oaks plan state that it is a vindication of the idea of President Wilson. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the Dumbarton Oaks plan has nothing in it akin to Article X of the League Covenant and hence if President Wilson was right that Article X was the heart of the League Covenant then the Dumbarton Oaks plan has no heart. I did not agree with President Wilson then and I think it very fortunate that the Dumbarton Oaks plan does not contain the obligation of Article X.

The League of Nations was organized without the membership of the United States and every member, including Great Britain and France, and later Russia, assumed the obligations of Article X.

At this time, when Great Britain, Russia and the United States are fighting together against a common foe, it is regrettable that it is necessary to recall and point out the broken promises of Great Britain, Russia and France in the past, not with the purpose to create ill-will against them, but to emphasize that, looking forward to a peace based upon justice, we cannot rely too much on our present Allies.

In the prosecution of the war we are united with our Allies and must remain so to the end until the military might possible consistent with our American ideals of honor and justice, but our people are entitled to know, from the experience of the past, that too much trust must not be placed in some of the promises made at the Crimea Conference.

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There is no doubt that Great Britain and France welcomed the rearmament of Germany under the mistaken belief that Germany would make war upon Russia alone and thus prevent the spread of Communism in Europe. This tragic mistake has cost millions of lives.

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In the plebiscites referred to but one ballot was presented to the voters and there was no opportunity to vote otherwise.

In Latvia 97 per cent of the votes were for the Communistic ticket; in Estonia, 93 per cent, and in Lithuania, 99 per cent.

Plebiscites No Test.

Thus it is seen that these countries, overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and Protestant, and non-Russian, voted almost unanimously for Communism. It is unthinkable that these plebiscites evidenced in any substantial degree the will of the people of these nations. The United States has not, at least prior to the Crimea Conference, recognized the incorporation of these countries into the Soviet Union, doubtless because the so-called plebiscites should not be given the slightest weight by any liberty-loving people.

I have thus detailed the situation in regard to these three small nations because it is very important in evaluating the promises of the Crimea Conference with respect to free elections in the "liberated" countries.

Coming now to consideration of the Crimea Conference, it is to be noted that the three republics I have discussed are not mentioned and that the partition of Poland is made absolute with the exception of a few miles of variation from the Curzon Line, which deprives and Prime Minister Churchill in his address to Parliament were silent upon the violation of the above provision of the Atlantic Charter in discussing the partition of Poland.

I do not criticize President Roosevelt or Prime Minister Churchill for making the agreements that they did at the Crimea Conference. They no doubt felt that violation of the Atlantic Charter was necessary to secure Stalin's full co-operation in the prosecution of the war and demilitarizing Germany afterward. Stalin might have said that the Russian armies had done their share and that America and Great Britain should finish the job. To represent the outcome of the Crimea Conference as a great diplomatic victory for the United States, however, is to misrepresent the facts. It was a great diplomatic victory for Stalin and for no one else.

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If the things I have mentioned should be provided for at San Francisco, and honestly carried out, the United Nations organization which will be created there can do much to prevent wars in the futurre. I hope that the experience of two world wars, and their awful cost, will convince those nations which have so frequently violated their obligations that in the future their promises must be kept if another world war is to be avoided.

Hope for Free Consultations.

At the very least we may hope that the organization to be formed at San Francisco will insure free consultation between all the nations upon all questions involving world peace and declarations with respect thereto which will tend to solidify the opinions of all peace-loving peoples and act as a deterrent to any nation contemplating aggressive war.

In my opinion one of the most important questions to be decided at San Francisco will be whether a nation charged with aggression shall be permitted to prevent any action against it by the United Nations organization without its consent. Of course it is ridiculous to suppose that a nation guilty of aggression would consent to any act of punishment against itself. It is very doubtful if the smaller nations represented at San Francisco will agree to the plan insisted upon by Russia which would only prevent wars among small nations, leaving Russia, Great Britain, the United States, France and China free to make war without any real hindrance by the United Nations organization.

However, even if this demand of Russia must be acceded to in order to secure her membership in the United Nations organization, this should not prevent our becoming a part of it, provided that we shall not be obliged to perpetuate the injuctices found in the Crimea agreement. The United States member of the Security Council can be relied upon to prevent this.

Few Left to Wage War.

With Germany and Japan completely demilitarized for many generations to come, there will be no danger of another world war, so far as we can now foresee, unless it be from Russia. It is unthinkable that Great Britain and the United States will ever make war upon each other. At the conclusion of this war Russia and the United States will be the two most powerful nations in the world. Russia has resources in mines, forests and lands beyond that of any other nation. There is no need for her to covet the territory of any other country, especially in the Western Hemisphere. If she should covet the territory of others, her purpose would be to

(See LENROOT, Page C-9.)

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bring Communism to the entire world. It is possible, but not probable, that she may do this, but before we would be in danger she would have to prepare the ground for her idealogy.

The liberty that the American people enjoy is as much unknown in Russia as it is in Germany. Russia has a benevolent dictatorship which improves the material well-being of its people but destroys their individual liberties. That the Russian people, as a whole, are satisfied with this dictatorship, is, I think, true but should it be otherwise the people of Russia will never gain their freedom so long as Communism exists.

Too much credit cannot be given to the Russian people, especially the Ukranians, for their magnificent stand against the Germans and the vigor and crushing power of their counteroffensives. This, however, should not blind us to the essential difference between Communism and democracy.

Russia Has Been Aided.

We should freely acknowledge that in fighting for her own preservation Russia has fought for us as well, but we should also remember that had it not been for the war materials which we have sent her, costing us many billions of dollars, Russia might have been defeated by Germany. Neither should we forget that in our war with Japan Russia has as great a stake in the outcome as have the United States and Great Britain and yet she remains neutral giving us no help.

It is unfortunately true that we have some leaders who, while disavowing Communism, and giving lip service to democracy, are at heart Communistic in their ideas, or do not realize that their impractical proposals are preparing the ground for Communistic growth. It is also true that abuses by organized wealth promote the growth of Communism.

If the people of the United States will only take an active interest in preserving our democracy, which has made the United States the greatest and most prosperous nation on earth, there will be no danger of Communism ever taking root here.

After the wars with Germany and Japan are won we shall see whether Russia will keep her promises in the matter of holding free elections in the liberated countries. If she should fail in these promises, or fail to give evidence that they will be faithfully kept, then the United States should decline to give her any financial assistance for her economic rehabilitation until her promises are fulfilled.

If, however, Russia should thus fail, even so, we should co-operate with her upon matters of common concern although we may abhor her ideology and methods. During the time of the czars, oppressors though they werre, we maintained diplomatic relations with them. The same is true of Hitler's Germany until shortly before she declared war upon us. If we could do those things in the years that have gone we can remain friendly with Communistic Russia so long as she does not threaten the American way of life that we know.

We all hope and pray that this is the last world war that this earth shall ever know. We hope that the measures agreed upon against Germany, and later, I hope, to be agreed upon against Japan, together with a United Nations agreement at San Francisco to which we shall be a party, will bring nearer the day when there indeed shall be "On earth peace, good will toward men."

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Argentina

"Evening Star" – Marzo 2, 1945.

A Great Decision

In appraising the President's report to the Nation on the Crimean Conference, it is important to realize that what he had to say was as much the summation as the opening statement of the case for full American participation in the task of reorganizing a war-shattered world.

To be sure, the statement added little to the sum of our knowledge of the agreements entered into at Yalta. Although the President spoke of it as a "personal report" to the Congress and to the people of the country, he added nothing of consequence to the Yalta communique of February 12. In all probability this was by purposeful design, for while it is true that details will have to be added, and while there may be much debate about them, we cannot escape the fact that, for all practical purposes, the die is cast. As a Nation, we very probably shall have to make our "great decision" on the basis of a fait accompli, for there is but little chance that the essential agreements of Yalta can be changed in any significant respect. When they come before the Senate in treaty form, the choice will lie between accepting them essentially as they are or rejecting them outright.

It was with this in mind, no doubt, that the President hurried over the factual aspects of his report. What he wanted to put before his audience was not a recital of his discussions with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, but rather the thought that "responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles overseas can no longer be avoided by this great Nation."

Mr. Roosevelt stated that as a settled conviction on his part. It was by all odds the principal theme of his message, the proposition upon which American adherence to any effective system of world organization must stand or fall.

It is in this light that we should receive the President's assertion that the Crimean Conference was "a turning point" in American history, and that there will soon be presented to the Senate and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come.

Of this decision, the President declared: "There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

There will be few to deny that this is true. We have a great decision to make, an enormous responsibility to assume. And while it is unthinkable that we should seek to evade either the decision or the responsibility which it will entail, this much might well be added to what the President said: The maintenance of peace is not exclusively our responsibility. Our share in the task must be a large one, but not larger than that of Russia or of Britain. While stressing our own responsibility, we should not neglect theirs, for the peace of the world is hardly less dependent on their intentions than on ours.

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Argentina

Buenos Aires, marzo 28 de 1945.-

D. A. P.
151

Señor Encargado de Negocios:

Tengo el agrado de dirigirme a V. E. para acusar recibo de su nota nº 159, de fecha 6 del corriente, con la que tiene a bien remitir el texto del mensaje del Presidente Roosevelt al Congreso, sobre el acuerdo de Crimea, y diversos comentarios de prensa al respecto.

Con tal motivo, reitero a V.E. las expresiones de mi distinguida consideración.

MINISTERIO
2 ABR. 1945

CARLOS ALBERTO FARDO
CONSEJERO DE EMBAJADA A CARGO DE LA
DIRECCION DE ASUNTOS POLITICOS

A S. E. el doctor Rodolfo García Arias
Ministro Plenipotenciario y Encargado de Negocios de la
República Argentina en los Estados Unidos de Norte América.-

Archivo Histórico — Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto Argentina

POR CORREO AEREO

Guerra 618 - T. IV

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
A
DIVISION ASUNTOS POLITICOS

Embajada de la República Argentina

MESA DE ENTRADAS Y EXPEDICIONES
20 MAR 1945
MINISTERIO de RELACIONES EXTERIORES y CULTO

Washington, 7 de marzo de 1945.

R.E. Nº 167

Señor Ministro:

Por nota Nº 162 de ayer, tuve el honor de, bajo anexo (a), enviar texto del comunicado del Departamento de Estado explicando el acuerdo a que se habría llegado en la Conferencia de Crimea, respecto al ejercicio del voto en la propuesta de Dumbarton Oaks.

En el "N. Y. Times" de hoy aparece una carta suscripta por John Foster Dulles, en la que hace, a la luz de la decisión adoptada en Yalta, un interesante análisis de la presunta operación de las cláusulas A y B del Capítulo VIII del acuerdo de Dumbarton Oaks. Como se recordará el señor Dulles, tratadista conocido en estas cuestiones, actuó en carácter de representante del Gobernador Dewey, en la oportunidad de discutir el proyecto de plan de seguridad internacional. Por ello, ampliando informaciones anteriores, acompaño el adjunto.

Me es grato saludar a V.E. con mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Anexos: 1

A S.E. el Señor Ministro interino de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto,
Doctor César Ameghino,
BUENOS AIRES

ANOTADO
CON EL ANEXO
CONFORME

///nos Aires, abril 7 de 1945.-

Se acúsa recibo por nota mensual.-

Libro I.-

MINISTERIO RELACIONES EXTERIORES
* 9 ABR 1945 *
Dirección General Asuntos Políticos

Archivo Histórico
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
Argentina

"N. Y. Times - Marzo 7 de 1945.

Yalta Vote Formula Upheld

Need Is Seen for Some Changes in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Yalta formula for voting in the Security Council represents a statesmanlike solution of a knotty problem. There has been a tendency to over-simplify that problem and to believe that it could be dealt with by applying the maxim that no nation should be the judge of its own case. That maxim is applicable where a case is being judged by previously determined law. It is not applicable to the decision of what principle shall govern political action. That is a quasi-legislative decision, and legislative processes normally permit interested voters, through their representatives, to determine what the law shall be.

Chapter VIII of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals contemplates that the Security Council shall deal both with what it calls "justiciable" disputes and those which are non-justiciable. Justiciable disputes are disputes which can be determined in accordance with a pre-existing body of law. Under the provisions of Paragraph 6 of Section A of Chapter VIII, justiciable disputes will normally be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Also, where disputes are partly justiciable and partly non-justiciable the Security Council can get advice from the court with reference to the justiciable aspects of the dispute.

Clearly to the extent that a dispute is justiciable an interested party ought not to have veto power. That is where we can properly invoke the maxim that no person should sit as judge in his own case. The voting formula agreed to at Yalta embodies that principle. Under it, a party to a dispute cannot vote on determining whether or not the dispute is justiciable or upon its reference to the Court and, of course, the party to the dispute has no power to control or veto the decision of the Court itself.

International Common Law

In addition to dealing with disputes which are justiciable, the Security Council, as we have seen, will have to act in relation to disputes which at present are non-justiciable. That action would be political rather than judicial. Perhaps those acts will serve as precedents to build up a body of international "common law" so that we shall see a constant increase in "justiciable" disputes and a constant diminution of the disputes which can be settled only by political action. So long, however, as the action to be taken is, in essence, political and liable to be influenced by political expediency, then we cannot rigidly apply the doctrine that an interested party is disqualified from voting.

It may be noted that the formula agreed to at Yalta closely conforms to the recommendation of the Cleveland Church Conference of last January, where it was proposed that "non-voting" should apply only when a member's case "is being judged in accordance with predetermined international law."

Of course, the result of the Yalta formula is that a permanent member can prevent the Council deciding under Chapter VIII, Section B, to invoke force against it. That will be of little practical disadvantage, because the organization will not dispose of force quotas adequate to coerce a great power. There will be affirmative advantage in permitting the Council to proceed under Section A without necessarily having to invoke force under Section B. If condemnation of a great power under Section A would obligate the Council to go on to attempt to coerce that power, then the practical result would be a great reluctance to condemn. For the time being we shall have to rely primarily upon moral restraints upon the great powers.

International Agency Needed

The important thing is to have an international agency which can study world disputes and courageously lead moral restraints upon the great powers, great or small, whose conduct conflicts with generally accepted standards of justice and decency.

The foregoing considerations, while they support the Yalta formula, do suggest the importance of some changes in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Security Council should be bound to standards of justice rather than mere expediency. Only if this is made explicit and mandatory will we achieve the desired development of international law and an increase in the disputes which are "justiciable."

Also, the procedure for amending the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be liberalized. The proposed voting formula is one of several provisions which ought to evolve into something better. Yet it can never be changed without the unanimous consent of the permanent members, and there can never be any change in the five states which initially become permanent members. When we are dealing with an instrument which all recognize will require frequent amendment, we ought not to give each of five nations a veto power in perpetuity. JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

New York, March 6, 1945.

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Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto
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IV

LA NACION — Viernes 8 de junio de 1945

CHURCHILL ACLARÓ UN ASPECTO DE LA REUNIÓN DE YALTA

LONDRES, 7 (AP).—En agitado debate varios miembros laboristas pidieron en la Cámara de los Comunes a Mr. Winston Churchill que expusiera cuanto había sido tratado y decidido en la conferencia de los tres grandes celebrada en febrero último en la ciudad de Yalta.

El primer ministro británico no quiso acceder a este requerimiento, pero declaró que no se llegó en la conferencia a ningún acuerdo secreto que no haya sido hecho público, aunque reconoció que los debates habían abarcado campo más vasto que el anunciado.

Las manifestaciones de Mr. Churchill fueron provocadas por el ambiente de ansiedad que existe en esta capital, pues, según todas las apariencias, las tres potencias salieron de Yalta con interpretaciones distintas acerca de lo acordado en la conferencia. Una parte de la prensa británica y los que critican la política exterior del primer ministro han señalado específicamente las discrepancias surgidas en relación con la reorganización del gobierno polaco y con la Carta internacional que se discute en San Francisco. Moscú ha insistido repetidamente en que se atiene en todo a las decisiones de Yalta, tanto en la ampliación de la base del gobierno de Polonia como en todas las actitudes que adopta en la conferencia de la ciudad californiana.

Mr. Churchill trató de eludir los intentos de la Cámara de llevarle a un debate sobre las conferencias de Teherán y Yalta, y declaró que "nada tenía que añadir a las declaraciones oficiales ya hechas". Los laboristas insistieron en sus demandas y dijeron que el primer ministro trataba de no contestar a la pregunta de si se había llegado a acuerdos secretos en las conversaciones. Uno de los miembros, Mr. Morgan Price, dijo:

"Si no existen condiciones no reveladas acerca de la decisión de Yalta, ¿cómo es que el gobierno ruso ha procedido respecto a la ampliación de la base del gobierno polaco en un modo totalmente distinto al que suponen las resoluciones declaradas de la conferencia?".

El apartado 4º del número 9º del programa adoptado en Yalta dispone la fusión del gobierno provisional polaco actualmente reconocido por Rusia con ciertos dirigentes democráticos no citados del interior de Polonia y de la emigración. Los soviéticos sostienen que, al considerar al gobierno creado en Lublin como el núcleo para cualquiera ampliación, se atienen a lo acordado.

El primer ministro declaró: "No ha habido acuerdo secreto alguno, salvo que guardamos reserva acerca de los dos votos adicionales para Rusia y del deseo de los Estados Unidos, hasta que el presidente volviera a su país e hiciera los oportunos arreglos sobre el terreno. En lo demás, no ha habido ningún acuerdo secreto". Sin embargo, Mr. Churchill advirtió que las conversaciones fueron de un carácter "muy íntimo", y afirmó que no creía que podía decir que "todo lo tratado en Yalta era tema susceptible de un informe verbal".

También se negó el primer ministro a que quedara constancia de que "era absolutamente necesario que no hubiera nunca, en ocasión alguna, una cláusula secreta en las conversaciones a que se llegara, sin otra garantía que la que suponía informar de la misma al gobierno en pleno". Sostuvo que "podía ser frecuentemente necesario proceder así, y que las actuaciones quedarían muy dificultadas si no era posible llegar a acuerdos que no tuvieran que ser inmediatamente publicados".

Contestando a otras preguntas, el primer ministro manifestó que el problema de que Alemania pudiera contar con sus recursos propios mientras estuviera dividida en cuatro zonas de ocupación, tenía que ser resuelto por los cuatro miembros del Consejo de Fiscalización aliado.

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" LA PRENSA " 1°.- DE OCTUBRE DE 1945.-

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Tomo IV

Estaría Resultando Difícil Cumplir las Decisiones de Yalta

Por R. J. Shackford

Wáshington, septiembre 30 (Especial)—Estados Unidos se ve frente a problemas de política exterior que quizás determinen si continuará su lucha para establecer un mundo unido o si se reconciliará con la idea de verlo dividido en esferas de influencia. Algunas de las decisiones que afectan la actual situación, serán hechas próximamente en una serie de conferencias en la Casa Blanca.

En efecto, dentro de una semana el presidente Truman tendrá ocasión de pasar revista a la situación con el secretario de estado, señor Byrnes, con Patrick J. Hurley, embajador en China, quien regresó para consultas y con Spruille Braden, secretario ayudante de estado para los asuntos latinoamericanos.

Hurley ha hecho un importante esfuerzo para lograr un acuerdo entre Chiang-Kai Shek y los comunistas chinos. Braden traerá una información completa sobre la situación en la Argentina. Sólo no habrá representación de los gobernantes aliados en el Japón, y a este respecto Truman dijo ayer que no llamaría en consulta al general Mac Arthur porque no había razones para ello.

Byrnes traerá las conclusiones de la conferencia de ministros de relaciones exteriores y las objeciones rusas a la actitud adoptada en el Japón.

Ninguna de las cuestiones que tratará el presidente puede prescindir de la siguiente alternativa básica, o sea un mundo compuesto de bloques rivales, encabezado por los rusos por un lado y los anglonorteamericanos por otro, o un mundo sin divisiones, dirigido por las principales potencias.

Los "tres grandes" trataron en febrero en Yalta de echar las bases a un sistema destinado a impedir las esferas de influencia, pero las medidas rusas en Europa oriental, el deseo británico de mantener su dominio en el Mediterráneo y la política norteamericana en el Pacífico, ha hecho resentirse cualquiera de las buenas intenciones adelantadas en Yalta.

Los rusos han hecho, hábilmente, presión en Londres hacia la adopción de un programa que quizás tenga por objeto justificar las pretensiones rusas en la Europa oriental. El punto de vista ruso es que si Estados Unidos necesita bases en el Pacífico para su propia seguridad, no hay razón para impedir que la URRS mantenga "gobiernos amigos" en sus fronteras.

Los diplomáticos en Londres parecen tener dificultades en reconciliar lo que parece ser la política gastada del equilibrio del poder con la nueva era atómica y el mismo gabinete norteamericano está dividido sobre si se debe entregar la bomba atómica a la custodia de las Naciones Unidas, o mantenerla en secreto. (UP).

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