• PSF Peace - Subject File Box 175

Box 175

P:F: Peace

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF VISCOUNT HALIFAX AT THE
ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
JUNE 29, 1939

***Nations expand their wealth and raise the standard of living of their people by gaining the confidence of their neighbors and thus facilitating the flow of goods between them.

***Economically, the world is far too closely knit together for any one country to hope to profit itself at the expense of its neighbors, and no more than any other country can Germany hope to solve her economic problems in isolation.

It is undoubtedly impossible at present for us to foresee the day when all trade everywhere will be completely free. But it is possible to make arrangements, given the opportunities, which would greatly enlarge the area of freedom.

Through cooperation--and we, for our part, are ready to cooperate--there is ample scope for extending to all nations the opportunity of a larger economic life, with all that this means, which is implied in the term "lebensraum."

If the world were organized on such lines neither Germany nor Italy would need fear for her own safety and no nation could fail to profit from the immense material benefits which the general application of science has brought within universal reach. But no such society of nations can be built upon force, in a world which lives in fear of

violence

violence and has to spend its substance in preparing to resist it.

* * * * * * *

In one of your own studies, "The Colonial Problem", the type of research that enhances the name and the reputation of Chatham House [headquarters of Royal Institute of International Affairs], you have considered the question of whether colonies pay. You drew attention to the benefits of cheap imports which consumers of a country in possession of colonies obtain as a result of the relatively low cost of production of certain commodities in colonial territories.

But under an international system, under which the present barriers were, to a great extent abolished, those benefits, already shared as they are to considerable extent by many countries not in possession of colonies, would be shared still more widely. On all sides there could be more free and ready access to the markets and raw materials of the world; wider channels of trade down which would flow the goods that ~~natures~~ nations require to buy and sell. Such are some of the possibilities within everybody's reach.

* * * * * * *

Whatever may be the difficulties of the colonial problem, or of any other, I would not despair of finding ways of settlement once everybody has got the will to settle.

But

But unless all countries do in fact desire a settlement, discussions would only do more harm than good.

It is, moreover, impossible to negotiate with a government whose responsible spokesmen brand a friendly country as thieves and blackmailers, and indulge in daily monstrous slanders on British policy in all parts of the world. But if that spirit, which is clearly incompatible with any desire for a peaceful settlement, gave way to something different, His Majesty's Government would be ready to pool its best thought in order to end the present state of political and economic insecurity.

If we could get so far, what an immense stride the world would have made! We should have exorcised the anxiety that is cramping and arresting business expansion, and we should have brought back an atmosphere of confidence among nations and an assurance for the future among the youth of this and every other European country.

Our task would be the reconstruction of the international order on a broader and firmer foundation****.

* * * * * * *

***British policy rests on twin foundations of purpose. One is the determination to resist force. The other is our recognition of the world's desire to get on the constructive work of building peace. If we could once be satisfied that

the

the intentions of others were the same as our own and that we all really wanted peaceful solutions--then I say here definitely that we could discuss the problems that are today causing the world anxiety. In such a new atmosphere we could examine the colonial problem, questions of raw materials, trade barriers, the issue of "lebensraum", the limitation of armaments, and any other issue that affects the lives of all European citizens.

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Peace file 3

PSF: Peace

October 10, 1939

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union believe that it is essential that both our friends and enemies should know clearly what we are fighting for. Such knowledge will give to our own people as well as to our friends and allies the confidence that their efforts and sacrifices are asked for a definite and worthy object, and may prevent our enemies from thinking that they must continue to fight lest they should be utterly destroyed.

It is not less vital that neutral nations should be satisfied of the righteousness and moderation of our purpose.

For these and other reasons, the Allied Governments may at any time feel it desirable to declare our War Aims. In that event, it may help those who have to consider them to know what people of good-will think, who are profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause and believe that the war will have been fought in vain unless it leads to the establishment of a new order based on justice and good faith.

The following is an attempt to state the principles of such a settlement.

1. Our immediate object in going to war was to stop aggression. Therefore, we make as our first condition the restoration of the real political independence of the Polish and Czechoslovakian peoples. Any modification of boundaries could only be discussed after this object has been accomplished.

2. Next, we desire a lasting peace, based on justice and international good faith.

3. We believe that such a peace would not be secured by an attempt so to weaken Germany as to make her powerless again to disturb the peace of the world. A great and vigorous nation can be neither exterminated nor permanently disabled. Any attempt to do so would merely create the utmost bitterness without producing safety. The principle of equality of rights for all States must be accepted.

4. On the other hand, the national sovereignty of each State must be so limited as to secure the safety and well-being of the community of nations. We cannot acquiesce in a recrudescence of World Anarchy with its periodic wars disastrous both to belligerents and neutrals.

5. Some form of international organisation is therefore essential. That involves a limitation of National Sovereignty. How far that can be carried is a practical question which can only be solved at an International Conference.

At Paris in 1919, even with the immediate recollection of four years' desolating war, the nations were not pre-

pared to go further than the Covenant. Indeed, that was too far for the United States, and in truth only carried the partial assent of several other countries which in form accepted it. It may be that the nations or some of them would this time be prepared to go further. Such possibilities should be carefully studied.

6. The minimum limitation of national sovereignty to be of any use as a safeguard for peace must embody the following propositions:

   (i) The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations. A peaceful world order cannot be established if force is held to be the only thing that counts in international affairs and if any nation, powerful enough to do so, may set at defiance every principle of justice and even its own international engagements.

   (ii) All international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation must be submitted to some kind of third party judgment which may be either by way of judicial decision, arbitration or authoritative mediation.

   (iii) National armaments must be the subject of reduction and limitation by international agreement.

   (iv) The use of force must be restricted to action approved by the international authority. (It will, of course, be recollected that, under the Locarno Agreement, provision was made for self-defence in an emergency provided approval of the international authority was obtained.)

   (v) Each of the States Members of the international community must be ready to accept its fair share of responsibility for preventing and stopping aggression.

7. The reduction and limitation of national armaments also requires that an international authority shall have power

   (i) To supervise such reduction and limitation,

   (ii) To protect a State which has limited its armaments from a State which has not done so.

8. For this and other reasons an international authority is essential for any scheme of world order. Its form and powers may be the subject of further international discussion. In practice the international machinery of the League has not been inadequate where its Members have used it. In our judgment it should be taken as the basis of the new order, amended and strengthened where necessary.

9. Means must be provided for dealing pacifically with any international grievance, whether it is of a justiciable character or not. The powers of varying a treaty should be extended to any case where it seems fair and reasonable to do so. A claim for modification of territorial sovereignty should not be excluded from consideration merely on that ground.

10. The principle that Colonies inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves should be administered as a trust for the well-being and development of such peoples and should be open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, should be applied to all such Colonies whether their sovereignty was or was not affected by the World War of 1914.

11. Economic prosperity and social justice are not less important for world peace than political security. The international authority should establish agencies, acting in the interest of all peoples, to promote the freeing of international commerce with due regard for standards of labour and wages, to promote increased consumption and better distribution of the world's resources, and to deal with common economic problems such as post-war demobilisation. The international service in this direction rendered by the League and the I.L.O. should be extended.

12. The protection accorded by the Minorities Treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective. The persecution of the Jews has greatly increased the urgency of dealing with the problem.

THE NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE
and
THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

An American Peace Program

THE President of the United States in a nation-wide broadcast on September 3 made the following declarations: "I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurances that every effort of your government will be directed toward that end. . . . And it seems to me clear, even at the outbreak of this great war, that the influence of America should be consistent in seeking for humanity a final peace which will eliminate, as far as it is possible to do so, the continued use of force between nations."

The National Peace Conference believes these statements reflect the overwhelming desire of the American people. In identifying ourselves with the peace aims expressed by our President we are unanimously of the conviction that the United States must not be drawn into military conflict. No less important, however, is the task of organizing the world for peace and justice.

The United States in its effort to keep out of war should continue to use its good offices looking toward conciliation or mediation of the war now in progress. The door to a peaceful settlement of international controversies and hostilities should never be closed. We accordingly recommend that the United States initiate continuous conference of neutral nations to procure a just peace.

The events of these recent days have only strengthened our conviction that the way to permanent world justice and peace lies in the creation of a world community to be participated in by all governments on a basis of absolute equality. The United States can best serve the cause of peace by indicating its willingness to cooperate with other nations in the establishment of a genuine world government. We should give all possible aid to reconstituting at the earliest possible moment the world's peace machinery. The immediate causes of the present conflict, whatever they may be, are not unrelated to the anarchy hitherto prevailing in the relations of nations, a situation for which the United States must accept its full share of responsibility. Let this country at the earliest possible moment associate itself with other nations in the development of a world organization, the primary functions of which would be the adjustment and settlement of international disputes and the achievement of a stable world order secure from war and the threat of war. Let

us resolve that the peace which follows the present conflict shall not sow the seeds of future conflicts.

Meanwhile emphasis should be given to the President's appeal that American citizens refrain from exploiting the present crisis for private gain. Appropriate measures designed to prevent such exploitation should be adopted. History demonstrates the fact that swollen profits derived from the traffic in the essentials of war undermine public morality and render ineffective the desire of a people to remain at peace.

If the United States is to be kept out of war, the subtle appeal of propaganda will have to be resisted. It has often been said and will be said again and again that American participation in a general European conflict is inevitable. This is not true. The resources of our organizations should be employed to the full in disproving the false contention that if Europe fights, the United States must also fight. We must recognize and analyze propaganda to prevent warped judgments and unjust animosities. We must set ourselves to the task of developing among our people the will to peace.

There must be no relaxation of our efforts to strengthen the institutions of American democracy and to preserve intact the liberties vouchsafed to our people in the Constitution. The contribution to be made by the United States in the furtherance of peace is determined in part by the stability of our domestic economy. Efforts to achieve social and economic justice within our own borders must be continued. Attempts to stir up animosity among the racial and religious groups which comprise our population must be discouraged. Care must also be exercised that the people of the United States be not divided into opposing ideological camps where use is made of the weapons of abuse and recrimination. Racial and religious persecution, always to be deplored, is at this moment doubly offensive and if persisted in will engender attitudes of ill will which in turn can only weaken the purpose of our people to keep the peace. If we are to keep out of war, civil liberties must be guarded and the right of free speech vigorously defended.

The peace movement is not defeated. More people hate war today than at any time in the past. This is true even among the peoples of nations now at war. More people are thinking about the problems of peace and the task of world organization than at any other period of history. It remains for the peace forces of this and other countries to organize and make politically effective this universal hatred of war and to embody in a world community mankind's long quest for justice, law and order.

NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE
8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

PSF: Peace

AN AMERICAN PEACE PROGRAM

"Six Points"

The National Peace Conference, recognizing the imperative necessity of a clearly defined program in the face of the world crisis, has adopted the following six point program to be recommended to its thirty-nine national member organizations and thirty-two community peace councils as the basis for immediate education and action:

1. Keep the United States out of war.
2. Initiate continuous conference of neutral nations to procure a just peace.
3. Work for permanent world government as the basis of peace and security.
4. Prevent exploitation of war for private gain.
5. Recognize and analyze propaganda to prevent warped judgments and unjust animosities.
6. Strengthen American democracy through solving pressing domestic problems and vigorously safeguarding civil liberties.

Such education and action will implement the words of President Roosevelt when, in his nation-wide broadcast of September 3, he declared, "I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurances that every effort of your government will be directed toward that end." And further, "And it seems to me clear, even at the outbreak of this great war, that the influence of America should be consistent in seeking for humanity a final peace which will eliminate, as far as it is possible to do so, the continued use of force between nations."

The National Peace Conference serves a three-fold purpose: (1) as a council board at which its members express their views on American foreign policy and formulate and clarify policies and issues: (2) as a clearing house to receive, record, and publicize views of its affiliated organizations to the public and the government; (3) as a publisher and program servicing agency to provide its member organizations and the general public with objective, non-partisan information on world events, programs, policies, educational methods and procedures, and organizational techniques.

Members of the National Peace Conference

American Association of University Women
American Friends Service Committee
American Unitarian Association
American Youth Congress
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Catholic Association for International Peace (consultative)
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Church Peace Union
Committee on Militarism in Education
Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches
Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches
Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church (consultative)
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Foreign Missions Conference
Foreign Policy Association (consultative)
Friends' General Conference
General Conference Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Episcopal Church
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Institute of International Education
International Society of Christian Endeavor
League of Nations Association
National Board of the Y. W. C. A.
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War
National Committee of Church Women
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council for Prevention of War
National Council of the Y. M. C. A.
National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary, Episcopal Church
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Student Federation
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
United Student Peace Committee

United Synagogue of America
War Resisters League
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's League of the United Synagogue of America
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches
World Peaceways

Ames, Iowa, Peace Council
Boston, Massachusetts, Peace Council
Brooklyn, New York, Peace Council
Camden County, New Jersey, Council on International Relations
Chicago, Illinois, Peace Council
Cincinnati, Ohio, Peace League
Cleveland, Ohio, Peace Committee
Connecticut Peace Conference
Denver, Colorado, Peace Council
Des Moines, Iowa, Peace Council
Franklin County, Ohio, Peace Action Council
Greenville, North Carolina, Peace Council
Houston, Texas, International Relations Council
Jackson County, Michigan, Peace Council
Kansas City, Missouri, World Peace Council
Lincoln, Nebraska, Peace Council
Los Angeles, California, Peace Council
Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, Peace Council
Maryland Peace Conference
Missoula, Montana, Peace Council
Olean, New York, Peace Council
Palo Alto, California, Peace Council
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Peace Council
Plainfield, New Jersey, Council for World Friendship
Rhode Island Council for Peace Action
Ridgewood, New Jersey, Council for Furtherance of International Understanding
Rochester, New York, Peace Council
Rockland County, New York, Peace Association
Saint Paul, Minnesota, Council for Peace Education
San Francisco, California, Peace Council
San Mateo, California, Peace Council
Seattle, Washington, Peace Council
South Bay, California, Peace Council

PSF: Peace 11/8/39

The peoples of the world are crying for peace. These cries will become louder and will force peace.

Peace must be on the basis that all the people of the world can get back to work - Germans, Russians, Japanese, Englishmen, Americans, South Americans - all the peoples of the world.

Getting back to work carries with it a declaration and a new Bill of Rights that must be the basis of and be embodied in any future international law. A new peace must contain the charter of all peoples' liberties and it must be written into all constitutions. The liberty of the person carries with it the right to find his own peace with God in his own way. There must not be an enforced prostration of one human being before another.

Each nation is trying to carry out these ideas within its own territory, each in its own way, but without consideration of the rights of other peoples in other countries. We must find a common formula.

It was these thoughts better expressed by you, Wells, Dorothy Thompson and others that drove me in my own way to the suggestions I made regarding the United States of Africa. If you remember, I suggested there should be written a new charter of human liberty and human rights, and the relationship of the state to the individual and that of the individual to the state. There under this new charter of liberty would be established another life where man can be as free as it is possible, and where man can conquer through hygiene, engineering and intelligent practical planning the natural difficulties in climate and environment.

Many bodies of men and women are seeking to find a basis for peace. All the peoples of the world want an opportunity to get an outlet for such work as they want and are willing to do. There will have to be a revamping if not of lands, then of access to lands, not by nations but by individuals.

To accomplish any such end as we have in view, nations must not say that they wish to hold land exclusively for their own people. A peace must be one with opportunity for the individual in every nation. What will each nation contribute?

In order to accomplish something to implement these ideas, I suggest that there be coordination between the many bodies of scholars who are studying and the practical men who had experience with the making of the treaties of peace since the beginning of the world war. Such a study should have as its basis the above ideas - an opportunity for the individual to develop and retain as much of his personal liberty as is consistent with living in a largely populated state. But unquestionably he must have rights of his person and his property, and the right to worship, and his self-respect. Those are rights and privileges which rise above charity and even above humane consideration.

We should find people who will undertake this work and give it all their time.

PSF: Bruce

Talk to F.A.P. about this and thing from my — Gardner Jackson

Thirteen Ways of Producing more Food

1

More Farm Machinery

Food Is one of the major weapons of the Axis. Through the bribe of food they get men in the conquored countries to serve in their armies and ~~xxxxxxx~~ work in their factoties. Their great incentive to increase productio n in their war industries is to promise more food.

Fo od is the greatest incentive to cooperation that we can offer. The President has pro mised relief to the countries we occupy, which may soon bring to our dinner table fifty million Italians and Greeks, who are now living on the eqivilent of one small meal a day. The largest crop we can possibly raise will fall far below the need.

While the subm arine menace remains as it is we can not transport a large army to Europe or many of the tanks and can on we are building. These tanks and guns wil be of little use after the war; but the emergency demand for food will not decrease for several years and with dehydration and the decreased cost of shipping, we may retain much of this market per anently.

The American farmer with tractor, gang plow and combine can raise 1000 acres of wheat on shorter hours than 100 European peasants would use in raising the same crop. The success of the food program, which is l argely a military problem also depends to no small extent on our having adequate farm machinery, whic formerly did not have and need not now have rubber tires. It should have a priority over tanks and artillery and be at least 150 % of the 1940 sales.

2.

~~Noxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ H me Gardens

There should be a w ronuous effort to have every home with an adequate amount of suitable ground to keep a garden, to be kept by the women and children, if the men are working too long hours. The effort will not need to be so uch in getting started, but to see that they are not later neglected.

3

School Gardens

There are thousands of school gardens in America. In general these are not well cared for; but under a patriotic motive they might be induced to raise larger gardens and take better care of them. The consolidated rural schools often have large gardens; but there are several one room rural schools in this area that are maintained by Henry Ford. These all have large well kept gardens.

The Office of Education and the F.E.A could undoubtedly stimulate this activity greatly.

4

Municipal Gardens

Nearly all of our larger cities now have playground or recreation departments. Many of which have or might have a garden division, some of them with a special garden supervisor.

Most cities have some undeveloped land under the park department that is well suited for gardens

In many cases there are considerable areas of land in the outer edge of the city that would be offered to the city for gardens if the matter were presented to the owners as a war measure.

It is hoped in this state that each municipality may be moved to have a municipal truck garden under the supervison of the State College and that Henry Ford may cooperate.

Taken as a whole this would undoubtedly offer to the country hundreds of thousands of acres of land that might produce vast amounts of food.

This group could be reached through the Mayors, Kiwanis, Rotary, Chambers of Commerce and garden clubs.

5

Industrial Gardens

Many industries have large tracts of land, that is being held for future development or increase in value, which might be turned over to their employees for gardens.

Henry Ford has provided gardens for his menfor the last thirty years. He plows

and harrows the ground,marks it off in separate plots and offers it to his employees free These plots have often been neglected,but with a food emergency looming,they would doubtless be better cared for.

The big insutrialists could doubtless be reached through the National Department of Commerce and the city chambers.

6

School Gardens for Porto Rico and Hawaia

The people of Porto Rico are near starvation and we do not have the transportation to give them much relief.They have never raised their own food;but have devoted themselves to raising sugar,tobacco and coffee,while their chief food,beans (habituales) has been shipped in.For forty years the department of education has been working for school gardens and home gardens but with very moderate success;But after their experience this year,they should jump at a chance if they can be furnished the seed.

Much the same situation prevails in Hawaia,though there has not been the same suffering.

7.

Gardens at the Japanese Resettlement Camps

These camps are all located on public lands,largely in the desert and off the railroad;but most of the tracts are capable of irrigation at no great expense.They represent some 113,000 people two thirds of whom are American citizens,90 % of whom are probably loyal,and none of whom have been proven disloyal.Inasmuch as no German or Italian aliens have ever been interned without a trial,this does not look so good to the other people of Asiatic origin.It is going to be a stumbling block in the peace treaty.

More than half these Japs come from the Los Angeles area ,where they had a dominant control of the truck gardening.They are among the most successful gardeners in America.If the government would put a dehydrating plant at each of these twelve camps and promise the immates that the government would buy their product at the same price that it pays to others,it would at the same time,provide an enormous amount of food, eliminate the expense of the camps,and put us in a much more favorable light at the peace table.England pays the aliens working in her war industries the same as she does her own citizens.The wage set for our Japanese

citizens was originally 4½ cents an hour, which has since be n raised to 9 cents an hour

8

Potatoes from Erie

We speak of Irish Poato es and the Potatoe Famine in Ireland. Though I do not have the statistics, I judge that potatoes are their chief crop. Potatoes are very productive and may yield asmuch as four or five hundred bushels to the acre, enough for a dozen families. I suggest that the president send a special ~~m~~ delegate to DeValera to ask him to increase his acreage in potatoes, dehydrate them, and put them aside to relieve the famine in Europe after the war.

9

Beef and Mutton from the Argentine

Agentine should be urged to lay aside a store of dehydrated beef and mutton for the post war emergency.

10

More Fishing

The food shortage could probably be more easily relieved through more fishing than in any other way.

The Fisheries Research Institute assures me that nearl y all fishare edible while we would not choose whales and or sharkes for the banquet table they are still perfectly good food. Undoubtedly the hungry peoples of Europe would be glad to eat as much of them as we could can. In the case of the sharks the thinning the population would be good, and the fins and liver would yield a good profit in themselves. The army has recently arranged to take the entire smelt catch of the great lakes

11

More workers

In Euro pe most of the farm work is being done by the women, the children, by soldiers on furlough and by foreign labor. We can do the same and we might declare city holidays at crucial times for city people to help.

12

Public dehydrating, quick freezing or juice extracting plants in certain areas.

Henry S. Curtis Ph.D.
1100 Hill St. Ann Arbor, Mich.

d
Garens behind the Lines

So far as possible the garden vegetables needed by our armies and the native populatio ns should be raised close behind the lines to save transportation and loss fro m submarines. A small army of expert gardeners to organize this department and supervise the efforts of native pop ulations should be a part of the army organization. The seeds would have to be furnished. Many o f the gardeners might well be Japanese .

Henry S. Curtis

HOTEL Statler WASHINGTON D. C.

PSF: Peace File

A WORLD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM TO PREPARE FOR A WORLD COMMONWEALTH

THE NAZI TEACHING

Deutschland ueber alles. Germany has always been right and always victorious We are a herrnn volk. All other peoples are inferior. The law of life is the law of the jungle, the survival of the strong, the elimination of the weak. To show pity or consideration of the inferior is weakness. The only life worthy of a German is the life of a soldier. The only glorious death is todie on the field of battle, fighting for the Fatherland.

This teaching leads inevitably to cruel and remoreless war in the ideals of the Gestapo. The only cure, so far as Germany and Japan are concerned is a drastic reorganization of their school curriculum from the kindergarten through the university, under the supervision of the Federated Nations.

A WORLD PROGRAM TO CREATE OUT OF THE SEVENTY ODD NATIONS A WORLD STATE AND PERMANENT PEACEMUST HAVE EXACTLY OPPOSITE IDEALS AND CONTENT SUCH AS:

There is no herrenvolk. Civilization has outgrown the narrow bounds of nationalism. We are moving toward a commonwealth of mankind, where hatreds must be forgotten. History must emphasize friendly and helpful attitudes. The law of the jungle has been superceded by the moral law. Modern war is not a glorious combat between heroes with sword and spear, but rather a sordid battle between peoples that knows no law, whose weapons are pestilence and famine, whose methods are murder and robbery, and whose chief victims are women and children, schools and hospitals. In a few hours it may destroy the creative work of centuries and reduce the standard of living for decades. It is a ghastly relic from an age of barbarism.

The world state must work toward a common understanding, through the radio, the movie, the telephone and the telegraph, the press and the public platform, through easier communication and acquaintence, through international highways, railroads and air lines, through easier passage from country to country, through dropping the restri

Hotels in Boston Buffalo Chicago Detroit St. Louis New York Hotel Pennsylvania Pittsburgh Hotel William Penn

HOTEL Statler WASHINGTON D.C.

tions to trade and ultimately through a common language or the simplification of existing languages.

It must seek to reduce the hatreds and conflicts, that grow out of differences of religion.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND PEACE

Suggest that each of the independent allied nations, including Turkey and Spanish America be asked by the President of the United States to send a VERY SMALL group of its educational, political and allied statesmen, WITH A WORLD POINT OF VIEW to a conference in Washington in the hope that out of such a conference would come :

1. An outline or prospectus of a world school program that would train the youth of the world toward peace and friendship.
2. The compositon of an educational clause for the peace treaty.
3. The setting up in Washington at once of a temporary world office to prepare for the conference, and gather together the data on which many national organizations have been working as a nucleus for a World Department of Education.
4. The broadcasting the conclusions of the conference through the radio, the press and the public platform.
5. Before adjourning, the conference might plan for a much larger conference in which every country would be represented or for a series of national conferences.

FOUR STEPS IN CREATING A WORLD SCHOOL SYSTEM

1. The circulation and discussion of the report of the international conference in every country with national conference where possible.
2. The organization of a World Department of Education, to be mostly advisory, but with some supervision over the schools of Germany, Italy and Japan.
3. The introduction of courses into the universities and noraml schools with the rewriting of the text books.
4. The introduction of the revised material into the schools of all countries.

Henry S. Curtis
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Hotels in Boston · Buffalo · Cleveland · Detroit · St. Louis · New York, Hotel Pennsylvania · Pittsburgh, Hotel William Penn

PSF: see file

THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF EAST PRUSSIA

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INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSIONS

For centuries the present Prussian province of East Prussia has been inhabited by an ethnically mixed population. German, Baltic and Slavic peoples have been living side by side. The importance and the fate of the non-German minorities in East Prussia will be described in this study.

The word "statistical" signifies a twofold limitation of the subject. First, the study has to be confined to the facts which are statistically computed, namely, to the languages spoken. Secondly, the analysis has to be confined to the period for which accurate and comparable statistics exist. Therefore only the census years from 1890 onwards can be brought into focus. Earlier figures are given as less reliable supplements.

This study of the East Prussian population according to the language spoken excludes historical and ethnological considerations. But the analysis cannot ignore the political background. Any statistics concerning a minority for which an "irridenta" movement in a neighboring country is fostered, have a political character. Thus, the existence of a Slavic group (Poles and Masurians) in East Prussia provoked a bitter discussion between German and Polish writers, even after the territorial settlement provided by the Treaty of Versailles. Polish authors attacked the official Prussian statistics as falsifications, which only disclosed one thing: namely, a ruthless Germanization of the

Slavs. The German opponents answered that these minorities were historically attached to the German civilization and loyal to the Prussian state. Moreover, they rejected Polish statistics as fantastic exaggerations.

To play the arbitor in this delicate case is very difficult, however not impossible, insofar as the underlying statistics are concerned. For, we can sift the chaff of unsupported political assertions from the wheat of objective facts. Whether the face value of the Prussian statistics corresponds to their real value can be shown very conclusively.

The political atmosphere, however, in which these statistically computed facts are rooted cannot easily be detected. The writer has no inside knowledge of the relations between the Germans and the linguistic minorities in East Prussia. Nor did he have the time to study political documents and speeches, pamphlets and newspapers which would reveal the political atmosphere. On the other hand, the author believes that his experience with the linguistic situation in Switzerland was of some help in the understanding of the special feature of these problems.

The writer is ready to carry on supplementary investigations in any directions connected with this study. However, he is convinced that this extension would not change the following conclusions, based as they are on the critical examination and the politixal interpretation of the official Prussian statistics.

CONCLUSIONS

This critical study reveals that the official statistics of languages spoken in East Prussia justify skepticism with regard to their reliability. The statistical divisions of Masurian and of Polish speaking people and of the bi-linguals are inconsistent. The total number of the Slavic language population seems to be understated.

There is evidence of political motives having influenced at least the proportion of Masurians in the total. From the particular attitude of the German nation and of the ruling class in East Prussia towards the Slavs it may be concluded that the census generally was prejudiced in favor of the German language.

However, there is reason to believe that the Masurian speaking group are Prussian by national feeling and civilization. The eclipse of the Masurian dialect since 1910 may have been exaggerated by the Prussian statistics. Nevertheless, it may reflect a genuine and natural assimilation.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS and STATISTICAL SOURCES

By the last census of the German Republic, June 16, 1925, the Prussian Province of East Prussia covered a territory of 14,200 square miles and had 2,256,000 inhabitants. The province was divided into the four regencies (Regierungsbezirke), namely, Koenigsberg, Gumbinnen, Allenstein and Westpreussen.

The administrative division changed many times during the previous decades. Until 1905 East Prussia was divided into the two regencies of Koenigsberg and Gumbinnen. The regency of Allenstein, cut off in the latter year from the other regencies, concentrates nearly all the Slavic inhabitants of East Prussia. The Treaty of Versailles brought the last change. On the one hand territories belonging to the regency of Koenigsberg and Gumbinnen were ceded in order to form the new Memel-Land, and a small part of Allenstein was incorporated in the Polish Republic. On the other hand, remaining districts of the former province of West Prussia were combined with East Prussia under the designation of regency of West Prussia.

These remarks are necessary, because they show that the comparison of the various census figures is affected by such territorial changes.

Statistical estimates of the population of East Prussia according to language divisions exist for the years 1816 and 1831. More reliable figures were provided by the Prussian census of 1858, 1861, 1864 and 1867.(1)

(1) Criticisms of these earlier census results are compiled by A. von Firks: Die preussische Bevölkerung nach ihrer Muttersprache und Abstammung, (Zeitschrift des Preussischen Statistischen Amtes 1893, page 190)

The systematic enumeration according to languages, however, based on modern statistical techniques, was inaugurated in 1890. In this year the following classification of language groups replaced the former division into German, Slavic (Polish, Masurian and Kashubian) and Lithuanian language:

German
Polish
Masurian
Kashubian
Lithuanian
Polish and German
Masurian and German
Kashubian and German
Lithuanian and German

Masurian has always been recognized by German authorities and linguistic scholars as a Polish dialect. It is exclusively a spoken language mixed with German and Lithuanian idioms. The seperate compilation of this dialect and its exclusion from the Polish language has been criticized by Poles as a political manoeuvre. But the fact itself that this question appeared on the statistical forms need not necessarily have had any political purpose. The questionnaire of 1890 presents a whole bouquet of languages or dialects.(1) Since 1910, however, the only language especially mentioned in the census instructions is the Masurian language. These instructions declare strictly: "Masurian is to be designated as Masurian and not as Polish."

In Appendix 15 the text of the census instructions concerning the mother tongue is fully copied. The definition given by the German Statistical Office is in principle the same as the formulation of the American census:(2) Language in which one habitually thinks and speaks at home.

(1) 9. Muttersprache ob deutsch, holländisch, friesisch, dänisch, wallonisch, polnisch, masurisch, kassubisch, wendisch, mährisch, tschechisch, littauisch oder ---
(Zutreffendes ist zu unterstreichen)

(2) 15th Census 1930, Vol. 2, page 341.

The census of 1900, 1905, 1910 and 1925 repeated the same pattern. But the census of 1933 reduced the statistical presentation of non-German languages to a few figures for selected regions. For all census years from 1890 to 1925 data are available according to regencies and districts.(1)

Besides the census results the statistics of children attending public schools form an essential instrument of research. These compilations, existing for 1881, 1891, 1895, 1901 and 1911, give since 1901 the same classification of languages in East Prussia as the census.

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(1) The "Gemeindelexikon" of some census years gives even figures for communes (gemeinden).

CENSUS RESULTS

Disregarding the mentioned territorial changes we can give the following survey of the composition of the East Prussian population according to languages spoken in 1910 and 1925.(1)

See table 1 below. (next page)

The gist of this table can be summarized in the following way:

1. The non-German population of East Prussia decreased from 18% to 5% of the total during 15 years.
2. The Lithuanian minority nearly disappeared, mainly on account of the territorial cessations.
3. The Masurians and Poles were concentrated in the district of Allenstein.

These statements are based on the inclusion of the bi-linguals in the respective minorities. This procedure does not involve any political bias and conforms better to the reality than any other method of attribution. As a matter of fact, under the special circumstances in this province, the bi-linguals correspond to a transitional group formed at the expense of the minorities and dissolving in favor of the German language group.

Geographers of the eighteenth century tell us that Poles were living in the southern part of the province and Lithuanians in northeastern frontier districts. This was still true for the period covered by the statistics.

(1) The population of the territories ceded was as follows in 1910:

	Total	Germans	Non-German bi-linguals
To Memel-Land			
From Koenigsberg	61,972	32,885	28,941
From Gumbinnen	19,266	38,896	40,351
To Poland			
From Allenstein	24,787	9,232	15,218

TABLE 1

Population of East Prussia, according to language spoken (in thousands) 1910, 1925 (1)

Regencies / Years	German	Polish Masurien	German-Polish or Masurian	Lithuanian	German Lithuanian	Total Population
Koenigsberg						
1910	875	3	1	32	2	914
1925	907	1	1.5	.6	.6	912
Gumbinnen						
1910	531	12	2	58	3	607
1925	530	2	2.6	2	1	540
Allenstein						
1910	274	248	19	0	0	543
1925	444	54	40	0	0.4	540
Westpreussen						
1910	-	-	-	-	-	--
1925	252	6	6	0	0	264
East Prussia						
1910	1680	263	22	90	5	2064
1925	2133	63	50	3	2	2256

(1) Sources: For 1910, Preussische Statistik, Heft 234 1. pages 56 ff. (Present Population). For 1925, Statistik des Deutschen Reichs Band 401, 1, pages 412 ff. (Population of usual residence).

(2) Other languages included.

The regency of Allenstein together with the district of Oletzko (Gumbinnen) form the home of the Masurians and Poles. The Masurians live in an area which always belonged to Prussia, although with Prussia herself for a time under Polish supremacy. But into their settlement are wedged the districts of Rossel and Allenstein (Olsztyn), the southern part of Warmja (Ermland) which was ruled by Poland from 1466 to 1772. In this territory High Polish (Hochpolnisch) has been dominant instead of Masurian. The whole region covers 4600 square miles, about one-third of East Prussia. Its population, 580,000 in 1925, included 88% of the East Prussian Slavic minorities. A second, much smaller region, accounting for 157,000 inhabitants, contains another 11%, exclusively Polish speaking people. The Lithuanians lived in a region with a total population of 253,000 in 1925.

The 10 districts of the regency of Allenstein together with the district of Oletzko form the central part of our study. We call this territory the "Masurian region."

(See table 2 on next page)

The figures above, taken from the tables in Appendix 4-7 show a steady decline of the Slavic languages in the Masurian region. In 1861 about 300,000 people or three-quarters of the population spoke this language; but, within fifty years the number dropped to 264,000 (1) and the share to less than a half of the total. This decrease, however, was insignificant compared to the sharp reduction since 1910. In 1925 the former linguistic majority accounted only for 17% and in 1933 for 9% of the total population. In the course of seventy years a compact linguistic population nearly disappeared.

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(1) Bi-linguals included.

TABLE 2

Population of the Masurian Region according to language spoken 1860...1890 to 1925.[1]

YEARS	Total Population[2]	German language	Slavic language	Masurian		Polish	
				only	and German	only	and German
1860[3]	410,000	110,006	300,000	--	--	--	--
1890	535,146	219,871	314,478	95,036	4,611	199,673	15,158
1900	535,484	245,644	288,950	124,973	7,509	142,054	14,414
1905	548,182	259,732	287,562	215,169	10,262	58,436	3695
1910	557,532	292,418	263,888	172,080	7,666	71,648	12,494
1925	580,484	481,168	97,429	41,375	23,913	13,932	18,209
1933[4]	587,100	531,145	55,212	15,689	24,103	5,389	10,031

(1) Districts included, see table 2 in the Appendix

(2) Other languages included (Kashubian is not spoken in this region)

(3) Estimate

(4) "Abstimmungsgebeit Allenstein," only German citizens. Statistik des Deutschen Reich Band 451, 4, pages 44,47.

The former German minority in the region increased its number by about five times. In the fifteen years 1910 to 1925 alone this growth amounted to 190,000, whereas the total population increased by 23,000.

The change was unequal for the various languages and combinations of languages.

From 1890 to 1905 the exclusively Masurian speaking population more than doubled, whereas the Polish group lost 70%. There is no doubt about the explanation of these changes. Masurians previously attributed to the Polish linguistic group were computed as Masurians by the later census.

The increase of the Masurians amounted to 120,000 and the decrease of the Poles to 141,000. It appears clearly that the Masurians did comply, but very slowly, to the question pertaining to their special language. The attempted separation of Polish and Masurian language groups was a statistical failure, whether the reason was its disagreement with the popular opinion, or political obstruction.

In this respect it has to be pointed out that in the period 1900 to 1905 alone the Masurian population increased by 92,000 while the Polish group decreased by 84,000. For the census of 1905 the district of Allenstein instructed the census agents to discriminate strictly between Masurian and Polish.(1) Strange enough, from 1905 to 1910 the Polish language gained ground; in contrast to the decrease of 43,000 shown by the other linguistic group. The general drop since 1910 hit the Polish population more than the Masurians.

The following percentages recapitulate the findings:

Percentage distribution of the population in the Masurian region:

Years	Poles, Masurians	Bi-linguals	Total
1890	55.0	3.6	58.6
1910	43.7	3.6	47.3
1925	9.5	7.2	16.7
1933	3.5	5.8	9.3

(1) See page 22 below.

As a matter of fact, the introduction of two mother tongues in the statistics of languages brings about an uncertain, arbitrary, and confusing element. Even in a linguistically mixed family one language mostly prevails as the natural and usual instrument of expression.

The Canadian statistics distinguish between French people knowing English and English Canadians knowing French. This corresponds to the item "der deutschen Sprache kundig" in the German statistics, an item which has never been used for the study of the linguistic problem in East Prussia. The American and the Swiss statistics can be managed without any compilation of bi-linguals. It is not surprising that Masurians and Poles speak German, which for generations has been the only language publicly taught and used in daily intercourse with the Germans. The number of bi-linguals, however, as shown by the statistics, was not important until 1925. The sharp decrease of Polish-German speaking people from 1900 to 1905 is not fully explained by the aforementioned statistical shift of languages. It amounted to 11,000, while the Masurian-German speaking population increased only by 2700. Moreover, the increase of the Polish-German group by 9000 from 1905 to 1910 contrasts to a decrease of the Masurian-Germans by 2600. But since then the latter linguistic combination gained ground and in 1933 it was more important than any other.*

The Polish Professor Eugeniusz Romer claims that "the bi-linguals constitute an exceptional phenomenon concentrated in a small number of communes".(1) We cannot check this statement. But the inconsistency of the changes from census to census is striking. So it is the fact that the same number of bi-linguals - 20,000 - was computed in 1890 and in 1910, although the total population of Slavic speech declined by 50,000. A shift to the bi-linguals as well as to the German linguistic group had to be expected to occur exactly as it did do from 1910 to 1925.

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(1) See book mentioned on page 20, page 177. *) Apart from Germans.

But it seems that gains of the bi-lingual group were offset by losses in favor of the German. In any case, neither the figures for the bi-linguals nor the discrimination between Masurian and Polish language gives a picture of a tangible reality.

The German Statistical Reichsamt explained the sharp decrease of Poles and Masurians between 1910 and 1925 by the emigration to the Ruhr and to Poland on the one hand and the natural assimilation on the other.[1] According to the general German opinion the "voluntary conversion to the German nationality"[2] is only the continuation of a steady process.

The mention of the migratory movement touches an important point. East Prussia, apart from the few larger cities, is known as a country constantly showing a considerable loss of population through emigration. The negative balance of migration of the Masurian region amounted to 337,473 during the years 1870 to 1933, a yearly average of more than 5000. The emigration is responsible for the small population increase.

During the years 1910 to 1925 the loss through emigration counterbalanced about two-thirds of the natural increase of the population. This is shown in the following figures taken from table 10 in the appendix.

Masurian region	In thousands	Per cent of population
Population 1910	558	100.0
Net Emigration	-53	-9.5
Natural Increase	76	13.7
Total Increase	23	4.2
Population 1925	581	104.2

No figures are available concerning the balance of migration, birth and death, for the German and Slavic population. A special enumeration in 1925 makes a net German immigration into the Masurian region very probable.[3]

(1) Wirtschaft und Statistik 1926, page 336. Statistik des deutschen Reiches Band 401, Teil II, page 639.
(2) Freiwilliger Anschluss an das Deutschtum
(3) See footnote on following page.

Consequently the net emigration on the Masurian and Polish speaking people must have been larger than 53,000. This negative balance of emigration exceeded the natural increase of the Slavic group which we estimate at about 35,000. Thus, the Slavic speaking population had been decreasing since 1910, without any assimilation. Perhaps it was decreasing even before this, but to a smaller degree. *

We can draw from these condiderations these conclusion that the assimilation of the Slavic population - "statistical" or real - was smaller than table 2 leads us to believe. To give an illustration for the years 1910 to 1925: The Masurians and Poles did not lose 165,000 in favor of the German linguistic group, but perhaps about 140,000 to 150,000.

The composition of the population according to language changed in each district in the same direction as in the whole region. Differences in the trend are set forth in the tables 4 - 7 of the Appendix and in the following survey:

Table 3
Slavic population in percentage of total (1)

	1831	1861	1890	1900	1910	1925
Ortelsburg	93	87	78	77	71	31
Johannisburg	92	82	79	75	68	21
Neidenburg	92	83	77	73	67	23
Lyck	88	79	67	58	51	12
Sensburg	90	75	63	58	51	15
Osterode	64	63	54	47	41	12
Lötzen	86	64	51	46	38	5
Oletzko	84	58	48	38	30	9
Rossel	16	21	16	15	14	6
Allenstein-town	84	74	23	15	11	4
Allenstein-country incl.	above		66	66	61	39

The non-German speaking population in the districts of Lotzen and Oletzko dropped sharply; but the Poles in Allenstein-country and

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(3) From p. 15.

Population	Masurian region
Total in 1925	580,000
Born since August 1, 1914	160,000
Living on August 1, 1914	420,000
In the same district	360,000
In other East Prussian districts	39,000
Elsewhere	21,000

See table on "Die Wohnbevolkerung der ostpreussischen Kreise bei der Volkszahlung von 1925 nach dem Wohnsitz bei Ausbruch des Weltkrieges. (Zeitschrift des Preussischen Statistischen Amtes, 69. Jahrgang 1930 page 225.

(1) Figures for 1831 and 1861 from L. Witschell: Die Ergebnisse der Sprachenzahlung von 1925 im sudlichen Ostpreussen. Koenigsberg 1926.

*) Wittschell, however, claims an increase. See spurce on p.25, p.37.

the Masurians in Ortelsburg maintained a remarkable proportion. The rapid change in the linguistic structure of the people in that area is shown also in the following break-down.

Number of districts with a Slavic population of

Years	Over 80%	60 to 80%	40 to 60%	20 to 40%	Below 20%
1831	8	1		1	1
1861	4	5		1	-
1890	-	6	3	1	1
1925	-	-	-	4	7

The statistics for the two other areas including a linguistically mixed population tell the same story as the figures for the Masurian region. In the secondary home of a noteworthy Slavic minority as well as in the only territory where Lithuanian is spoken, the minorities lost ground and the German minorities gained. This development is pictured in tables 8 and 9 of the Appendix, from which the following figures are selected.

	Region with Polish Minority (1)			Lithuanian Minority (2)		
Population	1890	1910	1925	1890	1910	1925
Total	147,291	159,172	169,762	245,848	255,194	258,098
Minority	24,624	23,775	12,385	43,821	22,943	4,614
In %	16.7	14.9	7.3	17.9	9.0	1.8

In the Slavic region there lived a few Masurians and in the Lithuanian territory some Poles (maximum 400 in 1910) . In both regions the share of the minorities fell short of the proportion they accounted for in the Masurian area. However, the district of Stuhm, the remotest from the Masurian region, concentrated two-thirds of the Polish-speaking people in the four districts combined. There, the linguistic minority reached a proportion of 42% in 1890 and as much as 25% in 1925.

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(1) Districts of Stuhm, Marienburg, Marienwerder, Rosenberg.

(2) Districts of Niederung, Pillkallen, Tilsit, Tilsit-Ragnitz, Labiau.

CENSUS AND STATISTICS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

The important Prussian Public School Statistics constitute a fundamental source of information concerning language spoken and especially serve as an instrument for checking the census results. Tables 11 to 13 in the Appendix show the official figures published for the Masurian region.(1)

School Children in the Masurian Region According to Language Spoken.....1891, 1901, 1911

Years	Children			Percentage of respective pop.				
	Total	German	Polish and Masurian	German	Masurian		Polish	
					Only	And German	Only	And German
1891	95,607	25,273	70,307	11.2	(1)	(1)	16.9	80.2
1901	110,017	29,102	80,870	11.1	30.4	145.0	14.7	45.6
1911	108,680	31,980	76,541	10.6	20.0	232.9	19.7	48.1

(1) Under Polish language

The essential figures of this table give the percentage of school children in the population of each linguistic group, according to the census of 1891, 1901, and 1911.

These ratios reveal that the attendance in public schools accounted for 11% for the German speaking population, for 15 to 20% for the Poles for 20 to 30% for the Masurians. Moreover 50 to 80% of the German-Polish speaking group consisted of school children

(1) Unfortunately the post-war statistics for 1921 and also for 1926 no longer give the language spoken.

The bi-linguals among the Masurian school children are by far more numerous than the Masurian-German speaking people in the total population. An examination of tables for the districts discloses the following ranges of the percentage figures:(1)

Language	1891	1901	1911
German	7.6 - 16.4	6.3 - 21.3	7.3 - 18.1
Masurian)		22.3 - 35.1	15.8 - 24.0
Polish)	12.3 - 19.4	2.2 - 20.3	7.5 - 10.6
Masurian-German)		90.8 -381.9	179.5 -483.5
Polish-German)	41.7 -185.2	29.4 - 74.7	13.3 - 84.4

As a matter of fact there is no necessity for an agreement between the composition of the children's group and the structure of the population. Neither the underlying definitions, nor the statistical subjects, nor the special circumstances are the same. We do not attach great importance to differences in the formal definitions, because their interpretation and use by the statistical agents are decisive. The census asked for the mother tongue, the school statistics asked for the "Familiensprache," the language usually spoken by the child in its family. It may be assumed that offspring of mixed marriages have automatically been considered as bi-linguals, perhaps at the expense of the German language group, as recorded by the census. Moreover, some teachers may have had an interest in exaggerating somewhat the number of non-Germans, in order to procure a good certificate of Germanization.(1) Furthermore there is no gainsay about the fact that the children of Slavic speaking parents were less familiar with the German language than the grownups.

Moreover, the Slavic speaking population must have a larger proportion of children than the German group on account of its higher matrimonial fertility and its reduction by emigration.

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(1) See Karl Keller: Die fremdsprachige Bevoelkerung im Freistaat Preussen, Zeitschrift des Preussischen Statistischen Landesamtes, Heft 66, page 151

Thus, we have to allow for a larger proportion of Masurian and Polish speaking school children than of German, in relation to their respective total population. Yet, the figures produced by the statistics are beyond all possible explanation. If we oppose the total Slavic group (Poles,Masurians,bi-linguals) to the Germans we obtain the following ratios:

Years	School children in % of respective population	
	Germans	Slavs
1891	11.2	22.3
1901	11.1	28.0
1911	10.6	29.0

These differences are highly improbable, and the increase of the proportion for the Slavic speaking group is particularly striking. The special ratios for the bi-linguals are paradoxical. As the official statistics of the school children could not have been greatly biased in favor of the Slavic and Masurian speaking population, the census must have been prejudiced in favor of the Germans.

The Polish investigators of the German statistics did not fail to observe this weakness of the Prussian statistics. Eugeniusz Romer devoted an entire book to the compilation, criticism, and the correction of the official data.(1) For the Masurian region he obtained a Slavic population of 344,000 or 64% in 1910 instead of 264,000 or 5o% according to the Prussian statistics. In Romer's total population figures the military persons are excluded and in his Slavic population figures the bi-linguals are included.

If we add the Slavic population in the regency of West Prussia, adjusted in the same way, we get a total Polish and Masurian population of about 375,000. This number is not far from the 400,000 which appeared in official Polish memorandums, supporting

(1) E. Romer: Polacy na Kresach Pomorskich i Pojeziernych (La Population polonaise dans les Pays limitrophes Baltiques Maritimes et Lacustres) Lwow 1919.

political claims, and generally in the Polish literature on this question.[1]

However, even Romer admits that his method of adjustment is based on somewhat arbitrary assumptions. As a matter of fact he used a simplified method of correlation (number of school children to each 1000 inhabitants, number of Slavic speaking to each 100 inhabitants) together with some not very clear adjusting coefficients. Although his subtle analysis bears testimony of a scientific and objective mind we cannot approve of his results. Nor can we refute them. The real number of Slavic speaking people in East Prussia is not a matter to be determined by mere mechanical calculus.[2]

We do not know what is the margin of error in the Prussian statistics of languages nor have we the slightest idea of its variation from census to census. Whether this error is constant, increasing or decreasing, cannot be ascertained. Changes in the interpretation of the definition of language groups may have contributed to the inconsistency of the results. All these factors cannot be discerned, especially because of the steady natural assimilation generally taking place under such conditions (see page 25).

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(1) See: Polish Commission of Work Preparatory to the Conference of Peace, East Prussia, Paris, April 1919, page 1.
George Kurnatowski, the Poles in Germany and the Germans in Poland, Warsaw 1927, page 17. La Prusse Orientale et le Probleme Germano-Slave Correspondant, Paris 1927, Tome 307, page 566.

(2) The German answer to Romer's criticism sets forth the following argument: German children are relatively less numerous in Public elementary schools because their higher social level enables them to attend higher schools than the non-German children of the same age. But it is doubtful whether this difference could play an important role in the rural Masurian region. In any case it would not explain the striking contrast shown above. (Laubert, book mentioned on page 26, pages 66/67. Statistische Korrespondenz, Preussisches Statistisches Landesamt, 1919.)

POLITICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PRUSSIAN STATISTICS

According to Polish critics political influences were responsible for the aforementioned statistical paradoxes and for understatement of the size of the Slavic speaking population in East Prussia. The German statistical authorities, however, have always been proud of their political independence and integrity.

Various examples of such political influence on the census of languages are reported in the writings of Polish authors and of their French partisans, e.g., appeal to allegiance to the German nation, degradation of the impure Masuriam dialect, filling in of the statistical questionnaires by the squires and the official census agents,[1] without actually questioning the population.

There is not the slightest possibility of proving these accusations or the German refutation. But we cannot help conceding that the disclosed discrepancies in the Prussian statistics give rise to mistrust. Moreover, we found some evidence that political factors were reflected in the census in the following official text.

"Zur Frage 8 teilt der Regierungspraesident von Allenstein mit, dass hinsichtlich der Unterscheidung zwischen 'masurisch' und 'polnisch' hie und da Bedenken aufgetaucht waren, ob die masurische Sprache als Muttersprache oder nur als ein Dialekt des Polnischen aufzufassen sei. Der letzteren <u>politisch bedenklichen</u> Auffassung sei er durch eine entsprechende Verfugung an die ihm unterstellten Landrate entgegengetreten."[2]

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(1) See: George Kurnatowski, The Poles in Germany and the Germans in Poland, Warsaw, 1927, pages 9 and 10. Eugeniusz Romer(mentioned on page 20) page 90.

(2) Preussische Statistik, 206 I (Census 1905) page XXVII. Underscored by the writer.

The German attitude towards their Slavic minorities and the special political "climate" in East Prussia give a further clue to the likelihood of a political angle in the statistics of languages. This political feature can be described best with the help of some remarks about the linguistic situation in Switzerland.

In Switzerland each of the four languages spoken represents an integral and equal part of the nation. Each canton or linguistic area has its official language which is taught in the schools. The Swiss speaking a different language from that of his surroundings keeps it as his mother tongue, but his children will probably be assimilated. As a matter of fact, the major languages yield more easily than the minor. Thousands emigrated from the canton of Berne into the sparsely populated upper valleys of Neuchatel during the 19th century, but their descendents all speak French today. Only their family names recall their origin. On the other hand the Italian and Romantsch Swiss living in Swiss-German sections cling to their language for generations.

The Swiss not only tolerates the other languages, he is interested in their idiom, songs, and customs. This general understanding is developed especially with regard to the minorities, the Italians and Romantsch.

In Germany the linguistic minorities enjoyed all political rights, but the Slavs were considered as a foreign element in the national body. With regard to them animosity and contempt cannot be denied, nor was there much interest in their"folklore." The Germans of all political creeds shared the political bias and backed the active policy of Germanization.

As the creation of the Teutonic Knights and the easternmost bastion of Germany, East Prussia always had a symbolic meaning to the average German. Since the victory of Tannenberg in 1914, the geographical separation from the Reich, and the existence of the new Polish state, that province became a kind of national sanctuary.

Above all, East Prussia is a German country - this watchword echoes through German books, articles and speeches dealing with East Prussia.

The Germans there are perhaps more nationalist than elsewhere, although hard and taciturn as they are, in an undemonstrative but obstinate way. A leading representative of the German nationalism was the landed nobleman (Rittergutsbesitzer). As the master of his tenants and workers and the advisor of the other inhabitants, he decided on political questions.(1) This feudal relation certainly was not lacking a mutual loyalty. The squire was assisted in his political efforts by the Prussian officials and the schoolmaster. Since the 1830's teaching in German had been expanding and in 1888 the Germanization of the schools was completed.

The discrepancies in the Prussian statistics, their surmised political bias, even the political pressure on the Slavic speaking peoples in East Prussia,- these factors ought not make us overlook an essential point.

A linguistic minority need not be equivalent to a particular national minority, different or even diverging from the major national group in the state. This is shown by the case of Switzerland. Italian imperialists in the guise of linguistic scholars (Group Tolomei) pretend that the language of Romantsch is an Italian dialect, in order to support political claims. The Germans did just the contrary in separating the Masurian language from the Polish. Linguistically this may be equally disputable. But it may be that there is some historical justification in the discrimination between Masurian and Polish.

(1) The political character of East Prussia is expressed by the following composition of the Provincial diet, according to the last election under the German Republic (November 17, 1929):

Into this parliament were elected 9 squires, 2 other noblemen and 8 other landowners. (Verhandlungen des 57 Provinziallandtags 1930, page XXI).

Party	Representatives
Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei	27
Sozialdemokratische Partei	23
Deutsche Volkspartei	8
Zentrum	7
Kommunistische Partei	7
Wirtschaftspartei	4
Nazionalsozialisten	7
Others	7
Total	87

The Germans always affirmed that the Masurians were tied up with the Prussian state by common history, daily demonstrated loyalty and Lutheran religion. The following text summarizes eloquently the German conception:

"Gewiss das Masurische ist bei einem Teil der Masuren noch als Familien - undUmgangssprache gebräuchlich, das Entscheidende aber, was aus der Statistik nicht hervorgeht, ist, dass es heute nicht mehr tausend Menschen in Masuren gibt, die nicht Deutsch verstehen und auch gelaufig sprechen konnen.--- Die meisten Kinder lernen bereits im Elternhaus so viel Deutsch, dass sie vom ersten Augenblick an dem Unterricht in der Schule folgen konnen. Das gemeinsame Erlebnis des letzten grossen Krieges, die gleichen Leiden, Gefahren un Interessen haben die Beziehungen der Masuren zum Deutschtum noch enger werden lassen. Schliesslich muss an das Werk des Wiederaufbaus der zerstörten Wirtschaften gedacht werden, das vom preussischen Staat durch-gefuhrt worden ist. Am 11. Juli 1920 wurden denn in Masuren 299,729 deutsche Stimmen und nur 1978 polnische Stimmen abgegeben." (1)

Even a Polish writer admitted that, "In the Masurian region there never existed a (Polish) patriotism. Although the Masurian knows that he speaks Polish -- one seldom hears from his own lips that he is a Pole. Rather he says that he is a Prussian." (2)

It is not impossible to imagine that the new generation grown up during the last war and the liberal Republic had foresaken the useless dialect. On page 16 we have estimated the number of Masurians assimilated during the period 1910 to 1925 to be about 150,000. This figure is not far from the number of the people under

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(1). See W. Geisler, Die Sprachen und Nationalitaetenverhaeltnisse an den Deutschen Ostgrenzen und ihre Darstellung (Petermans Mitteilungen, Ergaenzungsheft 217, 1933), page 31. Quotation according to L. Wittschell, Die Voelkischen Verhaeltnisse in Masurien und dem Suedlichen Ermland, Koenigsberg 1926.

(2). Unfortunately we could not take this text from the original source: Ketrynski, O Masurach, Posen 1872. We have quoted according to R. Neumann, Ostpreussen im Polnischen Schrifttum Ostland Schriften, Danzig 1931, page 50. This important compilation seems to be reliable.

twenty-five years old born in a family in which in 1910 Masurian was spoken.[1] Therefore, the shift from the Masurian to the German language group, as shown in the Prussian statistics, should not be taken to mean that a corresponding number of grownups who had declared themselves in 1910 as speaking Masurian, had been converted into Germans since then.

The only yardstick of political opinion is found in the statistics of votes, plebisites and elections, of which we give a survey in Appendix 14. These political manifestations, however, are ex definitione under political influences. Polish circles questioned these votes as representing the free will of the minorities; to the Germans they were a proof of loyalty.[2] Indeed, the most important vote which ever took place in the Masurian region (Abstimmungsgebiet Allenstein) was a German victory. On July 11, 1920, the people had to declare under a plebisite, according to Art. 94-96 of the Treaty of Versailles, whether they wished to remain subject to Germany or to enter the Polish state. The Polish case won only 7408 votes against 353,665 in favor of Germany. In the four districts of the regency of West Prussia the Polish votes amounted to 7947 against 97,057 German ones.[3]

This decision remains a fait accompli, whatever may be said against the circumstances underlying it. To rekindle the whole discussion about the Plebisite would necessitate a new statistical and political investigation without any conclusive value.

Julius V. Kyler

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(1) The 0-25 year old population in the Masurian region amounted to 282,000 in 1925.
(2) The votes of the "Masurische Vereinigung" were negligible.
(3) M. Laubert, Nationalitaet und Volkswille im preussischen Osten, 1925, pages 42/43.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Population of East Prussia according to language spoken, June 16,1925.[1]

Language spoken	Koenigsberg	Gumbinnen	Allenstein	Westpreussen	East Prussia
			GERMAN CITIZENS		
German	899,708	525,561	441,880	250,008	2,117,157
Polish	206	199	12,271	5,951	18,627
Polish and Ger.	151	781	17,385	5,895	24,812
Masurian	281	1326	40,023	105	41,735
Masurian and Ger.	282	1619	22,573	57	24,531
Lithuanian	555	1802	9	2	2368
Lithuanian and Ger.	540	1474	362	3	2379
Total[2]	902,919	533,093	535,439	262,157	2,233,608
			FOREIGNERS		
German	7245	4700	2209	1541	15,695
Polish	412	335	1559	401	2707
Polish and Ger.	478	308	410	222	1418
Masurian	-	24	139	-	163
Masurian and Ger.	2	4	78	-	84
Lithuanian	63	599	18	1	681
Lithuanian and Ger.	30	152	5	-	187
Total[2]	8960	6685	4828	2248	22,721
			TOTAL		
German	906,953	530,261	444,089	251,549	2,132,852
Polish	618	534	13,830	6352	21,334
Polish and German	1229	1089	17,795	6117	26,230
Masurian	281	1350	40,162	105	41,898
Masurian and Ger.	284	1623	22,651	57	24,615
Lithuanian	618	2401	27	3	3049
Lithuanian and Ger.	570	1626	367	3	2566
Total[2]	911,879	539,778	540,267	264,405	2,256,329.

(1) Source: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Band 4ol, 1, pp. 412 ff.

(2) Other languages included.

TABLES 2 and 3

Source for tables 2-9: Karl Keller, Die fremdsprachige Bevoelkerung im Freistaat Preussen (Zeitsscrift des preussischen Landesamtes, Heft 66)

Table 2

Population of the Masurian Region (1) according to districts

1890, 1900, 1910, 1925

Districts	1890	1900	1910	1925
Ortelsburg	70,315	68,345	69,627	71,064
Johannisburg	48,747	48,262	51,399	55,240
Neidenburg	34,470	33,391	35,367	38,588
Lyck	54,071	53,529	55,579	58,429
Sensburg	48,758	48,403	50,097	51,779
Osterode	68,917	71,193	73,936	76,606
Lötzen	41,793	40,452	41,209	45,817
Oletzko	41,134	39,123	38,850	40,107
Rössel	49,329	50,300	50,472	48,954
Allenstein-town	19,450	24,352	33,178	38,106
Allenstein-country	58,162	58,134	57,818	55,794
Masurian Region	535,146	535,484	557,532	580,484

Table 3

Population of other selected districts of East Prussia

1890, 1900, 1910, 1925

Districts	1890	1900	1910	1925
Stuhm	34,962	35,049	35,227	36,682
Marienburg	24,420	23,600	28,798	32,820
Marienwerder	38,820	39,407	40,490	41,615
Rosenberg	49,089	52,087	54,657	58,645
Total	147,291	150,143	159,172	169,762
Districts with Lithuanian minority	245,848	252,943	255,794	258,098

TABLE 4

(1)

Population of the Masurian region according to language spoken - 1890

DISTRICTS	German	Masurian		Polish	
		Only	and German	Only	and German
----------POPULATION----------					
Ortelsburg	15,411	19,303	431	32,259	2894
Johannisburg	10,323	17,640	757	18,616	1359
Neidenburg	8,010	7,745	37	17,972	703
Lyck	18,042	15,413	1114	17,880	1584
Sensburg	18,043	12,181	766	16,365	954
Osterode	31,668	2,698	137	31,993	2366
Lötzen	20,559	10,267	832	8,664	1372
Oletzko	21,341	9,714	522	8,437	1096
Rössel	41,536	15	4	7,377	384
Allenstein-town	14,936	29	5	3,298	1156
Allenstein-country.	20,002	31	6	36,812	1290
Masurian Region	219,871	95,036	4611	199,673	15,158
------PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION--------					
Ortelsburg	21.9	27.5	0.6	45.9	4.1
Johannisburg	21.2	36.2	1.6	38.2	2.8
Neidenburg	23.2	22.5	0.1	52.1	2.0
Lyck	33.4	28.5	2.1	33.1	2.9
Sensburg	37.0	24.9	1.6	33.6	1.9
Osterode	45.9	3.9	0.2	46.4	3.4
Lötzen	49.2	24.6	1.9	20.7	3.3
Oletzko	51.9	23.6	1.3	20.5	2.7
Rössel	84.2	0.0	0.0	15.0	0.8
Allenstein-town	76.8	0.2	0.0	16.9	5.9
Allenstein-country	34.4	o.1	0.0	63.3	2.2
Masurian Region	41.1	17.7	0.9	37.3	2.8

(1) Source, see Table 2.

TABLE 5

Population of the Masurian region according to language spoken - 1900 (1)

DISTRICTS	German	Masurian		Polish	
		Only	and German	Only	and German
----------POPULATION----------					
Ortelsburg	15,572	29,652	554	21,265	1119
Johannisburg	12,161	23,868	900	10,058	1233
Neidenburg	8,855	12,778	98	10,948	707
Lyck	22,198	18,737	1454	9,719	1390
Sensburg	20,447	14,659	1403	9,784	1607
Osterode	37,401	7,801	454	23,183	2336
Lötzen	21,734	9,844	1750	5,589	1486
Oletzko	24,182	7,561	820	5,639	920
Rössel	42,484	19	---	7,051	744
Allenstein-town	20,681	45	73	2,435	1078
Allenstein-country	19,929	9	3	36,383	1794
Masurian Region	245,644	124,973	7509	142,054	14,414
--------PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION------					
Ortelsburg	22.8	43.4	0.8	31.1	1.6
Johannsiburg	25.2	49.5	1.9	20.8	2.5
Neidenburg	26.5	38.3	0.3	32.8	2.1
Lyck	41.5	35.0	2.7	18.1	2.6
Sensburg	42.2	30.3	2.9	20.2	3.3
Osterode	52.5	10.9	0.6	32.6	3.3
Lötzen	53.7	24.3	4.3	13.8	3.7
Oletzko	61.8	19.3	2.1	14.4	2.3
Rössel	84.5	0.0	---	14.0	1.5
Allenstein-town	84.9	0.2	o.3	10.0	4.4
Allenstein-country	34:3	0.0	0.0	62.6	3.1
Masurian Region	45.8	23.3	1.4	26.5	2.7

(1) Source, see Table 2.

TABLE 6

Population of the Masurian region according to language spoken-1910 (1)

DISTRICTS	German	Masurian		Polish	
		only	and German	only	and German
----------POPULATION----------					
Ortelsburg	20,210	43,513	1333	3390	1130
Johannisburg	16,379	29,141	623	4203	997
Neidenburg	11,765	16,257	669	5562	1059
Lyck	27,138	12,407	969	6348	1621
Sensburg	24,496	19,031	1337	3499	974
Osterode	43,386	26,454	1138	1741	1163
Lötzen	26,352	11,412	1155	1595	647
Oletzko	27,334	6198	406	3783	1117
Rössel	43,189	48	12	6512	704
Allenstein-town	29,440	99	16	2250	1309
Allenstein-coun.	22,729	520	8	32,765	1774
Masurian Region	292,418	172,080	7666	71,648	12,494
-------PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION-----					
Ortelsburg	29.0	62.5	1.9	4.9	1.6
Johannisburg	31.9	56.7	1.2	8.2	1.9
Neidenburg	33.3	45.9	1.9	15.7	3.0
Lyck	48.8	34.9	1.7	11.4	2.9
Sensburg	48.9	38.0	2.8	6.9	1.9
Osterode	58.7	35.8	1.5	2.3	1.6
Lötzen	63.9	27.7	2.8	3.9	1.6
Oletzko	70.3	15.9	1.1	9.7	2.9
Rössel	85.6	0.1	0.0	18.9	1.4
Allenstein-town	88.7	0.3	0.0	6.8	3.9
Allenstein-country	39.3	0.9	0.1	56.7	3.1
Masurian Region	52.5	30.9	1.4	12.8	2.2

(1) Source, see table 2.

TABLE 7

Population of the Masurian Region according to language spoken 1925 (1)

DISTRICTS		Masurian		Polish	
	German	only	and German	only	and German
		-----POPULATION----			
Ortelsburg	48,997	13,538	6,927	387	1130
Johannisburg	43,421	7,990	3,052	292	322
Neidenberg	29,670	5,633	2,931	211	664
Lyck	51,239	4,000	2,155	476	450
Sensburg	44,022	3,685	2,454	149	482
Osterode	67,261	4,331	3,747	443	848
Lötzen	43,597	1,213	678	96	145
Oletzko	36,515	1,179	1,508	243	561
Rössel	45,770	71	157	1101	1748
Allenstein-town	36,515	43	92	260	1145
Allenstein-country	34,160	392	212	10,274	10,714
Masurian Region	481,168	41,375	23,913	13,932	18,209
		----PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION----			
Ortelsburg	68.9	19.1	9.7	o.5	1.6
Johannisburg	78.6	14.5	5.5	o.5	o.6
Neidenberg	76.9	13.0	7.6	o.6	1.7
Lyck	87.7	6.8	3.7	o.8	o.8
Sensburg	85.0	7.1	4.7	o.3	o.9
Osterode	87.8	5.5	4.9	0.6	1.1
Lötzen	95.1	2.6	1.5	0.2	0.3
Oletzko	91.0	2.9	3.8	0.6	1.4
Rössel	93.5	0.1	o.3	2.3	3.6
Allenstein-town	95.8	0.1	0.2	0.7	3.0
Allenstein-country	61.2	0.7	0.4	18.4	19.2
Masurian Region	82.9	7.1	4.1	2.4	3.1

(1) Source, see table 2.

TABLES 8 and 9

Table 8

Population of selected districts in the East Prussian regency of Marienwerder, according to language spoken, 1890,1900,1910,1925.

Districts	POPULATION					% DISTRIBUTION		
	German	Masurian		Polish		German	Polish	
		only	and German	only	and German		only	and German
Year 1890								
Stuhm	19,737	47	-	13,743	1426	56.4	39.3	4.1
Marienburg	23,873	-	7	342	145	97.8	1.4	0.6
Marienwerder	34,875	15	-	3488	409	89.8	8.9	1.0
Rosenberg	44,084	10	1	3720	1241	89.8	7.6	2.5
Total	122,569	72	8	21,293	3221	83.2	14.5	2.2
Year 1900								
Stuhm	20,941	20	2	13,139	927	59.7	37.5	2.6
Marienburg	23,038	2	4	345	188	97.6	1.5	0.8
Marienwerder	36,183	16	6	2764	427	91.8	7.0	1.1
Rosenberg	47,635	12	3	3621	783	91.4	6.9	1.5
Total	127,797	50	15	19,869	2325	85.1	13.2	1.5
Year 1910								
Stuhm	19,714	12	-	15,445	22	55.9	43.8	0.1
Marienburg	28,273	-	-	347	151	98.2	1.2	0.5
Marienwerder	37,018	-	2	2904	545	91.4	7.2	1.3
Rosenberg	50,229	22	7	3498	863	91.9	6.4	1.6
Total	135,234	34	9	22,194	1581	84.9	13.9	1.0
Year 1925								
Stuhm	27,096	5	1	5478	4041	73.9	14.9	11.0
Marienburg	32,506	49	5	129	100	99.0	0.4	0.3
Marienwerder	40,246	9	9	394	930	96.7	1.0	2.9
Rosenberg	57,204	37	29	336	977	97.6	0.6	1.7
Total	157,052	100	44	6337	6048	92.5	3.7	3.6

Table 9

Population in East Prussian districts according to Lithuanian language spoken (1)

Years	POPULATION					% DISTRIBUTION		
	German	Lithuanian		Polish		German	Lithuanian	
		only	and Ger.	only	and Ger.		only	and Ger.
1890	200,450	42,413	1408	87	13	81.5	17.3	0.6
1900	216,807	31,305	4346	129	108	81.5	12.4	1.7
1910	231,998	21,192	1751	359	66	90.7	8.3	0.7
1925	252,844	2,708	1906	88	149	97.9	1.1	0.7

1) Districts included: Niedering, Pillkallen, Tilsit, Tilsit-Ragnit, Labiau.

TABLE 10

Population Balance of the Masurian Region (1871 - 1933) (1)

Districts	1871-1933 Balance of Migration	1910-1925 Balance of births	1910-1925 Balance of migration	1910-1925 Balance Increase	1910-1925 % of Population Bal. of Births	1910-1925 % of Population Bal. of Mig.	1910-1925 % of Population Increase.
Ortelsburg	-55,684	10,742	-9321	+1400	15.4	-13.4	+ 2.0
Johannisburg	-30,623	7,840	-4010	+3800	15.3	-7.8	+ 7.5
Neidenburg	-36,656	6,194	-2962	+3200	17.5	-8.4	+ 9.1
Lyck	-24,968	6,737	-3891	+2800	12.1	-7.0	+ 5.1
Sensburg	-33,638	7,410	-5737	+1700	14.8	-11.5	+ 3.3
Osterode	-51,639	11,893	-9225	+2700	16.1	-12.5	+ 3.6
Lötzen	-21,511	4,752	-237	+4500	11.5	-0.6	+10.9
Oletzko	-25,767	4,208	-2951	+1300	10.8	-7.6	+ 3.2
Rössel	-33,641	4,835	-6342	+1500	9.6	-12.6	+ 3.0
Allenstein-town		3,172	+1755	+4900	9.6	5.3	+14.9
Allenstein-Country	-23,526	7,920	-9930	-2000	13.7	-17.2	- 3.5
Masurian Region	-337,473	76,713	-52,941	+23,200	13.7	- 9.5	4.2

(1) Source: Batocki mid Schack: Bevoelkerung in Ostpreussen 1929, page 39.

H. Rogmann: Die Bevoelkerungs entwicklung im preussichen Osten in den letzen hundert Jahren 1936, pages 250-1.

TABLE 11

Children attending Public School in the Masurian Region, according to language spoken, 1891 (1)

DISTRICTS	School Children				Percentage of Respective Population		
	Total	German	Polish	Polish and German	German	Polish	Polish and German
Ortelsburg	12,486	1169	9985	1386	7.6	19.4	41.7
Johannisburg	8,636	1056	6459	1107	10.2	17.8	52.3
Neidenburg	10,031	1299	7616	1108	8.9	15.7	76.9
Lyck	8,986	1799	5918	1269	9.9	17.7	47.0
Sensburg	8,124	1451	5064	1530	8.0	17.7	89.0
Osterode	12,478	3559	4281	4638	11.2	12.3	185.2
Lötzen	6,873	1628	3425	1820	7.9	17.1	82.5
Oletzko	7,421	2701	3135	1605	12.6	17.2	99.1
Rössel	8,223	6836	1124	263	16.4	15.2	67.7
Allenstein-town / Allenstein-country	12,349	3775	6868	1706	10.8	17.0	69.4
Masurian Region	95,607	25,273	53,875	16,432	11.2	16.9	80.2

(1) Source: Preussische Statistik, Heft 120, 2, pp. 70-73.

TABLE 12

School children in the Masurian region according to language spoken, 1901 (1)

Districts	Total	German	Masurian Only	Masurian And German	Polish Only	Polish And German
	----SCHOOL CHILDREN----					
Ortelsburg	15,157	1419	8988	995	3426	329
Johannisburg	10,305	1256	7635	1092	228	85
Neidenburg	11,862	1072	5817	1520	2994	516
Lyck	10,018	1949	6581	1321	83	84
Sensburg	9,324	1601	3278	1766	1800	786
Osterode	13,957	4433	2438	800	4477	1809
Lötzen	7,715	2206	3353	2156	-	-
Oletzko	7,597	2937	2000	1687	403	570
Rössel	9,049	7267	-	-	1352	430
Allenstein-town / Allenstein-country	15,033	4962	16	12	7895	2148
Masurian Region.	110,017	29,102	40,106	11,349	22,658	6,757
	---PERCENT OF RESPECTIVE POPULATION-----					
Ortelsburg		9.1	30.3	179.6	16.1	29.4
Johannisburg		10.3	31.9	121.3	2.2	6.9
Neidenburg		6.3	30.1	381.9	13.3	46.6
Lyck		8.7	35.1	90.8	-	6.0
Sensburg		7.8	22.3	125.8	18.4	48.9
Osterode		11.8	31.2	176.2	14.9	77.4
Lötzen		10.1	34.0	123.2	-	-
Oletzko		12.1	26.4	205.7	7.1	61.9
Rössel		21.3	-	-	19.1	57.7
Allenstein-town / Allenstein-country		12.2	-	-	20.3	74.7
Masurian Region		11.1	3o.4	145.3	14.7	45.6

(1) Source: Preussische Statistic Heft 176, 3, pp. 298-301

TABLE 13

School children in the Masurian Region according to language spoken 1911 (1)

Districts	Total	German	Masurian		Polish	
			only	and German	only	and German
		----SCHOOL CHILDREN-----				
Ortelsburg	14,481	1348	8846	2860	932	495
Johannisburg	10,715	1774	6327	1803	599	212
Neidenburg	11,763	1644	5296	2009	2230	584
Lyck	9,557	1999	4610	2228	500	217
Sensburg	9,445	1900	3529	3104	274	484
Osterode	13,807	4913	4367	2043	1847	637
Lötzen	7,357	2188	1813	2715	222	419
Oletzko	7,161	2523	1490	1963	468	717
Rössel	8,837	6880	-	-	1463	494
Allenstein-town	3,566	2688	-	-	257	621
Allenstein-country	11,991	4123	-	-	6371	1495
Masurian Region	108,680	31,980	36,278	18,725	15,163	6,375
		------PERCENTAGE OF RESPECTIVE POPULATION----				
Ortelsburg		6.6	20.3	214.5	27.5	43.8
Johannisburg		10.8	21.7	289.3	14.2	21.2
Neidenburg		8.0	20.8	200.0	21.4	36.0
Lyck		7.3	23.7	229.7	7.8	13.3
Sensburg		7.7	18.5	232.1	7.5	49.6
Osterode		11.3	16.5	179.5	106.0	54.7
Lötzen		8.3	15.8	235.0	13.9	64.7
Oletzko		9.2	24.0	483.5	12.3	60.5
Rössel		15.9	-	-	22.5	70.1
Allenstein-town		9.1	-	-	11.4	47.4
Allenstein-country		18.1	-	-	19.4	84.2
Masurian Region		10.6	20.0	232.9	19.7	49.1

(1) Source: Preussische Statistik Heft 231, 2, p.378.

TABLE 14

Polish Votes on Elections.....1921 - 1932 (1)

Election To	Date of Election	Polish Votes		
		Allenstein	West preussen	East Prussia
Reichstag	20. 2.21	7225	4989	12,226
Prussian Diet	20. 2.21	7427	5158	12,594
Provincial Diet	20. 2.21	7137	5025	12,162
Reichstag	5. 4.24	8703	3689	13,093
Reichstag	7.12.24	3416	2458	6,079
Prussian Diet	7.12.24	3419	2443	6,034
Provincial Diet	29.11.25	2765	2130	5,750
Reichstag	20. 5.28	2850	1529	4,476
Prussian Diet	20. 5.28	2904	1580	4,668
Provincial Diet	17.11.29	3136	1741	5,308
Reichstag	14. 9.30	2197	1762	4,108
Reichstag	24. 4.30	2207	1374	3,693
Prussian Diet	24. 4.30	1678	1106	2,743
Reichstag	6.11.32	1585	1096	2,890

(1) A. Horn, Ostpreussens Deutschtum im Spiegel Der Politischen Wahlen 1921-1933 (Ostland Forschungen, Danzig 1933.)

(Statistik des deutschen Reichs Band 401 I Seite 14)

Die Muttersprache

Die Gliederung der Bevoelkerung nach der Muttersprache wurde auf Grund der Eintragungen in die Spalten 9 und 10 der Haushaltungsliste ist die Muttersprache in folgender Form erfragt worden.

"ob deutsch oder welche andere Muttersprache?

Um die Verbreitung der Kenntnis der deutschen Sprache festzustellen schliesst sich hieran in Spalte 10 eine zweite Frage an.

Wenn nicht deutsch, versteht die betreffende Person deutsch?

In den Erläuterungen zu den einzelnen Spalten der Haushaltungsliste wurde uber die Muttersprache gesagt:

In Spalte 9/10 ist für sämtliche Mitglieder der Haushaltung die Muttersprache anzugeben. In der Regel besitzt jeder Mensch nur eine Muttersprache in welcher er denkt und deren er sich in seiner Familie und im häuslichen Verkehr am liebsten bedient, weil sie ihm am geläufigsten ist. Personen, deren Vater und Mutter eine verschiedene Muttersprache haben, können in manchen Fällen zwei Muttersprachen haben (Doppelsprachige), Kinder welche noch nicht sprechen und auch Stumme sind der Muttersprache der Eltern mitzuzahlen. Dialekte (Mundarten) z.B. Platt-deutsch zählen nicht als Muttersprache. Die Masurische Muttersprache ist als "Masurisch" nicht als polnisch zu beseichnen."

This is for Tom [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] PSF: [illegible]

MEMORANDUM ON EAST PRUSSIA

1. The Problem of East Prussia

The province of East Prussia is historically and culturally as much a part of the Prussian state as is Brandenburg or Pomerania. Nevertheless, there is, and has always been an East Prussian problem. The Polish corridor, separating East Prussia from Germany was not an invention of the Versailles peacemakers, it is an ethnological fact. The entire valley of the Vistula, with the exception of the delta region, around Danzig, has for many centuries been inhabited by an overwhelmingly Polish population. East Prussia, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly German; but it is a German island, surrounded by Poles and Lithuanians, with the Baltic Sea to the north. Evidently the political corridor, set up in 1918, did not provide a satisfactory solution to the problem so a new solution will have to be found. The ruthless policy of Germanization and extermination pursued by the Nazis will multiply the difficulties in the way of a lasting and democratic solution.

We shall not know the full extent of the damage Hitler and his bands have wrought in these areas until after the war, but the conditions that we find then will certainly influence the solution that is applied. The following brief outline of the historical, ethnological, social and political conditions in this area is confined to the period before Hitler's conquest, but these are the facts that must be considered in making future plans.

2. Historical Background

The Germans began colonizing the territory east of the Elbe River in about the tenth century. It is believed that prior to that time, this area was inhabited primarily by Slavic tribes, who had found their way northward to these regions during the time of the great migrations. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the Order of Teutonic Knights conquered the area later to be known as East Prussia, using essentially the same brutal and effective methods that were used by other German warriors in the conquest and colonization of other parts of East Elbia. The Teutonic Knights built fortified castles in East Prussia, among them castles near the present-day cities of Braunsberg, Marienberg, and Koenigsberg, which enabled them in later years to fight off Polish attacks. In 1411, the Teutonic Knights were beaten in a decisive battle at Tannenberg, which halted their further expansion, but which did not, however, break their hold on East Prussia itself. After Tannenberg they did lose some territory to the Poles, including Elbing in the west, but they kept the rest of the province. Then and during the following centuries the Poles were more successful to the west of East Prussia in resisting attempts at Germanization, because of the geopolitical factor of better communications in the valley of the Vistula. On the other hand German rule in the northern and eastern parts of East Prussia was reinforced from the sea, through the Hanseatic League. Labiau, Koenigsberg, Braunsberg, Elbing all belonged to the Hanse, and this association served to make them even more German. After Tannenberg, the Teutonic Knights of East Prussia had temporarily to give feudal allegiance to the Polish King in Warsaw. However, in 1525, East Prussia became a Duchy, ruled by a side-line of the German

Hohenzollern family. A twenty-one-year-old Hohenzollern prince, Albrecht, was elected as the new head of the Teutonic Knights. He went over to protestantism and secularized the province, but he also renewed recognition of the status of Protectorate under the Polish King. (This relation to Poland altered the German character of East Prussia just as little, as the inclusion of the Duchy of Warsaw in the Kingdom of Saxony during the Napoleonic Wars, altered the Polish character of that province.) East Prussia was conquered by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War. After they withdrew towards the end of the seventeenth century, East Prussia, along with Brandenburg and the other Hohenzollern states became a part of Prussia. It was in Koenigsberg in 1701, that the Prussian Kurfurst, "Elector," was crowned King of Prussia. Certain parts of East Prussia, which had been lost temporarily were brought back under the Prussian crown, for example, Elbing which was regained in 1722. During the Napoleonic Wars, East Prussia was occupied for a time by Prussia's ally, Russia. (That is how it happened that the philosopher Kant was in the pay of the Russian government, as were all public officials in Koenigsberg.) After the defeat at Jena, the King of Prussia fled first to East Prussia and then to Memel. When Napoleon had been driven back in Russia, East Prussia was the center from which preparations started for liberation from Napoleon's rule. The Stein-Hardenberg Reforms began in East Prussia and the new Prussian Army was first set up there.

Since that time, German rule in East Prussia has never been questioned, except that during the World War, some districts were occupied by Russian armies under General Rennenkampf until 1916. Immediately after the World War, East Prussia was one of the headquarters of the German Baltic troops until the final peace agreement led at last to the dissolution of the

Free Corps. During the Weimar Republic, East Prussia became one of the liberal bulwarks of German democracy. Until the very end, there was a Social Democratic majority in East Prussian elections.

The cultural and historical development of East Prussia has thus, beyond question, been German; it has been the classical Prussian development. The Germanic Conquerors always mingled with the inhabitants whom they subjugated. That was true in Brandenburg, in Pomerania, in Kurmark and other East Elbian provinces, exactly as it was in East Prussia. What we know as Prussianism developed in these provinces, and thus the Prussian is racially a German-Slav mixture.

There has been a little colonization in East Prussia by other groups. For example, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the population had been greatly decreased by plague, the Prussian government settled several thousand Austrians from the Salzburg area there. (Somewhat earlier, about 1685, several hundred French Hugenots settled in Koenigsberg.) However, after the original German conquest, there was never any new large-scale infiltration of Slavs.

The cultural dominance of the German in East Prussia has been evident from the Middle Ages. For example, the city of Koenigsberg, founded in 1255, has been the seat of a German university since the Reformation. Braunsberg, founded in 1284, Marienburg, center of the military colony in the East and seat of the Teutonic Knights, founded in 1309, were always German cities. Even today that can be seen from the remains of the original medieval cities.

It was therefore only misleading when the ex-President of Poland, Paderewski, in an address delivered before the American-Polish Chamber of Commerce on May 18, 1932, said: "East Prussia never belonged to the ancient German Empire 1806. It never belonged even to Deutschen Bund which existed between 1815 and 1866."

East Prussia did indeed belong to one of the constitutents of the old Empire, the Prussian Kurfuerstentum or Electorate, and East Prussia was one of the oldest provinces in the later Kingdom of Prussia. A second time in the same speech, Paderewski was misleading when he referred to the reply of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers, and said that it "justly observed" that "German historians have always recognized that East Prussia is not a country of German origin, but merely a German colony." Historians have of course recognized the colonial origin of EastPrussia, but Austria in the south and all the German provinces east of the Elbe were the same kind of colonies as was East Prussia. They were all conquered in medieval times and and have all been Germanized since. Many other parts of Europe were conquered in the middle ages, and people whose ancestors have lived in those territories for a thousand years would be surprised to find themselves called"colonists."

3. Population

The census of 1925 gives the area of East Prussia as 3,104,650 hectares, and the total population as 2,300,000. The province is divided into four districts and the 1925 census gives the following figures for those districts:

Administrative Districts	area in sq. km.	sub-districts Urban	sub-districts Rural	Estates	Population	population per sq. km.
Koenigsberg	13,146.7	32	1354	23	911,879	69
Gumbinnen	9,397.0	12	1875	26	539,778	57
Allenstein	11,547.0	22	1199	19	542,287	47
West Prussia	2,955.8	12	309	6	264,405	90

According to the same census, there were 1,066,689 persons gainfully employed in East Prussia: of these, 593,558 (55.7%) were engaged in agriculture; 204,914 (19.2%) were engaged in industry and crafts; 129,829 (12.2%) were engaged in commerce and transportation. A clearer picture can be gained from the figures for wage-earners, which includes industrial workers, agricultural workers, white-collar workers, and government and municipal employees. At the peak of prosperity in July 1929, there were 557,000 wage-earners, and at the lowest point of the depression, in January 1933, only 365,000 wage-earners were registered; the rest were unemployed. Among the important industries in the pre-Hitler era were shipbuilding, which has since been expanded, and the machine industry. (Elbing, with shipyards and machine industry both, is one of the major industrial cities.) The cities of East Prussia, in the order of their population are: Koenigsberg - 311,522 inhabitants, Elbing - 72,400, Tilsit - 57,000, Insterburg - 40,434, Allenstein - 40, 086 , Marienburg - 24,356, Gumbinnen - 19,000, Lyck - 15,361, Marienwerden - 13,721, Deutsch-Eylau - 11,286, Ortelsburg - 10,434. (These population figures were for 1937.)

According to 1930 figures, about 2,300,000 hectares of the total area of East Prussia was under cultivation. Of this, about one-sixth, or 422,000 hectares, still belonged to large Junker estates.* State forests comprised 109,000 hectares. There had been some re-distribution of state forest land to small farmers during the Weimar Republic, but those who realized how essential agrarian reforms in East Prussia were, felt

* This should be compared with an average of one-twentieth of the cultivated land in large estates, in the Reich as a whole.

that the process was much too slow. As one man wrote in 1930: "It will take until 1970 to reform the province if we keep on at the present rate."

The owners of the large estates leased about 63,000 hectares to be farmed by tenant farmers in 1930. Altogether there 233,429 agricultural units in East Prussia. These included about 20,000 independently owned, medium-sized farms, about 150,000 small, independent farms, and about 63,000 farmed by tenants. In addition there were the large estates, except for the relatively small acreage leased to tenants. The Junker estates were worked by agricultural day labor, and during the busy season they employed migratory workers from Poland. Farming methods on these estates were extremely primitive. Only a generation ago the introduction of modern mechanical equipment was often fought with violence as the superstitious people believed it an invention of the devil.

It was only during the Republic that there was some modernization of agricultural practises in East Prussia. As mentioned above, some of the state forests were divided up for settlements of small farmers. Also, under the Republic the large estates benefitted from the famous Osthilfe or "Credits for the East," which were granted by the Reichstag and enabled the Junkers to get rid of much of their indebtedness. The Osthilfe payments incidentally led to some farming improvements, although the improvements were primarily motivated by military considerations.

Even today, productivity of East Prussian farms is not high. Crops include, primarily, grain (rye, oats, barley, wheat) potatoes and tubers. Standards for cattle raising are somewhat higher, both as far as private breeders and dairies are concerned, and the old state enterprises.

Thus, in spite of some modern improvements and a little extension of tenant farming, East Prussia is still the seat of some of the most important

and largest landed estates in Germany. In 1900, there were, in all Germany, 369 estates of more than 1000 hectares, of which 340 were in Prussia. These 340 estates were divided up among the various provinces of Prussia as follows: East Prussia - 68, Posen and Pomerellen - 32, Brandenburg - 35, Pomerania - 51, Silesia 21, Saxony - 21, Schleswig - 2, Hannover - 2, Westphalia - 1. (The balance were in the section known as "West Prussia" which became a part of Poland after the first World War.) There have been very few changes in the estates of East Prussia since 1900. From the time of the Prussian kings, East Prussia has always furnished many officers to the Prussian army. (Records from 1791 show that 518 Junker families had already supplied 895 generals to the Prussian army. Among the families represented were: Kleist with 14 generals, Schwerin with 11, Goltz with 10, Bock with 9, Bredowje with 9, Donah with 7. Hundreds came from the Markwitz family. We find a number of these names, e.g. von Kleist, von Bock, among the leaders of Hitler's present army.)

National Minorities in East Prussia: In this predominantly Junker-peasant country, non-German speaking, and mixed language groups have survived; but they represent a very small minority, about 64,000 out of 2.3 million, mostly localized in border districts.

The largest non-German speaking minority is the Masures, whose home is in the Allenstein district, around the Masure Lakes. They speak a mixed German-Slavic dialect and are supposed to be the descendants of the original inhabitants. In the census of 1925, 41,400 East Prussians gave as their mother tongue Masurian, that is 1.8% of the population. We can assume that there were more Masures than voluntarily described themselves as such, but probably not very many more, as the 1925 census was taken under democratic conditions, with almost no pressures that would cause people to hide non-German nationality. (A table on the following page, prepared in 1916, shows a Masurian population in East Prussia nearly five times as great as in 1925. The decline in Masures is accounted for by migration into Poland and industrial districts of western Germany, following the last war.)

In the same census, 20,500 East Prussians gave Polish as their mother tongue, 0.9% of the population. (In addition, about 100,000 of the half million seasonal workers from Poland, who always came to Germany during the summer months, ~~xxxx~~ came to East Prussia.) As in the case of the Masures, the number of Poles resident in East Prussia may have been somewhat larger than the census figure showed, but, in view of the strength and importance of Poland at that time, there seems no reason why there should have been pressure against admitting Polish nationality. Most of the Poles in East Prussia lived in the southeastern border district of Allenstein.

In addition there were a few Lithuanians; there are still Lithuanian villages on the Kurische Haff on the Baltic. The 1925 census showed 2100 East Prussians whose mother tongue was Lithuanian, 0.1% of the population. The 1910 figures show 4.3% of the population Lithuanian. Memel was then a part of East Prussia, and a majority of its population was Lithuanian; that is why the Memel district was split off from Germany after 1918. Also, Lithuanians resident in other parts of East Prussia migrated to the newly established Lithuanian state. (The following table, based on 1910 census figures, shows the language composition of the State of Prussia, the province of East Prussia, and its administrative districts at that time.)

Language Division	State of Prussia	Province of East Prussia	Koenigs-berg	Gum-binnen	Allen-stein
a) Mother tongue German	35,426,335	1,680,003	874,410	531,273	274,320
b) More than one mother tongue	241,254	27,331	2,983	4,687	19,661
German & Polish	200,913	14,180	968	1,459	11,763
German & Masurian	11,463	8,448	134	545	7,769
German & Lithuanian	5,486	4,380	1,721	2,624	35
c) German not a mother tongue	4,497,630	356,841	36,726	70,627	249,488
Polish	3,500,511*	81,147	2,820	5,173	73,154
Masurian	204,760	183,314	318	6,980	175,016
Lithuanian	93,933	89,974	31,883	57,993	98
Russian	13,180	2,993	780	202	1,011

* Most of the three and a half million Polish-speaking inhabitants of Prussia lived in the section known as "West Prussia" that became a part of Poland after the first World War.

Only recently, for the first time, have Polish sources begun to cast doubt on these facts about the national composition of East Prussia. But, if there had been real doubts about the overwhelmingly Prussian character of East Prussia at the time of the Versailles Treaty, there would have been another solution. The mixed-language district of Upper Silesia had to hold plebiscites. The overwhelmingly Polish province of "West Prussia," comprising Posen and Pommerelle, was given to Poland. The Danzig district, though admittedly having a German majority, was made a free city and included in the Polish customs area in order to make the Polish Corridor. If it had not been absolutely obvious that East Prussia belonged with Germany, the treaty makers would have dealt with it in a different manner.

(Under Polish rule, from 1919 to 1939, the Polish majority in Posen and Pommerelle, which even Nazi sources admit, increased greatly. Knauer's authoritative German Atlas for 1937, gives the following population figures for cities in this area according to nationality: Bromberg - 117,945 Poles and 12,500 Germans; Graudentz - 50,405 Poles and 4,120 Germans; Posen 246,574 Poles and no figure for Germans; Thorn - 54,280 Poles and 2,937 Germans; Hohensalza - 30,862 Poles and 817 Germans (Knauer notes that there were 10,970 Germans in this town in 1910). The situation is similar in all the towns of former "West Prussia," and there are even fewer Germans in the more northern towns of the Corridor.

4. Possible Solutions of the East Prussian Problem

The Corridor: This solution was unsatisfactory both to the Poles and the East Prussians. It was partly as a result of the conflicts that grew out of the creation of the Corridor that German-Polish tension increased until Hitler provoked the final explosion. Ethnologically, the Corridor is overwhelmingly Polish. Moreover, Poland's need for an outlet to the sea has always been recognized as a legitimate claim in line with the

national interests of Poland, by German democrats. East Prussia's peculiar situation as a German language and cultural island surrounded by Poles and Lithuanians cannot be appropriately dealt with, by even the best corridor arrangement.

At one time, before the Hitler government was strong enough to attempt the conquest of Poland, it proposed an extension of the corridor solution, namely the building of extra-territorial German highways through the Corridor, a "corridor within the Corridor." The Nazis even came to an agreement in principle on this proposal. That was at the same time that the Nazis demanded the return of Danzig to the Reich. The fact that the Poles considered these proposals serious is a reflection of the weakness of the country at that time and its dependence on Hitler Germany.

A federal solution: A more progressive and a more satisfactory solution could be arrived at within a federated Europe. If both Poland and Germany were members of a European federal league, East Prussia could belong to a Polish state, without the German population being at a national disadvantage. The federal league would have to guarantee the maintenance of the German cultural character of East Prussia, and like all other national minorities in Europe, the East Prussians would enjoy extensive cultural autonomy. In every case the happiness and the welfare of the people of East Prussia will depend primarily on social reforms, especially, the long-overdue agrarian reforms and the distribution of the land of the great Junker estates among small independent farmers.

Transfer of Populations: During the German Republic there was occasional discussion of a parity transfer of populations as a means of solving the East Prussian problem. The idea was to take two areas, similar in size and population and wealth, roughly, East Prussia and a part of "West Prussia," and to permit the citizens of one to migrate voluntarily to the other. East Prussia, adjacent to Poland, but belonging to Germany, would be given to Poland, and an equivalent part of "West Prussia"

would become a part of Germany. The expropriation of the great German landholders in East Prussia would make possible the settlement of tens of thousands of Polish peasants on their own land. Those German, East Prussian peasants who wanted to leave their old homes and move to Germany, could be settled there with the help of the government and could retain their German nationality. The brutal and ~~ruthe~~ ruthless way in which the Nazis have driven out and exterminated Poles of all classes from "WestPrussia" has, in a perverse manner, prepared the ground for an eventual population transfer. At the same time, however, the cruelty with which Hitler's population policies have been carried out have created hatred and distrust which will make it very difficult to inaugurate democratic and just policies of population transfer.

The author of this memorandum does not have sufficient knowledge of East Prussian conditions to do more than present a brief sketch of the problem and of the proposed solutions. The most important prerequisite for every postwar solution is that, insofar as possible, it be made with the agreement of the populations concerned. Only then can it be democratic and lasting.

- Paul Hagen

From –
Paul Kellogg

PSF: Peace

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1939

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This is being returned to you as requested. It has been thanked for.

M.C.T.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Will you thank Paul Kellogg and let me have it back for my "Peace" file?

F. D. R.

Thank Mr Kellogg
Say much interested
+ am giving to
Pres

E R

PSF: Peace

MESSAGE *from* 1914—*for* 1939 AND AFTER

TOWARDS THE PEACE THAT SHALL LAST

SOCIETY has probably never before been self-conscious enough to note carefully the subtler reactions of war, inevitably disastrous to the humane instincts which have been asserting themselves in the social order.

WHATEVER the outcome of the conflict, the people of the New World are concerned that certain things in the civilization of Europe and in each of the warring countries, shall not perish.

THOUGH the United States must, as a non-combatant nation, maintain a neutral attitude, so much is at stake in both war and reconstruction, that on the day when, as President Wilson has said, the nations of Europe come together for settlement, Americans should, as freemen and democrats and peace-lovers, express themselves in some affirmative way.

THIS statement of principles is the outgrowth of meetings through which some of those who deal with the social fabric, sought in humbleness and quiet to clarify their minds and make ready to act in concert.

Reprinted from The Survey March 4, 1916

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SOON after the outbreak of the World War in 1914, a number of men and women met at the Henry Street Settlement in New York, to consider its effects not only in the belligerent countries but in the neutral countries as well.

At a second conference in midwinter, there was abundant confirmation of the forecasts made six months before, of retardation to those movements for the progress of mankind which had been gaining impetus in all lands. All over the world were appearing the proper and expected signs of a throwback.

It was felt that the time had come to break silence and voice convictions. Twenty-two participants found common footing in the declarations on the following pages: here reprinted from *The Survey* after almost a quarter of a century.

THE INITIATIVE of the meetings, and the purpose in the minds of those who called them, was expressed in a letter of invitation (from which the paragraphs on the cover of this pamphlet were taken), issued in the names of Jane Addams, Lillian D. Wald and Paul Kellogg.

THE LETTER was in Miss Addams' words. The declaration itself was a mosaic; based on the discussions and common sense of the meetings; but pieced together also from other sources ranging from ancient writ to the spirited expressions struck off in this and other countries, under the impact of war in 1914. Antedating American participation in that conflict, and America's withdrawal after the peace, the statement of course carries no evaluation of our share of responsibility for the recurrence of war in 1939. Nonetheless its arraignments and aspirations alike ring true today.

FOLLOWING the meetings, an informal committee was organized, which evolved under the chairmanship of Miss Wald into the American Union Against Militarism (1915-18); from which, on the one hand, sprang the American Civil Liberties Union. On the other hand, several of the signatories participated in the League of Free Nations Association (1918), out of which grew the Foreign Policy Association. Miss Addams gave leadership to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

TOWARDS THE PEACE THAT SHALL LAST

AT EVERY STAGE OF WARFARE IN THE PAST, there have been men and women in all nations who have endeavored to abate and lessen it. Their repeated endeavors have been answered only by repeated wars, until the present war in Europe completes the works of death, desolation, and tyranny.

In spite of this, these protests against war are destined to succeed; as, centuries earlier in the history of the race, the sentiment of pity, of respect for human life, called a halt to senseless slaughter,

There came the time, for example, to Greek and Jewish peoples when a few set their faces against *human sacrifice as a religious rite* of their highest faith—bound up, like our wars, with old fealties and solemn customs, and with their most desperate fears. Humble men and women, out of sheer affection for their kind, revolted. In face of persecution and ridicule, they warned their countrymen that in pouring human blood upon altars to the gods they wrought upon their kind more irreparable wrong than any evil which they sought to forfend. Finally, there came to be enough people with courage and pity sufficient to carry a generation with them.

It took these people many centuries to rid themselves of human sacrifice; during many centuries more they relapsed again and again, in periods of national despair. So have we fallen back into warfare, and perhaps will fall back again and again, until in self-pity, in self-defense, in self-assertion of the right to life, not as hitherto, a few, but the *whole people of the world,* will brook this thing no longer,

OUR RIGHT TO PROTEST

BY THAT OPPORTUNITY, now ours as never before, to weigh the case against war and to draw the counts from burning words spoken by those who protest and who are of all peoples—*we make single judgment and complete indictment.*

BY THAT GOOD FORTUNE which has placed us outside the conflict; by that ill fortune by which the belligerent and his rights have heretofore bestrode the world; by mine-strewn channels, and by international codes which offer scant redress—*we speak as people of a neutral nation.*

BY THE UNEMPLOYED OF OUR WATERFRONTS, and the augmented misery of our cities; by the financial depression which has curtailed our school building and crippled our works of good will; by the sluicing of human impulse among us from channels of social development to the back-eddies of salvage and relief—*we have a right to speak.*

BY THE HOT ANGER AND CIVIL STRIFE that we have known; by our pride, vainglory, and covetousness; by the struggles we have made for national integrity and defense of our hearthstones; by our consciousness that every instinct and motive and ideal at work in this war, however lofty or however base, has had some counterpart in our national history and our current life—*we can speak a common language.*

BY THAT COMRADESHIP AMONG NATIONS which has made for mutual understanding; by those inventions which, binding us in communication, have put the horrors of war at our doors; by the mechanical contrivances which have multiplied and intensified those horrors; by the quickening human sympathies which have made us sensitive to the hurts of others—*we can speak as fellow-victims of this great oppression.*

BY OUR HERITAGE FROM THE EMBATTLED NATIONS; by our debt to them for languages and faiths and social institutions; for science, scholarship, and invention; by the broken and desolated hearts that will come to us when the war ends; by our kinships and our unfeigned friendships—*we can speak as brothers.*

BY ALL THESE THINGS—we hold the present opportunity for conscience-searching and constructive action to be an especial charge upon us; upon the newcomers among us from the fatherlands; and upon the joint youth of all the peoples of the two Americas.

WHAT WAR HAS DONE AND IS DOING

ITS BLIGHTS

WAR HAS BROUGHT LOW our conception of the *preciousness of human life* as slavery brought low our conception of human liberty.

IT HAS BENUMBED our growing sense of the *nurture of life;* and at a time when we were challenging Reichstag, Parliament and Congress with the needlessness of infant mortality and child labor, it has entrenched a million youths with cold and fever and impending death.

IT HAS THWARTED the chance of our times for the *fulfilment of life,* and scattered like burst shrapnel the hands of the sculptors and the violinists, the limbs of the hurdlers and the swimmers, the sensitive muscles of the mechanics and the weavers, the throats of the singers and the interpreters, the eyes of the astronomers and the melters—every skilled and prescient part of the human body, every gift and competence of the human mind.

IT HAS SET BACK our promptings towards the *conservation of life;* and in a decade when England and France and Russia, Germany and Austria and Belgium, have been working out social insurance against the hazards of peace, it has

thrown back upon the world an unnumbered company of the widowed and the fatherless, of crippled breadwinners and of aged parents, left bereft and destitute.

It has blocked our way towards *the ascent of life;* and in a century which has seen the beginnings of effort to upbuild the common stock, it has cut off from parenthood the strong, the courageous, and the high-spirited.

ITS INJURIES

It has pitted human flesh against machinery in its development of armaments.

It has brought strange men to the door-sills of peaceful people; men like their own men, bearing no grudges against them; men snatched away from their fields and villages where their fathers lie buried, to kill and burn and destroy till this other people are driven from their homes of a thousand years or sit abject and broken.

It has stripped farms and ruined self-sustaining communities, and poured into a bewildered march for succor the lame and aged and bedridden, the little children and the women great with child unborn.

It has set vast communities at the task of rehabilitating economic gains won through centuries of struggle and sacrifice; and not until these are regained will they be free to think not merely of living, but of better life.

It has razed the flowing lines in which the art and aspiration of earlier generations expressed themselves, and has thus waged war upon the dead.

It has tortured and twisted the whole social fabric of the living.

It has burdened our children and our children's children with a staggering load of debt.

It has inundated the lowlands of the world's economy with penury and suffering unreckonable, hopelessly undermining standards of living already much too low.

It has blasted our new internationalism in the protection of working women and children.

It has rent and trampled upon the network of world cooperation in trade and craftsmanship which was making all men fellow-workers.

It has distracted our minds with its business of destruction and has stayed the forward reach of the builders among men.

It has conscripted physician and surgeon, summoning them from research and the prolongation of life to the patchwork of its wreckage.

It has sucked into its blood and mire our most recent conquests over the elements—over electricity and air and the depths of ocean; and has prostituted our prowess in engineering, chemistry, and technology, to the service of terror and injury.

It has bent our trade routes and systems of transportation into runways to its slaughter-pens, so that neither volcanoes, nor earthquakes, nor famine, but only the plagues, can match war in unbounded disaster.

ITS WRONGS

It has by its compulsory service made patriotism a shell, empty of liberty.

It has wrested the power of self-defense from the hands of freemen who wielded lance and sword and scythe, and has set them as machine-tenders to do the bidding of their masters.

It has set up the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

It has substituted arbitrary authority for the play of individual conscience; and the morals of footloose men who escape identity in the common uniform, for that social pressure which in the household and village, in neighborhood and state, makes for personal responsibility, for decency, and fair play.

It has battened on apathy, unintelligence and helplessness, such as surrender the judgment and volition of nations into a few hands; and has nullified rights and securities, such as are of inestimable value to the people and formidable to tyrants only.

It has threatened the results of a hundred martyrdoms and revolutions, and put in jeopardy those free governments which make possible still newer social conquests.

It has crushed under iron heels the uprisings of civilization itself.

ITS EVILS

It has massed and exploded the causes of strife.

It has not only shattered men's breasts, but has let loose the black fury of their hearts; so that in rape, and cruelty, and rage, ancient brutishness trails at the heels of all armies.

It has set faithful against faithful, priest against priest, prayers against prayers for that success of one army which means slaughter for both.

It has made werewolves of neighboring peoples, in the imaginations of each other.

It has put its stamp upon growing boys and girls, and taught them to hate other children who have chanced to be born on the other side of some man-made boundary.

It has inbred with the ugliest strains of commercialism, perverting to its purposes the increase of over-dense populations and their natural yearning for new opportunities for enterprise and livelihood.

It has whetted among neutral nations a lust to profit by furnishing the means to prolong its struggles.

It has turned the towers of art and science into new Babels, so that our philosophers and men of letters, our physicists and geographers, our economists and biologists and dramatists, speak in strange tongues; and to hate each other has become a holy thing among them.

It has found a world of friends and neighbors, and substituted a world of outlanders and aliens and enemies.

It has burned itself into men's souls as an evil fact of life, to be accepted along with every other good and evil; instead of what it is—a survival of barbarism which can and should be ended.

It has violated the finer sensibilities of the race, and weakened our claim upon them for the betterment of the conditions under which people live.

It has given the lie to the teachings of missionaries and educators, and will stay civilization in the uttermost parts of the earth.

It has lessened the number of those who feel the joys and sorrows of all peoples as of their own.

It has strangled truth and paralyzed the power and wish to face it, and has set up monstrous and irreconcilable myths of self-justification.

It has mutilated the human spirit.

It has become a thing which passeth all understanding.

STRIKING HANDS

WE HAVE HEARD THE CALL FROM OVERSEAS of those who have appealed to men and women of good will in all nations to join with them in throwing off this tyranny upon life.

WE WOULD GO FURTHER: we would throw open a peace which should be other than a shadow of old wars and a foreshadowing of new. We do more than plead with men to stay their hands from killing. We hail living men. As peace-lovers, we charge them with the sanctity of human life; as democrats and freemen, we charge them with its sovereignty.

BY THE EIGHT MILLION NATIVES of the warring states living among us without malice or assault one upon another, we would leave the occasions of fighting no longer for idle war boards to decide.

BY THE BLOW OUR FOREBEARS STRUCK AT BARBARISM when they took vengeance out of private hands, we would wrest the manufacture of armaments and deadly weapons from the gun-mongers and powder-makers who gain by it.

BY THOSE ELECTRIC CURRENTS that have cut the ground from under the old service of diplomacy, and spread the new intelligence, we would put the ban upon intrigue and secret treaties.

FOR WE HOLD that not soldiers, nor profit-takers, nor diplomats, but the people who suffer and bear the brunt of war, should determine whether war must be; that with ample time for investigation and publicity of its every cause and meaning, with recourse to every avenue for mediation and settlement abroad, war should come only by the slow process of self-willing among men and women who solemnly publish and declare it to be a last and sole resort.

WITH OUR TREATIED BORDERLAND, three thousand miles in length, without fort or trench from Atlantic to Pacific, which has helped weld us for a century of unbroken peace with our neighbors to the North, we would spread faith not in entranched camps but in open boundaries.

WITH THE PACT OF OUR WRITTEN CONSTITUTION before us, which binds our own sovereign states in amity, we are convinced that treaty-making may be lifted to a new and inviolable estate, and become the foundation for that world organization which for all time shall make for peace on earth and good will among men.

WITH OUR EXPERIENCE IN LESSER CONFLICTS in industrial life, which have none the less embraced groups as large as armies, have torn passions, and rasped endurance to the uttermost, we can bear testimony that at the end of such strife as cleaves to the heart of things, men are disposed to lay the framework of their relations in larger molds than those which broke beneath them.

WITH OUR NINETY MILLION PEOPLE, drawn from Alpine and Mediterranean, Danubian, Baltic and Slavic stocks, with a culture blended from these different affluents, we hold that progress lies in the predominance of none; and that the civilization of each nation needs to be refreshed by that commingling with the genius and the type of other human groups, that blending which began on the coast lands and islands of the Aegean Sea, where European civilization first drew its sources from the Euphrates and the Nile.

WITH MEMORIES OF THE TYRANNY which provoked our Revolution, with the travail still upon us by which our people in turn paid for the subjection of another race, with the bitterness only now assuaged which marked our period of mistrust and reconstruction, we bear witness that boundaries should be set where not force, but justice and consanguinity, direct; and that, however boundaries fall, liberty and the flowering-out of native culture should be secure.

WITH AMERICA'S FAIR CHALLENGE to the spirit of the East and to the chivalry of the West in standing for the open door in China when that Empire, now turned Republic, was threatened by dismemberment, we call for the freeing of the ports of every ocean from special privilege based on territorial claim—throwing them open with equal chance to all who by their ability and energy can serve new regions with mutual benefit.

WITH THE FAITH OUR PEOPLE HAVE KEPT with Cuba, the regard we have shown for the integrity of Mexico and our preparations for the independence of the Philippine Islands, we urge the framing of a common colonial policy which shall put down that predatory exploitation which has embroiled the West and oppressed the East, and shall stand for an opportunity for each latent and backward race to build up according to its own genius.

BY OUR FULL CENTURY OF RUTHLESS WASTE of forest, ore, and fuel; by the vision which has come to us in these later days, of conserving to the permanent uses of the people the water-power and natural wealth of our public domain, we propose the laying down of a world policy of conservation.

BY THAT TEDIUM AND MONOTONY OF LIFE AND LABOR endured by vast multitudes until, when war drums sound, the wage earner leaps from his bench, and the harvester forsakes his field, we hold that the ways of peace should be cast so as to make stirring appeal to the heroic qualities in men, and give common utterance to the rhythm and beauty of national feeling.

BY THE JOY OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE CONQUEST OF A CONTINENT; by the rousing of all Europe, when the great navigators threw open the New Indies and the New World, we conceive a joint existence such that the achieving instincts among men, not as one nation against another, nor as one class against another, but as one generation after another, shall have freedom to come into their own.

*JANE ADDAMS**
LEO ARNSTEIN
EMILY G. BALCH
EDWARD T. DEVINE
JOHN PALMER GAVIT
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
HAMILTON HOLT
FREDERIC C. HOWE
WILLIAM I. HULL
*FLORENCE KELLEY**
PAUL KELLOGG
*WILLIAM KENT**
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY
OWEN R. LOVEJOY
JULIAN W. MACK
*GEORGE H. MEAD**
GEORGE W. NASMYTH
*GRAHAM TAYLOR**
LILLIAN D. WALD
*MORNAY WILLIAMS**
STEPHEN S. WISE

*Deceased

PSF

~~Secret~~

Not to be removed from the State Department building

F Document 123-b
F-I.C. Document 29-h
T Document 169-a
December 8, 1942

INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

I. Dependent peoples not yet ready for self-government shall be placed under an international trusteeship.

The authority for the trusteeship shall be vested provisionally in the executive authority of the United Nations and finally in the Executive Authority of the International Organization which shall delegate execution and supervision of the trusteeship to a separate Supervisory Council for each region. These councils shall be set up provisionally by the United Nations and finally by the Executive Authority of the International Organization.

II. The objective of international trusteeship is self-government for all dependent areas under conditions which provide guarantees of basic human rights, safeguard the economic interests of all elements of the population, and promote the general well-being of the international community. The objective of self-government may be deemed to be attained if a dependent area, conformable to the wishes of its people, is granted partnership with a metropolitan power on a federal basis which provides for autonomy and self-government. The Executive Authority shall judge the fact of the establishment of such self-government to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants and the desirability of the termination of the trusteeship. The termination of the trusteeship shall involve acceptance of a bill of rights. The Executive Authority shall determine if the autonomy and self-government granted the dependent people is of such nature as to entitle it to membership in the International Organization.

III. The following purposes shall guide the international supervision and local administration:

A. For the dependent peoples:

1. preparation and education for self-government
2. protection from exploitation, and promotion of economic and social justice.

B. For

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3. For the general well-being of the world:

1. establishment and maintenance of non-discriminatory commercial treatment.
2. promotion of equality of economic opportunity, consistent with the safeguarding of the interests of the local inhabitants.
3. contribution to general security.

IV. The following machinery shall carry out the foregoing purposes:

Executive Authority

The appropriate Executive Authority of the International Organization shall be the final authority for the establishment and maintenance of the trusteeship. The Executive Authority shall have the right to require any matter to be referred to it which in its judgment effects the basic principles of the trusteeship or which effects the peaceful relations between nations. It shall be within the power of the Executive Authority to adjust the areas included within the various regions and the composition and jurisdiction of the Supervisory Councils thereover, having regard to changes which experience may show to be desirable.

The Executive Authority shall maintain a permanent office with a staff of experts and shall keep itself informed of the work of the Supervisory Councils. The Executive Authority shall have the right of inspection in the dependent areas.

Supervisory Council

A separate Supervisory Council shall exercise the international trusteeship over the peoples placed under its trusteeship in each area. Each Supervisory Council may be composed of representatives from states charged with responsibility for exercising the administrative authority over the dependent peoples, states having special security interests in the region, and self-governing states in the region, as and in such number as may be determined by the Executive Authority.

Each Supervisory Council, acting on behalf of the Executive Authority and in consultation with each territorial administration, shall promote the development

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of the territories within its area both in the interests of the inhabitants and of the rest of the world. It shall in particular (a) assure that the terms of the charter under which the territory is administered are effectively carried out, (b) examine for approval or disapproval all public or private projects involving developments of more than local character, (c) assure that the principle of non-discrimination in commercial treatment is applied, and the promotion of equality of economic opportunity is undertaken, in a manner which safeguards the long-run interests of the inhabitants, and (d) assure that emigration and immigration shall be regulated in the interest of the inhabitants of the area. Each Supervisory Council shall make an annual report together with recommendations to the Executive Authority on the various territories under its supervision. It shall also report to the Executive Authority promptly any situation which affects the peaceful relations of the territories or any failure of the administrative Power to carry out its obligations. The Executive Authority shall decide the time and manner of the publication of these reports.

The inhabitants shall have the right of petition directly to the Supervisory Council, subject to such regulations or conditions as the Supervisory Council shall prescribe subject to the approval of the Executive Authority.

Secretariat

Each Supervisory Council shall be assisted by a Secretariat which shall include individuals trained in administration of dependent areas, and specialists in the fields of education, public works, administration of justice, health, nutrition, etc. Each Secretariat shall include a field staff.

Administrative Power

Unless and until other arrangements are made by the Executive Authority, dependent peoples shall be administered by the metropolitan powers now members of the United Nations exercising authority over them, subject to the direction and control of the Supervisory Council. Neutral states now governing dependent territories shall, in accepting participation in the Executive Authority, agree to place such territories under the trusteeship regime.

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The administration in each territory shall exercise its authority according to a Charter which shall set forth the duties, responsibilities and powers deemed by the Executive Authority to be most suitable to the stage of development of the peoples in that territory, having regard to social and economic conditions and to factors affecting general security.

All officers of the Administrative Power shall subscribe to a declaration of loyalty to the International Organization.

The local inhabitants shall be assimilated in the administrative and technical services to the fullest practicable extent. In the event that the Executive Authority or a Supervisory Council exercises trusteeship over territories for which no administrative power exists, such administrative and technical positions shall be open to qualified nationals of all states comprising the United Nations.

The administration in each territory shall submit an annual report to the Regional Supervisory Council on the manner in which it has fulfilled its functions, attaching thereto copies of its accounts and of the measures adopted in the territory during the year. The report will be examined by the Supervisory Council in the presence of an accredited representative from the territorial government who shall be prepared to supply any supplementary information requested by the Council. The Executive Authority shall determine the time and manner of the publication of the report.

V. Operation of the trusteeship machinery.

A. For the dependent peoples

It shall be the task of the Administrative Power under the direction of the Supervisory Council to provide justice in the courts, to assure civil liberties, to provide equality of economic opportunities, and to further education for self-government.

In the dependent areas which the Axis powers have temporarily occupied, the Supervisory Council and Administrative Power shall harmonize restoration of previous property rights of foreign nationals

with

with greater economic opportunity for the local inhabitants.

In providing for improved labor standards, health and the general social welfare of the inhabitants, the Supervisory Council and the Administrative Power shall have the assistance of the International Labor Organization and other technical bodies of the International Organization.

B. For the general well-being of the world

With due regard to the importance of furthering freedom of economic opportunity among nations, and with due regard to any general economic arrangement that may be evolved by the International Organization, the Administrative Power in each territory shall:

1. Grant to the members of the International Organization non-discriminatory commercial treatment and equality of economic opportunity; subject to the safeguarding by the Executive Authority of the interests of the local inhabitants.

2. Avoid and prevent practices which lead to excessive prices or monopoly of raw materials;

3. Cooperate helpfully with plans for local and international development recommended by the Supervisory Council.

The dependent areas shall be administered in such a manner as to contribute to the general security of the world. No military, naval or air bases or defence forces may be established except as agreed upon by the Executive Authority as being in the interest of such general security.

VI. Budget.

The expenses of the various supervisory councils and secretariats shall be provided for in the budget of the International organization. The executive authority, upon the basis of estimates submitted by the supervisory councils, shall fix the budgets for their work.

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The administrative expenses of the territorial government other than the salaries of the agents of the administrative power, shall be defrayed from the revenues of the territory under administration. The salaries of nationals, other than those of the administrative power and of the inhabitants of the territory which are employed in the administrative or technical services, shall be incorporated in the budget fixed by the executive authority, with due regard to the contribution of both the administrative power and of the territory, in so far as the revenues of these territories are insufficient to bear the costs thereof.

In the event that the executive authority or a supervisory council exercise the trusteeship over the territories for which no administrative power exists, the costs of administration, above the revenues of the territory, shall be borne in a manner to be determined by the executive authority.

Recommendation

If possible the United Nations should agree now upon a plan for international trusteeship.

Annex I

Various "ownerships" should be brought under the International Trusteeship. Whereas the mandate system of the League of Nations concerned itself only with territories surrendered to the Allied and Associated Powers, the International Trusteeship will concern itself with "dependent peoples not yet ready for self-government." The following classes of territories and dependent peoples come under consideration:

A. The present mandated territories.

B. Territories to be surrendered by the Axis at the close of the war.

C. Territories over which United Nations assert governmental authority.

D. Territories administered by neutrals.

African territories, other than Ethiopia, surrendered by Italy, shall be placed directly under the administration of one of the supervisory councils provided for Africa, which shall provide the agency to undertake a program in international administration and development. This administrative agency shall be open to experts from all countries members of the International Organization.

Annex II

Various areas, such as islands in the Pacific and certain strategic points in other parts of the world should be treated primarily from the standpoint of their importance in an international security system and as commercial airports for the inter-continental air transportation service of the future. Some of these areas can best be administered by the power now exercising sovereignty over them; others by direct administration of the International Organization; others by inclusion under the trusteeship for a regional area. The Authority of the United Nations provisionally and the Executive Authority of the International Organization finally shall determine the disposition of such areas.

Annex III

Annex III

Regional Supervisory Councils and Territorial Dispositions

NORTH PACIFIC REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: China, Russia, and the United States.

Territorial Dispositions

Korea:

To be temporarily administered by the Council, anticipating independence probably with close economic ties with China.

Pescadores:

Conditional upon security arrangements to be administered by the council.

Formosa:

Conditional upon security arrangements to be administered by China.

SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: Australia, New Zealand, China, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the United States, probably seated at Manila. France may later be represented on the council if French administration over Indo-China is restored. Portugal will have no place on the council because of the proposed assimilation of its South Pacific territories with those of other powers or those under the direct control of the regional supervisory council.

Territorial Dispositions

French Indo-China (pending further consideration):
Burma:
Malaya:
Ceylon:

To be administered by present controlling powers under the council.

Portuguese

Portuguese Timor (Portugal possibly to be compensated):

To be administered by the council, or alternatively to be assimilated into the Netherlands East Indies.

OTHER FAR EASTERN AREAS

Territorial Dispositions

Areas now mandated to Australia, British Empire, and New Zealand:
British island possessions:
Australian and New Zealand possessions:
New Caledonia and French Pacific Islands:

To be administered outside trusteeship by present controlling powers.

Macao (Portugal possibly to be compensated):

To be administered under Chinese sovereignty.

New Hebrides:

Status left undecided pending further investigation of the Anglo-French condominium.

Japanese Mandated Islands:
Hong Kong:
Straits Settlements:

Status to depend upon security arrangements.

Philippine Islands:
Thailand:

To be independent but with special position.

Possible Association in South Pacific

An association might be formed among the peoples sufficiently advanced to deserve expedited development towards self-government and those of small independent countries in the neighborhood. Peoples falling within

this

this classification would include those of the Philippines, French Indo-China, and Burma, with possibly the Netherlands Indies and Thailand included. Borneo would be excluded.

The association might operate through a general assembly in which each component area within the association would have equal representation, due account being taken of the wishes of the populations themselves and of minorities in the selection of representatives. This assembly would meet at least once each year at Manila to debate grievances, discuss common problems, and prepare petitions and constructive recommendations for presentation to the South Pacific regional supervisory council. Because of differences in advancement among the component areas it would be impracticable to vest the general assembly with legislative authority over the whole association (or union or federation or regional forum). Its powers might be increased, however, when the regional supervisory council thought it advisable. In the immediate future its power to recommend would be confined to those areas administered by European powers. The Philippines and (possibly) Thailand, thus excluded from the competency of the assembly, would also be represented on the council.

The general assembly would be empowered to carry out responsibilities entrusted to it by the council which would provide such expert and technical advisers as the assembly might request.

The economic and social purposes of international trusteeship would be fostered within the association.

NORTH AFRICA REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: Great Britain, Greece, Spain, Turkey, Egypt, and France. The eventual inclusion of Italy is tentatively not precluded. The seat of the council would be Tangier.

Territorial Dispositions:

Spanish Morocco:
French Morocco:

To remain under Spain and France respectively

as

as administrative powers subject to the supervision of the council. The ultimate objective of the trusteeship for both Spanish and French Morocco is independence (presumably as one state).

Rio de Oro:

To remain under Spain as administrative power subject to the supervision of the council.

Tangier:

To cease to be under a separate international regime; to be included in Spanish Morocco.

Tunisia:

To be administered by France subject to supervision by the council. Any tendency toward incorporation into France should be restrained, since Tunisia should approach the goal of independence.

Libya:

To be placed under direct administration by the council.

Algeria:

To be left unchanged in status, namely, as an integral part of France.

EAST AFRICA REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: France, Great Britain, Egypt, and subject to reservation, Ethiopia. Italy's future participation is tentatively not precluded.

Territorial Dispositions

Trusteeship areas might include Eritrea, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and British Somaliland. Recommendations as to their administrative status remain under consideration.

Ethiopia:

To be regarded as independent and accepted as a member of the international organization. Any

required

required assistance shall be provided by the international organization.

WEST AFRICA REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: Belgium, Great Britain, France, Liberia, Portugal, and Spain, with seat at Leopoldville.

Territorial Dispositions:

French West Africa;
French Equatorial Africa;
Gambia (British);
Sierra Leone (British);
Gold Coast (British);
Nigeria (British);
Portuguese Guinea;
Fernando Pó;
Spanish Guinea;
Belgian Congo;

To continue under their present administration subject to the supervision of the council.

The Togolands (French and British mandates);
The Cameroons (British and French mandates);

To be administered directly by the council.

Liberia:

To have status of an independent state.

SOUTH AFRICA REGION

Regional Supervisory Council.--Members: Belgium, France, Great Britain, Union of South Africa, and Portugal, with seat at Pretoria or Johannesburg.

Territorial Dispositions:

Mozambique:
Angola:

To remain under the administration of Portugal subject to the supervision of the council. An effort to work out a resettlement plan for Angola, which offers the most satisfactory opportunity for large-scale resettlement of Europeans, will be made by

the

the executive authority in cooperation with the Portuguese Government.

Northern Rhodesia:
Nyasaland:
Kenya:
Uganda:
Zanzibar:

To remain under British administration subject to supervision by the council.

Madagascar:

To continue under French administration subject to supervision by the Council.

Tanganyika (British mandate):
Ruanda-Urundi (Belgian mandate):

To be placed under direct administration by the council.

Southwest Africa (South African mandate):

To be assimilated, if upon further study this still appears feasible, into the Union of South Africa because of close political and economic ties, with encouragement of a federal relationship.

Contingent upon the result of further study, form of federal relationship between the Union of South Africa and Swaziland, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, and Bechuanaland, in addition to Southwest Africa, should be encouraged; its extension to Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland is considered undesirable.

MIDDLE AND NEAR EAST REGION

No regional supervisory council is contemplated.

Territorial Dispositions:

Palestine should be placed temporarily under a special international trusteeship, possibly composed of Great Britain, United States, Turkey, and perhaps others. The United Nations are to be regarded as inheritors of the mandates, but they are to be considered bound by internationally accepted principles and commitments emerging out of the present situation rather than by past principles or, as in 1917-1919, by national promises.

Syria

Syria and Lebanon should be independent (as one state or two) and may temporarily require a special trusteeship.

MISCELLANEOUS AREAS

The status of Gibraltar depends upon security arrangements.

The Azores should continue under Portuguese administration without change of status.

POSTWAR TREATMENT OF EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN

With a view to distinguishing possible courses of action after the war, these possessions appear to fall into three groupings: (I) The British, French, and Dutch insular possessions; (II) the three Guianas; and (III) British Honduras.

The United States and the other American Republics have an interest in these regions, separate and apart from the Monroe Doctrine, by reason of the naval and air bases in these possessions which are available to all the American Republics.

The Insular Possessions

Suggested Solution

The maintenance of the present legal status of the insular possessions in the Caribbean area of Great Britain, Holland and France. In order, however, to improve the economic and social conditions of the inhabitants of these islands, these countries should agree jointly:

(a) to liberalize trade arrangements and develop inter-island communications;
(b) to liberalize immigration laws consistent with plans for resettlement;
(c) to expedite the training of the local populations for greater participation in local government.

The economic advantages to be anticipated from a closer association in this area would seem to be so substantial that steps designed to encourage such integration should be taken if and as opportunity offers.

It

It is also recommended that the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission should be expanded by the inclusion of France and Holland to form a Joint Caribbean Commission. This Commission should have for its purpose the making of recommendations looking to the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the inhabitants of the islands, and upon joint agreement, to direct and supervise the carrying out of such projects of resettlement, diversification of agriculture, etc., as may seem desirable.

The Three Guianas

Suggested Solutions

Alternative No. 1.--For these possessions, the committee considers the most desirable solution to be the complete elimination of European sovereignty, for the following reasons:

(a) the Guianas form a part of the mainland of the American continent, no part of which the American Republics wish to have regarded as colonial territory;

(b) the use of French Guiana as a dumping ground for convicts is a disgrace;

(c) action to remove European control would be a gesture of inter-American solidarity;

(d) the Guianas, under proper administration and with adequate developmental assistance, might become a resettlement area.

Cession of the Guianas to Brazil and Venezuela would facilitate the realization of the objectives of the trusteeship principle, as well as other American desires. In case it proved impossible to secure cession without compensation, the nature and extent of any necessary concessions, as well as the line of partition between Brazil and Venezuela, could be determined by negotiation. Since the Guianas have long been losing properties for the controlling powers, a treaty guarantee of protection to European private investments against subsequent confiscation might serve as sufficient inducement.

Alternative No. 2.--In the event that cession proved impracticable, the present legal status of the Guianas might be left untouched, provided that France pledged

itself

itself to discontinue use of the territories for penal purposes; and provided further that all three powers undertook to improve economic and social conditions in the territories. If a substantial group of immigrants with demonstrated capacity for self-government, could be settled in the area, and economic and social conditions were progressively improved, it might be possible in the course of time to develop a practicable basis for a unified independent Guiana.

British Honduras

Suggested Solution

A. Negotiations to be undertaken between the United States and Great Britain for the relinquishment of British sovereignty over British Honduras, with appropriate compensation and due regard to the protection of existing private interests.

B. Determination of the future status of the area to be decided by the American Republics with due regard for the alleged rights of the Republics of Guatemala and Mexico.

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SOME ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NOTES ON QUESTION RELATING TO ARTICLE VII OF THE MUTUAL AID AGREEMENT.

METHODS OF PREPARATION FOR ARTICLE VII DISCUSSIONS.

The British inter-departmental committees consisting of leading civil servants of the departments, and presided over by Sir William Jowitt, continue their regular meetings. One of them is devoted to domestic reconstruction and the other to international reconstruction. They have covered a wide field already and far more blueprints are completed or under consideration than outsiders realise. Under the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility these documents will be kept rigorously secret until they have been sanctioned by the Cabinet.

As regards the documents on international economic measures, the procedure is that they originate in particular departments and are passed to other relevant departments and made the subject of discussion in the committee referred to above, which deals with international economic measures only. When agreed on in this committee they are submitted to a Cabinet committee which has been appointed to deal with these subjects. The Cabinet committee examines them with a view to approving them as a basis for international discussion. This approval means that they are in general line with government policy and may be used as a basis for discussion but the Government is not necessarily committed to every detail in them. It is rather expected that after the views of any other country with whom they may be discussed are heard they will be reconsidered and perhaps modified. As a result of the informal talks with Dominions economists some modifications are being made.

Thus the British envisage a combination of responsible proposals having general Government backing, with informality and flexibility as to details. So far as we are concerned we

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would like any proposed plans drawn up by our Government economists to be put forward with some degree of general Government backing and not as merely representing the views of an individual, whether a civil servant or a single member of the Administration. This does not mean that papers outlining plans should be put forward as cut and dried Government proposals but only that the general approach in such plans or suggestions should represent more than the ideas and wishes of an individual. What they themselves are arriving at is a combination of informality with responsibility.

GENERAL PROSPECTS OF U.S. - BRITISH AGREEMENT.

The prospects from the British end remains good. The primary condition is that of a satisfactory solution of Britain's immediate post-war balance of payments problem, and here the plan for some form of international clearing union scheme still holds first place. Progress with some such plan would effectively clear the way for a wide advance in international economic reconstruction generally.

This of course does not mean that so long as a clearing union plan is adopted the British will accept uncritically plans presented to them on other aspects of international economic relations. Such plans would certainly receive the most sympathetic consideration and there would be no attempt to drive hard bargains, but on economic grounds they would be closely scrutinised. The leading economists in the country are in Government positions and the technical level of government service in Whitehall is far higher than it was before the war. The Draft Wheat Agreement in the form in which it was first drawn up in 1941 was severely criticised from a technical standpoint as well as from the standpoint of policy and the strongest

criticisms came from the liberal and progressive economists who vigorously supported within government circles our policy on Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement.

It remains true however that once the international monetary issues are satisfactorily dealt with there is an excellent prospect that British Government circles will fully cooperate on lines acceptable to us in the solution of the other aspects of international economic relations, including the subject of preferences and discriminations. Indeed it is not inconceivable that they may be ready to go further in certain directions than it is believed in some quarters that our Congress will be ready to go.

BRITISH FEARS REGARDING AMERICAN POST-WAR ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

In recent months British Government circles and the British public have adopted more cautious estimate than before of the probable policy of the United States in the early post-war period. The outward resemblance between certain events in the later stages of the 1914-18 war and in this war is making an impression in Britain. A Democratic President and Administration of high purpose and progressive international outlook, a Congress starting with a substantial Democratic majority but later losing ground to the Republicans, a Congress at first granting increased powers to the President but later showing an increasing desire to assert its power as against that of the President - these things lead to growing doubts amont many British people about the chances that the United States will be ready when the time comes to adopt the concrete measures essential to give practical effect to the high principles set out in the Atlantic Charter and in Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement. No one here questions the sincerity of

/President

President Roosevelt and the Administration on post-war economic reconstruction. But an increasing number of people fear that Congress will show both the will and the way to block the measures which alone can make international economic cooperation a reality and not merely a matter of hopeful declarations.

In talking to older civil servants who were in government service in the last war, you find that their fears are based mainly on analogies with the last war, rather than on an attempt to appraise present American conditions in detail. Among government economists who were not regularly in government service before the war, and among younger junior ministers, for example Richard Law, there is more inclination to consider contemporary conditions and take account of differences between the present situation and that in the last war. They recognise the superior domestic political strategy of President Roosevelt as compared with President Wilson; the difference between the circumstances in which we entered this war and those in which we entered the last war; and the effect on the recent elections of the inability of many progressive Americans to vote owing to change of residence or absence with the armed forces. Their attitude is more hopeful than that of those whose views are dominated by analogies with the last war and post-war periods. But their hopes are restrained and tempered with increasing caution.

In these more optimistic circles there is some hope that Mr. Willkie will be able to split the Republicans on international issues sufficiently to prevent a reactionary Republican candidate either from gaining the nomination or, if nominated, from gaining the Presidency. Mr. Willkie's stock in this country has fallen since his return from his recent international journey. But a number of progressives who dislike his

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utterances of colonial questions deliberately refrain from replying to him because they think that on the whole he stands for internal economic cooperation and they hope that he may be able to contribute towards blocking the reactionaries within his party.

Misgivings about future American policy have grown at a time when the country as a whole is showing an increasing interest in post-war reconstruction. Coming at this time the Beveridge Report has directed much of this interest into domestic reconstruction. The reception of the Beveridge and Uthwatt Reports and the weakness of opposition to drastic changes shows that the British people are prepared to go far in post-war reconstruction and that no Government which is not prepared to go far will have any chance of holding power after the war. As Mr. Casey has pointed out, interest in post-war reconstruction and especially in the Beveridge Report is very keen among the victorious fighting forces in the Middle East.

Thus there is wide agreement on the desirability of drastic domestic reforms after the war. With the growing hesitancy about American post-war policy, and the absence so far as the general public has knowledge of definite moves to implement the Atlantic Charter and Article VII in the sphere of international policy, the question arises what would be the attitude of Britain towards post-war international economic policy if it felt that it could not rely on our Congress being willing to go far in the reduction of trade barriers and in international monetary cooperation.

In such a case there is little doubt that a progressive policy would still be pursued as far as possible in domestic matters. But opinion would be divided on international economic policy. In some quarters there would be support for planned

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international buying without close regard to questions of discrimination, since it would be felt that liberal multilateral trading would create undue exchange difficulties unless the United States cooperated.

On the other hand it is possible that if our Congress seemed likely to hinder the implementation of Article VII the British might assume moral leadership in matters of international economic reconstruction as they are already tending to do in matters of domestic reconstruction and might invite other countries to join them in progressive measures relating to trade and exchanges. From personal conversations it is already clear that some government economists and certain Ministers would favor such a course.

The attacks by Mr. Henry Luce, Mr. Willkie and others on British colonial policy have perhaps tended to create a feeling of greater independence on the part of Britain. Mr. Luce's attacks provoked a quite generally unfavorable reaction on right, center and left. The left was not impressed with such criticisms, coming from a group whose chief objective, in their view, in advocating Anglo-American cooperation was to support private as against public enterprise. Mr. Willkie's attack found some supporters on the left but not among those representatives of labor nor among progressives with knowledge and experience of colonial problems. Among the latter groups it is felt that Mr. Willkie's stress on the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to colonial questions seriously oversimplifies the problem and that the welfare of the masses of people in dependencies would in many areas be seriously injured by suddenly handing them over to dominant local groups. There is no lack of progressive sentiment in Britain on the subject of dependencies but it finds its expression in a program not along Mr. Willkie's lines but in accordance with the principles indicated

indicated in President Roosevelt's Philippine Day message and Vice President Wallace's speeches stressing the objective of increasing welfare and standards of living among the masses of people in all countries.

THE BRITISH PROGRAM FOR ARTICLE VII DISCUSSIONS.

Clearing Union Plan.

As indicated above this occupies a key position in relation to plans for implementing Article VII, and progress with some plan along the lines suggested in the British paper, or some modification of it, is regarded as an essential part of the whole program.

Commodity Agreements.

A paper has been completed on this subject after prolonged interdepartmental discussion in which the Foreign Office, the Treasury, the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade and the War Cabinet Secretariat have participated. The chief differences of view have been on the issue of whether and how far allocation of production quotas and export quotas of some raw materials should be permitted. The Government economists with the exception of Henderson and to a certain extent Leith-Ross have on the whole frowned on such quantitative regulation and have stressed the dangers that raw material controls will be operated in the interests of producers and to bolster up high cost producers. They have wished to confine controls in the main to the prevention of undue price fluctuations by such measures as financing carry-overs or the disposal of "surpluses".

On the other hand Leith Ross and those who have been concerned with the actual working of controls in the past seem to have held the view that in the case of some raw materials

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the prevention of undue fluctuations could not be achieved without some form of "quantitative" regulation.

Of these two viewpoints it is believed that the former has on the whole prevailed in the final document. In particular it seems that a general International Commodity Council is now provided for, and that councils dealing with particular commodities would be committees of the general Council. The object of this is to exercise proper supervision over control organisations dealing with particular commodities and prevent them from adopting monopolistic and restrictive policies.

As regards the question of "quantitative" regulation it is believed that the adoption by any single Control of production allocations and quantitative regulation of exports would only be allowed if the general Council agreed that certain special conditions prevailing in a particular period justified such measures - for example in a period of dislocation and reorganisation; or possibly special conditions of supply or demand or both in the case of one or two commodities. It is held by some that costs of production of rubber producers differ so little that price changes alone, without any other form of regulation, tend to cause excessive increases and decreases in supply. It is probable that the British scheme will provide close safeguards against the possibility that the controllers of any single raw material will adopt a policy out of harmony with the general trade and commercial policy under Article VII and that quantitative regulation will only be permitted as an exception and for the most part on a temporary basis.

The supporters of quantitative regulation have pointed to the Draft Wheat Agreement as indicating American acceptance of the principle of export quotas. The liberal British Government economists however refuse to accept this interpretation and resist the principle - except possibly in the special cases

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mentioned above - as opening the way to dangerous inconsistencies with desirable trade policies. Some individuals in the British and in some of the Allied Governments established in London have privately expressed the view that the Wheat Agreement itself, at least if it is likely to be carried further in another conference, is inconsistent with the trade policies which we have been advocating.

It is believed that the British plan provides for full authoritative consumer representation on each commodity council that may be set up and therefore involves substantial changes in the composition of pre-war controls.

Thus there is good reason to believe that the liberal economists have definitely won the upper hand in British treatment of the problems of commodity controls and that their plan is primarily a buffer stock plan with full government consumer representation and a general Council to supervise councils for separate commodities and establish safeguards against monopolistic restrictive practices.

International Capital Development.

The British do not contemplate putting forward proposals relating to the organisation of international capital development since they fear that in the immediate post-war years Britain may not be in a position to export large quantities of capital. There is no doubt, however, that they recognise the importance of the subject and are prepared to cooperate if we put forward a plan.

Freer Trade and Non-Discrimination.

For a time the British proposed to wait for us to take the initiative in working out the details of a plan for the reduction of tariffs and the absence of discriminations. But owing to the initiative of certain Government economists the Board

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of Trade, with the part-time help of certain economists drawn from other government agencies, is now working on a project for a sort of low-tariff union of countries, which would agree to certain standards of conduct and take certain measures for the reduction of tariffs and the abandonment of discriminations. This is in the hands of liberal economists and civil servants and is backed by Harcourt Johnstone, and Under Secretary in the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, and by the President of the Board of Trade. The plan has to pass through the other departments and the interdepartmental committee and receive the green light from the Cabinet Committee which passes on documents submitted by the interdepartmental committee. It is believed that good progress has been made and that there is a definite prospect that the British may be prepared to take the initiative in 1943 in submitting plans for freer trade and the dropping of discriminations.

For the present this matter should be treated as confidential since the plans are in process and have not yet reached the stage of adoption.

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE DOMINIONS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE VII.

The recent discussions with Dominions economists were informal and non committal and had been decided on many months ago when it had been expected that they would be preceded by similar discussions with us. It had been hoped that they would be timed to follow fairly closely the discussions with us.

South Africa was represented by one of their London Staff. It does not appear that the South African Government Departments are yet giving a leading place to post-war reconstruction problems but there is no evidence here that they were opposed to the talks.

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The documents discussed at the meetings were International Clearing Union Plan and a tentative draft of the international commodity control plan referred to above. Personal talks with British, Canadian and New Zealand economists who were present at the discussions indicate that the discussions were regarded as valuable and conducted at a high technical level. At the meetings the Canadian economists expressed a preference for completely separating the monetary plan from the commodity plan: that is, they were not in favor of allowing the Clearing Union to give limited overdraft facilities to the Commodity Control to finance buffer stocks or "ever normal granaries", as suggested in section VIII, paragraph 38, point (3) of the British "Proposals for an International Clearing Union."

The British-Dominions discussions were essentially non-committal talks between technicians and it is the unanimous opinion of the Dominions and British economists with whom the matter was discussed that nothing was further from the minds of those who participated in the talks than the idea of forming a policy in opposition to our policy. On the contrary the emphasis was in the opposite direction. In personal talks with British and Dominion economists who had been present at the discussions the only criticisms of any aspect of our economic policy came from Canadian economists who said they were anxious not to let the agricultural "parity" principle cross the border into Canada.

British economists said that these informal non-committal talks between technicians were the kind of talks they were anxious to have with us.

Conclusion.

The position in Great Britain is favorable for the working out of measures to implement in detail the principles laid down

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in Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement. Apprehensions concerning the attitude of the United States Congress have recently increased but at the same time public sentiment in favor of proceeding rapidly with post-war reconstruction has grown stronger and the technical work of formulating concrete reconstruction measures for both domestic and international reconstruction has made marked progress within government departments and some plans have received Cabinet Committee sanction as a basis for international talks at an informal technical level. More will follow.

Plans concerning an International Clearing Union and International Commodity Councils have been completed tentatively. A plan for an international low tariff union of countries is in process of formulation. Provided that we are in a position to "deliver the goods" in the matter of tariff reduction there is every reason to believe that our position on preferences and discriminations will be met. Proposals for an international organisation concerned with capital development are favored by the British but they would prefer to leave us to take the initiative because they are doubtful how far in the early post-war years they will be able to export capital.

The British plan for international commodity controls is in the main based on the conception of buffer stocks or "ever normal granaries". It is believed that it would only permit "quantitative" regulation (production quotas, export quotas and the like) in exceptional cases and by general agreement, and that it provides for one general International Council to which councils for individual commodities would be attached as sub-committees. It is believed that the general council would exercise supervision to check producer interests from exercising monopoly powers in their own interests.

AN ADDENDUM ON EXCHANGE CONTROL.

British economists believe that it is essential in the post-war period to control international movements of capital in such a way as to prevent flight movements and speculative movements of short-term capital which may threaten the stability of the exchanges and the whole domestic economic structure of countries from which the capital flows. They consider that this would be best accomplished by each country agreeing not to receive such flight and speculative capital when in the view of the country from which it came or perhaps in the view of the management of an international clearing union such movements constitute a threat to international stability. Such an arrangement, they feel, would remove the need for rigorous exercise of control of exchange transactions such as they exercise in wartime.

These views are expressed off the record by economists and it is doubtful whether the British would feel able to take the lead in making such a proposal because they feel that we would be the country most likely to have occasion to exercise the control of influxes of flight and speculative capital. It seems certain that if we felt able to take the lead in the matter we should in return be able to obtain drastic relaxation in exchange controls of Britain and European countries after the war.

E. F. Penrose

American Embassy, London.

December 19, 1942.

WHITE HOUSE
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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

PEF:

The President,

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

Most schemes for post-war organizations of the United Nations take in so much territory that it is difficult to see how they will work.

I want to make this suggestion for your thinking:

A United Nations Organization could be set up now to consider two specific things:

1. Internationalization of world-wide airports for use by the United Nations.

2. Formulation of world-wide policies regarding international cartels, so as to prevent these "private governments" from thwarting the true peace aims of the common peoples of the world.

There would be a wide popular support for a United Nations approach to these two problems. If they were handled satisfactorily, new functions could be assigned to the international group which had dealt successfully with them. In this way, international administration of international problems could grow and develop naturally.

Respectfully yours,

H A Wallace

H. A. Wallace

The enclosed on International airports is interesting. Talking with Juan Trippe of Pan-Air, I found he had a rather pro-British slant and was quite willing to loan them some of his planes. He rather likes the thought of an International Air Authority. He is even willing to see his own business taken over.

BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE
OFFICE OF IMPORTS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

In Reply Refer To:

February 5, 1943

MEMORANDUM TO MILO PERKINS

Dear Milo: When I was in Algiers I had the opportunity of meeting several of the officers of the Headquarters Air Staff. On one occasion two of them urged upon me that consideration be given to the establishment of international air bases available to the commercial air planes of all nations in the post war period. They informed me that they already noticed an effort on the part of the British to obtain exclusive rights to certain air bases of importance.

When I was in Dakar, I had occasion to speak with officers of the Air Transport Command who felt that an effort should be made immediately to obtain an air agreement for the use by all nations of important air bases such as Dakar. Prior to the War the French Government had refused permission to the commercial airlines of other nations to use air bases such as Dakar.

Hence, I think that either through the Department of State or through our military command such agreements should be made with the British Government and also with the governments of other nations through whose territories we are now operating planes.

Such agreements should be expanded as our areas of operation are expanded.

Sincerely yours,

Morris S. Rosenthal