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ABSTRACT OF MEMORANDUM TO EFFECT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE
COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES ABROAD.

The increasing complexity of international relations has caused executive departments other than the Department of State and also certain independent agencies of the Government to procure statutory authorization to send representatives abroad for the purpose of supplying their needs for specialized information. These representatives are practically all attached to foreign establishments of the Department of State and the development of their activities now requires a complete and effective system of coordination if foreign relations are to be efficiently conducted and confusion and duplication avoided. The carrying out of the provisions of the attached memorandum will accomplish this result by defining with precision the functions of all representatives of the Government abroad and by consolidating in one document the essence of previous instructions on this subject. The essential features of the memorandum may be summarized as follows:

1. The Department of State is the sole department or organ of our Government through which the President conducts our foreign relations in conformity with his constitutional prerogatives. The regular diplomatic and consular representatives of the Department of State therefore represent the entire Government and all our people and not particularly the interests of any Government department or agency. For these reasons contacts
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with officers of foreign governments should always be through or by representatives of the Department of State.

2. The principles stated in the preceding paragraph make it essential that the activities of the representatives of all departments and agencies of this Government in foreign countries shall be coordinated by and through the Department of State as the President's agency for the conduct of foreign relations.

It necessarily follows--

- (a) that direct contacts with foreign officials should be regularly through agents of the Department of State, and they should also arrange all such contacts for representatives of other departments;
- (b) that no regular or temporary representative of any other department or agency should be sent abroad without consultation with and the approval of the Department of State;
- (c) that all reports made by representatives of other departments and agencies (or in certain cases copies thereof) should be furnished to the Department of State or its appropriate representatives abroad; and
- (d) that questions of foreign policy are for the determination of the President and the Department of State after obtaining such assistance and information as representatives of other departments and agencies can supply, which should be made systematically available.

3. Representatives of other departments and agencies of this Government in foreign countries are there in "representative" capacities only with respect to their particular, authorized activities but they are not representatives of this Government in conducting its relations with foreign governments.

4. Military and Naval Attachés may usefully gather technical or special information of interest to their respective departments

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ments and maintain friendly contacts with foreign Army and Navy officials.

5. Commercial Attachés and Trade Commissioners of the Department of Commerce are authorized to make reports on commercial and economic matters, but as representatives of the Department of State are also charged with similar duties, a coordination agreement exists to avoid duplication in exercising these functions. This agreement lessens but has not wholly eliminated this difficulty.

6. A limited number of Agricultural Attachés report on agricultural matters of a technical character which do not conflict with the regular reporting activities of representatives of the State Department although it is more difficult to eliminate duplication between their work and that of Commercial Attachés.

7. The Treasury Department sends abroad Treasury Attachés and Treasury agents for highly specialized reporting and to make investigations of production costs. Foreign governments have not given general recognition to Treasury Attachés as diplomatic officers but they enjoy similar privileges arranged for them by representatives of the Department of State.

8. A number of immigration inspectors are stationed abroad to advise consular officers in the issuance of immigration visas. They have served a useful purpose but the Department of Labor believes they may now be safely withdrawn and with the approval

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of the Department of State is considering that action.

9. Public Health Officers of the Treasury Department attached to American Consulates for quarantine work are not as necessary as formerly because of effective international agreements in this field; but such officers stationed at certain Consulates for the examination of immigrants are still very useful and should be continued as long as the present system of immigration continues.

10. Representatives of other departments and agencies should be approved by the Department of State before being sent abroad on special or temporary missions. They should also keep in touch with Missions and Consulates abroad and arrange all contacts with foreign officials through them.

11. All the foregoing classes of Government agents obtain important information of political significance if they are efficient and observant in performing their duties and they can render valuable assistance by making this available to Chiefs of Missions.

12. It is necessary to the maintenance of a unified and effective foreign policy to achieve complete coordination of the increasingly complex activities enumerated and the authority to require this is now definitely given to the Chiefs of Mission and consular officers of the Department of State.

13. Such coordination was contemplated by the President's Executive Order of April 4, 1924, providing for weekly or bi-weekly conferences

conferences of all representatives of this Government in foreign capitals under the chairmanship of Chiefs of Mission. These meetings have been helpful and representatives of all departments have generally cooperated commendably; but they can be materially improved by extending their scope to include (a) a regular survey of current activities to eliminate duplication; (b) the discussion and adjustment of varying points of view preceding decisions by the Chief of Mission, who will of course report any serious disagreements on important matters; and (c) the submission to the Chief of Mission of copies of all reports of representatives of other departments and agencies and, orally or by memorandum, any information received of political significance.

14. The successful coordination of these activities can only be accomplished under the direction of Chiefs of Mission in the field and cannot be effectively done in Washington. Representatives who will not conform to this necessary procedure (although constructive discussion of divergent viewpoints should be encouraged) should be withdrawn when requested by the Department of State. There is no valid objection to supplying the Department of State, as the President's agency in matters of foreign policy, with copies of all reports made by representatives of other departments, however specialized or confidential, as the Department of State is fully equipped to evaluate and use this information. This principle is recognized by other governments.

15. Chiefs of Mission should carefully appraise and coordinate

ordinate the information obtained in the manner indicated and report, with interpretative comment, any conflicting opinions of importance.

The requiring of cooperation and coordination in the foreign field is a direct responsibility of Chiefs of Mission. They are clothed with adequate authority for this purpose if they provide suitable leadership, forcefulness and understanding.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF ATTACHÉS
AND OFFICERS OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT STATIONED
ABROAD -- AND A STATEMENT OF AND COMMENT ON THE POLICY OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN THIS RESPECT.

Owing to the complexity of our public and private interest in so much that happens in practically every country of the world, most of the executive departments of our Government, as well as a number of independent agencies, have been and are increasingly interested in information on developments in other countries. This information is considered by them as necessary in the conduct of their work and varied activities in this country. This has led to the Departments of War, Navy, Treasury, Commerce and Agriculture having agents of their own abroad under statutory provisions -- attached in one form or another to the establishments of the Department of State in the particular country in which they function. The Department of Labor and the United States Public Health Service also have agents abroad on a temporary or permanent basis. Other agencies of our Government from time to time have found it desirable to send agents abroad on a temporary basis.

The status of these agents and the coordination of their activities have been the subject of much thought and of a certain amount of definition, but the situation on the whole is not a satisfactory one from the point of view of
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the most efficient functioning of these agents in the foreign field in the interests of our Government and of our people. This lack of adequate coordination abroad and at home has resulted in the number of these agents abroad showing a constant tendency to increase while at the same time it remains a question as to whether this increase has on the whole resulted in securing the ends desired. The situation is further complicated by the practice of certain departments and independent agencies of sending from time to time on special missions abroad officers or employees thereof, or special representatives, charged with the duty of making specific reports or investigations. The activities of all these various representatives or agents on a temporary or permanent basis abroad have not been adequately coordinated into the machinery of our foreign representation. This has led to considerable confusion both at home and among other governments and persons abroad who have to do with or are approached by these agents. The basic consideration which must be borne in mind in connection with all agents or agencies of our Government abroad, and this consideration is generally accepted, is that under the Constitution the President is charged with the conduct of our foreign relations and under the Constitution and statutes he exercises this function through the Department of State and its establishments

establishments and officers abroad. It is, therefore, the Department of State which is charged under the Constitution and statutes and under the direction of the President with the conduct of our foreign relations, and the agents of the Department of State, that is, our ambassadors, ministers and Foreign Service officers of that Department, are the only representative officers of our Government whom we have abroad in the real sense of that term. They are the officers of our Government who are charged with the responsibility of direct contact with the officers of other Governments and such contacts, therefore, should be through them.

It follows as a corollary and absolutely necessary prerequisite to proper coordination that the Department of State must be the clearing house through which our foreign relations are conducted and, it must, in the very nature of things in order that the control which the Constitution places in the President may be exercised, be in a position to supervise, direct and formulate questions of policy at home and the carrying through of that policy abroad. This implies a number of factors which must be definitely taken into account and closely observed in the conduct of our foreign relations.

- (a) The agents of the Department of State abroad are the sole agents of our Government having direct continuous contact with other Governments and officials thereof. If the agents of other departments abroad regularly stationed at a post or on a temporary mission in a country

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have contact with the officials of other Governments, it must be with the knowledge of the agents of the Department of State in the country and, if not through them, arranged by them. This is essential if there is to be that single, direct and effective approach to other Governments necessary in the public interest.

- (b) At home no department or agency of our Government should plan to send either a regularly stationed officer or a person on a temporary mission to another country without prior consultation with the Department of State and without its approval of the mission.
- (c) All reports made by officers or agents of other departments abroad should be furnished either directly to the Department of State or to its officers abroad, or copies thereof should be made available to the Department and to the appropriate mission or consulate in the country concerned at the time the report is forwarded to the respective department.
- (d) All questions of foreign policy must be determined by the President and by the Department of State in the last instance. In the formulation of this policy the Department should maintain contact with other departments and agencies of our Government which may be concerned, in order that the interests of all parts of our population may be considered, and that all the information available to other departments and agencies may be considered in arriving at final determination of policy.

A further primary consideration which should be borne in mind is that officers and agents of other departments and agencies of our Government sent abroad on a permanent or on a temporary mission are not representative officers of our Government in the same sense as those of the Department of State -- except when under the direction of the President or the Secretary of State some special mission or

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representative may be dispatched for a specific purpose. Officers of other departments and agencies than those of State do not have the purely representative capacity such as that which is vested in the officers of the Department of State who, although representing that Department, represent in fact our Government and people as a whole. The officers and agents of other departments go abroad not as representatives of our Government but as agents of a particular department or agency and for a particular purpose. In other words, the ambassadors, ministers and Foreign Service officers of the Department of State are in a sense the representatives of every department and agency of our Government while those of other departments and agencies, functioning through them, are acting for their department or agency alone and with very specific duties.

Every person proceeding abroad for our Government irrespective of department and mission has, of course, in a sense a representative capacity. The term "representative" in this memorandum is used in the sense of the representation of the interests of our Government and in the approach to foreign officials. In this sense of the word and as it relates to the conduct of foreign relations, the officers of the Department of State abroad are the only ones vested by the Constitution and our statutes with a representative capacity.

It has become the practice for the War Department to send abroad a certain number of Military Attachés who are regularly attached to our diplomatic missions through the Department of State and who have diplomatic privileges in consequence. Under our practice it is their primary function to make reports for the War Department on technical military matters, which department needs this information not only that it may be informed of the extent and nature of the military establishments in other countries as a matter of national defense, but also that these officers with special technical training may be able to report on certain developments in military practice and military instruments which may be of particular interest to us. They are not abroad as representatives of the Army but in the course of their duties they have friendly contact with the officers of the Army of the country in which they function. They are not abroad to report on any other matters except these technical and organization questions of special interest to the War Department.

It is obvious that any capable and observing officer assigned as a Military Attaché will in the course of his duty get certain information of a political and at times of an economic or other character which may be of interest to our Government while not of immediate interest to his

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department. This information he may very properly put in the form of memoranda which are addressed to and submitted to the chief of the mission to which he is attached. There is no particular reason why copies of such memoranda on political or other subjects which he finds he can usefully prepare should not be sent to his own department. What is important is that under no circumstances should the Military Attaché regularly engage as a part of his duty in specific reporting activities falling outside of his technical field and that all his reporting outside of that specific field should be directed to the chief of the mission. The purely technical reports on military matters may contain political information. It is, therefore, in the general interest of our Government, and the specific interest of all the departments concerned, that copies of all reports made by the Military Attaché should be furnished to the chief of the mission and to the Department of State. The Department of State can be depended upon to use proper discretion in seeing that such reports do not get any improper or unwise circulation or publication.

It may be considered that what has been said in the preceding paragraphs concerning Military Attachés applies to Naval Attachés who may be sent abroad to some of our missions by the Navy Department.

The Department of Commerce under an authorizing statute has in more recent years been sending abroad Commercial Attachés and Trade Commissioners for the specific purpose of reporting on certain commercial and economic matters. Their duties are defined in the authorizing statute, which, however, in order to avoid confusion in the conduct of our foreign relations and work abroad, specifically provides that these officers do not have a representative capacity for our Government and defines their duties as specifically limited to certain reporting.

As the officers of the Department of State abroad have since the beginnings of our Government been charged with reporting activities in the political, commercial and economic field, and with the promotion and protection of our foreign trade, it has been found advisable in order to prevent as far as may be possible duplication of effort which has arisen in the field of commercial and economic reporting to coordinate the activities of the officers of the Departments of State and Commerce abroad. This endeavor is embodied in the Coordination Agreement between the Departments of State and Commerce which has the approval of the President. It is clearly understood in this agreement that the officers of the Department of Commerce are abroad as reporting agents for that department on economic and

and commercial subjects. They have no direct functions in the protection of our interests abroad except in the sense that their representatives may be helpful to the officers of the Department of State in the field in this connection. There is still a certain amount of duplication in the reporting field between officers of State and Commerce but through the loyal cooperation of the departments in Washington and of the respective officers in the field this duplication can be much further and is being considerably reduced.

The knowledge, observation and advice of the officers of Commerce in the field should at all times be available to the chief of mission and to the officers of the Department of State in the capital where they may be stationed, and if such officers have specific technical knowledge useful in a particular connection they may be properly employed by the chief of mission or consulate in the preparation of the groundwork which precedes representations.

The actual conduct of representations and the contact with the ranking officials of foreign governments must be carried on through the officers of the Department of State as this is the only manner in which uniformity of policy and approach can be accomplished. It is not a statutory function of the Department of Commerce or its officers to concern themselves

themselves with political problems affecting our foreign relations but, as in the case of the Military and Naval Attachés, it may happen that political information may come into their possession during the course of their duties. It is in the public interest that any such information which may come to them should be made available to the chief of mission or consulate to which they are attached in the form of memoranda of which copies may be furnished to their own department if this is deemed desirable by them or their department.

The Department of Agriculture under an authorizing statute has been sending abroad in recent years Agricultural Attachés for the specific purpose of reporting on agricultural matters. It has found it undesirable to maintain a considerable service abroad and has been depending very largely on the Foreign Service of the Department of State for its reports on agricultural developments in other countries. It has sent Agricultural Attachés to the field to only a few capitals, the area which they cover as a rule including a number of countries. Although the Agricultural Attachés do considerable and important reporting themselves, their department and they have conceived it as one of their most important functions in the field to assist by their advice and counsel and technical

technical knowledge the Foreign Service officers of State in the various countries in reporting directly on these matters which are of primary interest to Agriculture.

The duties of the Agricultural Attachés are limited to reporting. The duplication between the reporting of Agricultural Attachés and Foreign Service officers of the Department of State has been reduced to a minimum through the close coordination of these departments in Washington and in the field and because of the policy of Agriculture to depend largely on the officers of State for agricultural reporting abroad. There remains a certain amount of duplication between the reporting of Agricultural and Commercial Attachés, the elimination of which is difficult through a natural overlap of interest. In the elimination of all such duplication, the elimination of which is highly desirable in the public interest, the chiefs of mission and ranking officers of the Department of State can play a very helpful role.

As in the case of Military, Naval and Commercial Attachés it is specifically not a function of Agricultural Attachés to make representations on behalf of our Government or to prepare political reports. It does, however, occur that political information may come into their possession and in such case it, as any other pertinent

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information, should be made available to the chief of the mission to which they are attached in the form of memoranda of which copies may be furnished to their own department. As in the case of other Attachés, copies of all reports which Agricultural Attachés make should be furnished to the chief of the mission or consulate to which they are attached and to the Department of State.

The Department of the Treasury sends abroad Treasury Attachés and a certain number of Treasury agents. They are attached to our missions and consulates and for the most part do not enjoy diplomatic status. They do, however, enjoy in practice almost invariably the same privileges which would accompany such status. Other governments in general have not considered the activities of these Treasury Attachés as within the purview of generally accepted diplomatic functions.

The duties of Treasury Attachés are highly specialized and their reporting is largely confined to the making of cost of production reports and investigations in connection with consular invoices. Certain special agents of the Treasury work abroad in narrow and specialized fields. As

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in the case of other attachés and agents copies of all reports which they make should be furnished to the chief of the mission or consulate to which they are directly or indirectly attached as well as to the Department of State. Treasury Attachés in most instances do not make political or other reports outside of their specialized field but in this respect and in the furnishing of copies the same procedure should be followed by them as has been outlined as that followed by other agents of our Government.

In order to assist in the intensive examination of prospective immigrants abroad under our present immigration practice, the Department of Labor has in very recent years been sending a number of immigration officers abroad to certain consular posts to serve as technical advisers. The duties of these officers have been specifically limited to acting as technical advisers to our consular officers in connection with immigration matters and they are not in the usual sense of the word reporting officers. Reports on matters affecting immigration problems have continued to be made as heretofore by the Foreign Service officers of the Department of State. These officers of Labor stationed abroad have been helpful in perfecting immigration procedure in our consular establishments but the

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Department of Labor now appears to be of the opinion that their further continuance abroad is no longer necessary and is contemplating their withdrawal. It is the opinion of the Department of Labor, which the Department of State shares, that consular officers are now able to meet all the requirements of immigration procedure so that as a measure of economy and efficiency these agents of Labor may be brought back for service at appropriate stations of that Department in this country.

The Treasury Department has been sending officers of the Public Health Service abroad for a number of years and these have been stationed at our consulates for the purpose of performing certain functions in connection with our quarantine laws and regulations. The need for such assignment has been growing less and less in recent years owing to the greater observance of quarantine provisions under international agreements by other countries, and by the fact that our consular officers at these posts are now in practically every case able to perform these functions satisfactorily and adequately for the Treasury.

In connection with the carrying through of the intensive examination of prospective immigrants, at certain consulates the Public Health Service has been attaching
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medical officers where their services are indispensable as long as this intensive examination of immigrants is practiced abroad by us. This practice has been found to be very helpful and enlightened and may well continue. These officers of the Public Health Service so stationed abroad as a rule do not do any reporting of any kind other than that statistical reporting which is necessary to cover their activities. It is obvious, however, that copies of any reports made by officers of the Department of Labor or of the Public Health Service stationed abroad should be furnished to the chief of the mission or consulate to which they are attached and to the Department of State.

It is the practice of the departments and agencies already recited as well as of other departments and agencies of our Government to send abroad from time to time for brief periods and on special missions for particular purposes officers or persons who are believed to have special capacities for the particular temporary work envisaged. For the purpose of coordination and in order that the Department of State may exercise adequately that control and direction of our foreign relations which the Constitution and the statutes contemplate, it is necessary that no department or agency should send any such officer or person
abroad

abroad without previous consultation with and approval of the Department of State. Such officers and persons do not have as a rule a representative capacity and the scope of their instructions and activities should be carefully set forth by the respective department or agency to the Department of State when its approval is requested. In every such case when officers or persons are sent abroad appropriate instructions are sent by the Department of State to the missions and consulates in whose respective fields these officers may operate or travel.

The contacts which such officers or persons may have abroad with other governments or officials thereof should be through the missions and consulates of the Department of State in the country concerned and such missions or consulates should be kept currently and adequately informed of the activities of such agents. Copies of reports made by such officers or persons sent abroad on special or temporary missions by other departments or agencies should be furnished in all cases to the Department of State and, in particular cases where this may seem desirable, to the missions and consulates abroad in whose field these agents may have operated and which may be specifically concerned or interested.

There is an increasing number of people interested in

in our foreign relations and an increasingly wide conviction among the various departments and agencies of our Government that the only adequate solution to the efficient conduct of our foreign relations and activities abroad is the coordination of all of our activities in the foreign field into an organization that will function as a unit under the control and direction of the Department of State. To further such a solution, which is constantly being recognized as the orderly, desirable and efficient one, it is essential that the activities of the officers of our Government now in the field under the present complex system should be coordinated as closely as possible and that all departments and agencies concerned should cooperate to this end. This is essential in order that the control of our foreign relations may remain under the Department of State, that there may be a single and coordinated approach on all matters to other governments, that we may be able to carry through a considered and unified policy on all matters, and that the Department of State will always have on hand all useful and pertinent information available to all departments and agencies for the formulation of that policy which may be found in our best interests. This involves the subordination of departmental and individual interests to the single interest of our Government and our people. This desirable end, the achievement of which can no longer be postponed in view of the difficulties with
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which we are faced in all parts of the world, can only be brought about through the centralization and control of our activities abroad under the President and the Department of State as envisaged in the Constitution and our statutes, and through the final formulation of foreign policy by that Department. All our procedure, therefore, should be directed toward that desirable end.

At the risk of repetition, it may be advisable to restate a few of the fundamental principles which underlie this desirable and necessary cooperation. A certain amount of confusion has arisen from time to time through the failure to observe that it is recognized procedure that direct approach to foreign governments and officials can only be through the officers of the Department of State and that the officers of other departments and agencies regularly or temporarily stationed abroad are not representative officers in the real sense of that term -- though they are given for purposes of convenience and helpfulness a recognized status and corresponding privileges. It should be clearly understood among all the officers and agents of our departments and agencies abroad that their activities shall be confined to their respective spheres of action for their particular departments and agencies and that this sphere of action in most cases is limited to the making of those necessary reports in
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certain strictly limited and defined fields, usually technical, and in the performance of certain services, usually technical or specialized. The officers of other departments and agencies, except those of the Department of State, it should be clearly understood do not have the function of reporting on political developments except that it is their natural duty to convey to the chief of the mission or consulate to which they are attached, or in the area of which they are operating, in the form of memoranda or orally such political and other information lying outside of their immediate sphere of activity which may come to their attention. It is natural and in the interests of our Government that the services and special capacities of all officers of other departments and agencies operating in the field of a mission or consulate should be available to the chief of the mission or consulate as the principal officer of our Government in a particular area and that he should be authorized to call upon them at all times for such technical or other assistance and advice which he may find they can give and which should be helpful in the public interest. It should be understood as the primary obligation of these officers and agents of other departments and agencies to respond to such requests made by the chief of the mission or consulate.

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In practice it has been found that under this present situation in which officers and agents of a number of departments and agencies of our Government may be operating in one capital or city abroad, that the chief of the mission or consulate must be in a position, as the principal representative officer of our Government and responsible for the conduct of our relations with the local government, to have adequate authority to direct the activities of these officers. The instructions issued by other departments and agencies to our officers permanently or temporarily abroad should, therefore, be in this sense. It is this which the President had in mind when he issued the executive order authorizing the chief of mission or the principal consular officer at posts to hold weekly or bi-weekly conferences of all the principal officers of other departments in the city at which meetings policy and practice may be coordinated and determined and made clear. The executive order issued by the President, responsible under the Constitution for the conduct of our foreign relations, provides that it is the chief of the mission or principal consular officer who calls these meetings, presides over them and makes the appropriate decisions.

While these meetings have been regularly held at most capitals and other posts and have proved to be distinctly helpful,

helpful, experience has shown that their success is dependent upon how adequately the principal representative of the Department of State is active and definite in coordinating policy and directing activity. The officers of other departments than those of State have for the most part shown themselves not only quite understanding of this procedure but willing to act in accordance therewith. In certain cases, however, because of misunderstandings and through lack of definiteness in the instructions of all the officers concerned, certain officers of other departments have continued reporting and other procedure from which there has resulted undesirable and, in instances, costly duplication of effort within the various establishments at the post or in the country, and also more unfortunate duplication of approach through and to local officials. In this respect there is still a great deal to be accomplished at certain posts. A very great deal depends upon the direction, interest and initiative taken by the chief of the mission or consulate. The responsibility for the direction and guidance of the agents or agencies available to him rests upon him. If these staff meetings are held at least every week, and in large capitals more often when necessary, the principal officer of the State Department establishment should have no difficulty in securing proper coordination in reporting and of all other activities and in accomplishing that uniform

uniform front in policy and in interpretation thereof which is increasingly essential. For this reason the importance of these meetings cannot be too strongly emphasized and the considerable obligation which rests upon chiefs of mission and consulates is clear.

As has been developed in previous paragraphs, as long as there is the present multiplicity of agents of various departments at our foreign posts and separate direction not adequately coordinated from the various departments and agencies at home, and as long as adequately close coordination is not brought about through the chief of the State Department establishment abroad, and as long as there may be pressure from departments and agencies in Washington upon their agents abroad and upon the performance of certain acts by them irrespective of the statutory activities of other officers, there will be a continuation of a certain duplication of effort in various directions. There can be no other attitude than general agreement among all concerned that such duplication must in the interests of our Government, both as a matter of efficiency and economy, be reduced. In this respect compliance with the recognized principle by all concerned, that copies of all reports made by officers and agents of other departments and agencies abroad shall be furnished to the chief of the mission or consulate in whose district the agent operates, will go far

far toward eliminating this duplication. Through this procedure duplication will become immediately obvious at the post and can be controlled there more completely and effectively than it could be in the most closely coordinated liaison committee in Washington. It is, therefore, at the posts in the field rather than in Washington where duplication which continues to exist may be most effectively controlled and eliminated without friction, and yet at the same time accomplish the object which all have in mind -- that is, that the necessary and useful information reaches the Department of State and all other departments and agencies concerned. It is clear that it is more difficult both from the point of view of mechanics and organization to control and eliminate such duplication and to get such coordination in Washington than in the field.

It will also make it possible, if this procedure is followed at all posts, for the Department of State, in carrying through the responsibility of formulating the foreign policy of our Government, to be always familiar with the information and recommendations which the officers and agents of other departments are making. If such information or recommendations are not in line with the policy which has been determined upon by the President and the Department of State, the proper coordination can follow and the necessary instructions issue to the field officers concerned. It may be repeated that,

that, at a time when our interests are threatened so definitely in so many parts of the world and when we are in a period in which this close coordination of policy is so important, this matter cannot be left further in abeyance and is one which requires the closest and most careful attention by our chiefs of mission and ranking consular officers and the officers of all departments and agencies in the field.

It might be suggested that many reports by officers and agents of other departments in the field may be of no interest to the Department of State or should not for various reasons be made available to the establishments of State abroad or to the Department of State in Washington. This objection may be based on the ground of secrecy of the reports or that the reports are of a technical or other character so as not to interest the Department of State or its field officers. It would be difficult to find a valid ground for this objection for the Department of State is carefully organized and directed to the end that the secrecy and confidential character of reports is scrupulously observed. The fundamental principle which must be kept in mind is that as the policy forming department of our Government and the coordinating agency, the Department of State in the public interest must be furnished copies of all reports made by all officers

or agents of other departments abroad.

This principle is recognized by other governments and almost always uniformly strictly adhered to by them. It is interesting to note in this connection that prior to the World War the Military and Naval Attachés of Germany were not obliged to furnish copies of any of their reports to the mission through which they operated or to the Foreign Office in Berlin. These Attachés made political reports which were never seen by the mission to which they were attached nor by the Foreign Office. The result was that information reaching the War and Navy Departments of the German Government through Naval and Military Attachés abroad was frequently at variance with that received from diplomatic officers at the same posts. The consequences of this lack of cooperation and coordination were so disastrous for Germany that it is not necessary to go into this further here. It is, however, interesting to note that the German Government after the War as an economy measure and for other reasons did not send out Military and Naval Attachés for some years. When some four or five years ago they again started to send out Military and Naval Attachés it was definitely established as an inflexible rule that all reports, whether technical, professional, political or other, made by Military and Naval Attachés must be furnished to the chief of the mission to which they

they were attached and to the Foreign Office. A similar procedure applies in practically every major country.

The weekly staff meetings should be characterized by a free exchange of information and opinion and will in most cases form a very real and adequate basis to bring about a uniformity of policy and action and interpretation. After such full and free discussion there will be little variance in the viewpoints expressed in the reports to the State and other departments. It is not only that the principal officers of every department will have the benefit of the same information and background but there can be accomplished through this free exchange of information and opinion a clarification of the situations upon which these officers have to report perhaps from a different angle. If from this same background differences of opinion still emerge, these differences may be most interesting to the Department of State and other departments and may have a real importance.

The copies of reports furnished by the officers and agents of other departments at posts to the chief of the mission or consulate should be scrutinized by the chief of the establishment or by a responsible officer of the Department of State designated for this purpose. When there is any information therein which is at variance with that in

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the possession of the Department of State or when expressions of opinion of policy are at variance with that of the President and of the Department of State, it is desirable that in transmitting the copy of the report to the Department of State the principal officer of that Department should accompany it with a memorandum or despatch making appropriate comment. If these staff meetings are regularly held and properly conducted such differences of opinion are not likely to find expression in many reports for in most cases a uniformity of point of view and policy can and should be achieved at the post. When this is not possible, the chief of mission must bring such differences appropriately to the attention of the Department of State where that Department, after consultation with the other department or departments concerned, must make final decisions. Once the chief of mission or the Department of State, or both, may have determined upon a certain policy, it is binding upon all officers and agents of all departments and agencies stationed in the country. If it is found that an officer or agent of another department does not or cannot fit himself into the situation at a particular post and does not conform to the direction of the chief of mission or of the principal consular officer, the appropriate recommendations should be made to the Department of State. Mere difference of opinion

may

may not necessarily be a reason for a change of station of an officer of another department but it is obvious that any officer or agent of any department who is not willing to follow the guidance of the chief of the mission or consulate at a particular station is not a proper agent to operate in that field.

The furnishing of reports by officers and agents of other departments to the chief of the State Department establishment and to the Department of State will serve no useful purpose unless these reports are given this scrutiny both in the field and in the Department of State and if after such scrutiny such appropriate action as may be desirable is not taken. A very great deal still remains to be done in the adequate distribution and utilization of field information in Washington. At the field establishments human problems are involved which every chief of establishment should be able to work out, while in Washington it is largely an administrative one and one of mechanics. Most of our officers abroad, irrespective of department, are capable, intelligent and responsible men and are willing to coordinate themselves into a properly directed scheme of things. What is essential, therefore, is not only proper organization but tactful and adequate direction and guidance in such an organization.

It will be observed from a consideration of the problem as set forth in this memorandum that, in order to realize the complete coordination of all of our foreign activities that has now become absolutely essential, there are already in existence instructions and procedure under which if carefully followed at every post a great deal may be accomplished in the way of coordination, elimination of duplication and in securing uniformity and unity of approach and clearness of policy. Through the following of the procedure outlined in this memorandum a very considerable amount of the duplication which now exists and which is so undesirable from the point of view of the field as well as of the departments in Washington may be reduced and the efficient performance of every officer abroad for his department and for our Government as a whole may be augmented. There remains unfortunately a tendency in some quarters to regard this problem as one in which one or the other department is endeavoring to preempt a particular field of activity. This is basically a wrong point of view and one which cannot be held by any loyal officer of our Government. It is our Government as a whole which is represented abroad and not only departments. The activities of the departments are governed by statute. It is the interests of our Government and people as a whole which are at stake and not those of a particular department.

There

There are Constitutional and statutory provisions which, as has been pointed out in this memorandum, control. If every officer remains within his proper field and coordinates himself into the scheme of things provided under existing statutes and procedure, there still remains adequate room within these limited spheres for every officer to perform efficient and useful service without in any way infringing upon the field prescribed for other officers and agents. It is very largely a question of good will and understanding, of loyalty and cooperation and coordination. In all of this the chief of the mission or consular establishment plays the important role of leader, conciliator and guiding spirit. Under any scheme of things which may be devised by statute or by agreement between departments, it will always depend upon him, his initiative, his interest, his understanding and his tact how well this important work will be carried through.

This responsibility for coordination rests mainly upon the chief of the mission or the principal consular officer at the post. If he fails to exercise the tact, leadership and authority which are essential, no amount of procedure laid down by statute or regulation can replace this leadership.

J. S. M.

San José, Costa Rica
January 4, 1938

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

It has occurred to me that the Costa Rican reaction to the bombing of the PANAY might be of interest during the period when you are formulating our future policy toward Japan, and I am therefore passing on the impressions which I have received from Costa Rican officials and members of the diplomatic corps.

I think I am quite safe in stating that the mass opinion here is to the general effect that Japan has engaged in prosecuting three undeclared wars: one with China, a near-war, and a one-sided one, with the United States, and a lesser one with Great Britain. Latin Americans appear to be wholly unable to understand the patience of the Anglo-Saxons and this thought is conveyed most forcibly in a cartoon from the columns of LA TRIBUNA of December 16, 1937, which I am attaching. The prompt measures taken by the Department of State have however, dispelled much of the feeling which existed immediately after the sinking of the American vessels.

In view of German and Italian propaganda, coupled with Japanese espionage in Costa Rica and in other South and Central American countries, and the thinly concealed desire of the first two mentioned nations to obtain political, cultural, and economic domination in this section of the world, I am strongly inclined to the opinion that our prestige in Latin America was irrevocably linked with your wise policy of insisting upon an abject apology and adequate compensation for the losses sustained in connection with the sinking of the PANAY.

Only

The President

The White House,

Washington.

Only last week the German Minister accredited to this post succeeded in obtaining a ban on a harmless American World War film which he regarded as objectionable to German interests and such ban was obtained without even the formality of a preview. Under instructions from the Department of State the Legation made vigorous representations on the subject and finally succeeded in lifting the ban. During the same week several pamphlets sent out by the Italian Legation which had as their objective the glorification of Mussolini, and desire to convince the Latins as to the superiority of Italian culture, also came to my attention. This method of sending out propaganda is, however, by no means new in Costa Rica for the Italians have been using it for months.

I may add that the outbursts of ultra pacifists, agitation for a referendum as a condition precedent to a declaration of war, and interviews by certain members of Congress suggesting the withdrawal of our ships and troops from China, have created anything but a pleasing impression here and if the practice continues may do American interests irreparable harm.

The purpose of this letter, Mr. President, is not to offer advice or counsel, but to point out that as viewed from this post, a less vigorous policy than that which has been pursued might have adversely affected our prestige, position and influence in Latin America. Every diplomatic move we are making is being carefully watched south of the Rio Grande and nothing short of the strong stand which you have taken could permit us to retain the prestige which has been built up in this section of the world as a result of the forward looking program which has been adopted by your administration.

With kindest personal regards and my very best wishes for the New Year, I am, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

Wm W. Harrilock

LA TRIBUNA
DECEMBER 16, 1937.

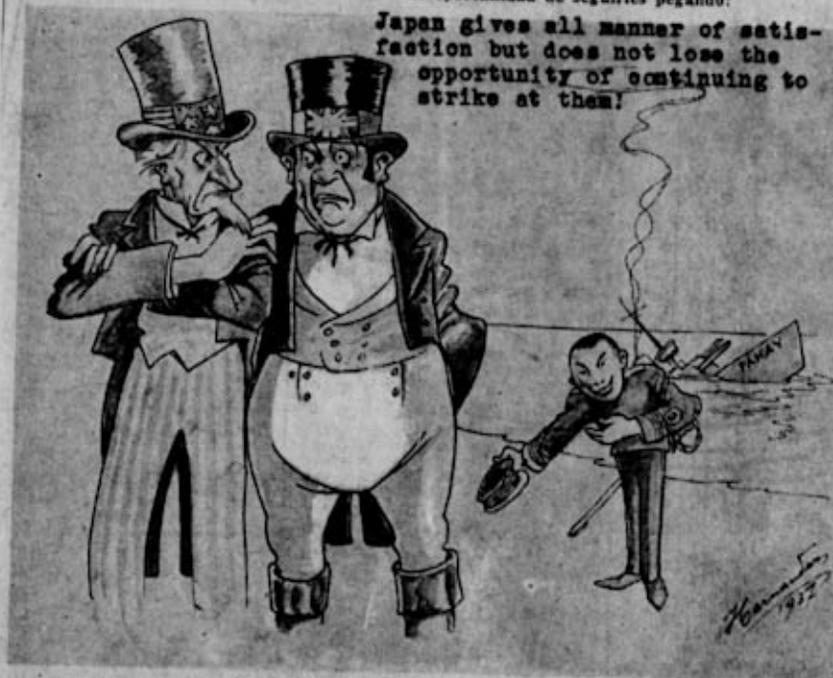
Translation

ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS

ASIA PARA LOS ASIATICOS

El Japón da toda clase de satisfacciones pero no pierde oportunidad de seguirles pegando!

Japan gives all manner of satisfaction but does not lose the opportunity of continuing to strike at them!



—¡Quisiera equivocarme, pero a más de faltarnos al respeto yo creo que nos está tomando el pelo!

I hope I am mistaken, but beside lacking in respect I believe that it (Japan) is making fools of us.

P.S.F. State

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

January 6, 1938.

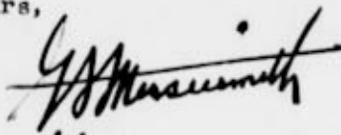
Dear Mr. President:

You will remember that when you saw Mr. Heineman of Brussels in the fall you asked him to see that I kept in touch with you to the end that it might be arranged that Dr. Bruning, the former Chancellor of Germany, would see you at Hyde Park at the first convenient opportunity. You will recall that on the several occasions that you have considered the possibility of seeing Dr. Bruning at Hyde Park since then, it proved not to be feasible.

It so happens that I saw Dr. Bruning during the Christmas holidays and he tells me that he is returning to England on February 3 and that his engagements are such that the only days that he could come to Washington are January 30 and 31 and February 1. He indicated that if you still desired to see him he would be very glad to come to Washington any one of those three days and would be very happy indeed to have the privilege of seeing you. Dr. Bruning wished me to make it clear that while he would very much appreciate the privilege of a conversation with you, he realized the great pressure upon you and would not wish in any way to thrust himself forward.

If there is anything you would wish me to do in this connection, I shall be very glad to inform Dr. Bruning.

Faithfully yours,



The President,
The White House.

Stall Dept.

Bucharest, January 19, 1938.

Dear Mr. President:

When in Nicaragua in 1911-12 I took pains to dig up what I could find in the old files of the Legation as to just why the decision was taken to build the Canal through Panama and not through Nicaragua. I was already acquainted with the usual reasons advanced pertaining to earthquakes and political difficulties, but was not greatly enlightened by what I found in the files of a technical nature. However, I came to marvel at the skill and dexterity with which de Lesseps played upon the boys of the Congressional Committee who went down to Panama ages ago and through whom he succeeded in unloading on us a vast amount of junk machinery and recouping his fortune.

If, as is reported in the press, it is true that the Japanese are going to build warships of over 42,000 tons and we are to amend the Vinson-Trammell Act so as to do likewise, we shall still have the problem of passing these larger vessels through the locks of Panama. Surely, then, the desirability of constructing a canal now through Nicaragua with locks large enough to pass anything we may eventually build will once more come
under

The President,
The White House.

under consideration. I often used to look upon the waters of Lake Granada and picture floating thereon in safety large units of our fleet. It is also big enough to accomodate any guests we might ever care to have and the only fresh water sharks in the world afford admirable fishing.

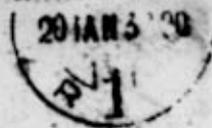
With highest regard, I am, dear Mr. President,

Yours very respectfully,

Frank Sawyer

American Legation.

Bucharest, Rumania.

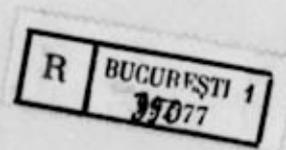


The President,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.,

STATELE UNITE ALE AMERICEI.



A.

*file
Personal*

*157
State Dept*

Bucharest, January 24, 1938.

Dear Mr. President:

I enjoyed very much meeting Mr. Montgomery who was here recently for a day and a half from Budapest. We had much to talk about and I hope a little later on to repay his visit.

From various things I had heard and even judging by statements made by members of the last Government, I had begun to hope that should the National Liberals be continued in office a sincere effort would really be made to come to some agreement on the Hungarian minority question. That Government went out, as you know, but I am happy to report that this possibility is even present with the actual Government, though it may not remain very long in office. My Hungarian Colleague de Bárdossy had expected to be sent to London anytime where a good Hungarian Minister, I believe, is badly needed. He was telling me the other day, however, that he hardly expected now to have this good fortune as he has been instructed to continue on here in view of the imminence of negotiations on this question and he fears, therefore, that somebody else will

The President,

The White House.

will have to be appointed in his place. He is an excellent man, one of the best they have in their service, and I understand that to go to London has always been his life's ambition. I shall not fail to report to the Department upon any progress made in regard to this vexatious question of Hungarian minorities.

I hear on good authority that there are some plans afoot for a royal marriage for King Carol, which it is expected will be much further advanced during his trip to England and back. A princess of Bourbon is mentioned. I know no more than this for the present nor whether anything will come of it, but if King Carol does marry eventually his prestige and power, great as it is at present, will be enormously enhanced in this country. I am told that the peasants and people in the provinces really cannot understand his being a King without a Queen. Many are even a little superstitious about it and maintain that it brings bad luck.

With highest regard, I am, dear Mr. President,

Yours very respectfully,

Frank Dinkley

100-1-1
file personal
State Dept
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Budapest, January 28, 1938.

Hungary

Dear Mr. President,

I hope to see the Regent soon and will deliver your message. I have already mentioned it to his aide-de-camp who told me yesterday that he had repeated it to the Regent and that the latter had been very much pleased.

In regard to Rumania. Apparently the King has two ideas in mind: one, to keep control of the Government in his own hands; and two, to put his country in the same position as regards France, Germany and Italy as Poland and Yugoslavia. By adopting anti-Semitism and appointing as Prime Minister a man friendly to Germany and Italy, the King apparently hopes to weaken the Iron Guard by leaving

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

leaving it without an issue, and to stop German and Italian intrigue. Italy is particularly interested in Rumanian oil to make her independent of Russia and England; Germany in all the natural resources which she needs so badly.

Baron von Hahn, representative in Budapest of the Deutsches Nachrichtenbureau, told me today that while Goga was perfectly satisfactory to the Germans they considered his Government weak. He intimated, however, that if the King could establish a strong Government on the present lines the Germans might be satisfied for the time being because they need the natural resources which Rumania has in such abundant quantities, and because Coindreau is an uneducated man who by his own admission is not able to take over the Government at present even if he had the opportunity to do so.

While on the face of it both Germany and Italy have gained in Rumania, everything depends upon the success of the Government in the new elections and what will happen if they fail of a majority. Only

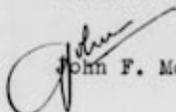
one thing is certain and that is that Jewish persecution once commenced is very apt to continue and even intensify.

I might add that no one that I saw in Rumania believed that the rich Jews, regardless of their category, would suffer particularly at present as they can buy immunity, or that any poor Jews would escape either at the hands of the Government or the populace.

As to the Nazi or anti-Semitic movement in Hungary, there is not much change. Many people, including Foreign Minister de Kánya (who is anti-Nazi) believes that it will encourage anti-Semitism. Eckhardt (Small Farmer and anti-Nazi leader) on the other hand believes that the persecution of Hungarian Jews in Rumania will be followed by the persecution of all Hungarians and that reaction here will be unfavorable.

With my warmest regards, I am,

Yours cordially,


John F. Montgomery

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

January 29, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Herewith attached are two statements on the principles of desirable international relationships, one dated July 16 and the other February 25, 1937. The former in synopsis form was again proclaimed as applicable to the Pacific area, as well as the balance of the world, on August 23.

Huce

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 179

Communication
from the
Government of the United States of America

STATEMENT

in regard to the International Situation
made on July 16th, 1937, by Mr. Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State of the United States of America

AND

AMERICAN CONSULATE
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

JAN 12 1938

COMMENTS

POLITICAL SECTION

on that Statement from Various Governments

Geneva, 1937.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 179

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STATEMENT

in regard to the International Situation
made on July 16th, 1937, by Mr. Cordell Hull,
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AND

COMMENTS

on that Statement from Various Governments

Geneva, 1937.

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I.

(a) **LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1937, FROM THE UNITED STATES ACTING CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AT BERNE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Berne, September 8th, 1937.

Acting under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for purposes of information, a copy of a statement given to the Press on July 16th by the Honourable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, together with copies of comments thereon by Governments as contained in Press releases of the Department of State dated August 6th, 13th, 18th, 21st, 24th and 28th.

(Signed) Donald F. BIGELOW,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

(b) **LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1937, FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE UNITED STATES MINISTER AT BERNE.**

Geneva, September 30th, 1937.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the Chargé d'Affaires of the Legation of the United States, dated September 8th, 1937, forwarding, for information, a copy of a statement given to the Press on July 16th by the Honourable Cordell Hull, together with copies of comments thereon by Governments as contained in Press releases of the Department of State dated August 6th, 13th, 18th, 21st, 24th and 28th.

2. The text of this communication will be circulated, for information, to the Members of the League of Nations, who, I am sure, will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Government of the United States.

3. In conformity with the intention which I expressed to you in our conversation of September 17th, I took the first opportunity of informing the Council of the League of Nations of the receipt of the communication. I enclose a copy of the relevant proceedings of the Council.

(Signed) J. AVENOL,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE NINETY-NINTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL.

FIRST MEETING.

Held at Geneva on Wednesday, September 29th, 1937, at 10.30 a.m.

3947. **Statement by the United States Government in regard to the International Situation: Communication by the Secretary-General.**

The SECRETARY-GENERAL informed the Council that he had just received from the United States Government, for information, a copy of a statement in regard to the international situation, which had been given to the Press on July 16th by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and of the comments which had been made on that statement by a large number of Governments.

He was certain that the Council would wish to be notified of the receipt of that communication, which would be circulated to all the Members of the League.

The PRESIDENT said that the Council noted with interest and gratification the communication which had been made by the Secretary-General. The objectives proclaimed by the United States Government were in close harmony with those which the Covenant of the League of Nations set before the Members of the League. Never had it been so necessary as now to co-ordinate all the efforts which were being made in the cause of peace.

II.

**STATEMENT BY MR. CORDELL HULL, SECRETARY OF STATE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA JULY 16TH, 1937.**

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world. Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. I therefore feel warranted in making—in fact, I feel it a duty to make—a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in co-operative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated.

III.

COMMENTS FROM GOVERNMENTS.

Note by the Secretary-General.

Certain comments from Governments received by the United States Government after August 28th, 1937, the date of the last Press release transmitted to the Secretary-General by the letter of September 8th from the United States Legation at Berne,¹ have subsequently been communicated to the Secretary-General and are included in the present volume.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

STATEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The statement of foreign policy by Mr. Cordell Hull in every respect conforms with the views held and policy adopted from time to time by the Government of the Union, for the purpose of defining its own attitude towards other States and indicating the principles of conduct which it expects to be observed by them in their dealings with the Union.

I, therefore, heartily approve of the statement of policy by the Secretary of State, so far as the Union is concerned under present circumstances.

I say: *under present circumstances*, for I cannot help feeling that if the Union had been in the position of a State laboring under wrongs confirmed or perpetuated by agreement at the point of the bayonet, such agreement could have little claim to any degree of sanctity; and certainly to none when the agreement had been obtained in a manner violating the established usage of war, or contrary to the dictates of international conscience. Before such an agreement can be accepted as enjoying the *principle of the sanctity of treaties* there should, it seems to me, first be an equitable measure of redress purifying it of the excesses resulting therefrom. In other words, a revision of the provisions of such an agreement could well be insisted upon by the State wronged prior to its approval of the *principle of the sanctity of treaties*.

If this view is correct, Mr. Hull's advocacy of *faithful observance of international agreements* would require qualification of a restrictive nature.

ALBANIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE ALBANIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ALBANIA.

[*Translation.*]

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I received your note No. 18 of July 29th, 1937, with which you were kind enough to communicate to me the statement which His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made on July 16th, 1937, with regard to international problems and situations.

I thank you, Mr. Minister, for this communication and I have the honor to express to you the whole sympathy of the Royal Government to the noble and well-wishing aims emanating from the statement in question in favor of the understanding of peoples, of the maintenance of peace, of the increase of international solidarity, and of the betterment of the world's economic situation. The Albanian State, being completely inspired in its activities by pacific desires and aims, dedicating its entire struggle to the development and advancement of the nation, praises with joy the principles expressed by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, and wishes that aims of this kind may direct the activities of all the countries for the good of the world.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE ARGENTINE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

[*Translation.*]

The Argentine Government has learned with customary satisfaction the statements of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, whose lofty mind has left such grateful

¹ See page 4.

remembrances in Buenos Aires, as has the illustrious President Roosevelt, and shares the wholesome ideas formulated in them.

It permits itself to request his consideration of the proposed convention giving a universal application to the right of asylum which, when properly regulated, can prevent the inconveniences which it has contained until now, and whose moral significance, once practical questions have been considered, is in singular accord with the attitude of noble humanitarianism which has so often characterised the United States.

It is the understanding of the Argentine Chancellery that the tendency of the proposed convention implies an element of pacification in pursuance of the line of conduct which should be followed by the American countries.

AUSTRALIA.

STATEMENT BY THE AUSTRALIAN MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMUNICATED TO THE AMERICAN CONSUL AT SYDNEY.

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. 711/800 of July 26th, 1937, forwarding a copy of a statement made by the Honourable the Secretary of State on July 16th, and to inform you that I have read it with great interest. At the recent Imperial Conference its members placed on record the result of their deliberations on the subject of foreign affairs in the following statement:

"The representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations gathered in the conference, have in the course of their proceedings had an opportunity of exchanging views upon foreign affairs and the international situation as it affects their respective interests and responsibilities.

"While no attempt was made to formulate commitments, which in any event could not be made effective until approved and confirmed by the respective parliaments, the representatives of the Governments concerned found themselves in close agreement upon a number of general propositions which they thought it desirable to set out in the present statement.

"They agreed that for each member of the Commonwealth the first objective is the preservation of peace. In their view the settlement of differences that may arise between nations and the adjustment of national needs should be sought by methods of co-operation, joint enquiry and conciliation. It is in such methods, and not in recourse to the use of force between nation and nation, that the surest guarantee will be found for the improvement of international relations and respect for mutual engagements.

"Holding these views and desiring to base their policies upon the aims and ideals of the League of Nations, they found themselves unanimous in declaring that their respective armaments will never be used for purposes of aggression or for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris. At the same time, being impressed with the desirability of strengthening the influence of the League by the enlargement of its membership, they united in expressing the view that this object would be facilitated by the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace. Observing that in respect of certain regions in which a number of States have special interests, regional agreements of friendship and collaboration between individual members of the British Commonwealth and the other States so interested have been entered upon or may be contemplated, they welcomed all such agreements in so far as they can be made to contribute to the cause of peace, and do not conflict with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"They noted with interest the statement made on behalf of the Australian delegation at the opening plenary meeting that Australia would greatly welcome a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, and would be prepared to collaborate to that end with all the peoples of the Pacific region in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. They agreed that if such an arrangement could be made it would be a desirable contribution to the cause of Peace and to the continued maintenance of friendly relations in the Pacific, and that it should be the subject of further consultation between Governments.

"They all desired earnestly to see as wide a measure of disarmament as could be obtained. At the same time they were agreed that the several Governments of which they are the representatives are bound to adopt such measures of defense as they may deem essential for their security, as well as for the fulfilment of such international obligations as they may respectively have assumed.

"Being convinced that the influence of each of them in the cause of peace was likely to be greatly enhanced by their common agreement to use that influence in the same direction, they declared their intention of continuing to consult and co-operate with one another in this vital interest and all other matters of common concern.

"The representatives of the several Governments concerned further had under review the possibility of reviving confidence and increasing the stability of economic and financial conditions in the world, a process which they considered essential to the prosperity of individual countries as well as to international peace. In order to assist in furthering this end, they declared themselves ready to co-operate with other nations in examining current difficulties, including trade barriers and other obstacles to the increase of international trade and the improvement of the general standard of living.

"Finally, the Members of the Conference, while themselves firmly attached to the principles of democracy and to parliamentary forms of government, decided to register their

view that differences of political creed should be no obstacle to friendly relations between Governments and countries, and that nothing would be more damaging to the hopes of international appeasement than the division, real or apparent, of the world into opposing groups."

The attitude of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the international situation would appear accordingly to correspond in all material respects to that of the United States.

AUSTRIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN AUSTRIA.

I have studied with interest the statements made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instand with regard to the attitude of the United States towards international problems and have noted with satisfaction that the efforts on the part of the United States based on the principles listed by the Secretary of State are serving the same goals that Austrian politicians have set for themselves from the very beginning, that is, the safety and consolidation of just peace in the world.

BELGIUM.

NOTE FROM THE BELGIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN BELGIUM.

[Translation.]

In the course of a conversation which you had on July 19th last with M. van Langenhove, Secretary-General of my Department, you requested him to communicate to me the statement made at Washington on July 16th by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, defining the principles on which the peace policy of the United States is based and the aims of this policy: peaceful settlement of disputes, observance of international engagements, decreasing of excessive obstacles to international trade, equality of treatment, limitation and reduction of armaments, and international co-operation apart from all alliances.

The speeches of Belgian statesmen on many occasions bring out the perfect harmony existing in this respect between the peace policy of the United States and that of Belgium. I am happy to give you an assurance that His Majesty's Government can subscribe point by point to the declarations of Mr. Hull and that it is ready, as in the past, within the means at its disposal, to co-operate with the Government of the United States with a view to the attainment of the desired ends.

BOLIVIA.

MEMORANDUM HANDED BY THE BOLIVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN BOLIVIA.

[Translation.]

The Bolivian Foreign Office acknowledges the receipt of the memorandum of the Legation of the United States attached to which it has been pleased to send a copy of the declaration of the Secretary of State of its country, given to the Press on July 16th past, establishing lofty pacifist principles.

The Government and the Foreign Office of Bolivia loyally and sincerely share the noble anxiety which inspired the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States and fully adhere to the support given by your Government to the principles established in the declaration under reference, many of which constitute an essential part of the conventions and treaties celebrated in the Conference of Buenos Aires for the Maintenance of Peace.¹

Bolivia, whose pacifist tradition has always been inspired by the respect for right and the most elevated thought of justice, adapting its conduct to a loyal respect of international laws, has considered with extreme satisfaction each and all of the principles enunciated by the illustrious Secretary of State of the United States, and in view of the fact that there is still pending the solution of the Chaco conflict, which constitutes a permanent menace for the peace of America, considers that the declarations of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull will have a most important influence on this specific problem as well as on the pacifist ideal of the world.

The Government of Bolivia clearly expresses its will to co-operate loyally with the stand in favor of the principles enunciated.

BRAZIL.

STATEMENT BY THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs was officially informed concerning the declaration of the principles which orientate the foreign policy of the United States made on July 16th by the

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull. The statement of the Secretary of State having been brought to the attention of the President of the Republic by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the latter received instructions from the President to make public that the Brazilian Government, entirely sharing the point of view of the Government of the United States concerning the world international political situation, fully agrees with those declarations and gives complete support to the principles formulated therein, which have already been warmly advocated in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace and at other international political assemblies and which it will do everything possible to put into practice by the most convenient methods at every opportunity which arises.

BULGARIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE BULGARIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN BULGARIA.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses the concurrence of the Bulgarian Government in the principles set forth in the Secretary's statement. While Bulgarian energies are absorbed in the task of internal rehabilitation it is realized that permanent improvement depends on the recovery of the world at large and the Bulgarian Government views with deep concern any disturbance which may affect the peace and imperil the economic security for which the world is striving and for the attainment of which America is playing the leading part.

Bulgaria feels most acutely the injustices wrought by the peace treaties but far from seeking to upset them through force of arms, it retains faith in the tenets of the League of Nations and hopes that the spirit of co-operation will prevail over national selfishness and provide a remedy for the evils which afflict Europe.

CANADA.

NOTE FROM THE CANADIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO CANADA.

I have the honour to refer to our recent conversation in which you drew my attention to the statement made by the Secretary of State of the United States on July 16th setting forth the principles which represent his Government's position in the conduct of international relations at this juncture.

I have read Mr. Hull's statement with deep interest. All who are charged with the responsibility of government now find their task becoming daily more and more preoccupied with strains and tensions in the international field that threaten to undo all their efforts in the national sphere. Events throughout the world are forcing a continual fresh examination of the principles upon which the relations between States and peoples can best proceed, and it has long since become plain that unless the States of the world can reach some general agreement upon such principles, catastrophe is hardly to be avoided.

I have no hesitation in saying that the principles set forth by Mr. Hull will meet the strong support of the people of Canada. In the midst of a stormy, transitional era of human affairs, when so many systems and theories are in violent competition for universal and exclusive mastery, the statement, by its coolness and moderation, and by invoking once more the processes of reasoned discussion, of accommodation and of conciliation, reaffirms anew our faith in the method and temper by which we believe progress so far has been won. While standing for order and orderly processes it equally recognizes there may be imperative need for change. At this time there appears a widespread tendency to invoke force whether in the name of the principle of stability or in the name of the principle of change, and both extremes seem to forget that under present day conditions the processes of force themselves set loose a progression of events which go completely beyond calculation and control and can only stultify the worthy principles in whose name the violence has been ordained. At such a time this clear call, from such a source, for the processes of mutual reasoned discussion is of the highest importance. It appears especially noteworthy that the statement lays emphasis upon the problems of readjustment, upon the task of studying immediately wherein all may try by agreement to modify the barriers and rigidities, both economic and political, which may be claimed to deny to peoples or nations equality of opportunity or treatment; for naturally it is by such wise anticipations that revolutionary and catastrophic events are to be forestalled.

Within the measure of their capacity the Government of Canada remain ready and indeed anxious to explore all practicable means to implement or revitalize the principles which Mr. Hull has so opportunely restated, and they will always welcome any specific proposals for wide international co-operation that may be put forward on such a basis.

CHILE.

STATEMENT BY THE CHILIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN CHILE.

[Translation.]

I have had the pleasure of receiving the courteous communication of the 23rd instant, in which Your Excellency is good enough to transmit to me an important statement recently made to the Press by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States.

In reply, I have to inform Your Excellency that I have read said statement with the greatest interest and that my Government sees in it a new manifestation of the high sentiments and purposes which the President of the United States and the Secretary of State made evident in the recent inter-American conference for the consolidation of peace held not long ago as a result of the happy initiative of His Excellency Mr. Roosevelt.

On that recent occasion my Government had the satisfaction of concurring with Your Excellency's Government and those of the other sister republics of America in signing new peace instruments¹ which set forth " that all wars or threats of war directly or indirectly affect all civilized peoples and endanger the great principles of liberty and justice which constitute the American ideal and standard of international policy "; that " the direct or indirect intervention of any of the contracting parties, for any motive, in the domestic or foreign affairs of any of the parties is not admissible " and that " anything which assures and facilitates the fulfilment of the treaties in force is an effective guaranty of international peace ".

The authorized statements to which Your Excellency refers are inspired by the same principles and therefore will surely favor the firm ideals of peace and international justice to which we all happily adhere.

CHINA.

NOTE FROM THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Acting under instructions of my Government, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the statement, issued by you on July 16th, 1937, setting forth the position of the American Government in regard to international problems and situations.

In endorsing the principles enumerated in your Statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes me to say that China has always sought to settle international controversies by any of the pacific means known in international law and treaties, and her policy is therefore in full harmony with the views of the American Government as set forth in your Statement. As to the present issue with Japan, the position of my Government, as made clear in the Memorandum which I had the pleasure of presenting to you on July 16th, 1937, remains the same.

COLOMBIA.

" AIDE-MÉMOIRE " HANDED BY THE COLOMBIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN COLOMBIA.

[Translation.]

In a conversation of August 4th, 1937, the Minister of Foreign Relations, Dr. Turbay, said that he has read with the greatest interest the statement issued in Washington by the Secretary of State of the United States under date of July 16th last, which Mr. Dawson has been kind enough to communicate to him.

Dr. Turbay recalled that the message presented to Congress on July 20th by the President of Colombia, Dr. Alfonso López, in explaining the Colombian initiatives at the Inter-American Peace Conference of Buenos Aires, is pregnant with ideas concerning the necessity of maintaining peace on juridical and moral bases. These concepts shows that the international policy of Colombia is based on postulates similar to those which the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, has expressed in his statement.

Dr. Turbay said that the juridical co-ordination of the principles of peaceful international coexistence, based on respect for the sanctity of treaties freely agreed upon, is the cornerstone of the structure of inter-American solidarity which has been in the process of erection at the various pan-American Conferences within the aspiration which we see gradually achieved of providing permanent norms for the peaceful solution of conflicts between nations of this continent and of contributing in this way to the progress of international law in the world.

The Minister of Foreign Relations expressed his deep satisfaction at the generous declarations which the Secretary of State of the United States has made at a time of serious disturbances in the world and noted with pleasure that they concord with the ethical principles which guide the Government of Colombia in the conduct of its foreign relations.

The Minister of Foreign Relations took advantage of the opportunity to inform Mr. Dawson that the Government of Colombia, in pursuing the policy set forth, has recommended to Congress the approval of the treaties and conventions adopted at the Inter-American Peace Conference of Buenos Aires¹ and that it is disposed to co-operate with the other nations with a view to giving practical effect to the principles of law there established in favor of collective security and universal peace.

COSTA RICA.

NOTE FROM THE COSTA RICAN SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN COSTA RICA.

[Translation.]

I had the honor to receive in due course the courteous communication of Your Honor, dated July 23rd last, with which you were kind enough to send me a copy of the declarations contained

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

in a telegram of the same date, of the Most Excellent Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the great North American Union, so worthily represented by Your Honor.

At the same time, Your Honor requested an early opportunity to consider and discuss personally the important and far-reaching telegraphic statement of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull.

In the interview that I had the honor of holding with you in respect thereto on July 30th, in my office, it was highly gratifying to me to express orally the profound satisfaction that the declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, had inspired in me, both personally and as Secretary of State, and my wholly favorable judgment in regard to each and all of them. I promised you, in full compliance with your manifest wishes, a written reply in the name of my Government, as soon as I should have considered the matter with the President of the Republic and obtained his concrete instructions, constitutionally indispensable, owing to the great importance of the matter, in order that the actions of this Department might be considered as duly endorsed by the Executive.

Having now obtained full instructions from the President of the Republic, and complying with them with great pleasure, I have the honor to address myself, in the name of my Government, to the declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull:

Presenting and summing up the proposals and suggestions that he has received from various sources, in view of the delicate situation that various countries of the world confront, the Most Excellent Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, contemplates the state of tension and violence that, although it apparently involves only neighboring and near countries, is shown in the final analysis to extend to the whole world, since any regional situation that implies armed hostilities, or threats of such hostilities, is a situation of such nature that the rights and interests of all nations are or may be seriously affected. Serious hostilities cannot exist in any part of the world without affecting in some manner the interests, obligations, and rights of the United States. By reason of all this, the Most Excellent Mr. Hull feels himself warranted in making, and considers himself duty bound to make known the attitude of his Government in regard to the international problems and conditions over which the United States feels deep concern. And occupying a superior plane in the contemplation and the envisioning of the highest interest of humanity, the Most Excellent Mr. Hull advocates the maintenance of peace; national and international self-restraint for each of the nations; abstinence by all nations from the use of force in the pursuit of their policy, and from intervention in the internal affairs of other nations; adjustment of problems in international relations by process of peaceful negotiation and agreement; faithful observance of international agreements; maintenance of the principle of the sanctity of treaties, and their modification, when necessity arises, by orderly process brought to happy conclusion through full accommodation and mutual helpfulness; respect by all nations for the rights of others and fulfillment by all of them of established obligations; revitalizing and strengthening of international law; lowering or removal of excessive barriers in international trade; effective equality of commercial opportunity, and application of the principle of equality of treatment; limitation and reduction of armaments; international co-operation by peaceful and practicable means in support of all the principles enunciated.

The explicit, frank, and lofty declarations of the Most Excellent Mr. Hull, transmitted to all the Latin nations of the American Continent, constitute a new and serious invitation from the Government of the United States of America for the practical adoption of all the means that, in the science of contemporary international law, are necessary to prevent armed conflicts, to curb the use of force, and to preserve balance, harmony, and the reconciliation of interests in the relationship of the nations.

In the early part of the last century, when the greatness and authority that, in a prodigious miracle of history, the United States has achieved, began to shape themselves and make themselves felt through definite positions taken in defense of the rights of America in the international politics of the Old World, the illustrious Minister for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, George Canning, uttered his famous saying, recently recalled to the memory of America by the thinker Nicholas Murray Butler, that the New World had been created to restore the balance of the Old World. In the light of history, in a century and a half, these words have assumed a prophetic significance, in view of the force of the thought, of the will, and of the action that have developed American international law, impelled mainly in its beginnings and its evolution by the highest intellects and the strongest hearts that have directed and guided the destinies of the United States in the course of its international relations with the other nations of this continent and with the powers of the Old World.

John Quincy Adams, in the memorable time of President Monroe, was the precursor of the New American International Law; and since, there have succeeded him as outstanding influences, by reason of the force of their intellects and of the steely power of their will, Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, and Elihu Root, who have been the true apostles of the basic principles of the relationship of the American nations. And in the present century of world unbalance have arisen for the good of the peoples of America and for the balancing of the Old World, the illustrious President of the United States, the Most Excellent Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his no less illustrious Secretary of State, the Most Excellent Cordell Hull, who, confronted by the distinct aspect of current events, initiate a new international policy, consecrated by the denomination of "good neighbor" policy; and are prosecuting energetically the work of conciliation, of peace and harmony, proclaiming the ideal of American interdependence, laying down the principles for its direction, and indicating the means, and bringing about the opportunities, for its realization.

Following the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo in December 1933, for the consecration of the new American agreements and the confirmation of the "good neighbor" policy, at which the spirit of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull made itself so felt, there took place last year at Buenos Aires the Inter-American Conference for the

Maintenance of Peace, convoked in his communication of January 30th, 1936, by the Most Excellent President Roosevelt, and seconded by the Most Excellent Secretary Hull. Both American statesmen gave the Conference prestige and strength by their presence, and vitality by the force of their thought and their word, contributing effectively to the formation and approval of the international juridical bodies at that time agreed to by all the American nations for the maintenance, guaranteeing, and reestablishment of peace; to coordinate, amplify, and assure the fulfilment of existing treaties; to establish the basic principles of non-intervention and of the rights of small nations. This outstanding labor of the present Government of the United States has been of positive efficacy as an element of moral control for the harmonious relationship of the nations of America, and an edifying example for the nations of the Old World.

The recent declarations of the Most Excellent Secretary of State Hull constitute another strong impulsion given with the same high aims to the buttressing of the international principles proclaimed and accepted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.¹

All these principles are accepted with sentiments of the most profound satisfaction by my Government, for the ideological forces with which they are invested, and as rules of intercourse for an international relationship of peace, of harmony, and of compenetration of interests between the nations, as well as for the support that they command before the world through being proclaimed by a nation like the United States, respected, and worthy of respect, for the component elements forming the whole of its institutions and for its effective power and its greatness in the world concert. If acceptance and due regard for these international principles are the best guaranty of a harmonious, peaceful, and just relationship between the great powers of the world, they must be so with more force as the sole stay of the small nations which count, for the integrity of all their attributes, on the effective reign of Right, on the real rule of Justice, and on the empery of Equality among all nations.

The state of tension and of violence existing in a certain number of nations, which the Most Excellent Secretary Hull has so fittingly set forth as cause of deep concern to his Government, as well as the commercial conflict that likewise prevails as a dominant condition in an important part of the nations, indeed, all that which is to be looked upon in these times as a deviation of humanity in the course of its improvement and progress, appear to confirm in our day the theory of cyclical reactions in humanity during its historical process, which turn it periodically, by centrifugal force, counteragent of egoism, toward the conditions of the civilization and culture of its ancestral origins. But under the same theoretical law, these reactions have, necessarily and fortunately, their return to normality, through the propelling action of the centripetal force of the noble and altruistic sentiments of mankind, which conduce to fellowship, to harmony, to peace, through the channels worn by civilization and culture in the course of history. And in the present historical moment of the world the state of reaction that His Excellency Mr. Hull sets forth in his statement, affecting the rights, the obligations, and the interests of all nations, has encountered its strong counter-movement with its altruistic and humanitarian effort toward peace, fellowship, and harmony, in the moral and material force of the United States, channeled by the vigorous and wise mentality of the two great statesmen who control their country's destinies in its international life, the Most Excellent President Roosevelt and the Most Excellent Secretary of State Cordell Hull. And my Government considers that it is the fundamental duty of Costa Rica, as an integral part of the American Continent and as a member of the community of nations, to lend its frank and decided co-operation to this powerful initiating force which emanates from the United States, and to embrace unreservedly the principles that constitute its ideologic fundamentals and its practical measures for realization and fulfilment.

In the foregoing terms I have now answered Your Honor's courteous note of July 23rd last, as well as that relating to the same matter of August 5th.

CUBA.

DECLARATION BY THE CUBAN SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Translation.]

In view of the statement given to the Press of his country by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, on July 16th of this year, with regard to evidences of world disturbance and the need for conserving peace, the Government of Cuba, in full accord with that statement, believes the time has come for it to make public its feeling of solidarity therewith, and does so through me.

As a small country, but jealous of its dignity and of its sovereignty, Cuba has heard the words, full of a just and human sentiment, of Secretary Hull, with intense sympathy, especially those which affirm that the United States advocates "abstinence by all nations from the use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations", as well as those in which it pledges itself to avoid alliances or entangling commitments, but on the other hand, to show a tendency toward co-operative efforts by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles on which is based this declaration before the world; and those (words) which advocate the processes of peaceful negotiation, the faithful observance of international agreements, the spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation, the upholding of the principle of the sanctity of treaties, the respect of all nations of the rights of others, the revitalizing and strengthening of international law, the establishment of measures which will tend to promote economic security and stability the

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

world over; and (those remarks advocating) the lowering or removing of excessive barriers to the commerce between nations, equality of treatment between nations, and the equitable adjustment of armaments among nations, without losing sight of the need for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

STATEMENT BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

[Translation.]

Under existing circumstances, the declarations of Mr. Hull, Secretary of State, assume an extraordinary importance, and may be greeted only with satisfaction, since they help to strengthen democratic impulses in international relations. They are received by Czechoslovak foreign policy with satisfaction all the more sincere inasmuch as Czechoslovakia has observed from the beginning the principles contained in these declarations, which make a point of settling conflicts of international concern by pacific understanding and settlement or indeed to emphasize the sacred character of existing treaties and the impossibility of modifying them other than by reciprocal understanding.

It also does not cease to declare the value of the principle for economic understanding among nations to lower or suppress excessive tariff barriers.

I have no doubt that the good faith manifested by the United States to reduce or to increase their own armed force in accordance with the action taken by other States will be received with understanding by all those who have at heart a desire for collaboration by pacific means regarding which the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, has so well explained the importance.

DENMARK.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE DANISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER
TO DENMARK.

The Danish Government shares the view that hostilities in any part of the world exercise their influence everywhere.

We join in the desire for the preservation of peace expressed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull; it is also our desire that all States will refrain from the use of power against others and desist from interference in the internal affairs of other States. We share the hope for the strengthening of international law and for the recovery of economic stability all over the world just as we adhere to the desire for a limitation and reduction of armaments. We express the hope that the participation of the United States of America in the efforts to carry these ideas into practice will lead to the desired end.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

STATEMENT HANDED BY THE DOMINICAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE
AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

[Translation.]

The Dominican Government, under the inspiration and direction of President Trujillo Molina, illustrious statesman who has given singular demonstration of his love for the cause of justice and international order, has not weakened nor will it weaken at any time its cooperation to as many efforts as are realized, not only on the American continent but in any part of the world, in favor of the maintenance and the consolidation of peace, whose benefits extend to all people and whose conservation must be, as a consequence, a common ideal of all nations. A threat against peace, no matter in what continent or what country it is produced, necessarily has universal repercussions, and all Governments, even the least directly affected by such an act, are obligated to condemn it as the violation of a principle of international ethics according to which the differences and conflicts which arise between the nations must be resolved in accordance with pacific procedure and the friendly formulas that right and morality place within the reach of all States.

The Dominican Government identifies itself with the declarations made on the 16th of last July by the Secretary of State of the United States of America, His Excellency Cordell Hull, which are in essence a ratification of the ideas of mutual respect and of sincere pacific collaboration which inspired the recent Conference at Buenos Aires,¹ and is pleased to proclaim, in view of the conflicts that agitate other continents and place in danger the tranquillity of the world, its decided and loyal adherence to the cause of peace, to the noble postulates of justice and of law, to the principle of non-intervention by any country in the internal or external affairs of another, and of the sanctity of international pacts whose reform should not be effected except by absolute submission to legal norms when necessity thus requires it, or when their provisions reflect upon the dignity

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

or the sovereignty of any State, or which may be opposed in practice to the reassuring realities of mutual respect and solidarity of nations.

ECUADOR.

NOTE FROM THE ECUADORAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ECUADOR.

[Translation.]

Your Excellency has been good enough, acting under express instructions of your Government, to inform me of the important statement which the Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honorable Cordell Hull, has made with respect to the international political situation, disturbed in various parts of the world.

At the same time, Your Excellency has informed me of the desire to know the opinion of the Government of Ecuador and particularly of this Foreign Office with regard to the ideas of the Honorable the American Secretary of State and with respect to the principles by which Ecuadoran foreign policy is governed and its desires and aspirations along these ideas.

When I was in charge of the Foreign Office in 1932 I made the following observations in the report which I submitted to the nation:

" One of the facts emphasized by the great conflict which bathed the world in blood during the years 1914 to 1918, was the unity of interest of all the civilized people of the earth, the interdependence of nations and the impossibility of a State's eluding the consequences which a great political disturbance causes among the others.

" Regardless how much a country may be developed in all the endeavours of civilization, however great may be its sources of wealth, the variety of its products and the possibilities of independent life, it shall always have multiple points of contact with other peoples and in its economic, if not in its political life it shall depend upon others and shall have many needs of them. Moreover, the larger and more civilized a nation may be, the greater are the ties with which it is bound to the others, and the more numerous the common problems and the more complex its relations.

" The disturbance of international peace in any place whatsoever of the world threatens the peace of the whole world. Evolution in the social and political conditions of a people is reflected in those which are united to it by whatever bond, and the prosperity or the economic difficulties of one are soon felt also in the others.

" There are many confused questions which are agitating distant parts of the world and which can be the forerunners of new tragedies which may have an enormous repercussion."

These same ideas have just been masterly expounded by the Honorable Mr. Hull. It is indubitable that disturbances and tensions which seemingly affect only neighboring countries must interest the entire world, since from that situation there can come the spark which later may be converted into a conflagration threatening the peace of many peoples and influencing in one way or another their policy and their economy.

Therefore, the nations, large or small, cannot ignore the international problems of other countries, and less can they be indifferent when problems which can easily be converted into conflicts arise in their own continent.

Ecuador, essentially a peaceable country and respectful of law, cannot but applaud with enthusiasm the important statements of the Honorable the Secretary of State of the United States.

Ecuador believes that the maintenance of peace is indispensable so that civilization shall not retrograde. Ecuador maintains that only the enforcement of justice in the relations between peoples, only equality among nations and respect for their independence, whether they are powerful or weak, can remove from the world the terrible menace of war.

Ecuador proclaims that the only means of solving the international problems must be the application of law and that the procedure must always be sought in friendly negotiations and in pacific agreements. Therefore, it rejects the use of force as an instrument of international policy; it disavows any territorial acquisitions, any expansion or advantage obtained through violence, and denies any juridical effect of sovereignty through the occupation of territories under dispute.

The Ecuadoran nation declares that it considers it a duty to respect the political, social, and economic organization of other nations, and denies the right that any State may desire to attribute to itself to intervene in the constitutional structure of another, in its internal problems or in its domestic conflicts. But it believes that friendly collaboration and co-operation for mutual progress must be encouraged by all means; and it is entirely in accord in this connection with the policy enunciated by the eminent statesman Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in reiterated statements removed old fears and who has contributed so much to strengthen the relations between the Ibero-American republics and the United States.

Ecuador makes public its unqualified respect for international treaties and agreements upon the sincere fulfilment of which it believes depends in great part the consolidation of peace.

The Ecuadoran Government considers the encouragement of commercial interchange as a most efficacious means of strengthening the friendly relations between peoples; and for that purpose it believes in the expediency of suppressing or diminishing the barriers to free importation and exportation of products, aspiring for effective equality of treatment, for the extension

(multiplicación) of agreements which facilitate trade and serve as a stimulus for the development of the wealth and prosperity of each country.

These are, Mr. Minister, and have always been the principal postulates of Ecuadoran foreign policy. Anything which may contribute to the maintenance of peace, to these principles' taking root in the consciences of peoples, to the proscription of injustice, violence, disorder, and anarchy, will find enthusiastic reception in Ecuador.

I reiterate, therefore, my applause of the luminous statements of the Honorable the American Secretary of State and I make fervent wishes that such a wise policy may always obtain in our continent and in the entire world.

EGYPT.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO EGYPT.

Egypt approves heartily of the principles set forth in the statement and while the Egyptian Government is willing and anxious to do whatever it can toward keeping alive and making effective these principles it realizes that small countries such as Egypt can do little towards promoting world peace, a matter which Egypt feels to be within the control of the large Powers alone.

The Foreign Minister stated that he was particularly pleased that the United States, a country that could easily refuse to interest itself in the troubles of the rest of the world, was taking this initiative in an effort to maintain world peace. He said that he considered the Secretary's statement a continuation of the policy enumerated in the Kellogg Pact and that Egypt, because of its geographical position, is particularly interested in all such efforts to prevent war.

The Foreign Minister said that his reply was to be considered as approval of the statement as a whole.

ESTONIA.

STATEMENT FROM THE ESTONIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ESTONIA.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses his great satisfaction over the statement which the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull made to the Press on July 16th. He believes that the points enunciated in the statement are in entire accord with the principles governing the aspirations of Estonia in the field of her foreign politics and he wholeheartedly welcomes the spirit in which the statement was made. In the opinion of the Estonian Government a considerable success would be achieved if all countries would unreservedly recognize and apply these principles.

As a faithful Member of the League of Nations, Estonia has given her fullest support to all endeavors aiming at the realization of the ideals so ably expressed in the statement of the Secretary of State, and she is prepared to participate in any such action also in the future. There can be no doubt that maintenance of peace and promotion of economic security and stability can be achieved only through a close and sincere international collaboration.

Besides her efforts in the framework of the League of Nations, Estonia has consistently shown her pacific aspirations in her foreign policy. She endeavors to establish the most friendly relations with all countries with whom she has the opportunity to collaborate.

FINLAND.

STATEMENT BY THE FINNISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMUNICATED TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO FINLAND.

Faithful to the traditions of the Republic, the Finnish Government declare themselves desirous to give their continuous support to the noble ideals so eminently interpreted by Mr. Cordell Hull on July 16th last. By its acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Convention of Oslo and other similar arrangements, as well as by the active part the country has taken in international collaboration in general and specially in the co-operation of the Scandinavian States, Finland has already shown in many instances its willingness to support activities and aspirations of this kind.

General international development has unquestionably led to such a state of things, that armed conflicts or even an impendent threat thereof affect the peace-interests of all nations. The Finnish Government, therefore, consider it also very important that all countries, which value the safeguarding of the peaceful achievements of mankind as a condition and a guarantee for human progress, should do their utmost to preserve international peace. One such condition is, as stated in Mr. Cordell Hull's statement, self-restraint as well in national as in international matters and, likewise, in the settlement of unsolved international questions through peaceful discussion and compromise.

The peaceful development of international relations requires also international law to be revitalized and to be applied more consequently in practice. In this regard, the Finnish Government wish to refer to the fact that they have, at the League of Nations, given their support without exception to the proposals aiming at the improving of the internal structure of this international

organization and at the strengthening of its external influence in the stabilization of peace and at the furthering of general progress.

The Finnish Government also greet with great satisfaction the principle of improving the economic situation of the world and of realizing the liberty of international trade.

The Finnish Government recognize the want for restricting armaments, agreeing however with the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, regarding the necessity of maintaining sufficient armed forces as a guarantee for national security. The attitude of each nation towards armaments must naturally decisively depend upon whether other nations, and especially those which may endanger the inviolability of its own territory, increase or decrease their armaments.

Commitments which are liable to exercise (exercise) a disturbing influence upon international relations ought to be avoided, and at the same time, peace-promoting collaboration of the nations of the world should be maintained and reinforced as well at the League of Nations as outside that organ.

In thus expressing their opinion of the above-mentioned statement of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Finnish Government feel the necessity to emphasize, specially as regards their own foreign policy—their desire to maintain and to further to their best ability the most cordial relations with all nations.

Highly approving of the principles thus stated by Mr. Cordell Hull, the Finnish Government express their earnest hope that the endeavours to realize these principles would result in the gaining of these aims.

FRANCE.

NOTE FROM THE FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE.

[Translation.]

In the course of the cordial and frank conversations which I have had the pleasure to have with you, you have been kind enough to communicate to me the declarations which the Secretary of State of the Federal Government made to the Press on July 16th last, expressing the views of the Federal Government with regard to the world situation and the problems which preoccupy all nations.

I was happy to be able to note once more the likeness of the feelings which present circumstances inspire in the Governments of our two countries.

To-day, more than ever before, the need is evident for solidarity between all the nations of the world and vigilant attention to every situation which might lead to a resort to force. In counseling moderation in the realm of international affairs and national affairs; in advising nations not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations; in recommending the settlement of differences by negotiations and peaceful agreements; in insisting that international obligations should be faithfully observed and carried out in a spirit of justice, mutual helpfulness, and reconciliation, Mr. Cordell Hull has stressed those wholesome methods which should assure the maintenance of peace.

The restoration of economic stability in the world; the reestablishment of active international trade as rapidly as the individual situation of each country permits, the expansion of markets are the aims toward the achievement of which the French Government is concentrating its efforts.

It also desires to see a lightening of the burdens which armaments impose so heavily on the majority of nations and it hopes for the realization, in security and justice, of conditions favorable to a limitation and reduction of these armaments.

The peaceful collaboration of all nations is, indeed, the objective toward which the French Government is striving, and it desires by its international activity and that of the nations with which it is associated, to bring the largest contribution possible to this supreme achievement.

This will, I trust, my dear Ambassador, indicate to you with what sympathy the sentiments expressed by your distinguished Secretary of State have been received in France, and what a genuine pleasure it is to me to ask you to transmit to him my cordial and sincere appreciation.

GERMANY.

MEMORANDUM OF STATEMENT OF THE GERMAN STATE SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BERLIN.

The Reich Government has taken note of the statement of Secretary of State Hull with due interest. Its basic principle is as is generally known directed toward the regulation of international relations by pacific agreement and hence coincides with the ideas developed by the Secretary of State.

GREAT BRITAIN.

MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN.

I have read with deep interest Mr. Hull's statement on foreign policy of July 16th, the text of which was communicated to me by the United States Ambassador. I cordially welcome and am

in full agreement with the expression of opinion contained therein on international problems and situations both in the political and economic field. Mr. Hull's views on the ever increasing need for the preservation of peace, the vital importance of international co-operation in every sphere, and the methods which are recommended for obtaining these objectives are shared in common by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

GREECE.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN GREECE.

[Translation.]

The Chief of the Greek Government, with the deepest interest, has taken note of the statement made by the Secretary of State of the United States of America on July 16th last in favor of the maintenance of peace and the improvement of the world situation through military and economic disarmament.

M. Metaxas has observed that the principles set forth in the statement of the Secretary of State agree in general with the essentially pacific policy pursued by Greece.

As already stated to Mr. MacVeagh, the American Minister at Athens, the Chief of the Greek Government wishes to elucidate this policy with regard to one of the points covered by Mr. Hull's statement, that is, the point referring to the modification of treaties.

In fact, M. Metaxas should point out that the territorial status in the Balkans, as established by the treaties of peace, is definitive and unalterable, as it was proclaimed by the Balkan Pact which has assured to Greece and to the other powers of the Balkan Entente the mutual guaranty of their frontiers in the Balkans.

"AIDE-MÉMOIRE" FROM THE GREEK MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN GREECE.

[Translation.]

By an *aide-mémoire*, dated August 16th, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had the honor to make known to the Legation of the United States of America the reply of the Chief of the Government to the declarations of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honor to send herewith to the Legation of the United States of America a supplementary *aide-mémoire* containing the point of view of the Greek Government on economic disarmament, with the request that the Legation be kind enough to transmit it to the Government of the United States.

"Aide-Mémoire.

"Greece sincerely appreciates all efforts which are or may be made in the international domain, with a view to the strengthening of economic stability and security in the world by means of a gradual return to freedom of trade.

"The more by reason of its economic structure, Greece has always felt the need of such liberty, and its interests were the first to be injured by the introduction of restrictive systems in the different countries. Consequently, it is only as a means of defense that, in spite of itself, Greece was forced in its turn to follow this path which, in its view, should constitute only a transitory situation. Thus it can but approve the efforts which are made to escape gradually.

"However, the Greek Government does not envisage this possibility except within the framework of an international movement tending to the reestablishment of a free play of economic factors as a whole. Thus, if one wishes to arrive at lasting practical results in the domain of world economy, it would not be possible, in its view, to consider solely the free exchange of the results of production, that is to say, of merchandise, and neglect the factors of production, such as labor and capital. It is in the free play of a combination of all these factors together that the Royal Government sees the means of overcoming the economic difficulties which now weigh upon international life.

"Thus it would be ready to collaborate, in this sense, in a collective effort aiming to create the necessary conditions for the reestablishment of a normal economic situation in the world."

GUATEMALA.

NOTE FROM THE GUATEMALAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO GUATEMALA.

[Translation.]

I have had the honor to receive the kind note of Your Excellency No. 67 of July 23rd, in which you sent me a copy of the declaration given to the Press on the 16th by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in which is amply and concretely defined the attitude of the Government

of the United States *vis-à-vis* the disturbances existing in international relations in various parts of the world.

Your Excellency was so kind as to add that you have instructions to inform me that you would be very glad to forward to Washington the comment relative to the principles established in the declaration or such information as I might be able to give you relative to the attitude of the Government of Guatemala in maintaining and making effective such principles. Your Excellency informs me that His Excellency Mr. Hull requests you to point out to me the expression of his belief that my Government and I fully share in the support given by the Government of the United States to the principles set forth in the statement, many of which indeed form an essential portion of the agreements reached at the Conference of Buenos Aires for the Maintenance of Peace¹ and all of which are consonant with the treaties and resolutions there adopted. Your Excellency finally adds that His Excellency the Secretary of State believes it is singularly fitting at this critical time that as many nations of the world as possible make known publicly their support of these principles of international conduct and policy, and that he would therefore welcome such action as my Government may find appropriate in making known its effective support of them.

In answer I can only inform Your Excellency that the Government of Guatemala has learned with the greatest pleasure of the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull because in it is found the most perfect definition of the international politics which the Government of Guatemala has adopted and followed as an invariable and rigid standard of conduct in its relations with all of the countries of the world. The President of Guatemala, in his annual messages to the Legislative Assembly and on other occasions which have presented themselves, has declared emphatically that the Government of Guatemala, to the end of intensifying in every way possible the cordiality and the good understanding with other nations, does not overlook the means of adjusting itself to the consecrated doctrines of international law and for that it has held itself strictly apart from the internal affairs of other States, above all with respect to contiguous nations, with which it cultivates warm friendship.

The Government of Guatemala, over which General Ubico presides, considers that the important declaration which His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull has given to the Press of the United States summarizes in concrete and comprehensive form the standards adopted by the American Government looking to the consolidation of the peace of America and for saving the peace of the world; and it believes as well that the declaration constitutes a Creed which contains the fundamental bases of an international policy of healthy and prudent equanimity and that to observe the standards adopted would result in a great betterment in the unstable conditions which unfortunately endanger the cordiality and good understanding among the nations engaged in the contention of extensive economic, political and social interests.

Since Your Excellency has been kind enough to communicate to me the desire of His Excellency the Secretary of State that the largest number possible of nations make known publicly their attitude respecting the principles proclaimed by him I will be pleased to give to the Press of Guatemala the kind note of Your Excellency, the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Hull, and this reply.

HAITI.

STATEMENT BY THE HAITIAN GOVERNMENT HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN HAITI.

[Translation.]

The Haitian Government has noted with greatest interest the declaration made to the American Press on July 16th, 1937, by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull with regard to the position which the American Government proposes to take with regard to present international problems.

Some of these problems possess an exceptionally serious character and constitute a menace to world peace.

The Haitian Government believes firmly that a pacific and satisfactory solution can only be hoped for if the interested Governments adopt on the political side as their rule of conduct principles based on the respect for the rights of all peoples, large and small, and on the economic side put forth a resolute effort toward international co-operation.

By the declaration made by the Honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, the American Government has publicly confirmed its adhesion to these principles and has envisaged the adoption of them by other Governments. These principles, moreover, have been proclaimed at the International Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, and have been consecrated in the treaties, conventions, and resolutions adopted at that Conference.¹

The Haitian Government believes that the Honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, by making public in his declaration of July 16th the attitude of his Government with regard to international problems—an attitude which in all of the points conforms to the highest principles of international morality—has rendered an eminent service to the cause of peace.

The Haitian Government declares that it entirely approves the principles proclaimed by the Honorable Secretary of State Hull, gives them its fullest adhesion, and is disposed in case of need to lend them every possible support.

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

HONDURAS.

NOTE FROM THE HONDURAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN HONDURAS.

[Translation.]

The Honduran Government has studied the declarations of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull with all the attention which their importance demands and, with the greatest pleasure, stipulates its adherence to the principles which are consecrated in them, which constitute at present a standard of international life of the countries of America.

Without forgetting the relativity of the resources of the population, capital, industrial progress, and sources of natural wealth, which facilitate and favor the conduct of international interdependence, Honduras has maintained at all times the principles of the Right of Peoples (*Derecho de Gentes*) and has consecrated in the fullest manner her unrestricted tribute of respect for treaties and for arbitration decisions under the guaranty of international good faith and of respect for contractual obligations.

Obvious proof of the strong desire of Honduras for international concord is found in the ratification, without reservations on her part, of treaties of peace and anti-war during the period of time which was initiated with the Treaty of Paris (Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 28th [27th], 1928) and was ended with the treaties, protocols, and conventions of Buenos Aires in 1936.¹

Honduras has concurred with great pleasure in the idea of the suppression of Customs barriers and the equality of tariffs for the efficacious development of commerce between nations without more limitations than those which arise obligatorily from immediate national necessities and from the character of her own capacities within the structure of her integral nature, population, and institutions. And in this manner she accepts, in its own and logical meaning, the concept of equality of opportunities, to which with reason all countries hold in their international relations.

Granting the most important concurrence with the points with respect to which the declarations of the Secretary of State of the United States of America constitute a spontaneous restriction of the policy of his country and a most effective getting together by understanding among nations, the Honduran Government takes the opportunity to make, finally, the frank declaration that in her relations with other nations her policy is, without vacillations, inspired by the principles of mutual support and equable reciprocity, the only effective manner of co-operation which facilitates for each country the international development of its own energies and capacities.

I beg Your Honor to bring to the attention of His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, the enthusiastic adherence of the Honduran Government to his statement of principles on last July 16th.

HUNGARY.

"NOTE VERBALE" FROM THE HUNGARIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN HUNGARY.

The Royal Hungarian Government is glad to note that the Government of the United States—starting from the correct standpoint, *id est*, that tensions and disquieting symptoms appearing in any part of the world necessarily affect the interests of all the other countries—shows an interest in the political and economic problems of distant regions and therefore also in those of the Danube basin.

The Hungarian Government notes with appreciation and approval those principles which Secretary of State Hull for the sake of preserving world peace deemed necessary to enunciate in this statement and to bring the same to the knowledge of public opinion throughout the world, and the more so since the Hungarian Government recognizes in several instances the principles of its own policy. For this very reason the Royal Hungarian Government is pleased to fulfil the request for its reactions concerning the principles involved. It goes without saying, however, that it considers these principles primarily from the point of view of the peculiar problems of Hungary and of the Danube valley in which Hungary politically and economically is eminently interested.

According to the statement, it is believed desirable that problems arising in international relations should be solved by peaceful negotiation and agreements and it is emphasised at the same time that the principle of the sanctity of agreements does not exclude, should the need therefor arise, the modification of certain treaty provisions.

The Hungarian Government has nothing to add to this desideratum, the Hungarian Government has never made it a secret that it does not consider as final the situation created in the Danube valley by the peace treaties and that it is aiming at the just and equitable change thereof. It has never failed, however, to emphasize that it intends to carry out its aim exclusively by peaceful means and by what appears to the Hungarian Government unavoidable peaceful evolution, and by having recourse to the means expressly guaranteed in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

Another paragraph advocates the sanctity of treaties and the observance of international agreements. This principle the Hungarian Government accepts in its entirety, the more so because it has never given in this respect reason for complaint, which can be proven by the fact that it has always respected and carried out even those heavy obligations which it was forced to accept in the treaty of Trianon. The Hungarian Government in stating this with the calmest conscience regrets to state, on the other hand, that those States which benefited by the Treaty of Trianon did not take the same standpoint and repeatedly disregarded such treaty agreements as were exceptionally disadvantageous to them. It is a well known fact that the States in question did not respect from the beginning those international agreements by which they were called upon to insure the rights of the Hungarian minorities living in former Hungarian territories turned over to them by the Treaty of Trianon.

The very same States consecutively sabotaged, and even sabotage to-day, the few provisions of the Treaty of Trianon which are favorable to Hungary, as for instance Article 250 which was intended to protect by means of courts of arbitration the material interests of Hungarian citizens in the territory of the succession States.

As concerns the necessity for the restriction of armaments and the necessity for disarmament, the Hungarian Government wishes to emphasize that—as it must be known to the Government of the United States—the one-sidedly disarmed Hungary has tried sincerely ever since the close of the World War to promote also on its part the practical carrying-out of the promises contained in the peace treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations concerning general disarmament, and quite certainly Hungary cannot be blamed for the fruitless efforts spent in that direction by the Disarmament Conference.

Hungary until now has not followed the example of Germany and Austria, which States as is known have unilaterally declared null and void those provisions of the peace treaties which restricted—visualising a general disarmament—their armaments. Hungary, not wishing to expose the already overheated international atmosphere to another test, has refrained until now from such unilateral moves, although it cannot be disputed that it has regained its free hand in this field partly on account of the fiasco of the Disarmament Conference and partly on account of the grand scale rearming in the whole world—especially in the Little Entente States surrounding Hungary, in strong opposition to the text and spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations—and could rightly claim military equality on legal as well as on moral principles.

As concerns the economic aspects of the statement, the Hungarian Government declares that on its part it will support with the greatest willingness all efforts for the improvement of the economic situation of the world, either by the gradual elimination of the restrictions of international trade or by the enforcement of any other suitable means.

IRAN.

STATEMENT OF THE ACTING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF IRAN HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN IRAN.

[Translation.]

The Imperial Government of Iran is in principle in agreement with the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States.

Being convinced that, in view of the present political situation of the world, it would appear to localise a war if it should break out in any part of the globe, the Government of His Imperial Majesty has aligned itself with the most ardent partisans of universal peace. It has always maintained absolute identity between this principle and its policy in general. Moreover, it has never failed to have recourse to pacific means to settle its differences with other States, and by following this line of conduct it has in a friendly way resolved its frontier disputes with Afghanistan, Turkey, and Iraq.

The signing of the Saadabad Pact, for which the initiative came from the Imperial Government, is one of the most striking proofs of its unshakable desire to keep the peace, and it has the firm hope not only of safeguarding peace in Western Asia but also of becoming a more or less important factor in the maintenance of peace in general.

IRAQ.

PERSONAL COMMENT OF THE IRAQ MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN IRAQ.

I have read with the greatest interest the statement of July 16th last issued by the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull.

The principles set forth in that statement, if accepted and applied by all the nations of the world, would not only lead to the maintenance of peace and friendly co-operation but would also help to create an atmosphere of confidence which is essential for maintaining the spirit of international justice and mutual helpfulness among the nations of the world.

As regards the idea, which we duly respect, of avoiding alliances and commitments warranted by the special circumstances of the United States of America, the fact that Iraq has entered into alliances with its sister Arab countries and other neighboring States was actuated by a

sincere desire on its part to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East in particular and in the whole world in general.

STATEMENT BY THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ HANDED TO THE
AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN IRAQ.

[Translation.]

The Royal Government of Iraq has seen the statement of July 16th issued by the Honorable Cordell Hull and has given due attention and consideration to the principles and views set forth therein for the maintenance of the peace of the world and service to humanity at large. The Royal Government is in full accord with the preamble of Mr. Cordell Hull's statement that universal peace is a right to be enjoyed by all the nations of the world and that regional disturbances or frictions, wherever they may take place, will inevitably lead to economic and political difficulties which will have far reaching effects on the nations of the whole world. As such, the consideration given by the United States of America and other States, although far from the centres of friction whether in the east or west, must be met with appreciation and gratitude. The Royal Government of Iraq fully supports the appeal made to the nations of the world for the maintenance of universal peace by all legitimate means and advocates the principle of abstinence from use of force in the pursuit of any policy whatsoever, by which principle it was actuated when it acceded to the Briand-Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war. It has likewise adhered at all times to the principle of settling international disputes by peaceful processes and advocates faithful and strict observance of international agreements. It only believes in the modification of such agreements when it is done in the spirit of mutual consent and collaboration. It also believes in respect for international law and stands for its strengthening. It recognises the principle of equality among all nations and advocates the necessity for the reduction of armament and ending the armament race which stands as an obstacle in the way of economic progress and general prosperity and jeopardises confidence and co-operation between the nations.

As regards the avoidance of entering into alliances the Royal Government appreciates the views of the United States whose position is peculiar in this matter. As for Iraq, it has already concluded a treaty of alliance with the Arab States and with other oriental neighbors, its motive always being the maintenance of friendly relations between neighboring States and serving the cause of universal peace in support of the general principles and aims alluded to above.

IRISH FREE STATE.

NOTE RECEIVED BY THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN THE IRISH FREE STATE, SENT BY DIRECTION
OF THE PRESIDENT, MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The Government of Saorstát Eireann is heartily in agreement with the principles set forth by the Secretary of State in his statement of July 16th on the subject of international relations. We feel, however, that even the general acceptance of these principles is not sufficient. The good will of the nations to put them into practice is essential. Before this can be hoped for existing injustices which frustrate every effort toward effective international understanding must be removed. Only on such a basis can there be secured that active international co-operation which is needed for the solution of the problems to which the Secretary of State refers.

ITALY.

ORAL STATEMENT OF THE ITALIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ITALY.

The Fascist Government appreciates at their high value the principles enunciated by Secretary of State Hull in his declaration of July 16th last. The Fascist Government has repeatedly and publicly proclaimed what are the fundamental principles of its policy and the Duce has recently reconfirmed them in the interview which he granted the American publisher Simms. The Fascist Government favors everything which may conduce to the pacification and to the political and economic reconstruction of the world. Therefore it regards with sympathy every initiative which tends to achieve that end by means of the limitation of armaments, by means of economic understanding among nations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and any other means which may now or in the future appear responsive to this objective.

JAPAN.

STATEMENT BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HANDED TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
BY THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR.

The Japanese Government wishes to express its concurrence with the principles contained in the statement made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instant concerning the maintenance

of world peace. It is the belief of the Japanese Government that the objectives of those principles will only be attained, in their application to the Far Eastern situation, by a full recognition and practical consideration of the actual particular circumstances of that region.

LATVIA.

STATEMENT HANDED BY THE LATVIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN LATVIA.

The Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs takes note with satisfaction of the observations which the Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull, made in his statement to the Press on July 16th, 1937.

In the first place M. Munters, as representative of a Member State of the League of Nations, desires to mark his full accord with the principle of the interdependence of States and of international events, both of political and economic character. Hence, in his view, results the imperative necessity of international collaboration for the purpose of maintaining peace and promoting economic security and stability. He would like to interpret the expression "cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means" used in Mr. Hull's statement in the widest possible sense implying definite and effective action.

The Latvian Government believe that many, if not all of the principles featured in the statement under consideration are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations to which they are pledged and the provisions of which they always have faithfully observed and shall continue to do so in the future. In this respect it would be of extreme importance to secure in the absence of universal acceptance of the Covenant the greatest possible measure of cooperation between the League and such countries as do not belong to that organization or which have ceased to be its members.

In the feeling of the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs a marked success would be achieved if all countries would unequivocally recognize the principles set forth in the statement, more particularly those of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations, sanctity of treaties and faithful observance of international agreements, as well as respect of rights of others and performance of established obligations.

Besides their participation in the work of the League of Nations, the Latvian Government have given expression to their pacific policy through the conclusion of a treaty of collaboration with Estonia and Lithuania and through their unsparing efforts towards developing friendly relations with all the other countries forming the geographical region to which Latvia belongs.

LIBERIA.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE LIBERIAN SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO LIBERIA.

The Government of Liberia has noted with satisfaction the statement made on July 16th by the Secretary of State of the United States of America with respect to disturbed conditions in various parts of the world and the attitude of the Government of the United States with regard to the international problems arising therefrom.

The Liberian Government has consistently been devoted to the ideal of world peace as the basis of international security and the condition of stability in international relations.

The statement of the Secretary of State merits cordial acceptance in all parts of the world as the foundation of that international co-operation without which the present uncertainties, inequalities and injustices cannot be made to disappear.

This Government, whilst associating itself with the principles enunciated by Mr. Secretary Hull, indulges the hope that the declaration thus made by the Government of the United States of America will tend to stimulate the international will to peace.

LITHUANIA.

STATEMENT OF THE LITHUANIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN LITHUANIA.

[Translation.]

The Lithuanian Government can only congratulate His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America on his declaration. It is convinced that renunciation of the use of force in pursuit of policy, strict adherence to treaties, and solution of international problems by peaceful negotiations and reciprocal agreements can save the international community from conflicts and assure it peace and security as well as the application of the principles of right in international relations.

The Lithuanian Government is of the opinion that the surest way to the realization of the principles set forth in the statement in so far as it concerns the Members of the League of Nations is through that organization itself, of which Lithuania is a loyal Member. Further, the collaboration of that organization with non-member States would be of signal importance.

May it be recalled on this occasion what M. Lozoraitis, Lithuanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated on July 2nd, 1936, during a plenary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations: "Lithuania has never wavered in its faith or hope in the Geneva organization, particularly because its weakness, due to which my country has suffered so much, with time would be strengthened, its administration improved, and made complete in effect, free in its competence for the settlement of international disputes and especially effective in obviating violations of treaties or obligations undertaken".

Lithuania would welcome all efforts tending to increase the guaranties of peace and right.

LITTLE ENTENTE.

STATEMENT OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

[Translation.]

The Permanent Council has been happy to note that, by the official declarations which Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made on July 16th, the United States has made a new and valuable contribution to the cause of peace and of international cooperation.

The policy of the States of the Little Entente having always been inspired by the principles which the Government of the United States has just proclaimed in such a precious and sincere manner, the Permanent Council welcomes all the more favorably the declarations of Mr. Hull, which envisage the possibility of a new cooperation in the political as well as in the economic field between the European States and the great republic beyond the Atlantic.

LUXEMBURG.

STATEMENT OF THE LUXEMBURG FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN LUXEMBURG.

Grand-Ducal Government approves the generous ideas expressed by the Secretary of State in his declaration of July 16th.

MEXICO.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN MEXICO.

[Translation.]

The statement of the Honorable Secretary Hull abounds in affirmations which Mexico has traditionally upheld.

Undoubtedly the outbreak of hostilities between any nations whatsoever affects directly or indirectly the whole of humanity. Therefore no effort should be spared to avert armed conflict.

Mexico has always maintained that disputes should be settled by peaceful means.

Mexico considers that respect for the sovereignty of States is an indispensable condition for the preservation of peace.

Mexico has advocated non-intervention in the foreign and domestic affairs of other countries and has zealously observed the obligations of international friendship undertaken with other States.

Mexico deems a reduction in armaments expedient as a necessary step in the attainment of complete disarmament.

Mexico is convinced that the problems which disturb or threaten to disturb the peace of the world can be solved only by a spirit of sincere collaboration among all nations based on mutual respect and international justice.

Therefore Mexico applauds the attitude taken by the head of the Department of State of the United States of America and offers her active collaboration.

NETHERLANDS.

NOTE HANDED BY THE NETHERLANDS PREMIER AND ACTING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO THE NETHERLANDS.

The Prime Minister has taken cognizance with great interest of Mr. Hull's statement of July 16th. Dr. Colijn is much impressed by the happy wording of this vade-mecum of whoever means

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 151, page 44.

well with the future of the human race, and there is not one point contained therein which is not an element of traditional Netherlands policy. The statement seems particularly valuable because it neither sides exclusively with vested interests nor with justifiable aspirations, striking as it does a happy medium between the respect due to established rights and the heed to be paid by any statesman worthy of that high name, to new forces in the international field. Mr. Hull has put before the world a number of momentous questions of an urgent nature of which perhaps that of disarmament with its manifold implications in the field of economics as well as of politics seems the most pressing. Dr. Colijn is also deeply convinced that international organization as it exists to day cannot remain unamended for long without gravely imperilling the future, and he feels sure that the Netherlands will at all times be ready and happy to contribute actively towards improving international institutions. His hope lies in the ability of those vested with authority to implement the principles contained in Mr. Hull's statement in order to obtain practical results and he will be glad to cooperate actively to that end.

NEW ZEALAND.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER, THROUGH THE NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN OFFICE, TO THE AMERICAN CONSUL AT WELLINGTON.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 29th and to thank you for the text of the statement made by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, on July 16th, 1937, which I have perused with great interest and sympathy.

I shall be grateful if you will convey to the Secretary of State my acknowledgments of his courtesy and advise him that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand warmly approve the views that the Secretary of State has expressed and will be most happy to avail themselves of any opportunity of supporting and implementing the principles he has enunciated.

NICARAGUA.

STATEMENT BY THE NICARAGUAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

[Translation.]

Commentary and Adherence of the Government of Nicaragua.

The statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, made public to the people of Nicaragua on this occasion is considered by the Government of Nicaragua as of enormous importance and is received with the greatest approval.

Effectually, the growth of the world's population, the incorporation in autonomous life and civilization of large territories, technical progress which has increased agricultural and industrial production, the extensive development of means of transport which have intensified commercial and economic relations, etc., have created a situation of interdependence by virtue of which disturbances which occur in any part of the globe affect, in greater or less degree, the rights, obligations, or at least the interests of all nations, whether they be great or small.

It is therefore natural that those who feel themselves injured, without fault of theirs, through any local or international action which takes place in any part of the world, should seek to obtain the universal rule of those principles of policy or of law which they consider most adequate for the maintenance of peace.

The statement of principles which has just been made by the Government of the United States through the medium of the Secretary of State constitutes, for the American countries, a true decalogue which has its roots deep in the enlightened reasoning of the leaders of independence, parting from Washington's Farewell Address and the admonitions of Bolivar, and which have been gradually elaborated in documents put forth by the pan-American assemblies from the Congress of Panama of 1826 down to that of Buenos Aires the year past, as well as in bilateral or multilateral acts entered into by various American nations. These principles are equal sovereignty, the peaceful solution of controversies, renunciation of war—above all, of aggression or conquest—compliance with international obligations, the sanctity of treaties, codification of law, and the principle of non-intervention. (This latter since the Congress of Lima of 1848.)

The statement of the Secretary of State adds the reduction of armament, the reduction or removal of barriers to international commerce, and the principle of equality of treatment. It is obvious that the armament race maintains and aggravates what might be called the atmosphere of war, and it is also certain that there cannot be peace while there is no effective economic disarmament and while irritating and alienating privileges are granted in commercial competition.

These principles are incorporated in the conventions, declarations, and resolutions approved at the seventh Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.¹ But although all the Governments of America are ratifying them, the Government of Nicaragua considers of the greatest utility the American statement on which I am making comment, because it reveals the bases of a practical policy truly inspired in the principles mentioned.

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

Under the influence of doctrines so beneficent, all the American peoples and the entire world have been enabled to contemplate the spectacle which is truly moving, and auspicious of the greatest efficacy for the American system, of a great world power such as the United States putting into practical effect, as regards the weak peoples, the redressing and just policy of the good neighbor.

The statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, signifies, in my way of thinking, the conviction that only through adherence to the practice of such principles by all the nations of the world can the maintenance of peace be secured in a firm and permanent manner. This conviction, which the Government of Nicaragua fully agrees with, would seem to-day to be eloquently demonstrated by the fact that systems of politics prevailing in other sections of the globe, which contravene or differ from some or all of these principles, have led to the serious disturbances which now afflict the world and threats of still greater ones.

The Government of Nicaragua, which has approved without reservations, all pacifist instruments elaborated during nearly half a century, expresses in the same manner its adherence without reservations to the statement of principles made by the United States of America, through medium of Secretary of State Hull, on July 16th of the current year.

Especially, it considers it of the greatest importance, for practical international co-operation, to increase the spirit of mutual confidence and for the rule of justice in international relations, the principle which admits of the modification of treaties, when the necessity is presented for doing so, by means of orderly processes conducted in a spirit of reciprocal helpfulness and accommodation.

Thus the Americas, filled with gratification and faith, contemplate the practical application of this principle in the contractual relations of the United States with the Republic of Panama deriving from the construction of the interoceanic canal.

As regards economic disarmament, already at Montevideo and Buenos Aires Nicaragua approved the liberal policy enunciated by the Secretary of State, with the sole reservation, in respect to the principle of equality of treatment, of the advantages which the Central American States have granted or may reciprocally grant to each other by virtue of their special conditions.

And precisely in point, invoking the principles of commercial policy embraced in the splendid initiative of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull—which were approved by all the American States, with one or another regrettable exception, in the assemblies mentioned—Nicaragua has requested of the Central American States, in the projects of commercial treaties submitted to their consideration, the cessation of the tariff war which is being waged against her and the supremacy of the principle of equality of treatment in inter-Central American relations, since she considers that as long as the most complete economic disarmament is not brought to pass in Central America, and even as long as a real tariff union is not created, not only the Central American States cannot prosper economically through the development of their special capabilities, but also it will not be possible to establish the peace of the Isthmus, mutual confidence, and the spirit of solidarity to which a common destiny and the unquestionable unity of their geography invites them.

NORWAY.

COMMENT OF THE NORWEGIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY LETTER TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO NORWAY.

Foreign Minister Koht stated that he had found nothing in Secretary Hull's statement which is not in accordance with the policy of the Norwegian Government since his Government had, M. Koht thinks, been very active in promoting the views expressed by Secretary Hull. He added:

"I think that Secretary Hull has stated in an admirable way the principles of justice and peace that ought to govern international relations and it would mean a great advance toward universal peace if he might be able to unite all the Governments of the world, in particular those of the great Powers, in an earnest effort for carrying those principles into execution."

PANAMA.

NOTE FROM THE PANAMANIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN PANAMA.

[Translation.]

I take pleasure in referring again to your memorandum, dated July 24th, last part, of which I acknowledged receipt by *note verbale* of the 30th of the same month.

This Ministry has followed with positive interest the definite attitude which the Department of State of the United States of America has maintained during the grave events which are at present disturbing the world, because of serious disorders occurring in various countries, and which, in addition to the places where they are developing, affect other nations and proportionally injure their rights and interests while threatening the peace of the world.

The Republic of Panama, in an official document of April 6th of the present year, stated that, for the very reason that full account is taken of the characteristic conditions of this country, it tries to be "zealous in the fulfilment of its obligations and in the defense of its rights as an

independent nation" and, consequently, "it maintains a very clear international policy as regards its abstention from all intervention, in matters which may be considered of an internal nature, in those countries with which it maintains relations, and as a logical consequence, for its part, neither does it desire any intromission in its internal questions," on account of which its Government sees with pleasure that, when in various parts of the world humanitarian sentiments of international concord become weakened, the Government of the United States assumes a noble, decidedly impartial attitude and becomes a champion of peace, at the same time proclaiming its self-restriction and its own continence, national as well as international, and it advocates that all nations cease the use of force for political ends and interference in the internal affairs of the rest; and it also favors settlement of international problems by process of friendly negotiation and peaceful accord, fundamental bases of true international law, which must be built on mutual justice and respect, and on due fulfillment by all countries of their respective duties and obligations. This ample policy—of which His Excellency Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, has given undisputable proofs since the beginning of his administration—is a guaranty of stability and progress for all nations, especially for the small ones.

Panama has always tried to fulfill its contractual obligations; and it considers, as His Excellency Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, recommends, that public treaties must be faithfully executed, without this implying that, when there is justification for modifying them, they may not be adapted—by friendly negotiations—to the new conditions which are thus demanded, in the sense that a liberal interpretation of said treaties must prevail, in preference to the rigorous application of an obscure or anachronistic literal meaning; and that the contracting parties shall go on, inspired by a sincere desire for cordial co-operation.

All the foregoing clearly explains the identification of the Republic of Panama with the transcendental declarations of the Honorable Secretary of State of the United States of America, to which reference has been made, and why it adheres thereto, as was stated in the aforementioned *note verbale*, since they constitute, furthermore, a positive hope that harmony may predominate at last in the international concert, especially among the republics of the American hemisphere.

Panama, bearing in mind its exceptional geographic location, pledges itself to eliminate every obstacle which may hinder world commerce, animated by the aim of facilitating those commercial transactions as far as possible. Consequently, it must view with satisfaction the fact that the great republic of the north advocates "the reduction or the total removal of excessive barriers to international commerce" and that it seeks "effective equality of opportunity to trade", endeavoring earnestly that every nation "apply the principle of equality of treatment", in order to obtain economic and commercial equilibrium, secure fountains of peace and progress.

Because of its size as well as its population, the Republic of Panama is not directly affected by the problems concerning exaggerated armaments, although it duly considers the dangers which immoderate excess of elements of war constitutes for universal peace; and it also takes into account the advantages which limitation and reduction of those armaments represent in benefit to universal fraternity. At the same time it understands the unavoidable necessity of certain Powers, such as the United States of America, for maintaining means of defense appropriate to the necessary protection of national security, although they are ready—as this country has shown on several occasions—to make the required reductions, when the other nations do likewise.

This explanation evidences the justified reasons that the Government of Panama sincerely supports the important declarations of His Excellency Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, declarations favorable to co-operative effort, by pacific and practical means, which tend to carry forward and to make effective the transcendental ideals and principles which those statements involve.

PARAGUAY.

STATEMENT BY THE PARAGUAYAN GOVERNMENT HANDED TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO PARAGUAY.

[Translation.]

In presence of the international tension that, in different parts of the world, jeopardizes the tranquility of peoples, it is fitting to make a reaffirmation of the principles and norms of peace and law on which repose the pacific neighborliness and the solidarity of nations.

Paraguay views, with the greatest interest, the necessity of upholding the faithful observance of such principles and norms of the pacific destiny of nations, putting aside the use of violence as a means of obtaining ends of high internal or external policy.

In such a sense, any policy tending to promote peace, security and justice for peoples, is worthy of the support of Paraguay and constitutes a proper objective of its pacific policy.

The July 16th declarations of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, affirm doctrines of peace and law which would promote international tranquility, and deserve, in consequence, the assistance of those bodies that defend the peace of nations as an auspicious benefit to the human race.

PERU.

MEMORANDUM HANDED BY THE PERUVIAN FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN PERU.

[Translation.]

The Government of Peru has taken cognizance, with deep interest and sympathy, of the statement made by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America, concerning

the general international situation and which constitutes an application to the present state of certain international problems of the principles and the spirit which recently have been shaping the action of the nations of this continent.

In accordance with the international policy which it practices and develops, the Government of Peru agrees basically with the concepts of the Secretary of State and it is disposed to take part in every general movement tending towards the best application of this policy.

POLAND.

"AIDE-MÉMOIRE" OF THE POLISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HANDED TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO POLAND.

[Translation.]

One. The Polish Government consider that it is not possible to separate economic from political problems, since confidence is no less important than gold reserves, and can be achieved mainly by good politics.

Two. International confidence should be based on a general conviction that the present generation can be preserved from a world conflagration.

Three. This conviction can be produced through the creation of the right peace policy which, in the opinion of the Polish Government, should be constructed from its foundations. As the principal foundation the Polish Government consider the development of good neighbor policy. It should be fostered with special care and any initiative in this respect should be able to count on proper encouragement from all elements wishing sincerely and in a practical manner for peace.

Four. In considering more general political or economic agreements which form a superstructure of international peaceful co-operation it is necessary, in the opinion of the Polish Government, to bear in mind that the more States are included the more general should be the principles of agreement. Experience has shown that, even between two partners, it is not always easy to find the right settlement of some problem.

Five. Under present circumstances it seems that the evolution of confidence in international life could best be attained if each partner, without regard for the number of inhabitants or square miles of his territory, should have the conviction that his right to decide his own fate and to regulate his life according to the governing features and character of his country would be respected by others.

Six. The Polish Government consider that, in spite of present difficulties, there still exists the possibility of reconstructing international cooperation on the basis of these principles. They believe, however, that there continues the danger of a division of countries into hostile camps, whether according to their political doctrines, or because of too narrow a conception of the interests of each particular country or of groups of countries or finally as a result of too limited a view of the community of economic interests among nations.

Seven. The Polish Government consider that in the present transitory period an apparently more modest, yet more practical, solution will contribute in a larger degree toward calming the general state of minds than complicated systems which are the result of speculation rather than the consequence of a sense of reality.

This calming of the state of minds and the directing of the effort of each nation toward creative work could produce, in the opinion of the Polish Government, the most essential condition for the checking of the international race of armaments. The latter may cause in some cases a temporary improvement in economic conditions; in the long run, however, they are bound to lead to shocks both political and economic.

Eight. In view of what has been said above, the Polish Government sincerely welcome the utterances made by Secretary Cordell Hull on July 16th, 1937. These utterances, as understood by Polish public opinion, well combine the ideal of striving for peace with the practical sense of finding the proper means in this connection.

PORTUGAL.

"MÉMOIRE" OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO PORTUGAL.

[Translation.]

The Portuguese Government has given due consideration to the declaration of the Secretary of State dated July 16th and has examined carefully the reasons on which it is based and the spirit of the attitude taken by the United States as regards great international problems.

It seems to this Government that it could hardly discuss the notion of solidarity between nations from which arose for the conscience of the Secretary of State the duty of his declaration: the ties which bind together the various nations of the globe are becoming ever closer, so that no statesman can to-day maintain his country alien and aloof as to all the repercussions of the economic difficulties, of financial crises, of social disorder and of the breach of the peace. If this is so owing to the impossibility of localizing the evils, it is even much more so when the case is one of problems

which by their very nature may be considered universal, and of difficulties afflicting all the peoples at the same time. The assertion which we are commenting upon will therefore elicit no surprise; surprising would be the mistaken egotism which would lead the great nations, on the one hand, to consider themselves immune and, on the other hand, to maintain themselves alien to all effective co-operation, truly useful in the international field.

On general grounds, it also seems that no objection can be raised against the assertions, advices, or wishes, as a whole, of the Secretary of State: everyone desires peace, everyone proclaims the sanctity of treaties and the faithful compliance therewith, everyone desires that there be less difficulties in international trade, and everyone wishes to have the burden of armaments removed or lightened. Difficulties begin only when it is sought to pass from the field of intentions into that of action, or, more concretely, what is to be done so that the events—in the development of which it is very difficult to establish individual or national responsibilities—will not contradict the good intentions.

2. The repeated affirmation, especially on the part of the great Powers, of the principles advocated by the Secretary of State, the intellectual or sentimental adhesion of many to the said principles, their inclusion in many treaties between nations or in a document of greater scope aiming at defining the rules of life common to all States, will have, we believe, the effect of a certain moral pressure, but will produce rather limited practical action. We would be mistaken if we were to expect important results therefrom.

If there exists a danger or preoccupation of war, it is useless to attempt to have the States disarm or reduce the armaments; if there exist grave injustices in the solution of problems of international affairs and no peaceful method is seen to make them disappear, it is useless to dissuade the victims thereof to cause justice to be respected by force, if they have it; if the nations, by virtue of their own excesses or because they are exposed to the mistakes of others, must defend their economy and their financial balance and deem it necessary to do so by raising tariffs, devaluating currency, or prohibiting the entry of workers or foreign goods, they will do so, even though they should not seek in that policy their true and ultimate interests and even though they should have taken at one time or another the solemn engagement to refrain from doing this.

3. Our assertions in this respect cannot be suspected, for our constitutional doctrine and the practice of the Portuguese Government and of its administration are entirely in harmony with the wishes of the Secretary of State. *Portugal advocates arbitration as a means to solve international disputes* (Constitution, sole proviso to Article 4). The Portuguese nation constitutes an independent State of which the sovereignty recognizes solely as limits, in the internal order, morals and the law; and in the international order, those limits arising out of conventions or treaties freely entered into, or out of the freely accepted law founded on customs ("direito consuetudinário"); *being committed to cooperate with other States in the preparation and adoption of solutions regarding peace among nations and the progress of humanity* (Constitution, Article 4). Public opinion is the fundamental element of the policy and administration of the country (Constitution, Article 22). The State shall regulate the relations of the national economy with that of the other countries, *in line with the principle of adequate cooperation* (Constitution, Article 30). The economic systems of the colonies are established in harmony with the needs of their development, *with just reciprocity between them and neighboring countries* (Colonial Act, Article 35).

On its side, the activities of the Government have been entirely in keeping with the constitutional principles of balance, morals, co-operation, just freedom, and competition. Most-favored-nation treatment is still to-day the main principle of our conventional system of trade, and the generalization thereof leads practically to the equality of all countries in the national market. Our tariffs are justly noted as to the modesty of Customs duties and their clearness. We have no internal duties nor quotas ("contingentes") nor import permits harmful for external trade. Our currency has been stabilized years ago, and there are no restrictions on the purchase of money nor regulations hampering its exchange. Certain limitations regarding foreign labor in Portugal were introduced in the laws solely after they had been generalized elsewhere, and even so they are very moderate and do not hamper anyone's business—neither that of individuals nor that of companies. We fulfil loyally international agreements. Under the circumstances, we do not constitute a perturbing element and we consider ourselves to be a constructive factor as to peace and international order.

4. If there is, thus, a concordance or at least a great similarity of principles which, on our part, have not in practice been denied or ignored, why are reservations expressed above as regards those principles when they are presented as an efficient system to solve the present problems of international affairs and capable of avoiding a breach of the peace between the Powers?

We believe that one should not forget the difference between the juridical and political field and the sociological field, because one thing is *what is*, and another thing is what it is *ordered to be*, or what it is *wished to be*. International society has endeavoured to solve its difficulties (as many States have done in their internal activity) by means of abstract formulae, declarations of principles, solemn assertions, many texts and treaties, and the uselessness, and at times even the grave inconvenience, of everything, or almost everything, has been seen. At least, everyone is entitled to believe that things would not have happened in a different or worse manner if there had been less law making.

Although much responsibility seems to lie with the abstract and generalizing tendency of jurists, the causes for the failure must be found, in our opinion, in the following facts:

- (a) In the in-existent or insufficient study of the causes of world unrest;
- (b) In the excessive ambition to find a sole formula for the solution of grave international problems, applicable *urbi et orbi* and covering a whole which is manifestly superior to the intelligence of men and to their capacity of execution.

After determining the causes and limiting the field of the questions, and after examining the problems one by one, or the groups of kindred subjects, we believe that it would be easier to define the attitude or line of conduct of each nation, and the great Powers, having a greater weight of authority, wealth, and strength in the international concert, would certainly find their participation more efficient.

5. The study and determination of the causes of the universal unrest or preoccupation to which the Secretary of State refers are indispensable, whether the case is one of intentional acts for which States are responsible and from which they should therefore abstain, or of phenomena of which the genesis or development is beyond the will and power of men who, in the latter case, would not be the authors but the victims thereof.

Among the first-named, one stands foremost: The declaration of the Secretary of State did not omit it and endeavors to eliminate it, advising the abstention of interference in the internal affairs of the other countries. This interference is conducted principally in the form of revolutionary agitation, since an historical tragedy elevated an entire nation, poor and unhappy, to the high position of forerunner of the new social era and Messiah of the highest and most sacred doctrine.

Unfortunately, as the Soviet mysticism is followed also by an economy and political value, which many have deemed it convenient to have on their side, it happens that here and there the natural reactions against the invasion have disappeared and that the victims are to-day helping their executioners in their anxiety to demonstrate their innocence, as though the evil were a common and fatal epidemic disease, already entirely detached from its center of infection and from the technical, material, and moral assistance which continues to be provided in spite of promises or assurances given. Foreign intervention, although it is maintained effective, thus tends to lose its character in some countries, being merged in international aspirations against which strong nationalisms alone can triumph. Although we consider fatal for the purposes of peace the poisoning of relations among peoples owing to ideological differences and the formation of international groups by affinities of political thought, we find that the need for defense against alien interference and revolutionary elements organized in groups may lead to the formation of other such groups ("blocs"). Such a state of things will constitute another reason for anxiety.

6. When it is sought to discover the causes, independent or outside of the will of the peoples and Governments, which are at the bottom of to-day's problems, we find that all, or almost all, the evils from which nations suffer are attributed to the economic crisis of 1929.

Intervention to attenuate or eliminate the effects of the crisis was strong in the national as well as in the international field; it was intense and useless. Remedies and disillusion, conventions, congresses, conferences, and laws came in succession, and finally the passing of time cured the crisis, for outside the general lines of the policy followed as regards gold by Great Britain and the United States, it may be said that, internationally, nothing was accomplished which improved the situation, and in the national sphere many measures were taken capable of producing adverse results. In the face of the crisis, national egotisms became insensible or hostile, and each one had to take care of himself, merely wishing that the measures taken by others would not constitute too great a burden for each one.

The crisis, or at least the greater part of its outward signs, has passed, but the universal unrest has continued with the same acuteness, we believe. In the economic and social field, the lack of balance, disorder, and anxiety of the peoples are thus not issued from the economic crisis; they come from deeper regions; we feel inclined to assign them to the crisis of economic thought, that is, to the pollution of the fundamental principles of economic affairs.

For those reasons the teachings of that recent past command us to be more modest, if we do not wish to be too daring. At the bottom humanity reacts against an antihuman economy in relation to the essence of which known remedies have proved to be clearly insufficient.

7. Besides the economic crisis, the war of 1914 has been for many the great cause of the present evils. The extension of the fact cannot be denied, its repercussions are considerable, and its consequences are still strong in the spirit and the flesh of the peoples, for not only have the moral sufferings of the war been prolonged over many years, but it seems that the task of peace was not conducted so as to permit forgetfulness and reparation. However, many peoples took no part in the strife; others suffered but the attenuated reactions thereof; and others yet progressed and enriched themselves due to the catastrophe. In spite of this, the agitation, the preoccupations, the unrest are suffered by all, and even strongly by some of the peoples of the latter category. If the cause is still the war, it can only be through aspirations, ideas, and the collapse of moral factors originating therein and contaminating the entire humanity.

There is clearly a lack of control in the ambitions of men; there is clearly a lack of proportion between them and the means now existing or which, under present circumstances, might be created for their fulfillment. If this lack of balance is not cured by a return to sentiments of modesty and economy or by a greater capacity of production and greater possibilities of consumption, what will happen to poor mankind?

8. Now, at the same time that men desire a greater part of an already insufficient wealth, or threaten improvidently to consume treasures accumulated by centuries of work and economy, the uncertainty and nervousness of the international situation cause an ever-increasing portion of property to be withdrawn from the consumption of men for the benefit of armaments, deviating into that channel the natural flow of national riches and causing by this and other means the exhaustion of international credit through which rich countries, more progressive or better endowed, might assist in the economic development of others. Contrary to this, some accumulate useless gold, the weight of which depresses still further their own economy.

We are placed in a vicious circle which it is necessary to break for the good of mankind; to find the point where such breaking is easiest is decidedly the problem of problems of our times.

9. We dare but timidly advance on this path, full of obscurity, but some points are clear: Not all of the problems which face to-day the generality of the nations offer the same probabilities or risks of being converted into proximate or remote causes of war. Political motives are always more to be feared than others, except when economic difficulties are brought to such a degree of acuteness that nations are condemned to live in misery because the possibilities of work and life are denied them in the world. On the other hand, it is certain that, in present circumstances, violent internal convulsions may bring about conflagrations difficult to localize.

Now, in the political field, it is pertinent to ask whether the internationalism of our days is a factor of peace or of war. It seems to us that internationalism, covering as it does pronounced leanings toward national imperialisms, is a source of complications and dangers. The idea of the supernational organization and the tendency toward "world citizenship" are either essentially erroneous and humanly impossible or are so far removed from present conditions that they can only act—even if the fact noted above did not exist—as perturbing elements.

Furthermore, this would be creating new problems under the pretext of solving those existing, and, although at times relief is found in a change of worries, the safest path is that of the closest co-operation between the peoples, on the basis of the national organizations, if, as proposed in the declaration of the Secretary of State, the nations are endowed with the spirit of "mutual assistance" and of absolute respect for the rights of others.

10. In commenting at length on the note of the Secretary of State, the Portuguese Government did not intend to indicate solutions or the best way to find them. This would be an excessive presumption. However, the nations are attached to false ideas and have taken the habit of entrusting the solution of grave external problems to vague formulae and inconsistent combinations; and to acknowledge by means of an impartial examination the inanity of the efforts made in that direction appears to this Government to be the first step and the indispensable preparation of the ground for any constructive work.

ROUMANIA.

NOTE FROM THE ROUMANIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ROUMANIA.

[Translation.]

You have been good enough to furnish me with the text of the declarations made to the Press on July 16th, 1937, by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

In thanking you for this kind communication, I desire to express to you all the importance which the Roumanian Government attaches to these declarations which reflect so well the desire for international peace and cooperation with which the American Government has always been inspired.

The Roumanian Government has not ceased to conform its policy to the principles which Mr. Hull has wished to reaffirm with such force and clarity. Roumania was happy to adhere to the Pact of Paris of 1929 [1928] which condemned forever the use of force in international relations. Likewise Roumania has shown in every instance that she desired to conform to the rules of strict non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations.

No principle is dearer to Roumania than that of the sanctity of treaties—these can neither be submitted to discussion nor modified, without the free and formal consent of the interested States.

Roumania is ready to join in every effort with a view to contribute to economic *rapprochement* between the States through the suppression or the reduction of the barriers to international commerce. Like the United States she is prepared to consider the reduction or the increase of her armed forces in proportion to the reductions or increases effected by other neutral countries.

SALVADOR.

NOTE FROM THE SALVADORAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO SALVADOR.

[Translation.]

I desire to thank Your Excellency in a special manner for your courtesy in sending me the declarations published by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States, relative to the questions and suggestions he declared recently about various aspects of the problem of peace.

I have read those declarations with the attention that they merit and for their importance and the nobility of their teaching and for the idealistic purpose that animates them; it pleases me to observe that they contain theses of the greatest interest for the work of peace that the illustrious Government which is presided over by His Excellency President Roosevelt has proposed as a standard.

It gives me great satisfaction to confirm that the declarations themselves happily coincide in spirit with the policy of the Government of General Martinez, who always has been and still is disposed to lend his friendly aid to the extent of his ability toward international peace.

SIAM.

STATEMENT FROM THE SIAMESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN SIAM.

With reference to the memorandum of the American Legation dated August 11th, 1937, the Minister for Foreign Affairs wishes to assure the American Chargé d'Affaires of the great interest with which he has read the statement given to the Press on July 16th, 1937, by the Secretary of State of the United States.

Luang Pradist Manudharm would recall that, so far as Siam's relations with foreign powers are concerned, the main lines of policy he has set forth from time to time are marked by the same general tendencies as those indicated in the above-mentioned statement.

The said statement, made as it is by a great lover of peace as is the United States of America, is assuredly calculated to promote world peace and friendly intercourse among nations, and this is certainly desired by Siam no less ardently than any other Power.

SPAIN.

NOTE FROM THE SPANISH MINISTER OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN SPAIN.

[Translation.]

The Government of the Republic has examined with the greatest interest the statement of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, whose appeal in favor of international peace meets with the most lively sympathy of the Spanish democracy.

The Spanish Republic remains faithful to the principles written into its Constitution of 1931, by virtue of which "Spain renounces war as an instrument of national policy", "complies with the universal rules of international law", and incorporates into its laws the principles of the pact of the League of Nations.

The Government of the Republic has never deviated from the course indicated by its Constitution, which permits it to point to a complete coincidence both in doctrine and in practice with the principles defended by Mr. Hull in his statement which, under present circumstances when the Spanish people are the victims of a foreign invasion and suffer the sorrow of a war in defense of their independence, has a singular importance and inspires a gratifying hope for the reestablishment of peace and law among the nations.

The Spanish Government declares, in consequence, that it is disposed to collaborate in the common task of the organization of peace, in conformity with the terms indicated with such high authority by Mr. Hull.

SWEDEN.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE SWEDISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO SWEDEN.

M. Sandler has read with much interest Mr. Cordell Hull's statement of July 16th, 1937. On receiving the text of the statement from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, M. Sandler stressed its importance in view of both its contents and the time at which it was made. Reaffirming this statement M. Sandler desires to express his entire concurrence in the general principles set forth by Mr. Hull.

Referring to Mr. Hull's concluding declaration concerning the avoidance of alliances or entangling commitments and belief in co-operative effort, M. Sandler wishes to make the following observations:

(One) M. Sandler calls attention to the interest manifested by the Swedish Government in such a development of the practice of the League of Nations as to facilitate cooperation with non-member States. M. Sandler points to the fact that with this in view special interest is shown here in Article 10 of the Covenant of the League.

(Two) M. Sandler wishes to state with reference to the problem of the reduction of armaments that although at the present moment circumstances do not offer much possibility of reduction or a limitation of armaments, it is urgent to continue the work in this field, devoting it first of all to the question of the supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms. In this connection, M. Sandler would recall the suggestions concerning national supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms made by the Swedish representative at the meeting of the Bureau of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments at Geneva on May 31st, 1937, as well as the idea of concluding a convention on the control of armaments limited to certain countries, referred to by the Swedish representative on the same occasion.¹

¹ See document Conf.D.177, page 7.

(Three) With reference to the problem of economic security M. Sandler wishes to recall the recent agreement reached between the Oslo powers and the interest manifested by them in other States making efforts along the same lines. M. Sandler feels that any progress, however limited its immediate scope may be, attained by means of agreements between States likely to join in these efforts is of greater value than the convening of international conferences. M. Sandler would stress that decisive importance is attached here to the outcome of the Anglo-American negotiations concerning an agreement conceived in the spirit of the commercial treaties concluded by the United States in recent years.

SWITZERLAND.

"AIDE-MÉMOIRE" HANDED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN SWITZERLAND.

[Translation.]

The Federal Council is able to subscribe on all points to the principles which the Secretary of State of the United States of America has enumerated in his statement of July 16th, 1937, since these are the same principles which have inspired Switzerland for a long time past in its foreign relations, and the States with which Switzerland is in relation have applied these principles in their relations with the Swiss Federation. The practical realization of these principles is due to the fact that, on the one hand, the foreign policy of Switzerland is based on perpetual neutrality and, on the other, to the fact that Switzerland bases its international relations on mutual friendship and esteem without regard to the internal politics of the States with which Switzerland has dealings.

By entering into the League of Nations and by signing the Kellogg Pact, Switzerland gave proof that it was prepared to do its part in international collaboration leading to a general realization of the principles referred to. Switzerland is able to continue this collaboration up to a point where its neutrality, which is recognized in international law and of which the value has been historically demonstrated, will not be weakened. It is conditional upon this consideration that Switzerland can adhere to the program put forward by Secretary Hull.

TURKEY.

STATEMENT OF THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN TURKEY

[Translation.]

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has noted with much interest the important declaration made by the Secretary of State of the United States of America, and warmly thanks the Government of the United States for having transmitted it to him.

Acceding to the desire expressed by the distinguished author of the declaration, Dr. Aras is pleased to make known below the opinion of the Government of the Republic concerning the matter dealt with by His Excellency Mr. Hull.

It should before all be observed that for the cause of peace and for international cooperation the method followed by the Secretary of State of the United States is a happy innovation, the usefulness of which will make itself felt in the evolution of international life.

To define the attitude of his Government toward questions which disturb the world and to request of those who direct other countries, to compare their views on the definitions thus afforded constitute in fact a method which cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects in facilitating mutual comprehension among all Powers interested in finding a common formula for understanding and collaboration.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey desires in this connection to address his most cordial congratulations to the eminent American statesman.

Concerning the basic principles of the declaration, Dr. Aras hastens to recall that the words spoken under most varied circumstances, as well by the chief of State as by those who are responsible for directing Turkish policy, have found a constant confirmation in the acts accomplished by the Government of the Republic, and that these acts and these words have always accorded with the sense of the American declaration of July 16th last. This similarity of views permits Dr. Aras, in replying to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, to inform him that his declaration corresponds to the views of the Government of the Republic and when taken as a whole expresses the principle which is the basis for the foreign policy of Kemalist Turkey, both as regards its conception and its application.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

STATEMENT HANDED BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

[Translation.]

Mr. Litvinov requests that his thanks be transmitted to Mr. Hull for the kind communication to him of the statement made by Mr. Hull to the Press, a statement the significance of which does

not escape his attention. He was the more interested in acquainting himself with the statement of Mr. Hull in view of the fact that it is in accord with the general position of the Soviet Government with respect to the questions therein touched upon. There is no doubt that tension, conflicts, and frictions in international relations, and particularly menaces of hostile clashes, even though at first affecting only two or a few Powers, are likely eventually to affect the rights and interests of all nations. This view has found expression in the principles of indivisibility of peace and of collective security advanced by Mr. Litvinov at the League of Nations.

Mr. Litvinov shares the other views contained in the statement of Mr. Hull, which are in harmony with the principles which the Soviet Government is not only propagating but also carrying out in its foreign policy, principles such as the abstinence of all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations, the adjustment of international problems exclusively by processes of peaceful negotiations and agreements, the faithful observance of international agreements, the modification of the conditions of treaties only by amicable agreements of the interested Powers, the equality of all nations, the reduction of armaments, and so forth. In particular, the Soviet Government presented at Geneva as far back as ten years ago a plan for complete general disarmament and also for a partial reduction in armaments. Furthermore the Soviet Government, again at Geneva, presented a proposal for the organization of a permanent peace conference within the framework of which the co-operative efforts mentioned in Mr. Hull's statement could be exerted. In practice, the present international situation, full of threats to general peace, arising now in one, now in another continent, demand, in the opinion of Mr. Litvinov the most energetic counteractivity on the part of all nations. This counteractivity, in addition to an activation of the League of Nations, may take different forms, as for example, regional pacts of mutual assistance and other accords. Considerable significance among the number of these forms is ascribed by Mr. Litvinov to simultaneous and periodical manifestations of solidarity and a will to peace on the part of all the nations sincerely devoted to the idea of preserving peace. Mr. Litvinov is sure that the Soviet Government will always be ready to take part in such manifestations and to contribute its bit to the common cause of international pacification.

URUGUAY.

NOTE FROM THE URUGUAYAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO URUGUAY.

[Translation.]

The Minister for Foreign Relations takes pleasure in acknowledging the receipt from His Excellency the Minister of the United States of America of the Memorandum dated the 23rd of the current month, in which he informed him of the receipt of telegraphic instructions from His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America in regard to his statement formulated the 16th of the current month with respect to the position of his Government in regard to the disturbed conditions which exist in various parts of the world.

The Minister for Foreign Relations has read with profound interest the noble declarations of the Secretary of State, which embody the identical generous spirit and the same ideals of pacification which he expressed in the memorable debates of the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace celebrated at the end of the past year in the Argentine capital.

He notes with sincere satisfaction that the step which the Secretary of State has taken in transmitting his statement to the Uruguayan Chancellery is closely bound up with the principles which inspired the agreements signed in Buenos Aires, and by which it was desired to facilitate the methods of consultation with respect to international developments capable of disturbing the peace.¹

In general, this Government is in complete agreement with the Government of the United States, as is proven by the fact that all of the Conventions formulated in the Conference for the Consolidation of Peace at Buenos Aires have already been presented here for ratification by parliament and should be ratified in a short time. And concretely, with respect to the application of the spirit of these treaties to the contingencies which arise, we are also in complete agreement, and applaud and share the statement of which Your Excellency informs me in the note to which I am replying.

The Uruguayan Government considers it beneficial to reaffirm on all opportunities the postulates of international justice which form part of the American spirit of solidarity, for which reason it fully shares the elevated purposes of strengthening the principles approved in Buenos Aires for the consolidation of peace, since they contemplate making a common effort on behalf of worldwide pacification and serve to complete and strengthen the various efforts which are at present being made to prevent war.

He therefore highly appreciates the courtesy of the Secretary of State in requesting his adhesion to the principles which he was good enough to express.

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 178.

VENEZUELA.

NOTE FROM THE VENEZUELAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO VENEZUELA.

[Translation.]

I have received the Legation's memorandum of the 26th instant by which Your Excellency communicates to my Government the statement made by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull as to the principles on which the international policy of the United States is inspired. Those principles are the same which have served and do serve as the standard for the international policy of Venezuela. Venezuela has affirmed its adherence to them by subscribing to all of the instruments of peace which have been formulated from the Congress of Panama in 1826 to the Conference of Buenos Aires in 1936; and, moreover, it has affirmed that adherence in practice by submitting all its international differences to the means of peaceful solution. Consequently, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government is in accord with the points of view expressed by His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States in the aforementioned statement.

YUGOSLAVIA.

DECLARATION OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HANDED TO THE AMERICAN CHARGÉ IN YUGOSLAVIA.

[Translation.]

The Yugoslav Government has noted with the greatest interest and sympathy the declaration which was made on July 16th, 1937, to the representatives of the Press at Washington by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America. This declaration represents an important reaffirmation of the policy of peace, of international collaboration and solidarity, of which the Government of the United States has always been one of the most fervent partisans and champions. Yugoslavia remains as in the past firmly attached to this same policy and to the principles of non-recourse to force, of non-intervention, of economic *rapprochement*, of the limitation and reduction of armaments. For itself, the respect of treaties and the scrupulous observation of international engagements, so long as they are not modified by the consent of the interested States, are the indispensable rules of international life. The Yugoslav Government desires sincerely and loyally the realization of the ideas of law, of peace, of collaboration, and of prosperity which are championed with such authority and brilliance in the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

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*Wilson's words after
being thrown more & more
out of balance*

767: State
[1918]

F.D.R.'s FIRST DRAFT

Not carried any further

*so many leaders of
nations in every part
of world to do
something*

A generation has passed since death and destruction

visited hundreds of millions of human beings in what we called "The World War". At its end, countless men and women in all portions of the earth, trusted that there might be brought into being a new order of lasting peace between nations.

They have seen the attainment of that ideal year by year grow more remote. A new generation has come of age. It finds itself in common with its fathers and mothers in a world surcharged with anxiety, where governments, great and small, are furiously rearming, where whole peoples live in constant fear, where physical and economic security is absent for the individual as well as for the State.

In our grandfather's day standards of conduct between nations had been widely recognized. Gradually and laboriously they had been built up over a period of many centuries, and they were the foundation stones on which relations between civilized nations stood.

Today, these standards of conduct are threatened with eclipse. Efforts to restore them, efforts to bring them into perspective with modern conditions have failed.

Moreover, because of the emphasis of science on the practice of war, modern warfare has become infinitely more destructive and cruel than ever before. In the employment of new inventions war today frequently involves the destruction of defenceless and civilian populations - the slaughter of women and children, of the aged and the helpless - in utter contravention of the rules of warfare which earlier international instruments had laid down, and in violation, indeed, of the highest instincts of humanity.

Furthermore, economic security and stability the world over, has been jeopardized and thrown out of balance by excessive barriers raised against international trade, with the result that inequalities of commercial opportunity have unduly provoked international jealousies and caused suffering to a large proportion of the inhabitants of the world.

I have felt warranted in addressing to you this communication because of the seriousness of the situation of this hour. It is my considered belief that unless the nations of the earth, by common effort, come quickly to a renewed acceptance and observance of those fundamental principles and rules of human conduct which the judgment of nineteen centuries, and

the experience of the present demonstrate as wise in governing relations between states, world peace cannot be maintained.

I have been told that because many efforts to improve the prospect or the possibility of world peace have failed, a new effort will likewise fail.

I cannot accept that prophecy as an excuse for failing to make one more appeal.

I do so in the knowledge held by every man and woman in every nation, that if new wars break out and no binding international accord then exists, with rules and measures to mitigate their horrors - especially the horrors which will involve civilian populations - no man can say that such war or wars would not destroy all that was salvaged from the last.

Every man and woman in the world today suffers directly or indirectly from the burdens of ever-increasing armaments. The cost consumes an ever-increasing share of productive income; it drives governments into debts which can never be liquidated. Such arming, in diverting national productive efforts from increasing permanent wealth, depress, and even destroy, the higher standards of living which might otherwise be attained. The continuation of this course is undermining the domestic economy and therefore the social welfare of the inhabitants of every nation. If we do naught to check the course,

we face world-wide social and economic disaster. Thus we establish a compelling reason for all Governments in the interest of their own people and their generations yet unborn, to come to agreement upon the limitation and reduction of armaments in order that vast resources now poured into armies and navies may be directed to production which will raise the standards of life and enhance human happiness.

Because many of the nations of the world obviously cannot make complete reversal of their policy of seeking great armies without simultaneously dislocating their whole economic structure, it seems necessary that ways and means should be discussed looking to a gradual transition to an economy of reduced armaments and peace.

This objective looks to a viewing of the world as a whole - a more mutual use of world resources, and the improvement and simplification of economic relationships between all peoples.

Finally, for the reason that even though the burden of armaments be greatly lifted, and the world exchange of goods be enhanced, war between nations would remain a possible thing, standards of conduct in warfare itself might be established for the sake of humanity itself.

For all these reasons I submit to you, the Ambassadors and Ministers of the nations of the world, for the consideration

of your Governments, the proposal that all Governments at an early date, set as their goal a unanimous agreement upon essential and fundamental principles carried forward into rules of conduct to be observed by every nation in its relations with every other nation.

Should it be found, as I hope it may, that the other Governments of the world are favorably disposed to this suggestion, and should they so desire, the government of the United States will be prepared immediately to request a number of other Governments to join it in the formulation of tentative proposals in elaboration of the points above enumerated for subsequent submission to all nations for such disposal as they may in their wisdom determine.

Specifically I do not propose the holding of any general international conference. I do suggest that should this recommendation be found acceptable, the Government of the United States will consult with a number of other Governments and that jointly they will use their best efforts to reach a common agreement as to the means of proceeding with the problems I have outlined. The results of their common findings would be submitted at the earliest practicable date to all nations for such action as they may be disposed to take.

No individual, no Government, no nation can be certain that such consultation will result in the effective outline of measures to check competitive armaments, to promote economic security or to insure the adherence to standards of conduct in war.

The effort is at least worth the making.

I recognize that however essential a joint accord on these three subjects is to the human race in its search for peace, political tensions/^{exist}~~exist~~ today in some parts of the world which must be allayed through negotiations and peaceful adjustment on the part of the nations directly involved.

The Government of the United States can play no part in the determination of these political adjustments in which it is not directly involved - the traditional policy of freedom from entangling political difficulties which the Government of the United States has maintained and will maintain is well known, but it has seemed to me that every kind of adjustment or re-adjustment of present conflicts, if undertaken, will be more readily attained if the nations as a whole come to general agreement on fundamental principles and policies to which they will adhere in the future.

So, also, I can express the hope that should the suggestion that I have proffered be found acceptable to the other Governments of the world, new difficulties and new strife can be adjourned until we all can see more clearly.

Should the suggestion which I have proffered be found acceptable to the other Governments of the world, I gladly pledge the cooperation of the United States of America in seeking the attainment of the objectives which humanity seeks. The quest of peace under law and fair dealing is imposed by the deepest instincts of mankind. It seeks our help. It deserves success.

P.S.F. State
[1933]

F.D.R.'s FIRST DRAFT
AS REVISED BY S.W. FEB. 15

A generation has passed since death and destruction visited hundreds of millions of human beings in what we called "The World War". At its end, countless men and women in all portions of the earth, trusted that there might be brought into being a new order of lasting peace between nations.

They have seen the attainment of that ideal year by year grow more remote. A new generation has come of age. It finds itself in common with its fathers and mothers in a world surcharged with anxiety, where governments, great and small, are furiously rearming, where whole peoples live in constant fear, where physical and economic security is absent for the individual as well as for the State.

In our grandfather's day standards of conduct between nations had been widely recognized. Gradually and laboriously they had been built up over a period of many centuries, and they were the foundation stones on which relations between civilized nations stood.

Today, these standards of conduct are threatened

with eclipse. Efforts to restore them, efforts to bring them into perspective with modern conditions have failed.

Moreover, because of the emphasis of science on the practice of war, modern warfare has become infinitely more destructive and cruel than ever before. In the employment of new inventions war today frequently involves the destruction of defenseless and civilian populations - the slaughter of women and children, of the aged and the helpless - in utter contravention of the rules of warfare which earlier international instruments had laid down, and in violation, indeed, of the highest instincts of humanity.

Furthermore, economic security and stability the world over, has been jeopardized and thrown out of balance by excessive barriers raised against international trade, with the result that the curtailment and the inequalities of commercial opportunity have unduly provoked international jealousies and caused suffering to a large proportion of the inhabitants of the world.

I have felt warranted in addressing to you this

communication because of the seriousness of the situation of this hour. It is my considered belief that unless the nations of the earth come quickly to a renewed acceptance and observance of those fundamental principles and rules of human conduct which the judgment of nineteen centuries, and the experience of the present demonstrate as wise in governing relations between states, world peace cannot be maintained.

I have been told that because many efforts to improve the prospect or the possibility of world peace have failed, a new effort will likewise fail.

I cannot accept that prophecy as an excuse for failing to make one more appeal.

I do so in the knowledge held by every man and woman in every nation, that if new wars break out and no binding international accord then exists, with rules and measures to mitigate their horrors - especially the horrors which will involve civilian populations - no man can say that such war or wars would not destroy all that was salvaged from the last.

Every man and woman in the world today suffers

directly or indirectly from the burdens of ever-increasing armaments. The cost consumes an ever-increasing share of productive income; it drives governments into debts which can never be liquidated. Such arming, in diverting national productive efforts from increasing permanent wealth, depresses, and even destroys, the higher standards of living which might otherwise be attained. The continuation of this course is undermining the domestic economy and therefore the social welfare of the inhabitants of every nation. If we do naught to check the course, we face world-wide social and economic disaster. Thus we establish a compelling reason for all Governments in the interest of their own people and their generations yet unborn, to come to agreement upon the limitation and reduction of armaments in order that vast resources now poured into armies and navies may be directed to production which will raise the standards of life and enhance human happiness.

Because many of the nations of the world obviously cannot make complete reversal of their policy of seeking great armies without simultaneously dislocating their

whole economic structure, it seems necessary that ways and means should be discussed looking to a gradual transition to an economy of reduced armaments and peace.

This objective looks to a viewing of the world as a whole - a more mutual use of world resources, and the improvement and simplification of economic relationships between all peoples.

Finally, for the reason that even though the burden of armaments be greatly lifted, and the world exchange of goods be enhanced, war between nations would remain a possible thing, standards of conduct in warfare itself should be established for the sake of humanity itself.

For all these reasons I submit to you, the Ambassadors and Ministers of the nations of the world, for the consideration of your Governments, the suggestion that all Governments at an early date strive to reach a unanimous agreement upon the following matters:

1. The essential and fundamental principles which should be observed in international relations carried forward into rules of conduct to be observed by every nation in its relations with every other nation.

2. The most effective methods for checking the present competitive piling up of armaments and for achieving a general limitation and reduction of armaments.

3. Effective ways of promoting the economic security, stability, and welfare of nations through the establishment of conditions under which all countries would have an opportunity to participate, upon equitable terms and on the basis of equality of treatment, in the processes of world trade and in other international economic relationships necessary to the sustained wellbeing of their peoples.

4. Effective measures for insuring that, in the unhappy event of resort to armed force, the maximum of respect shall be given to humanitarian considerations.

Should it be found, as I hope it may, that the other Governments of the world are favorably disposed to this suggestion, and should they so desire, the

Government of the United States will be prepared immediately to request a number of other Governments to join it in the formulation of tentative proposals in elaboration of the points above enumerated for subsequent submission to all nations for such disposal as they may in their wisdom determine.

Specifically I do not propose the holding of any general international conference. I do suggest that should this recommendation be found acceptable, the Government of the United States will consult with a number of other Governments and that jointly they will use their best efforts to reach a common agreement as to the means of proceeding with the problems I have outlined. The results of their common findings would be submitted at the earliest practicable date to all nations for such action as they may be disposed to take.

No individual, no Government, no nation can be certain that such consultation will result in the effective outline of measures to check competitive armaments, to promote economic security or to insure the adherence to standards of conduct in war.

The effort is at least worth the making.

I recognize that however essential a joint accord on these three subjects is to the human race in its search for peace, political tensions exist today in some parts of the world which must be allayed through negotiations and peaceful adjustment on the part of the nations directly involved. The Government of the United States can play no part in the determination of these political adjustments in which it is not directly involved - the traditional policy of freedom from entangling political difficulties which the Government of the United States has maintained and will maintain is well known, but it has seemed to me that every kind of adjustment or readjustment of present conflicts, if undertaken, will be more readily attained if the nations as a whole come to general agreement on fundamental principles and policies to which they will adhere in the future.

So, also, I can express the hope that should the suggestion that I have proffered be found acceptable to the other Governments of the world, new difficulties

and new strife can be adjourned until we all can see more clearly.

Should the suggestion which I have proffered be found acceptable to the other Governments of the world, I gladly pledge the cooperation of the United States of America in seeking the attainment of the objectives which humanity seeks. The quest of peace under law and fair dealing is imposed by the deepest instincts of mankind. It seeks our help. It deserves success.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

February 21, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LE HAND

The Secretary believes
the attached memorandum may
be of interest to the
President.

Confidential

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
A-M

*file
confidential
Munich*

February 18, 1938.

The Secretary

The Under Secretary

It occurs to me that you may be interested to have my reactions on the recent developments in Austria and particularly as to how they may affect the general situation.

I believe it is still too early to determine what the ultimate effect of recent events may be but I can only see the general situation as further deteriorating as the result of them. It is just about a year and a half ago that Austria and Germany made their agreement of July 11, after which Hitler indicated in a public way the recognition of Austrian independence. A few days ago he sent this peremptory message to Schuschnigg to come to Berchtesgaden and, according to our reports, Hitler received him with three Generals behind his back, including General Reichenau, whose views we well know. In no uncertain terms he made demands which, if carried through, would leave Austria without any shred of real independence.

In the past Hitler has frequently said that if Germany has broken agreements they have been arrangements which were put upon her by others through pressure and force and as a

defeated

defeated nation and are therefore promises which he is not bound to keep. If anyone would have any doubt as to his intention to keep agreements which he himself has made, the recent events at Berchtesgaden should leave such without any further illusions. I have myself never been able to understand why these illusions should persist when Hitler himself in his book and in the statements which he has made privately and semi-publicly has never left any doubt as to his political practice according to which agreements are valid only as long as he believes they should be kept. It would seem that recent events should, therefore, convince a certain group in England, which has been fostering such agreements, how utterly futile and fatal is any idea that they may have that they can make lasting and binding agreements with Germany under present conditions. And yet there would seem to be indications that English policy is more than ever orientated in the direction of such agreements.

We do not yet have full information as to what conditions are actually being imposed upon Austria, but I think we know enough to realize that whatever they are they are such as will mean her rapid absorption into Germany unless there is some great change in the major European picture. In the conversations which Ambassador Bullitt had with General Goering, and reported by him to the Department, General Goering made no concealment

concealment that their objective involves the disappearance of Austrian independence. In this respect I can assure you that in conversations which I have had in the last three or four years with high ranking members of the Party in Germany they left no doubt that this is their objective although in the press and in official statements they may cover this over. We do not know what the result of the Vienna-Berlin conversations is but I think that a vestige of hope must remain for I know from my contact with Schuschnigg that he would not remain as Chancellor if he did not believe there was reason for holding on. He does not want to let go until the last ray of hope is gone for he is a genuine patriot. I am not sure, however, that if he does stick he will not meet the same fate as Dollfus. I had a letter this morning which indicates that during the last few months he has had good reason to know that his life has been in constant danger.

In my opinion whatever we may see emerge from the present situation, we can take it that the independence of Austria is gone in fact although its outward form may be retained for the present, unless there is a major change in the European picture which we cannot see now. I still feel that if France and England had spoken in any definite way that the present catastrophe would have been avoided, for Hitler is not yet ready to go to war. England and France

have

have not spoken above a whisper and I do not see how Benes can hold on in Czechoslovakia for more than four or five months. There is no doubt but that Czechoslovakia is just as much an objective as Austria and in the last year it was always a question as to whether Czechoslovakia or Austria should come first. I think if Germany were to take action with respect to Czechoslovakia today, as she has done with Austria, France would probably still move, but Hitler, who has an uncanny sense of such situations, realizes that if he will wait four or five months the situation will have further disintegrated in that time and to the point that he can confront Czechoslovakia with the same demands as he has now put upon Austria and that the chances are then that France will not move. I think we must definitely face the fact that if this movement continues, which it shows every promise of doing, there is no small country in Southeastern or in Northern Europe which can have any further illusions as to its security. If, for example, Belgium and Holland and Denmark have any sense of security under these circumstances it is in my opinion a very dangerous delusion. Belgium and Holland and Denmark may, for example, be faced at any time in the not distant future by the same sort of a situation as Austria had to confront a few days ago. There would naturally not be such great political demands at the outset but there would be

demands

demands of an economic nature which would be just as destructive of real independence, and under the present circumstances and those which are increasingly developing it is doubtful whether England and France would support these small countries in case the demands are only economic.

It is difficult for some to realize that Germany is proceeding on a fixed course and on a definite policy which has not altered since the regime came into power. What they do not realize adequately is that Germany needs today economic relief which will enable her to continue her program toward mastery in Europe. When Hitler saw Schuschnigg the other day, according to one of our reports, he said to him that Germany had a mission in Europe to get together the 80 million Germans into one nation which would make Germany the master of Europe. Such language surely can leave no illusions and is nothing new to some of us who have known continuously what he is after. One of the principal reasons for the pressure on Austria at this time is that Germany needs the iron from that country and Austria has refused to deliver without payment. Similarly, the relatively good financial situation in Austria is something which Germany has wished to exploit for her own purposes for some time and the strong resistance of the Austrian Government and the National Bank was becoming exasperating.

She also wishes to get other raw materials and agricultural products so as to strengthen her difficult home position. The process of peaceful penetration in Austria was not going fast enough and Hitler felt that the internal program as well as the external one did not permit of further delays.

Although there are a number of elements that enter into the recent showdown with the Army in Germany, I am convinced that one of the principal factors was the desire of Hitler to make it possible to proceed with a show of force against Austria. The Army had consistently taken a stand against force or a show of force against Austria just as it had put its foot down on further contingents of men to Spain. If there was to be a showdown with Austria, Hitler realized that the Army had to be put in a position of acquiescing. The Army changes made it possible for Hitler to receive Schuschnigg with three Generals behind him and with two divisions mobilized on the Austrian frontier ostensibly for maneuvers. We know the result. I am convinced that the restraining influence on external policy of the Army in Germany while not altogether gone has practically disappeared.

It is difficult to see how the disintegrating movement in Southeastern Europe can be stopped. According to a telegram we have this morning, the German Minister in Belgrade

told

told our Minister that Yugoslavia would shortly be faced by the same situation as Austria. The steps may be fairly slow, but I do not think we can tell. Now that the last step in internal coordination in Germany has been taken through making the Army an instrument of the Party, events may take a much more rapid course. If Germany is able to continue this extension of control through Southeastern Europe, even though in some directions the movement will manifest itself first in economic demands, she will be able to be in a position to get a good part of the raw materials and agricultural products which now make it impossible for her to make war. Through the fortification of the Western frontier, which has made rapid progress, she will soon be able to hold England and France there, and any blockade of the North coast by the English and French fleets will not be so serious for Germany as she will have most of the things which she needs in the areas in Southeastern Europe over which her control is extending. In other words, in my opinion, which I have expressed to you before, if Germany gets economic or political control, or both, of Southeastern Europe she will be in a position to put England and France into a secondary place in Europe and practically immobilize them. This can only mean the gradual disintegration of the British Empire and all this is something which I believe we in this country

country cannot look upon with unconcern. I am confident that in the end we would have our troubles in South America where Germany, Italy and Japan are already so active and where they have their definite objectives -- particularly Germany. With England and France in a purely secondary position and with the Empire disintegrated, we in this country would stand practically alone, and that our troubles would come a little later does not give me any comfort. The failure of public opinion in this country to understand all the implications of the developing European and Far Eastern situations for us is, I think, the most difficult problem with which we now have to deal.

I cannot understand the English attitude. There seems to be still a group which believes that they can purchase security through giving Germany a free hand in Southeastern Europe. There was reason to believe that this group was decreasing in power. It now looks as though it has the upper hand. It would be well if they realized that Germany with a free hand in Europe has a good deal freer hand in the rest of the world. No concession has yet satisfied Germany and none will satisfy her. Those in control in the country will themselves admit that.

So far as Italy is concerned, in Party circles in Germany it was realized at the outset that Mussolini was bound

bound to be a secondary partner in German-Italian co-operation. He is playing very much second fiddle now and it is an interesting picture when we consider Mussolini's reactions during the last few days and compare them with his firm stand at the time of the Dollfus murder when within an hour after he had the news he had several divisions on the frontier. It is too early to say just what the Italian position is, but in Southeastern Europe he has lost immensely in prestige and I think in many ways the Austrian debacle may prove just as significant for him as it is for Austria.

I do not think that Hitler's speech on Sunday, whatever he may say, will mean much. He may make some very reassuring statements on Austrian independence but the fact is that he has removed the basis for such independence. Whatever he says must be viewed in the light of the fact that 18 months ago he openly came out in recognition of that independence which he is now directly violating. His statement to Schuschnigg that he has a mission to bring together the 80 million Germans into a nation which will dominate Europe is the real key to the situation and, if that domination may not be so purely political at the outset in some directions as it will probably be in Austria, it will be nevertheless real in its consequences.

The developments have a very real interest to us for these

these countries in Southeastern Europe have been looking forward to trade agreements with us as a part of a constructive movement towards economic peace. Our negotiations with Czechoslovakia have been very closely followed and in everyone of those countries it was hoped that negotiations with us would soon follow. The Germans knew this and they knew too that under political and economic pressure from both Germany and Italy all these countries were getting closer together and that problems which had separated them for generations were being put into the background. Germany feared our trade agreements program in Southeastern Europe and now that she is embarking upon this course of expansion, I see small prospect for our progress in Southeastern Europe. Even though we negotiated agreements they would have very little value for what is the use of our making arrangements between independent States when an international gangster at the point of a gun is forcing economic subjection? I see the trade agreements program in general seriously menaced for these events in Southeastern Europe will have a disturbing and upsetting influence generally.

There is a strong tendency on the part of some to minimize the recent developments between Austria and Germany. The retention, for example, of Dr. Skubl as the State Secretary under the new Nazi Minister for Public Safety is considered

considered as a guarantee for order. I know that the new Minister of Public Safety is a close friend of the Chancellor and a good Catholic, but I know too that he is a Pan-German and that that is a more important part of his political philosophy than anything else. He will take his orders from Berlin and the fact that he and Chancellor Schuschnigg have been friends for many years will mean little. The German steam roller is at work and he will be the operator of it for Hitler, Goering and Himmler in Austria. Dr. Skubl will be able to make feeble resistance. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Schmidt, is an opportunist of first water and while he knows what all this means for Austria, his principal endeavor will be not to aid the Chancellor in maintaining the situation but in trying to save a position for himself. The National Socialist movement has known how to utilize in Germany and elsewhere the lowest instincts and motivations which we have as human beings, and it is not failing to use them in this Austrian development. Whether Anschluss comes now openly or later is not material. As the situation we now see developing is consolidated, Austria will be just as much a part of Germany, politically and economically, as if it had been done through a solemn treaty or a plebiscite. Austrian agricultural products and Austrian raw materials, which
Germany

Germany has looked upon with jealous eyes for the last few years, will now flow freely over the frontier.

It is, of course, impossible to tell what Hitler will say on the twentieth in his Reichstag speech and to foresee how far he will lift the veil. That there will be lip service to Austrian independence is, I think, fairly certain, but I believe there will be enough to indicate rapid expansion of and increase in German pressure to the Southeast. I have not in this memorandum to any degree touched on the internal situation in Austria but I think we may take it that in order to quiet the fears of the Austrian people Hitler will say something to reassure them and this will probably take the form of some statement on the religious question. The great majority of the Austrian people do not want the Nazification of the country and the great majority are good Catholics who know what has been happening to the Catholic Church and others in Germany. Certain leaders of the Catholic groups in Austria, however, have been of the opinion that they could bring influence to bear on the Church struggle in Germany and in order to get Catholic sentiment behind him as far as possible in Austria Hitler may say something which would indicate a lessening of tension in the Church struggle. My own feeling, however, is that the coordination of the Church into the Party as a servile instrument

instrument is one of the primary policies of National Socialism and that any relaxation in the movement against the Churches announced now will be of a temporary nature.

The Italian and British position, in view of these developments, is difficult to estimate and the quiescent attitude of Italy cannot be explained on the information we now have. Of course, we know that Mussolini has been trying to get a military alliance with Germany, especially since he has realized how definitely a secondary part he plays in the Rome-Berlin arrangements, and has found England so adamant. The German Army has been against such a military alliance with Italy while the Party in Germany has been for it. It may be that Italy's quiescent attitude may be explained on the ground that now that the German Army has been subordinated to the Party, Hitler is holding forth promises of or actual entering into a military alliance with Mussolini. I venture to predict that if such an alliance is entered into, it will be, like other ^{agreements} into which this Germany has entered, one which will last just as long as the present leaders in Germany consider it useful to their purpose.

One of the factors in recent developments which cannot be neglected is that it is clear that the influence of Himmler in Germany has come to the fore and he may be now
the

-14-

the man next in power in Germany to Hitler. He seems to have the ascendancy over Goering, who had in some respects sided with the Army chiefs whose power outside of purely technical Army matters now seems fairly well gone. Himmler is definitely in favor of the expansionist program toward the Southeast and of rapid action.

In spite of its length this is still a very unsatisfactory and sketchy resume of the situation which, however, I thought I should dictate at this moment as I feel that these thoughts may be of some interest to you at this time.

G. S. Messersmith.

GSM
A-M:GSM:VNG

file
personal

State Dept

Budapest, February 25, 1938.

Dear Mr. President,

Knowing your interest in the Nazi question I thought you might be interested in the local reaction to the Berchtesgaden meeting and the latest development here concerning the Nazis. I am therefore enclosing a short memorandum which might interest you.

With warmest regards,

Yours most cordially,


John F. Montgomery

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

Although the Hungarian Government has expected for sometime that Mr. Hitler was going to "close in" on Austria, and therefore they have become somewhat used to the idea, there is no question that the recent action at Berchtesgaden has disturbed them and Hitler's treatment of Dr. Schuschnigg has caused considerable resentment. Both Foreign Minister de Kánya and Under Secretary Apor have mentioned this. Mr. de Kánya has been so much depressed that he was actually sick. Apor said that this was not due to apprehension over Hungary's position but rather to the fact that Hungary could not come to the aid of its best friend, but I am inclined to think it was a combination of everything. Mr. de Kánya seems to be greatly disappointed that not a single Power raised a finger to help Austria, and that Schuschnigg was left to face the issue alone.

In

In a conversation that I had on January 27th with Baron von Hahn, the representative of the Deutsches Nachrichtenbureau, he told me that as a result of Lord Halifax's visit to Berlin, Germany and Britain had a perfect understanding in regard to Austria, and that Germany would not make Austria a part of the Reich but would permit it to maintain its independence provided they agreed to become in effect a vassal. At the time it seemed incredible that England would agree to such a thing. Now it seems quite possible. Mr. de Kánya told me yesterday that he had heard it, and the Polish Minister said that he was certain it was true as Colonel Beck had told him of it lately. So there must be some truth in it.

Mr. de Kánya, while he thinks that unless a miracle occurs Austria is gone, still hopes that the Great Powers, now that they are actually facing the issue, will do something to save her, or that possibly some Italian-British agreement might have that effect.

effect. Mr. de Kánya said that he knew that the Germans didn't actually want war but that Hitler's habit of producing sensations and making "crazy" speeches was dangerous.

Just how the Austrian situation will affect local politics is obscure at the moment. One would think it would give an impetus to the Nazi movement, and probably the Government felt that it would, for their first move was to close down on Major Szálasi, the local would-be Führer. Monday night they raided his headquarters, and Tuesday Major Szálasi and 72 of his followers were under restraint. According to Dr. Tibor Eckhardt this move was made with the consent of the Regent. If so it is important to the extent that it indicates the Regent's attitude on the Nazi question. Dr. Eckhardt said, and the Foreign Minister does not deny it, that the Regent will shortly issue an order forbidding army officers to engage in politics. As the Regent does not take part in politics himself his position in all these

questions

questions is obscure. Many people claim that he was in full sympathy with Major Szálasi, and even that the Major had a backdoor entrance to the Palace. Any action by the Regent which will indicate his lack of sympathy with the Nazi movement will have quite an effect, not only because of the widespread influence that the Regent has but because everybody realizes that one doesn't gain political power in Hungary by opposing the Regent. Whether such a prohibition, if issued, would prevent political intrigue in the army is hard to say, but inasmuch as every army officer takes an oath to the Regent personally and all seem to be loyal to him it seems that it would be a great deterrent.

file personal

State Dept.

Sofia, Bulgaria,
March 9, 1938.

Dear Mr. President,

In a conversation yesterday King Boris asked me about my recent visit in the United States which I discussed with him at some length. We touched on the interest shown in Bulgaria in my talk before the Foreign Policy Association in New York and the general matter of American Bulgarian relations.

The high water mark though was obviously when I told him of your conversation with me, the interest you expressed in Bulgaria's problems and the evident knowledge you possessed of this country and the pleasant climate and agreeable surroundings of Sofia itself. The King was most gratified when I conveyed to him your message as to the warm

The President,

The White House.

welcome which awaited him, should he find it possible to visit the United States. He asked that I should express to you his hearty appreciation for this thought of him, even though the present Parliamentary elections which terminate the regime of the last four years, do not permit him to contemplate any extended absence for the present.

His last words were a repetition of the pleasure he had in the friendliness of your remarks and I assured him I would report the conversation to you.

Now, I add a personal message of regard and deep respect and remain, Sir,

Sincerely yours
Max Aitken

COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: March 15, 1938.

SUBJECT: ~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

PARTICIPANTS: The Minister of Canada, Sir Herbert Marler;
The Under Secretary.

COPIES TO:

*** 1-1400

The Canadian Minister called to see me this morning and stated that in connection with and as an outgrowth of the confidential conversations that took place in Washington last January, the Canadian Government wanted to know whether the War Department would be able to receive a representative of the Canadian Ministry of War, Colonel N. O. Carr, Director of Mechanization and Artillery, should he come to Washington for the purpose of purchasing anti-aircraft artillery and coast guard artillery, and perhaps aeroplanes as well. The Minister stated that all that was desired was for the War Department to place Colonel Carr in contact with the manufacturers in the United States from whom the United

States Government purchased its own supplies and perhaps to offer advice as well on the types of munitions and supplies which would be most desirable from the standpoint of Canadian national defense. I told the Minister that I would be very glad to take the matter up personally with General Craig, and that I would advise the Minister subsequently of the arrangements that might be made.

The Minister then said that the Canadian Government had made every effort to obtain the supplies required in Great Britain, but that the British Government, in view of its own rearmament program, was physically unable to permit any supplies to be sold to Canada. For that reason the Canadian Government turned to us. The Minister stated that the immediate and chief objective of the Canadian Government was to undertake such measures as might be necessary for an adequate defense of the Canadian Pacific Coast line. It was unnecessary, he remarked, for him to remind me of the relatively uninhabited nature of that territory, of the many bays and other indentations, and of the large number of Japanese living in western Canada. The Canadian Government had decided that the time had now come when they could no longer postpone taking the measures necessary for their own self-defense, and they wished to expedite as much as possible the carrying out of contracts in the United States for that purpose.

The Minister seemed to be laboring under the misapprehension that our existing neutrality legislation included Canada among the independent American nations that would be excepted in the application of the neutrality statutes in the event that they suffered aggression from some non-American power. I told the Minister that the exceptions to the Neutrality Act had been designed to include solely the other American Republics and not the Dominion of Canada, and that consequently I must remind him that in the event that the Canadian Government entered into munitions contracts in the United States and then found itself at war, if the neutrality law was invoked a shipment of supplies to Canada under such contracts would be arrested. The Minister expressed considerable surprise and said that he had always assumed that the neutrality law exceptions specifically included Canada inasmuch as Canada could not be considered a political subdivision of Great Britain. He asked me if I would later confirm my interpretation, and I said that I would be glad to do so.

The Minister then went on to say that he was very much concerned by the European situation. He said that if Great Britain undertook to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia and as a result found herself involved in a war with Germany it would have the gravest repercussions in Canada. He

said that certainly not more than ten percent of the Canadian people would be willing to find themselves in a war resulting from such a policy on the part of Great Britain. He said that the sentiment for keeping out of war and for self-defense was quite as strong in Canada as it was in the United States, and that under no conditions would the Canadian people be willing to take part in another world war which had its origins in Central European problems. He said that the "French Canadians would undoubtedly endeavor to separate themselves from the rest of Canada if such a step were considered".

The Minister then went on to say that Canadian sentiment today is unanimously in favor of sharing the fortunes of the United States and that he was confident that if the United States suffered aggression from some foreign power, Canada would find itself under the obligation of taking action similar to that which would be taken by the United States. He said that in the World War Canada had contributed far more than her proportional share, both in men and in expenditure, as a part of the British Empire, and that Canada would not again be willing to embark upon such an adventure unless she herself were liable to attack.

I said to the Minister that I would communicate

-5-

with him with regard to the two questions asked of me
in the near future, and that I would do so by telephone.

S.W.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Mr. President:

For your information, I think it important that you read the attached radiogram which the War Department has received from Quezon for High Commissioner McNutt. You will note that in this formal communication, Quezon advises McNutt that he does not agree with his views on Philippine affairs as expressed in his speech.

Please note that Quezon is holding a press conference to explain his views as they disagree with those expressed by McNutt. Quezon reverses the position he took when he first, after hearing McNutt on the radio, cabled him, enthusiastically endorsing what McNutt had said.

S.T.E.

*file
to McNutt
State Dept*

COPY

Radiogram received March 16, 1936.
43 WTJ PF 918 Bia Priority.

Secwar, Wash.,
Burnett,
16th, 194.

For High Commissioner McWatt. Today's morning papers have printed in full your speech and I hasten to inform you of my attitude towards your concrete proposal for future Philippine-American relations which I did not clearly hear during yesterday's broadcast, and therefore I did not have in mind when I released my press statement and subsequently sent you my radiogram. The papers attribute to you the following statement "On the political side, our flag and sovereignty should remain, allowing to the Philippines every ounce of domestic autonomy they can absorb, holding in our own hands foreign affairs, tariff, immigration, currency, and public debt, scarcely more than marks of the necessary reservations of a dominion. We should feel free in case of any crisis to help preserve the democratic basis of the Philippine Government. On the economic side we should from time to time give the Philippines the best trade deal we can without injuring our domestic producers. We must admit the possibility of competition. The present quantity quotas on sugar, coconut oil, and cordage should be retained; and if other or new commodities come into competition with homeside products, they also should be restricted with quotas."

The foregoing statement as I read it means merely the continuation of the Government of the Commonwealth as constituted under the McDuffie-Tydings law with two modifications, one on the political side and another on the economic side. On the political side instead of independence at a definite time permanent continuation of America's sovereignty over the Philippines without an ounce of greater political autonomy as now provided in the said McDuffie-Tydings law for you propose to retain in the hands of the United States not only foreign affairs but also tariff, immigration, currency and public debt, and the right to take over the government of the Philippines supposedly under the same conditions that are authorized under the existing Act. On the economic side you seem to favor the present economic policy that imposes no limitation as to the amount of articles and goods coming into the Philippines from the United States and under full tariff protection, whereas Philippine articles and goods will be subject to quotas and excise taxes and without any safeguard against tariff changes in America. The only change in the economic policy in your proposal, as I see it, lies in the fact that at no time in the future will there be imposition of full duties on Philippine products.

I cannot subscribe to this program. On the political side, as I told you in our last conference when I authorized you to inform the President of my willingness to consider a revision of the present American policy towards the Philippines, I do not consider the provisions of the McDuffie-Tydings law as satisfactory. You will remember that when you told me that the Philippines is today more free than some states of the Union, I disagreed with your view and added that under the Commonwealth

POSITIONS SECRETARY OF
COM.

Government as constituted in accordance with the McDuffie-Tydings law it would depend entirely upon the wisdom and sense of justice as well as liberal ideas of the incumbent of the office of the High Commissioner for the Government of the Commonwealth to have any real freedom of action except in unimportant public questions. Any permanent continuation of political relations between the United States and the Philippines to be acceptable to us must give the Government of the Commonwealth the same powers and authority that are recognized in and exercised by the Dominions of Great Britain except as to foreign relations. If such political relationship between the United States and the Philippines cannot be acceptable to the United States then it will be of little value to attempt to revise the present policy looking toward complete separation between the two countries, for I am positive that the Filipino people will not agree to it and I myself could not advocate it.

On the economic side, if the United States would consider preferential trade relations with the Philippines even after independence I would favor a trade relationship based upon reciprocal advantages.

I am sorry you did not state to me concretely before you left the terms under which you would be willing to recommend a revision of the American policy. If the details of your proposals as above stated do not represent yours or the President's final views on the matter, then I would suggest the opening of negotiations or conference wherein we may be able to adjust our differences of opinion. My acquiescence to your proposal for reexamination of American-Philippine relations was given on my understanding that there would be no limitation upon the extent of the discussions. I wish further to remind you of the fact that at no time did I presume that what I might agree upon and advocate will be accepted by my people.

In order that my position be perfectly clear to you and to the President, especially in view of the radiogram I sent you yesterday, I am sending you this radiogram and I am explaining my views in a press conference to which I have invited people from your office. Quezon.

PSE
State Dept
e/pt

March 18, 1938.

Dear Bertie:-

It is good to have your letter and I am greatly interested in all that you write of.

Since you sent it, much water has gone over the dam in Austria. Where will it all end? I wish I could be close to the scene of things as you and Olive are.

As ever yours,

Honorable Herbert C. Pell,
American Legation,
Lisbon,
Portugal.

MS. 524 347

Lisbon, Portugal
March 2, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

After six months in Portugal I am still as grateful to you as ever for having sent me here. The work is interesting and, as far as I can see, not far beyond my capacity and I am sure that almost any other post would have been far beyond my means.

The situation is interesting. The Germans and the Italians (the Italians more openly) are doing everything they can to lower British prestige and in a good many ways the British are helping them. The British representatives are working to revive their influence.

The slowness of business in the Portuguese government is absolutely incredible. Sometime in the autumn the Metropolitan Museum of New York asked for a loan from the Portuguese State Museum. Instead of being a simple request from one Museum

to another this had to go through official channels. I took my request personally to Mr. Sampayo who is actually in charge of foreign affairs and it floated around in a mass of documents for a couple of months. Finally we were allowed to have everything we asked for except a silver soup tureen. Fortunately the Metropolitan Museum in its letters to me mentioned that there was another similar tureen in the Hermitage Collection. Eventually by going to the top of the State Department and pointing out that, if the Portuguese soup pot were not sent, the Metropolitan would be obliged to get one from Russia, presumably full of what they call the Moscow virus, the resolution was rescinded and the thing went through.

Everything is the same here. Nobody accepts any responsibility for anything and the most miserable details are passed up to the head of the state with the natural result.

We have been having a very good time here. Quite a number of your friends, the Archer-Shees, have appeared and I think the Portuguese consider us a

race of giants. My first guest was Grafton Cushing, who is a little taller than I am, and my son Claiborne who is eighteen and six feet two. Then came Philip Archer-Shee also a little taller than I. By this time our reputation was pretty well fixed. The next to appear was Edith who is just six feet. When I referred to her as "ma petite cousine" they just laughed at me. Finally Kitty appeared and they seem to feel like the gentleman in the Bible who saw trees as men walking.

I am expecting my cousin Livingston Phelps who is about my height and Azie Marquand Fullerton who is over six feet. In a Portuguese party of the best fed aristocrats, even Olive is taller than most of the men, so you can imagine the effect that the Pells and Archer-Shees have made on the community.

I want to congratulate you on your very good handling of an extremely difficult situation. Fortunately for you, the term "Roosevelt Panic" was used already in 1907 for the drop that followed the Knickerbocker Trust failure. As far as I can see our fundamental problem comes from the fact that we can produce with our present plant and at present

wages in six months as much as we can consume in a year. This ought not to be insuperable but it suggests the need of great alterations. I sincerely hope that you will be able to keep the Bourgeoisie from committing suicide. It will be a hard job.

Looking at the international situation from here, I can only say that everything looks bad and the most hopeful are those who say it has looked bad for a long time. The Fascist countries seem to believe firmly that the British will never abandon their program of surrender in detail, that they have enough to continue to buy peace in installments year by year. Of course so far they have only been pecking at prestige, but they feel that a habit of surrender will continue when they begin directly to go for British interests.

The British representatives here all seem to look on the possibility of returning colonies to Germany as one which may possibly be adopted. They certainly show no horror or even surprise at the thought. I was playing tennis today with the Counsellor and the Consul General, both seemed

Lisbon, Portugal
March 2, 1938

to think that it will be a long time before Great Britain draws the line and that in the meantime the smaller continental powers will have to look to themselves. Even the Ambassador speaks of waiting till the rearmament is completed.

One of the most prominent newspapermen of Portugal, Jose de Sousa, who is the owner of the VOZ one of the strongest anti-American and English newspapers in Portugal said the other day that the withdrawal of the Italian troops would mean immediate and certain defeat for Franco. The English seem to believe that by dropping Eden they have bought the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain. I can say nothing about the amount of help given to the Spanish Government by the Russians. The gossip that runs around Lisbon about it is not reliable enough to circulate at a tea party.

Let me know if I can do anything for you or

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for the party,

Faithfully yours,

Herbert C. Pell
Herbert C. Pell

The President

The White House

State Dept.

March 21, 1938.

My dear Bert:-

That is a very interesting letter of yours of February sixteenth, and I am glad to have the information. I am also glad that you feel that the infiltration we speak of is not at the present time of serious import — but one never knows what may happen fairly suddenly.

My warm regards,

As ever yours,

Honorable Bert Fish,
American Legation,
Cairo,
Egypt.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Cairo, Egypt, February 16, 1938

Dear President Roosevelt:

During my call upon you on January 4th, just prior to my sailing for my post in Egypt, you requested me to write you commenting upon Fascist infiltration in Egypt.

I was in America on leave at the time King Farouk dismissed the Wafdist Cabinet and brought about the appointment of a Cabinet more friendly to the Palace. I read in the American press at the time that certain members of the new Egyptian Cabinet were sympathetic toward Italy. I then questioned the truth of such statements. The Wafdist or Popular Party, headed by Nahas Pasha, whose Cabinet had been dismissed by King Farouk, is particularly friendly to Great Britain. It was Nahas Pasha who had negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. It was Nahas Pasha who had headed the Egyptian Delegation to the Montreux Capitulations Conference, and both from high Egyptian and high British sources had I learned, while in Egypt, of their confidence in and friendliness toward each other. Great Britain would have been pleased had the Nahas Pasha Cabinet not been dismissed by the King.

Aly Maher Pasha is Chief of the Royal Cabinet, the intimate and close friend of the late King Fuad. He is also the close and confidential friend of the young King Farouk. Aly Maher Pasha is an able man and, while he does not so readily yield to suggestions and advice from the British Embassy, he, nevertheless, understands all too well that the safety of Egypt lies in the Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. In my opinion, there is no responsible Egyptian leader, whether a Wafdist, Palace supporter or Independent, who does not fully agree with Aly Maher Pasha.

The President,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

During the Italo-Ethiopian contest, Italy unquestionably spent some money in Egypt, resorting to her usual method in this area of subsidizing such portion of the press as was vulnerable. It is not believed that Italy, at the present time, is conducting any such campaign in Egypt. Had it not been for the Italo-Ethiopian war Egypt would never have been able to obtain such a favorable treaty with Great Britain. It was an opportune moment for Egypt in that Great Britain found it to her interest to retain and strengthen the friendship and good will of Egypt by acceding to the latter's decision for wholly independent legal status. Egypt's leaders took advantage of the opportunity and the treaty resulted.

In July of last year, while talking confidentially with one of the then Regents of Egypt, he said to me that it would be quite proper if Egypt were to build a statue to Mussolini, that Egypt's independence would never have been obtained had it not been for Italian activities in the Mediterranean and Red Seas in 1935 and 1936.

In Egypt, Mussolini has deceived none of the followers of Mohamed by his declaration that he is the "protector of Islam".

The despatches of the Legation to the Department of State indicate that there are about 58,000 Italian subjects living in Egypt. The British estimate that probably about 48,000 of this number were born in Italy, the remainder being descendants of Italians previously settled in this country. There are believed to be about 12,500 Italian males living in Egypt capable of military service. Probably about 90% of the total Italian colony is made up of laborers and small shop keepers. It is estimated that approximately 60% of the Italians in Egypt are members of the Fascist Party. During the period of the Capitulations in Egypt the Italian consular and Fascist officials caused to be deported any Italian subjects known to be engaged in anti-Fascist work. Now that the Capitulations have ended the Italians can no longer deport any of their subjects for anti-Fascist activities here.

Great Britain, and therefore Egypt, are fully advised of the Italian preparations for war in Libya. The present air force of Great Britain in Egypt (Egypt has practically none herself) is not a match for Italy's air force at present

in Libya. Egypt's only protection from an attack by Mussolini, either from the north or the west, is Great Britain, and well does Egypt understand this. So far as land operations are concerned, the force of 10,000 British soldiers who are stationed in Egypt under the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Alliance would doubtless give a good account of themselves. They have a strategic ally in the desert which stretches practically unbroken from the Nile to the Libyan frontier. It seems hardly to be doubted, however, that in the event of an armed conflict situated in Egypt between Italy and Great Britain, the factor of sea-power would be decisive. Egypt, in consequence, ultimately depends for her liberty upon the British Mediterranean fleet - a situation which bears a certain resemblance to the position of Cuba vis-a-vis our own fleet.

A despatch of the Legation to the Department of State informed the Department that the Egyptian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in the latter part of last year, objected to the appointment of a new Minister to Egypt by the Italian Government. The Italian Government attempted to insist upon its original suggestion but eventually made another appointment. The Egyptian Government did not consider the first appointee as "persona grata" because of his activities in organizing Fascist groups abroad. The person suggested by Italy was and is the Director General of Italians abroad.

Early this month Parliament was dissolved by the King, and new elections have been called for the 2nd of April. Both the Palace Party and the Wafdist Opposition proclaimed their loyalty to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, and I believe their declarations sincere. It would be folly on their part to take any other position. The present Cabinet is not quite so easy of approach by the British Embassy as was the Wafdist Cabinet. If the Wafd should suffer defeat at the coming elections and the Palace Party obtain control of Parliament, Egypt would be no more subject to Italian propaganda than at the present time.

Briefly answering the inquiry you made of me, in my opinion there is no Fascist infiltration in Egypt worthy of serious consideration at this time, nevertheless the possibility that such infiltration may be attempted cannot be neglected. If it were, I assume there would be an immediate reaction in London.

The information above set forth I have obtained, since my return to Egypt, from our own Legation files and from my colleagues, including the British Ambassador and the French and

Turkish Ministers in Egypt, from members of the Government, important Egyptians, important foreigners, including the British, and from various other sources.

I am, dear President Roosevelt,

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,

Burt Fish

file

State Dept

Managua, D.M., Nicaragua, March 30, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

Quito, Ecuador!

I almost felt the altitude as I received the telegram of transfer--but I certainly appreciate yours and the Secretary's confidence in me, in sending me on a mission which affords as many delicate situations as this post promises.

Please accept my sincere thanks, and believe me

Ever faithfully yours,

Boaz Long
Boaz Long.

The President

The White House

Copy 1

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

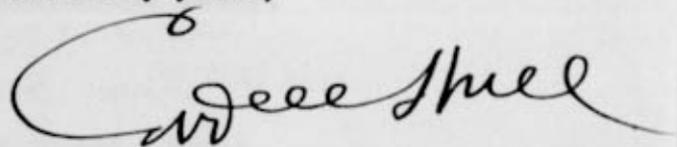
April 9, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of a note, dated March 22, 1938, from the Argentine Ambassador, transmitting twenty-two especially bound volumes containing the proceedings of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which convened at Buenos Aires in December, 1936, and forward herewith the volume dedicated to the President of the United States.

In acknowledging the receipt of this note, I have requested the Ambassador to express to his Government your appreciation, and that of the members of the American delegation for the courtesy of the Argentine Government in presenting these volumes.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

From Argentine Ambassador,
March 22, 1938, with
volume.

The President,
The White House.

COPY
IC:VW

D. E. N^o. 35-

The Argentine Ambassador presents his compliments to the Honorable, the Secretary of State, and under request from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has the honor to remit 22 volumes containing the stenographic versions of the sessions of the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace, of Buenos Aires, translated in English, especially bound, and intended to the Honorable Delegates who represented the United States at said Conference.

As may be noted one copy is dedicated to the President of the United States and one to the Secretary of State.

The others are for Messrs:

Sumner Welles,
Adolph A. Berle Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick
Michael Francis Doyle,

Mesdames:

Elise F. Musser,
Warren Delano Robbins,

Messieurs:

-2-

Messieurs:

Emilio del Toro Cuevas,
Samuel Guy Inman,
Herbert Feis,
Joseph R. Baker,
Edward L. Reed,
R. Henry Norweb,
George Milton,
Robert M. Carr,
Warren D. Kelohner,
Leroy D. Stinebower,
Howard Bucknell Jr.,
Cecil W. Gray,
Miss Marjorie M. Whiteman.

Washington, March 22, 1938.



P.F.
State Dept

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PR 811.415 Pan American Day/315

May 5, 1938

My dear Miss LeHand:

I am enclosing herewith for the information of the President, a copy of a despatch which has been received from the American Ambassador at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Ambassador states that he has been requested by the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs to express appreciation for the reference made to the Minister by the President, in a speech delivered on April 14.

Sincerely yours,

George D. Huntington
Chief of Protocol.

Enclosure:
From the Embassy,
Brazil, April 20, 1938.

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,
Private Secretary to the President,
The White House.

Department of State

OFFICE
DIVISION

PR

ENCLOSURE
TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

White House

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rio de Janeiro, April 20, 1938.

No. 527

Subject: Re President Roosevelt's speech of
April 14th.

ORIGINAL AND THREE COPIES BY AIRMAIL --- CONFIRMATION
COPY BY STEAMER

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Brazilian
Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned last night the
reference President Roosevelt made to him in his speech
on April 14th, and asked me to let the President know
how highly he appreciates the President's action and
what a great compliment he considers has been paid to
him. He said that President Vargas is also very appre-
ciative of President Roosevelt's kindness.

Respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON CAFFERY

close Sept

May 12, 1938.

Dear Bertie:-

I am glad to have yours of April twenty-second, which I find on my return from my week's trip at sea.

I am wondering if it would not be a fine idea if you and Olive could run over here about the middle of September, and you could then take the opportunity to write letters to newspapers -- perhaps a series of them -- which might be extraordinarily effective. You could do the whole thing in two or three weeks before returning to Lisbon. And with your view of things on the other side, letters by you would be even more effective.

My love to Olive. I know you must both be having a most interesting time.

As ever yours,

Honorable Herbert C. Pell,
American Legation,
Lisbon,
Portugal.

Lisbon, Portugal
April 22, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

I have very little to give you in the way of European news. The usual coquetting is going on here but I am quite sure that in the long run the Portuguese will find themselves obliged to hold to the English.

From all I can hear there is a good deal of underground opposition to the government which is being repressed with vigor when it appears. As a rule the vast majority of the people are totally uninterested in political affairs and though they would not take part in an insurrection they certainly would not exert themselves to defend the government.

I have been reading the American papers with great interest and I want to congratulate you on your stand in the reorganization question. I am extremely sorry that I do not see anything

I can do to help at the present time but if you want me I hope that you will not hesitate to send for me or to get me to write in defense of your program.

I am convinced that the permanence of private property in the United States depends on the success of your Administration. I remember years ago you told me that you wanted to be a "preaching President" and I would be only too happy to help in the frightfully hard job of inplanting a sense of responsibility among the leaders of business. Let me know if I can do anything for you. I am more wholeheartedly back of you today because of what you have done than I was in 1933 because of what I thought you would do.

Olive sends her best and I hope that when you write to your mother you will remember us to her.

Faithfully yours,

Herbert G. Pell
Herbert G. Pell

The President

The White House

Stall Dept
(12)

May 12, 1938.

My dear Frank:-

I am delighted to know of Harold
Nicolson's fine comment on Joe Kennedy.

From all I hear, you must be
having a most interesting situation in
Bucharest. I am just back from a week on
the water and I think things are a little,
but nevertheless definitely, better.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Franklin Mott Gunther,
American Legation,
Bucharest,
Rumania.

no. 7-

Bucharest, April 19, 1938.

Dear Mr. President:

Harold Nicolson, M. P., author of the biographies of Lord Carnock, Lord Curzon, Dwight Morrow and other well known books, who is here for a few days, dined with me last night and spoke in glowing terms of Ambassador Kennedy. He said they felt in England that "at last we really had an American Ambassador"; that they were sick to death of the old hands-across-the-sea stuff; and that Mr. Kennedy had hit the right note in saying privately at a small dinner recently that America and England were the two greatest commercial nations of the world and had every obvious, realistic interest in playing closely together. He also observed that the Pilgrim speech was fine and that the hole in one should let no hindrance to the success of his diplomatic career.

I thought you would like to know the above. When we do get an able representative outside of the Service, I think you will find that Service men are the first to be pleased and to give him all the credit. Our country should by now have outgrown the days of the checkbook patriot.

With highest regard,

Yours very respectfully,

The President,
The White House.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

May 31, 1938.

*Quezon
State Dept
1*

**Letter to President
From Cordell Hull**

Returns letter dated May 25, 1938 sent to Pres. by Woodring in which he enclosed copy of telegram from President Quezon in reply to President's Roosevelts' congratulatory message on the signing of the Report of the Joint Preparatory Comm. on Phillipine Affairs. Adds that he understands that copies of report are being printed for distribution when Pres. and Quezon decide to release report to public.

Quezon's telegram to Pres. is signed by McNutt--sent May 24, 1938.--attached
Pres. telegram to Quezon is signed by Burnett--attached.

SEE--Woodring folder-Drawer 1--1938