

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LATTA:

With reference to your memorandum of February 14, 1945, transmitting to the Department for translation and appropriate action a telegram from Manuel Prado, President of the Republic of Peru, I am returning herewith the original telegram and a translation thereof.

As this message is an acknowledgment of one sent Manuel Prado by the President, the Department feels that no reply is necessary.

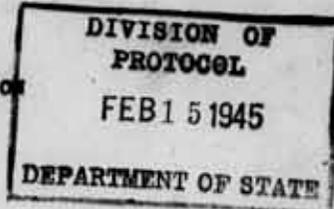
G. T. Summerlin
George T. Summerlin
Chief of Protocol

Enclosure:

Telegram from
Manuel Prado,
February 13, 1945,
with translation.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CENTRAL TRANSLATING DIVISION

[TRANSLATION]



TC No. 9117

JB86 LAZ14 LIMA PERU 126 P ERUGHR 13 514PM VIA AAC

HIS EXCELLENCY,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I heartily appreciate Your Excellency's kind message in connection with Peru's attitude in recognizing that a state of effective belligerency exists with Germany and Japan. This declaration is the natural consequence of the policy that I have followed with invariable firmness since the war began and especially since the moment your great nation suffered the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. I repeat once again to Your Excellency Peru's determination to continue to render her full cooperation in the war effort until final victory reestablishes in the world the essential principles of Christian civilization. I beg you to accept the assurances of my highest personal esteem.

MANUEL PRADO.

.....

February 14, 1945

Respectfully referred to the
Department of State for translation
and appropriate handling.

Please return, for the files
of this Office, the original message,
a copy of the translation, and a copy
of any acknowledgment sent directly
by the Department.

Attention: Mr. Summerlin.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

hmc

Cable from Manuel Prado, Lima, Peru, 2/13/45, to the President,
in Spanish.

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1945 FEB 13 PM 3:31

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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FRANK W. PHELAN
PRESIDENT

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS RECEIVED "VIA ALL AMERICA"

JB86 LAZ14 LIMA PERU 126 P ERUGHR 13 514PM VIA AAC=
EXCELENTISIMO SENOR FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTE
DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS WASHINGTONDC=

APRECIO CORDIALMENTE EL ATENTO MENSAJE DE VUESTRA EXCELENCIA
CON MOTIVO DE LA ACTITUD DEL PERU AL RECONOCER QUE EXISTE UN
ESTADO DE EFECTIVA BELIGERANCIA CON ALEMANIA Y EL JAPON ESTA
DECLARACION ES LA CONSECUENCIA NATURAL DE LA POLITICA QUE
CONFIRMEZA INVARIABLE HE SEGUIDO DESDE QUE SE INICIO LA GUERRA
Y ESPECIALMENTE DESDE EL MOMENTO EN QUE ESA GRAN NACION SUFRIO
EL ALEVOSO ATAQUE CONTRA PEARL HARBOUR UNA VEZ MAS REITERO A
VUESTRA EXCELENCIA LA DECISION DEL PERU DE CONTINUAR PRESTANDO
TODA SU COOPERACION EN EL ESFUERZO BELICO HASTA QUE LA VICTORIA
DEFINITIVA RESTABLEZCA EN EL MUNDO LOS PRINCIPIOS ESENCIALES DE
LA CIVILIZACION CRISTIANA RUEGOLE ACEPTAR LOS SENTIMIENTOS DE
MI MAS ALTO APRECIO PERSONAL=

MANUEL PRADO.

PSF

United Nations Conf folder
4-45-

February 10, 1945

My dear Cordell,

I have today decided upon the personnel of the American Delegation to the United Nations Conference which is soon to be announced. As I shall not return home for several weeks, it has seemed to me wise and proper to settle this important matter now.

Naturally, you were my first choice, and that of Ed Stettinius, as Chairman of the American Delegation and the presiding officer of the Conference itself. However, in view of the distance to San Francisco, the site which we have chosen for the Conference, and the early date which has been selected, April 25, 1945, Admiral McIntyre feels very strongly that in your best interests we should not ask you to assume this arduous task. He has, nonetheless, consented to our asking you to assume the task of Senior Delegate of the American Delegation and Senior Adviser to that Delegation.

It is my earnest hope that you will feel that you can undertake this considerable responsibility. We are relying greatly upon your wise counsel and vast store of wisdom in these matters which will be invaluable in the preparations for the Conference, even if you and your physicians decide that a trip to San Francisco by the end of April is unwise.

We have had most heartening success in our collaborative efforts here. Your own presence was missed by all three Delegations.

With my warmest hopes that your progress toward full health has been uninterrupted since I saw you last,

~~Most sincerely yours,~~

Cordially yours

(s) Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Honorable
Cordell Hull
Washington, D. C.

TO MR. HULL
FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE
REPLY TO MR. HULL
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
February 17, 1945

file

4725-G
①

February 17, 1945.

Dear Mr. President;

I have received today your letter of February 10 regarding the American Delegation to the forthcoming United Nations Conference. You may be sure that I appreciate deeply the kind expressions contained in your letter.

I have made no public statement upon being named by you as a Delegate to the San Francisco Conference. None would seem to be necessary at this time. I should be most happy to be helpful in any way possible in advancing this noble enterprise.

Beginning at an early date, I hope to collaborate to a moderate extent with our associates on this general undertaking. I continue to make progress and it seems likely that I can leave the hospital in a few weeks.

Again, my warmest congratulations on your huge accomplishments at Yalta.

Faithfully yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The President,
The White House.

PSF

UN Conf. folder - 4-45



The Argonaut

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February 13, 1945

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THE ARGONAUT is a good paper, one of the best of its class. It is enterprising, it is up to date and in good taste. It has humor, and that humor is clean. Its criticism is often excellent, and it covers many fields. It is a journal of which it is possible to say many pleasant things, and it is conspicuous in the West.

NEW YORK EVENING POST—

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NEW YORK MUSICAL COURIER—

THE ARGONAUT of San Francisco is one of those exchanges which it is always a pleasure to read.

TOLEDO BLADE—

THE ARGONAUT, the bright San Francisco weekly.

GLASGOW NEWS—

THE SAN FRANCISCO ARGONAUT has literary style and notions of proportion and gentlemanly instinct.

Mr. Stephen Early
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Early:

The telegraphic reports state that President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill will probably be in San Francisco sometime before and after April 25th, to attend the United Nations Conference to be held here.

We were discussing this matter last night at our home, and Miss Dorothy Spreckels, who has a magnificent estate at Burlingame, which is a few miles from San Francisco, stated that she would be very happy to turn her home over to President Roosevelt during his stay in San Francisco.

Her residence is very large with beautiful grounds, within twenty miles of San Francisco. I thought perhaps it would be an ideal place for him to stay, and if Mr. Churchill will be with him, the house is large enough to accommodate both of them, as well as their immediate staffs. I believe the surroundings, during their busy time at this conference, would be a relief and a pleasure to both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, for I consider Miss Spreckels' home one of the most attractive in California.

This is just a suggestion, and Miss Spreckels offers it enthusiastically, for she is anxious that their stay in and around San Francisco be an enjoyable one, no matter how serious their business may be.

Sincerely yours,

William Wallace Chapin
Publisher

WWC:mbp



OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR

PSF: U N Conf. folder - 4-45
TREASURY DEPARTMENT *file*

UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 26

March 2, 1945.

My dear Mr. Daniels:

We are hoping you will be able to accompany the President on his trip to San Francisco. You will find this beautiful harbor city most exciting and colorful.

We have very pleasant memories of our short visit with you a year ago upon the occasion of being introduced by our good mutual friend, "Mac" McReynolds; also, of our discussion of the friendly relations between your father and my late dad, fellow newspapermen.

It so happens that we are a permanent guest at the Palace, one of the major hotels in California. Traditionally, the Palace has been the stopping place for presidents. While Mr. Roosevelt has established an enviable reputation for shattering precedent and tradition, in this instance we personally hope he and his party will follow custom. No place in California can take care of him and his entourage more comfortably and conveniently than the Palace.

We trust we are not being presumptuous with our suggestion. We write you personally, solely with the idea of trying to be helpful, and with the intention of making the President's stay in California more enjoyable.

With warmest personal regards -

Sincerely,

Paul R. Leake

Paul R. Leake,
Collector of Customs.



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PSF:

U. S. Copy: folder 445

file

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Mr President:-

Serge A. Finch Secretary
gets Carnegie Endowment should be asked to
be an advisor at San Francisco -

Senator

White House
Front

President 12:15 Main House

wants ~~to see you~~
to see you ↑

Dean Adelson

2101

PSF: United Nations Conf. file
4-45-

"OK - F.D.R."



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

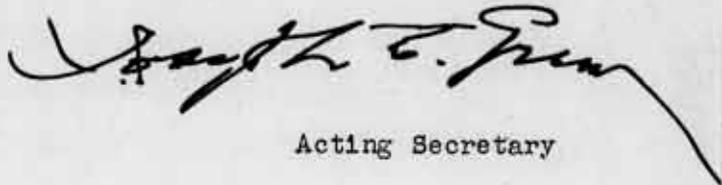
March 9, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We have had a request from Syria and Lebanon that on the basis of their recent declarations of war against Germany and Japan, they be permitted to adhere to the United Nations Declaration. Following our usual routine, it becomes necessary for us to request the concurrence to their joining the United Nations of the British, Soviet, and Chinese Governments.

Syria and Lebanon have also expressed the hope that they might be invited to the San Francisco Conference. This is obviously a matter for decision by the four inviting Powers, and in regard to the invitations to the San Francisco Conference as well as the adherence of these States to the United Nations Declaration, we would have no more voice than the other three powers.

The attached telegram has been drafted with this in mind. If you approve, would you have it returned to me for despatch?


August C. Grew

Acting Secretary

Carbon of memorandum and original message returned to
Acting Secretary Grew 3/10/45.

S/GC

Mr. Savage

~~TOP SECRET~~
NO FORN DISSEM
NO DISTRIBUTION

U. S. URGENT

EMBASSY,

LONDON.

MIAC

1. Syria declared a state of war with Germany and Japan on February 26, 1945 and Lebanon took like action on February 27. We were informed on February 28 that Syria and Lebanon desired to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations. Following the usual practice we shall, in the absence of objection from the British, Chinese, or Soviet Governments, accept their adherence.

2. Syria and Lebanon have expressed the hope that they might attend the San Francisco Conference, and we understand that they have approached the British and Soviet Ministers on this point. These two republics QUOTE by March 1, 1945 UNQUOTE entered into a state of war with Germany and Japan and expressed their intention of adhering to the Declaration by United Nations. This Government perceives no objection to an invitation being extended to Syria and Lebanon to participate at San Francisco.

Please ascertain immediately the views of Foreign Office on these two points and cable reply.

COGE ROOM: Repeat to Moscow as Depts. No.
Repeat to Chungking as Depts. No.

SPA:AH:

3/6/45

S/GC:CS:VJ

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

Acting

By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

"OK - FDR"

March 13, 1945

Handed me by Mackenzie King
to be taken up with E. R. Stettinius
the next time I see him.

F.D.R.

PSF
UN

PSF; UN Conf. folder
4-45

Memorandum re the position of small nations in the
proposed world organization:

Under the proposals, the gap is too wide between the Great Powers and secondary states which have wide international interests and have done their duty well during the war.

The position of the Great Powers is carefully hedged about so as to involve no infringement on their sovereignty beyond requiring to accept obligations to follow certain procedures and rules of conduct. All other members are placed under more stringent obligations. They have no assurance of membership in the Council beyond the chances of periodic election. When in the Council, they possess no right of veto. When not in the Council - and this perhaps most serious of all - they would nevertheless be obligated to take possibly very serious action to enforce the Council's decisions under chapter 8 (b) involving the possible application of political, economic and finally military sanctions by them against an offender. This requirement raises very serious problem about securing acceptance of the Charter.

The political difficulties are probably greater than the practical difficulties of operation since the Council would, in practice, almost certainly need to secure the consent of any government before asking it to take serious action of this sort. If that be true, why should not the proposals be changed to conform to the practice likely to be followed. This could be done by providing that enforcement of decisions of the Council - (but not action taken for the pacific settlement of disputes) - would bind only members of the Council and other states which were associated with these decisions in some manner. Such associations could come from temporary membership in Council or from agreement between the Council and the state concerned, or from approval by the Assembly of the decision in question.

Connected with this is the fact that the proposals establish no standard of responsibility whatsoever for elected members of the Council. Liberia and Salvador are as eligible under it as Brazil, Canada and the Netherlands.

It seems desirable that something should be said by the Great Powers with respect to the special arrangements to enforce the peace terms against Germany and Japan before San Francisco, as otherwise delegates there would be working in the dark on an important side of the problem. If long term engagements separate from the world organization are envisaged, the functions of the Security Council would be severely limited for a considerable period, and a concentration of attention on it would be misplaced.

If the Security Council is not called upon to act against dangers arising either from Germany or Japan or from serious disputes between the allied Great Powers, the sanctions aspect of its authority will not be of great importance until the time comes to admitting Germany and Japan in the organization.

Under the proposals, a country once in the international organization cannot get out, and the Charter could be changed only after amendments adopted by 2/3 of the Assembly have been ratified by a majority including the Five Powers with permanent Council seats. Thus each Great Power would possess a veto on amendment.

There is a good deal to be said for omitting provisions of withdrawal in view of the provisions of the League Covenant. It might be advisable to insert a provision requiring the general revision of the whole charter after a stated period of not more than 20 years and probably not less than 10 years.

The President has said frequent amendments will prove necessary. There is much, therefore, to be said for calling a constitutional assembly in due course to reform the whole structure. Dissatisfied members would then have an opportunity of dropping out.

Such a revision might appropriately coincide with the end of any special regime imposed on Germany and Japan.

Private memorandum.

Re: tendency of great powers to ignore the contribution of the other allies to the defeat of the enemy.

This is illustrated in the wording proposed by the U.S. representative on the European Advisory Commission for the preamble to the first proclamation to be issued to the German people after the cessation of organized resistance.

If the language proposed by the U.S. representative which has been accepted by the Commission as a basis for discussion were used, the first order issued to the German people on their defeat would begin as follows:

"To the people of Germany:

Germany has been completely defeated on land, at sea and in the air by the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America."

Canada has protested to London against this proposal but, thus far, has received no reply. Canadian Ambassador at Washington has been authorized to discuss it with the State Department.

Wording such as the above would prejudice inter-allied co-operation at San Francisco and in the years following the war. The declaration to the people of Germany would seem to afford to the Great Powers an opportunity publicly to recognize the difficult problem set out for other allied governments through the necessary concentration of responsibility for the direction of the war in a few hands, and to cause them to feel that their efforts have been appreciated.

It is all important that the Great Powers should look at the position fairly from the point of view of the smaller responsible countries among the Allies.

United Nations conference

~~TOP SECRET~~ 4-43

*W
7-17*

PSF

file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

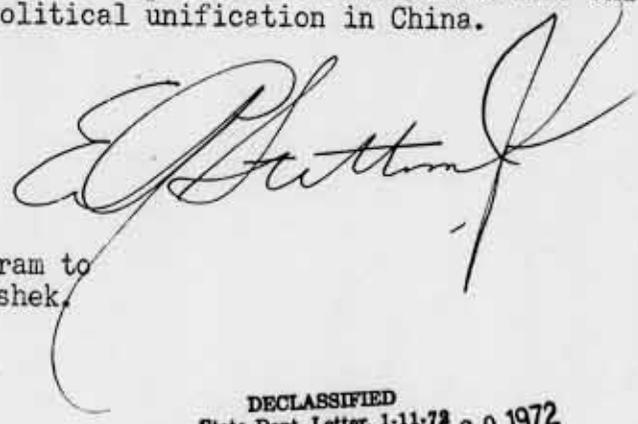
March 14, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Draft telegram to Chiang Kai-shek
regarding representation at the
San Francisco conference.

Ambassador Hurley has suggested that you might wish to send the attached telegram to Chiang Kai-shek in regard to Chinese Communist representation on the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco conference. We have discussed the matter with General Hurley and find ourselves in full accord with his suggestion and with the objectives which have prompted him to make it.

Briefly, the suggestion is that you invite Chiang's attention to the advantages which might flow from the inclusion of representatives of the Chinese Communist and other political parties on the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco conference. Two advantages are mentioned: the favorable impression on the conference and the impetus to political unification in China.



Enclosure:

Draft telegram to
Chiang Kai-shek.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

RECEIVED BY THE
100-100000
AMEMBASSY,

CHUNGKING (CHINA).

~~TOP SECRET.~~

Please deliver a close paraphrase of the following message from the President to President Chiang Kai-shek (eyes alone):

QUOTE I have received from Ambassador Hurley a detailed report in regard to the situation in China and the various problems facing you and I am encouraged to learn that progress is being made.

In connection with the forthcoming United Nations security conference to be convened at San Francisco on April 25, for which the National Government of the Republic of China is a sponsor, General Hurley has informed me of the suggestion made to him by the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese delegation be composed of representatives of the Kuomintang, the Democratic Federation, and the Communist Party on a basis of equality. I fully concur in General Hurley's reply to the effect that the conference at San Francisco is to be a conference of national governments and not of political parties.

At the same time, I would like to let you know that I can anticipate no disadvantage that would arise from the inclusion

SECRET (CHINA)

~~SECRET~~

-2-

in the Chinese Government's delegation of representatives of the Communist Party or other political parties or groups. In fact, there might be distinct advantages in such a course. Undoubtedly a very favorable impression would be created at the conference and this democratic gesture by you might prove of real assistance in your task of unifying China.

As you no doubt know, the major political parties in this country will be represented on the United States delegation and I believe that Canada and other nations are following a similar course.

I send you my personal greetings and good wishes and earnestly hope for your continuing good health.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT UNQUOTE

FE:EPS:NST

FE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

*file
Confidential*

March 16, 1945

Miss Tully:

I had to leave so could not bring these
over myself, but am sending them to you by
special messenger as the Secretary was anxious
for the President to see them tonight.

C.E.B.
Charles E. Bohlen

THE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PSF: United Nations Conf. Protocol 4.45

~~SECRET~~
PSF UN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Senator Vandenberg

Private

I have had a long talk with Senator Vandenberg as a result of which he has expressed his willingness to go along with us 100% on the world security organization if we can work into the document two points which he feels are important. We believe we can do this.

The first point is to work more language into the charter on the subject of justice; the second is to write into the charter a provision empowering the organization to review and possibly make recommendations on past arrangements. This is to meet the point which is of overwhelming importance in his mind that otherwise the new International Organization would in effect freeze the status quo existing at the end of the war which, in his opinion, would have resulted, at least partially, from decisions made because of military expediency without complete regard for justice.

The Senator expressed the opinion that if we could get these two thoughts into the document, in addition to his personally going along, it would remove a considerable part of the opposition on the part of Senator LaFollette, and that there would be only negligible Republican opposition to the charter when it was presented to the Senate.

E. A. Tamm

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

4194

PSF

*United Nations Conference
4-45*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR RECOMMENDATION

F. D. R.

Copy of confidential memo to the President from Adolf Berle, 3/14/45; original retained in file, re the Danish Minister, de Kauffmann, expressing unhappiness that Denmark was left out of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco; in the last two Conferences he was invited in his capacity as Minister and asks if we cannot do the same thing here.

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

4734

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1945

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
(copy to the Secretary of State)

The Danish Minister, de Kauffmann, came around to express his great unhappiness that Denmark was left out of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. He argued soundly that Denmark ought not to be classed with Spain, Portugal, and other neutrals; and that it was unjust for Denmark to be out while Turkey, a late-comer, comes in.

In all other United Nations Conferences, we have invited the Danish Minister as an observer; but at the last two we invited him in his capacity as Minister of Denmark.

Can we not do the same thing here? Eisenhower has recently recognized the bravery of the Danish resistance; and nearly one-third of the Danish ships and many hundred Danish sailors have died in our service in the North Atlantic.

as
Adolf Berle

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-79
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

PSF United Nations Conf. folder 4-45-

file Personal

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

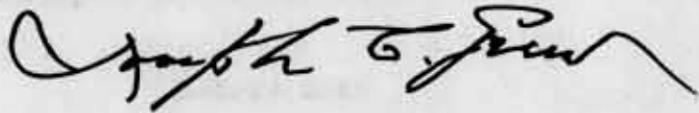
March 20, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Transmitting Korean Request for Representation at San Francisco Conference.

The Embassy in Chungking has transmitted the attached message to be delivered to you on behalf of Kim Koo, Chairman of the "Korean Provisional Government", in which Mr. Kim requests the privilege on behalf of Korea of dispatching a delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

In as much as Korea does not qualify for representation at the Conference under the terms of the agreed-upon formula for selecting participants, the request of Mr. Kim cannot be favorably acted upon, and the Department does not believe that an acknowledgment of Mr. Kim's message is necessary. The Embassy in Chungking is being instructed by the Department to inform the Korean group as to the reasons why Korea cannot be represented at San Francisco.



Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

From Embassy Chungking No. 396
March 10, 1945.

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

ASB-156



PLAIN

Chungking via Navy

Dated March 10, 1945

Rec'd 2:35 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington,

396, Tenth

Tjo So-Wang, "Minister for Foreign Affairs of



the Korean Provisional Government" has asked that following message be delivered to President on behalf of Kin Koo, Chairman of Korean Provisional Government:

"I have the honor to congratulate Your Excellency on convoking the Allied Nations Conference at San Francisco which will fairly and properly adjust the affairs of worlds humanity. Korea being directly concerned herself in upholding the peace of the Far East as well as of the entire world desires and requests hereby the privilege with other members of Allied Nations to despatch a delegation to the said conference. Your Excellency's farsightedness will I trust duly consider the rightful desire of 26 million Koreans. Accept Excellency my and my people's highest esteem and consideration".

He has

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1946
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
-2-1/396, tenth, from Chungking via Navy

He has also asked that we transmit a similar message addressed to Undersecretary.

ATCHESON

RR

United Nations Conf. folder

PSF

4-45

March 20, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

I have received and read with great interest your cordial letter of February 22, 1945, concerning the action of Your Excellency's Government in recognizing the existence of a state of belligerency between Venezuela on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other, and in respect of the adherence of Venezuela to the declaration by the United Nations.

This historic step by which Venezuela formalized its previously adhered to position of solidarity with the United Nations is hailed by the peace-loving peoples of the world as another milestone in the battle against wanton aggression. On behalf of the Government and people of the United States, please accept my heartfelt congratulations to you and through you to the Government and people of Venezuela.

I take much pleasure in reiterating to you, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest personal regard and consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Excellency
General Isaias Medina Angarita,
President of the United States
of Venezuela.

Department of State

BUREAU | NWC
DIVISION |

ENCLOSURE
TO

Letter drafted 3-17-45

ADDRESSED TO

President of Venezuela.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1-1022

4210 THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN

The enclosed letter is sent to you for forwarding to the President of Venezuela. It was submitted by Acting Secretary Acheson on March seventeenth.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Letter to President of
Venezuela.

With reference to your memorandum of March 12, 1945 enclosing a letter dated February 22, 1945 from the President of the United States of Venezuela, there is attached a suggested reply for your signature if you approve.

Allen Dulles

Acting Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Letter from the President of Venezuela.
2. Suggested reply to the President of Venezuela.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CENTRAL TRANSLATING DIVISION

[TRANSLATION]

TC No. 5806

S/WH/Reg.
3/12/45
#1 (P)

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Miraflores, February 22, 1945.

His Excellency
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington.

Esteemed Mr. President:

I have read the important letter which you address to me with all the interest it merits.

The generous recognition which you make of Venezuela's contribution to the war effort of the democratic countries is profoundly pleasing to the Government over which I preside.

From the first moment we adopted that firm and clear position. Two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor I had occasion to state solemnly in the public document that Venezuela was at the side of the United States and that she assumed in full all the obligations and consequences of the inter-American engagements to which she was a party.

Logical consequences of this attitude were, among others, rupture of relations with the Axis Powers, adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and political, economic and military cooperation with the United Nations, in virtue of which this Government agreed with those of the United States and the Netherlands on conditions of joint defense of the Caribbean Sea and the Dutch Antilles; it fortified certain points of

of the coast to cooperate in the action of the Allied bases; it concerted with the British Government preparations for the defense of the Gulf of Paria; it fortified the island of Patos and combined its action with that of the American base on Trinidad; it opened its seaports and airports to the vessels and aircraft of belligerent countries friendly to us; vessels interned in Venezuela belonging to Totalitarian powers were seized; it took measures to keep watch over and restrain the activities of aliens or of nationals which might endanger the security of any American country; it subjected to government control the movement of funds belonging to Axis citizens; it liquidated and expropriated commercial, industrial and transport enterprises belonging to them, and made available all its material resources, especially oil, to feed the war machines of the United Nations.

The effort and attitude of Venezuela have been those of a belligerent country; if up to now she refrained from making the formal declaration of this situation, it was in the conviction that thereby she could in no way increase the effectiveness of her contribution and that such proclamation should be reserved for the moment when countries resort to direct warlike action on the field of battle, which she is precluded from undertaking with dignity because of her status as a small power. Nevertheless, as soon as it was evident that in order to strengthen the front of American solidarity it was necessary to adhere formally to the Declaration by United Nations and proclaim the state of belligerency, Venezuela, consistent with her unvarying attitude, proceeded without hesitation to take
this

3.

this further step, which has already been published by my Government and for which our Ambassador in Washington has been authorized.

With the serene satisfaction of duty done, my Government has in this manner completed the full adherence of our country to the cause of the United Nations and its fraternal identity with the action and the spirit so magnificently incarnated by the United States of America, and in so doing it is convinced that it is serving a just cause, which is that of the advent of a peaceful and stable world organization in which the small nations will have the right to equality and the respect of their sovereignty and their legitimate interests amply guaranteed.

With the most sincere sentiments of sympathy and admiration I return your cordial greetings and renew to you the assurances of my friendship.

[S] Isaias Medina A.

4169 THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY,
IF NECESSARY.

F.D.R.

Ltr of 2/22/45 and translation, to the
President from Isaias Medina A, the
President of Venezuela; re Venezuela's
contribution to the war effort, and her
membership in the United Nations.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PR

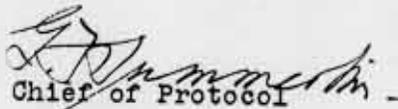
March 7, 1945

SECRET

My dear Miss Tully:

With reference to Venezuela's membership in the United Nations, I am enclosing herewith at the instance of the Venezuelan Embassy at Washington an unsealed communication addressed to the President by the President of Venezuela. A translation of the letter in question is also enclosed.

Sincerely yours,


Chief of Protocol

Enclosures:

1. Original letter from President of Venezuela, February 22, 1945.
2. Translation of letter.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House.





EL PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA

Miraflores, 22 de febrero de 1945.

Excelentísimo Señor
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América.
Washington.

Estimado Señor Presidente:

Con todo el interés que merece he leído la importante carta que usted me dirige.

Profundamente grato es para el Gobierno que presido el generoso reconocimiento que usted hace de la contribución de Venezuela al esfuerzo bélico de los países democráticos.

Desde el primer momento hemos adoptado esa decidida y clara posición. Dos días después del ataque a Pearl Harbour tuve ocasión de manifestar solemnemente en un documento público que Venezuela estaba del lado de los Estados Unidos y que asumía en pleno todas las obligaciones y consecuencias de los compromisos interamericanos de que era parte.

Consecuencias lógicas de esa actitud fueron, entre otras, la ruptura de nuestras relaciones con las potencias del Eje, la adhesión a los principios de la Carta del Atlántico, y la cooperación política, económica y militar con

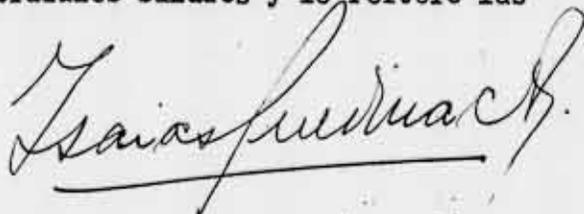
las Naciones Unidas, en virtud de la cual este Gobierno convino con los de Estados Unidos y Holanda las condiciones de la defensa en común del Mar Caribe y de las Antillas holandesas; fortificó ciertos puntos de la costa para cooperar en la acción de las bases aliadas; concertó con el Gobierno Británico prevenciones para la defensa del Golfo de Paria; fortificó la isla de Patos y combinó su acción con la de la base americana de Trinidad; abrió sus puertos y aeródromos a los buques y aeronaves de países beligerantes amigos; se incautó de naves internadas en Venezuela y pertenecientes a potencias totalitarias; dictó disposiciones para vigilar y refrenar las actividades de personas extranjeras o nacionales que pudiesen poner en peligro la seguridad de cualquier país americano; fiscalizó el movimiento de los fondos pertenecientes a súbditos del Eje; liquidó y expropió empresas comerciales, industriales y de transporte pertenecientes a ellos, y facilitó todos sus recursos materiales, especialmente petróleo, para alimentar la maquinaria bélica de las Naciones Unidas.

El esfuerzo y la actitud de Venezuela han sido los de un país beligerante, que si hasta ahora se había abstenido de hacer formalmente la proclamación de esa situación, había sido por la convicción de que con ella en nada podía aumentar la efectividad de su aporte y que esa proclamación debía reservarse para el momento en que los países recurren a una

acción bélica directa en el campo de batalla, que a ella le está vedado emprender con dignidad a causa de su condición de pequeña potencia. No obstante, tan pronto como fué evidente que para fortalecer el frente de la solidaridad americana era necesario adherir formalmente a la declaración de las Naciones Unidas y proclamar el estado de beligerancia, Venezuela, consecuente con su invariable actitud, ha procedido sin vacilaciones a dar este nuevo paso, que ya ha sido publicado por mi Gobierno y para el cual se ha autorizado a nuestro Embajador en Washington.

Con la serena satisfacción del deber cumplido, mi Gobierno ha completado en esta forma la entera adhesión de nuestra Patria a la causa de las Naciones Unidas y su identidad fraternal con la acción y el espíritu que con tanta magnificencia encarnan los Estados Unidos de América, y al hacerlo está convencido de servir a una causa justa que es la del advenimiento de una organización mundial pacífica y estable donde las pequeñas naciones tengan ampliamente garantizado el derecho a la igualdad, y el respeto a sus soberanías y a sus legítimos intereses.

Con los más sinceros sentimientos de simpatía y admiración retribuyo sus cordiales saludos y le reitero las seguridades de mi amistad.


Isaías Fernández



EL PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA

Excelentísimo Señor
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de
América.

Washington, D. C.

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PSF & United Nations Conf. folder
H-45

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1945.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR

ACTING SECRETARY GREW:

FOR PREPARATION OF
REPLY FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter to the President, 3-18-45, from Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia (Letter-head - Whitehall, Palm Beach, Fla.) recommending Michael Francis Doyle as advisor at San Francisco Conference. Attached is ltr. 3-21-45 from Mr. Doyle to the Pres, delivering the above letter. Also attached is memo re services of Mr. Doyle in international matters.

DECLASSIFIED
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.
By H. J. Stewart Date MAY 30 1972

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United Nations Conference
4-15-45

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I talked to Ed Stettinius this morning over the telephone, and he spoke of a matter which I think should be brought to your attention. It refers to the question of the two Soviet Republics being proposed for admission to initial membership in the International Organization with our support in accordance with the discussions at Yalta. It appears that this matter is known to quite a number of people, including some of the Press, and we know ourselves that the British and the Canadians here know of it and have no doubt spoken of it to their friends. In these circumstances it would seem highly advisable that you call together the American delegates to the Conference before you leave town, tell them the facts of the situation, and ask their advice as to how this matter should be dealt with. It would seem possible to tell the delegates that in order to accomplish other things of very great importance there seemed to be no reason why this minor request should not have been agreed to, and the delegates might also be informed that you are in possession of letters from both Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill that, if so desired, the United States might also avail itself of an opportunity to arrange for additional representation by its outlying territories.

It would seem advisable to inform the delegates because, if by any chance the story should break publicly, it might cause considerable embarrassment to the Government, and there is no telling of the effect it might have on some of the delegates, particularly if they had not been informed beforehand.

I have called a meeting of the delegates in my office at ten o'clock, Friday morning, March 23d, and, if

convenient

-2-

convenient to you, we could come to the White House for a very few minutes after the meeting here or at any time convenient to you. I do agree with Ed Stettinius that it would probably be most advisable to deal with this matter before you leave town Saturday evening.

Joseph E. Girard

Published in

Stalin's Correspondence with Churchill,
Attlee, Roosevelt and Truman

Vol. ² Page 197

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PSF, United Nations Conference

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4-45

#214

March 24, 1945

PSF

PERSONAL AND ~~SECRET~~ FROM THE PRESIDENT TO STALIN

Ambassador Gromyko has just informed the State Department of the composition of the Soviet delegation to the San Francisco Conference. While we have the highest respect for Ambassador Gromyko's character and capabilities and know that he would ably represent his country, I cannot help being deeply disappointed that Mr. Molotov apparently does not plan to attend. Recalling the friendly and fruitful cooperation at Yalta between Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Stettinius, I know the Secretary of State has been looking forward to continuing the joint work in the same spirit at San Francisco for the eventual realization of our mutual goal, the establishment of an effective international organization to insure a secure and peaceful future for the world.

Without the presence of Mr. Molotov the Conference will be deprived of a very great asset. If his pressing and heavy responsibilities in the Soviet Union make it impossible for him to stay for the entire Conference, I very much hope that you will find it possible to let him come at least for the vital opening sessions. Since all sponsoring powers and the majority of other countries attending will be represented by their Ministers of Foreign Affairs, I am afraid that Mr. Molotov's absence will be construed all over the world as a lack of comparable interest on the part of the Soviet Government in the great objectives of this Conference.

ROOSEVELT

*original
held by you
to map room -
copy returned to
State Dept.*

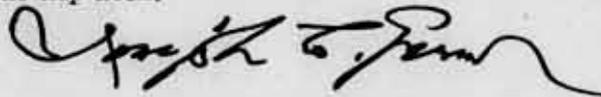
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Composition of Soviet Delegation
to San Francisco Conference.

In my memorandum to you yesterday I informed you of the composition of the Soviet delegation to the San Francisco Conference and pointed out that the delegation could not be considered as a high-ranking delegation. We feel that the absence of Mr. Molotov will have a very serious effect on public opinion and that the matter is of sufficient importance to warrant a message from you to Marshal Stalin. There is accordingly attached a draft of a suggested message to the Marshal for your consideration. If you approve it could be sent direct through the Map Room.



Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

Suggested message.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

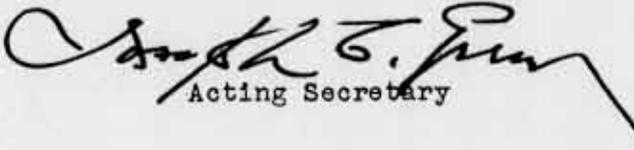
March 23, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Soviet Embassy has just informed us that the Soviet Delegation to San Francisco will be as follows:

- A. A. Gromyko, Chairman
U.S.S.R. Ambassador to the United States
- K. V. Novicov
Chief of the British Department of the Soviet
Foreign Office
- S. K. Zarapkin
Chief of the American Section of the Foreign Office
- A. A. Sobolev
Minister Counselor of the Soviet Embassy in London
- S. A. Golunsky
Professor of International Law
- Professor S. B. Krylov
Professor of International Law
- Rear Admiral K. K. Rodionov
- Lieutenant General A. F. Vasiliev

All of these with the exception of Novicov and General Vasiliev were present at the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, but it must be pointed out that with the exception of the Ambassador this is not a high ranking delegation. There is not even a Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs or any member of the Government of Cabinet rank.


Acting Secretary

W-502

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR
HON. JOSEPH C. GREW:

I think we had better say
nothing further about this.

F.D.R.

МОН. ГОРЕН Г. ГРЕВ:
МЕНОВАНДИН БОИ

Мелор се, Тарр.

МУЗНИСЛОИ
THE WHITE HOUSE

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~~TOP SECRET~~

March 23, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Stettinius telephoned me this afternoon and asked me to request your authorization for a short statement along the following lines to be used in the event that some announcement is made or that the news breaks in some other way on the subject of the representation of the two Soviet Republics in the International Organization.

At the Crimean Conference the Soviet Government stated that they intended to propose at the San Francisco Conference that the two Soviet Republics which had suffered most in the war, the Ukraine and White Russia, should be included among the list of original members of the Assembly when the Organization was established. It was agreed at the Conference that Great Britain and the United States would support this proposal. This is a matter for the nations convened at San Francisco to decide.

I would, of course, avoid making any statement unless it becomes absolutely necessary, although I might add that the story is in the current issue of Newsweek and we are already being questioned about it.

JOSEPH C. GREW

PSF: United Nations Conference 4-45

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Question of Official Danish Observer at the San Francisco Conference.

In reply to the suggestion of Mr. Berle that Mr. de Kauffmann be invited to attend the United Nations Conference as an observer in his capacity as Minister of Denmark, it is recommended that our previous position be adhered to: "that there will be no observers from nations not invited to attend the San Francisco Conference". (Telegrams to London, Moscow and Chungking, February 28)

Adherence to this position is recommended for the following reasons:

1. At the Crimea Conference no provision was agreed to for the presence of observers at the San Francisco Conference, and it would be politically unwise at this stage to open up the agreement made there that invitations were to be issued only to those nations which were signatories of the United Nations Declaration on February 8, 1945 and those associated nations, including Turkey, which declared war by March 1, 1945.

2. If Denmark is granted the right of sending an official observer, we can expect appeals for a similar privilege from a number of states that would have an equally good claim to send observers on the ground that they were now assisting in the war effort of the United Nations, for example Italy, Rumania,

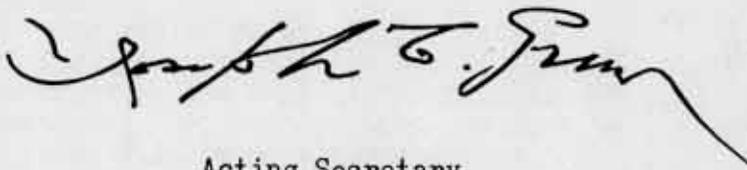
and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

and Bulgaria. Italy has already requested representation by an observer and has been informed that there will be no observers.

3. The Danish Minister has already been informed that he will not be invited as an observer. On March 6, 1945 I wrote Mr. de Kauffmann for his confidential information "that our present understanding is that no observers from countries which are not adherents to the United Nations Declaration will be invited to the Conference".



Acting Secretary

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PS F: U. N.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR

HONORABLE H. R. STEPTINIUS, JR.:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY FOR MY
SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Ltr of 2/26/45 to the President from
Manuel Prado, the President of Peru,
together with translation; re Peru
taking the necessary measures to become
a signatory of the Declaration by United
Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, so that Peru
could have full representation in the
approaching United Nations Conference.

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PR

March 26, 1945

My dear Miss Tully:

At the instance of the Peruvian Embassy at Washington, I am transmitting herewith a communication addressed to the President by His Excellency the President of Peru. A translation of the letter is also enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

E. D. Summit
Chief of Protocol

Enclosures:

Letter, with translation.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House.



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THE WHITE HOUSE 4310
WASHINGTON

April 2, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN

Do you think the enclosed
message requires an answer? If so,
will you please prepare one for me
to send?

F. D. R.

Let. from WEI TAO-ming, Chinese Embassy, Washington,
to Secy. of State, transmitting message to the
President from CHANG KAI-SHEK re Chinese delegates
to the San Francisco Conference, being as repre-
sentative as possible of the various parties in
China. (transmitted to Secy. Early by Mr. Summerlin

PSF; United Nations Conference
file 4-45

~~RESTRICTED~~

BULLETIN OF INFORMATION
On the United Nations Conference on International
Organization

Phone Extension 2488

No. 3

4 April 1945

1. In order to avoid delay and confusion in the handling of correspondence, it is requested that incoming letters before the Conference, be routed for reply in accordance with the following outline.

Comment on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and United States policy - PL.

Comment on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and United States policy requiring special treatment, difficult substantive questions, unusually important individuals or groups - OA.

Comment on territorial and political questions not under discussion at the Conference (e.g. Poland, Ireland, Albania, Baltic States, India, Palestine) - to appropriate geographic divisions.

Comment on colonies and mandates - DA.

Congressional letters - A-A: Mr. Ferguson

Applications or proposals regarding advisers or technical experts on the U. S. Delegation or Conference Secretariat - OA.

Applications or proposals regarding stenographic staff, translators, etc. on U. S. Delegation or Conference Secretariat - DP.

Letters concerning entertainment of delegates at San Francisco, social functions, special services to delegates, etc. - CU. (Letters about the redwood groves can go to SPA, where a large file has already accumulated)

Applications for tickets to public sessions - PL

Applications for participation as press representative - SA/M.

Suggestions regarding entertainment of Delegates enroute to and from the Conference - INI: Mr. Macy.

Letters about a United Nations flag, anthem, etc. - FL

Letters about representatives of unofficial organizations at San Francisco - FL.

Letters asking for information about conference procedure - IO.

Letters inviting a member of the U. S. Delegation to make an address - OA.

Letters inviting a member of a foreign Delegation to make an address - IO (referring the correspondent to the appropriate mission in Washington).

Other letters - SPA

2. Persons requiring special accommodations of any nature on the convention trains are urged to communicate promptly with Commander Watson's Transportation office.
3. Two new series of documents on arrangements for the Conference have been established for the U. S. Delegation and the Conference Secretariat. DEL and SEC respectively. All detailed announcements for instructions about transportation, clothing, etc., should be included in these series. Numbers for DEL papers may be obtained from Mr. Burnett, Extension 2486; numbers for SEC papers may be obtained, temporarily, from Mr. Rothwell, Extension 454.

Items for the Bulletin should be sent to Colonel Egbert White, Room 102-S, Extension 2488.

(4-212-45)

PSF:U.N.

RESTRICTED

BULLETIN OF INFORMATION
On the United Nations Conference on International
Organization

Phone Extension 2488

No. 4

6 April 1945

1. It is requested that those persons interested in obtaining suitable accommodations on the special trains, "Pre-Con" departing April 17 and the "Del-Barr" departing April 20, should notify as soon as possible the Conference Transportation Office, Room 806 W-J the type of pullman accommodations desired and train selected. This notice to the Conference Transportation office should be in writing.
2. Employees of the Department of State being detailed to the Conference who wish to receive their paychecks in San Francisco should write a memorandum to that effect to Mr. Sagona (BF). Paychecks will be sent to the coast in the air pouch and should be delivered there a few days after the Washington payday.
3. A disbursing officer will be sent to San Francisco and checks covering per diem will be issued every Saturday during the Conference. Employees hired especially for the Conference will be paid in San Francisco a few days after the close of each pay period. Pay periods close on the 15th and last day of every month.
4. The following names should be added to the previously announced administrative staff for the Conference:

Robert E. Read	Aide to Admin. Secy.	905 W-J	721
Michael M. Harris	Space Officer	Now in S.F.	
Bruce L. McDaniel	Supply Officer	914 W-J	2889
Winfield Coffin	Communications Off.	912 W-J	2653
Ralph S. Rowland	Reporting Service Off.	208 W-J	697
Daniel Dewalt	Duplicating Serv. Off.	92-S	441
Major Claude V. Lyle	Courier & Local Transportation Off.	Now in S.F.	
Robert A. Breen	Adviser	904 W-J	2879
5. Sessions of the Committee of Jurists will be held, beginning next Monday, in the Interdepartmental Auditorium at 13th Street and Constitution Avenue and in the committee room adjacent to the Auditorium. The Secretary will open the first plenary session at 11 o'clock April 9, which will be public. Mr. Lawrence Preuss will serve as Secretary, Mr. Stanley Woodward as Protocol Officer, and Miss Louise White as Administrative Officer. The general services of the international secretariat for the San Francisco Conference will also be available to the Committee of Jurists on such matters as documents, translations, and interpreters.

6. All mail reaching the Department which should go to the U. S. Delegation while it is still in Washington, should be sent to Miss Nell F. Clement, Room 16-S.
7. The facilities enumerated below will be provided by the United States Government as a service to the Conference, without charge to the individual or to the participating delegations.

SCHEDULED BUSES

Buses will be operated on regular schedules between the Conference Headquarters and the various residence hotels.

MOTOR POOL

Passenger cars will be available on call twenty-four hours a day for special trips of an official nature.

ASSIGNMENT OF CARS FOR EXCLUSIVE DELEGATION USE

One passenger car with chauffeur will be assigned to each delegation for its exclusive use during the period of the Conference.

BAGGAGE TRUCKS

Trucks will be operated as required between the railroad stations and airport and the Conference residence hotels to handle the baggage of the incoming and outgoing Conference personnel.

LOCAL COURIER SERVICE

Courier jeeps will be operated between the various Conference buildings. They will be available for the delivery of classified and unclassified documents, light equipment, and essential materials.

WASHINGTON-SAN FRANCISCO POUCH

During the Conference air pouch service between the Department and the Conference will be available daily, including Sundays, in both directions. All mail for this special pouch must reach the Department's mail room, Room 81-S, by 5:30 p.m. The pouches will be carried on Army planes.

Inquiries concerning the above facilities may be directed to Major Claude V. Lyle at San Francisco.

8. The Secretary is speaking on the subject "Dumbarton Oaks - What It Is and What It Isn't" before the Council on Foreign Relations this afternoon, April 6, in New York. His address will be broadcast on the Columbia Network from 5:30 to 5:45.

Items for the Bulletin should be sent to Colonel Egbert White, Room 102-S, Extension 2488.

4340

PSF: U. N.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN

The President has signed the draft of letter to the President of the Republic of Peru submitted with the memorandum from the Acting Secretary of State on April fourth. It is returned herewith for forwarding to President Prado.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

April 6, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

Your cordial letter of February 26, 1945, outlining Peru's unequivocal position before the Axis aggressors was most gratifying to me.

The historic step taken by Your Excellency's Government in declaring the existence of a state of belligerency between Peru on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other, has formalized Peru's position of solidarity with the United Nations, with which your great country stands shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against the forces of oppression. Please accept on behalf of the Government and people of the United States my heartfelt congratulations on the forthright stand taken by Your Excellency's Government.

I take pleasure in renewing to you, Mr. President, the assurance of my personal regard and highest consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Excellency

Señor Don Manuel Prado,

President of the Republic of Peru.

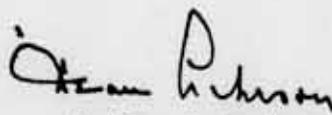
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Suggested Reply to a Letter Dated
February 26 from the President of
the Republic of Peru.

With reference to your memorandum of March 29, 1945 enclosing a letter dated February 26, 1945, from the President of the Republic of Peru, there is attached a suggested reply for your signature if you approve.


Acting Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Letter from the President of Peru.
2. Suggested reply to the President of Peru.



S/W/leg 3/24/45
6
(7)

Lima, febrero 26 de 1945 .

Muy distinguido señor Presidente:

Me es grato avisar recibo a Vuestra Excelencia de su a tenta carta expresándome que estimaba de la mayor importan -
cia que el Perú, que tanto ha contribuido en el esfuerzo de
guerra, tuviera plena personería en la próxima Conferencia
de las Naciones Unidas, para lo cuál se sirvió sugerirme que
mi Gobierno considerara la conveniencia de formalizar su po-
sición, adoptando las medidas necesarias para llegar a ser
signatario de la Declaración de las Naciones Unidas, de 1°.
de Enero de 1942.

Comparto las consideraciones de Vuestra Excelencia so-
bre la necesidad de participar en la organización de la segu
ridad mundial, en la cuál deben concurrir los esfuerzos de
todos los pueblos amantes de la paz y que han cooperado por
todos los medios a su alcance en vencer al enemigo común, co
mo lo ha hecho el Perú en forma resuelta e irrestricta, des-
de que el conflicto mundial envolvió en la contienda a los
Estados Unidos de América.

Deseo recordar a Vuestra Excelencia, que el 8 de febre

//

Excelentísimo Señor D.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos
de América.

WASHINGTON D.D.



- 2 -

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ro de 1943 cuando esta República se adhirió a la Carta del Atlántico, manifesté también mi propósito de suscribir la Declaración de las Naciones Unidas, porque estimaba que la posición auténtica del Perú era la de una nación en efectivo estado de beligerancia. En esa fecha hacía más de un año que el Perú se había adelantado a otros países americanos a romper las relaciones que mantenía con el Eje y desde mucho tiempo antes había iniciado su colaboración con las Naciones Unidas, como consecuencia de la definida política que adopté frente a los acontecimientos mundiales. Mi propósito de suscribir aquella Declaración no pudo efectuarse, porque el Departamento de Estado informó confidencial y amistosamente a nuestro Embajador Freyre, que la suscripción de aquel pacto estaba reservada a los países en guerra. Siempre tuve la certeza de haberse producido el estado de efectiva beligerancia, que es indudablemente una figura jurídica afirmada desde los primeros días del conflicto actual. La posición del Perú, aún desde el punto de vista del Derecho Internacional clásico, no podía ser otra que la de beligerancia, porque después de haber cortado las relaciones con las potencias totalitarias, habíamos prestado todo nuestro concurso a las Naciones Unidas y especialmente a esa gran República; habíamos participado en forma real y efectiva en las medidas militares destinadas a vigilar nuestras costas coordinadamente con las fuerzas militares y navales norteameri

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- 3 -

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canas; todas las materias primas estratégicas que se extraen o se producen en nuestro territorio fueron puestas a disposición de las Naciones Unidas; los súbditos del Eje fueron sometidos a un severo control personal y se dictaron disposiciones restrictivas de sus actividades económicas.

De otro lado, Alemania y Japón trataron a los ciudadanos peruanos y a los diplomáticos acreditados ante esos países, como verdaderos prisioneros de guerra, privándolos de toda libertad, desconociendo prácticas internacionales universalmente aceptadas hasta entonces y practicando actos que constituían verdadera violación del Derecho Internacional. El Japón, además, hizo saber a las Repúblicas Americanas en Enero de 1942 que si rompían las relaciones diplomáticas con el Imperio, consideraría ese acto como la iniciación del estado de guerra.

Por todas esas razones decidí en 1943 acentuar la política internacional del Perú al lado de las Naciones Unidas tratando de suscribir la Declaración antes mencionada. Esto explicaré a Vuestra Excelencia porqué he acogido con inmediata atención su amistoso mensaje, procediendo a hacer una declaración pública el día 12 de los corrientes en el sentido de que el Perú se halla en estado de beligerancia con Alemania y el Japón, y ese mismo día dispuse que el representante diplomático de la República en Washington suscribiera la De-

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- 4 -

claración de las Naciones Unidas, que se realizó en esa capital el 14 del presente mes, Me complace constatar que la declaración inmediata y la actitud resuelta del Perú ha servido, como en anteriores ocasiones para decidir a otros países a unirse, sin vacilaciones ni temores, al esfuerzo común y a la solidaridad continental.

Deseo aprovechar esta ocasión, para reiterar una vez más a Vuestra Excelencia la decidida voluntad de mi Gobierno de continuar resueltamente prestando su concurso en la obra en que todos estamos empeñados para vencer a nuestros enemigos, y, cuando se discuta la organización de la paz, para asegurar que ella sea duradera a fin de que el mundo no vea nuevamente la ola de sangre y de terror con que las potencias agresoras trataron de destruir la civilización, y pueda establecerse un orden jurídico en el que la convivencia internacional sobre bases de amistad y comprensión sea la garantía de una paz permanente.

Con mis más cordiales saludos personales soy de Vuestra Excelencia muy sincero amigo,

Manuel Prado

S/w/le 3/4/45
Item #6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CENTRAL TRANSLATING DIVISION

[TRANSLATION]

TC No. 10155

PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC
PERU

Lima, February 26, 1945

Mr. President:

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's kind letter telling me that you thought it of the greatest importance that Peru, which has contributed so much in the war effort, should have full representation in the approaching United Nations Conference, for which purpose you were good enough to suggest to me that my Government consider the propriety of formalizing its position, taking the necessary measures in order to become a signatory of the Declaration by United Nations, of January 1, 1942.

I share Your Excellency's considerations on the necessity of participating in the organization of world security, in which should be combined the efforts of all peace-loving peoples which have cooperated with all means in their power to conquer the common enemy, as Peru has done resolutely and unrestrictedly, since the world conflict involved the United States of America in the struggle.

I desire to recall to Your Excellency that on February 8, 1943, when this Republic adhered to the Atlantic Charter, I stated also my intention of signing the Declaration by United Nations, because I deemed that the authentic position of Peru was that of a nation in an effective state of belligerency. More than a year

before

His Excellency,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

before that statement Peru had preceded other American countries in breaking off the relations which it maintained with the Axis and it had long before begun its cooperation with the United Nations, as a consequence of the definite policy it adopted in view of world events. My intention of signing that Declaration could not be carried out, because the Department of State informed our Ambassador Freyre in a confidential and friendly manner that signature of that pact was reserved for countries at war. I always had the certainty that the state of effective belligerency, which is undoubtedly a consecrated juridical form, had been produced from the first days of the present conflict. Peru's position, even from the point of view of classical international law, could not be other than that of belligerency, because after having severed relations with the totalitarian powers, we had lent all our cooperation to the United Nations and especially to your great Republic; we had participated in a real and effective way in the military measures for the watch over our coasts in coordination with the American military and naval forces; all the strategic war materials which are extracted or produced on our territory were placed at the disposition of the United Nations; Axis citizens were placed under strict personal control and measures were dictated restricting their economic activities.

On the other hand, Germany and Japan treated Peruvian citizens and the diplomate accredited to those countries as real prisoners of war, depriving them of all liberty, disregarding international practices universally accepted

until

until then and practicing acts which constituted a true violation of international law. Japan, moreover, informed the American republics in January 1942 that if they severed diplomatic relations with the Empire it would consider that act as the beginning of a state of war.

For all these reasons I decided in 1943 to accentuate the international policy of Peru at the side of the United Nations by trying to sign the aforementioned Declaration. This will explain to Your Excellency why I received your friendly message with immediate attention, by proceeding to make a public declaration on the 12th instant in the sense that Peru is in a state of belligerency with Germany and Japan, and that same day I ordered that the diplomatic representative of the Republic in Washington sign the Declaration by United Nations, which was done in your capital city the 14th instant. I am pleased to note that the immediate declaration and the resolute attitude of Peru has served, as on previous occasions, to determine other countries to join, without hesitations or fears, the common effort and the continental solidarity.

I desire to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat once again to Your Excellency the firm will of my Government to continue to render its assistance in the work in which we are all engaged in order to conquer our enemies, and, when the organization of the peace is discussed, to assure that it may be lasting in order that the world may not again see the wave of blood and terror with which the aggressor powers tried to destroy civilization, and that a juridical order may be established in which international concord on bases of friendship and understanding will be the guarantee of a permanent peace.

With

-8-

With my most cordial personal regards I am Your
Excellency's very sincere friend,

(S) Manuel Prado.

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file

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY

I don't believe the President will need to bother studying the attached, but I wanted to be sure it was available in your hands, in the event he asked for it.

E. Stettin

~~TOP SECRET~~

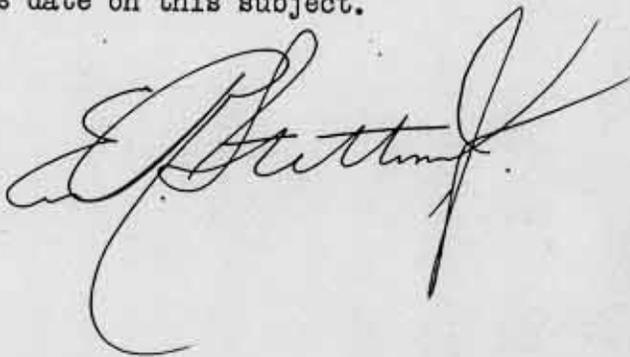
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: International Trusteeships.

Attached hereto is the paper on international trusteeships which was referred to in my telegram to you of today's date on this subject.



Enclosure:

Paper on International Trusteeships.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1945

NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT

I understand that this draft, which was worked out with representatives of the War and Navy Departments, would probably be acceptable to them if the following two changes were made:

- (1) State specifically that the territories to be brought under the Trusteeship System, as well as the terms, would in each case be a matter for subsequent agreement. We, of course, agree on this since it is in accord with the Yalta agreement and is stated in another way in Section B, Paragraph 1.
- (2) They propose that the Security Council should be substituted for the General Assembly in all matters pertaining to strategic areas under the Trusteeship arrangements specified in Sections B, C, D, E and F. This should present no insuperable difficulty.

Draft

D-1k
March 22, 1945.

CHAPTER —

ARRANGEMENTS FOR
INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

(Note 1: This draft deals with principles and mechanism only and makes no assumption about the inclusion of any specific territory.)

(Note 2: If included as a chapter of the Charter of the Organization, the provisions of this draft would need to be harmonized with the other provisions of the Charter.)

Section A
PURPOSES

1. The Organization should establish under its authority a system of international trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be: (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote, in accordance with the provisions of a declaration of principles to be agreed upon, the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government; and (c) to provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories for the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nationals of all member states.

Section B
SCOPE AND METHOD
OF ESTABLISHMENT

1. The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may, by

trusteeship

trusteeship arrangements, be placed thereunder: (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. The trusteeship arrangements by which territories would be placed under the trusteeship system should in each case include:

- a. a statement establishing the title in the Organization as trustee;
- b. the designation of the administering authority, which may be either a member state or an international mixed commission;
- c. the designation, where strategic considerations are controlling and in the interest of security, of certain territories, or parts thereof, as strategic areas for the purposes of the trusteeship system;
- d. a statement of the respective rights and responsibilities of the Organization and of the administering authority, taking into account, in giving effect to the basic objectives of the trusteeship system, the geographical situation of the territory, its political and economic characteristics, and its designation as a strategic or non-strategic area; and
- e. appropriate provision for non-discriminatory treatment for the nationals of all member states, with such exceptions in strategic areas as may be required in the interest of security.

Section C STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURES

1. The functions of the Organization with respect to the trusteeship system should be exercised as specified in Sections E, F, G, and H. The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council should each act by a two-thirds
vote

~~SECRET~~

vote of those present and voting. With respect to matters concerning strategic areas, the Security Council should act with the concurrence of all of the permanent members.

2. The Trusteeship Council should be composed of specially qualified representatives designated (a) one each by the states administering trust territories, and (b) one each by an equal number of other states named for three-year periods by the General Assembly, initial designations being so arranged that one third would expire each year. The Trusteeship Council should make provision for appropriate representation of international mixed commissions administering trust territories. It should make arrangements for representatives of appropriate specialized organizations or agencies to participate in its deliberations, without the right to vote.

3. The Trusteeship Council should have the technical assistance of a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

Section D TERRITORIAL CHARTERS

1. As soon as practicable after the trusteeship arrangements for a territory are completed, the administering authority thereof should submit to the General Assembly the territorial charter for the administration of that trust territory. This territorial charter should be drawn in accordance with the general terms of the trusteeship arrangements and should set forth the rights and obligations of the parties concerned and the fundamental rights of the inhabitants. This charter should become effective on approval by the General Assembly and should constitute a part of the organic law of the territory.

2. The terms of each territorial charter should take into account the stage of development of the people and other relevant factors.

Section E

~~SECRET~~

Section E
CONCURRENT POWERS OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL, AND
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, and, in the case of strategic areas, the Security Council, acting concurrently, should have authority:

- a. to alter the trusteeship arrangements;
- b. to amend the territorial charters within the scope of the respective trusteeship arrangements;
- c. to remove an administering authority for failure to fulfill the terms of its trusteeship arrangement or of the territorial charter, and to arrange for the designation of another administering authority;
- d. to determine the conditions which must be met for the attainment of self-governing status; and
- e. to terminate trusteeship over any territory when these conditions have been met.

Section F
POWERS OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly should be empowered:

- a. to negotiate and approve on behalf of the Organization the several trusteeship arrangements by which territories are placed under the trusteeship system of the Organization;
- b. to approve the territorial charters;
- c. to call for and to consider the reports and decisions of the Trusteeship Council, and to make recommendations thereon;
- d. to

- d. to institute investigations into any aspect of the trusteeship system and administration, subject, in the case of strategic areas, to such provisions in the respective trusteeship arrangements as may be required for security purposes;
- e. to make recommendations to the administering authorities, on its own initiative, or on the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council, regarding the economic, social, and political development of any trust territory; and
- f. to exercise such other powers, in addition to those specified above, as may be vested in it by any trusteeship arrangement.

Section C
POWERS OF THE
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

1. The Trusteeship Council should be empowered:
 - a. to advise the authorities administering trust territories;
 - b. to receive petitions;
 - c. to assist the Security Council at its request;
 - d. to make public its records and reports;
 - e. to adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its President; and
 - f. to exercise such other powers, in addition to those specified above, as may be vested in it by any trusteeship arrangement.
2. The Trusteeship Council, subject, in the case of strategic areas, to such provisions in the respective trusteeship arrangements as may be required for security purposes, should also be empowered:

a. to

- a. to call for and examine reports from the administering authorities;
- b. to interrogate representatives of those authorities;
- c. to review periodically the financial position of each trust territory;
- d. to conduct periodic inspections in the trust territories.

Section H
POWERS OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council should have authority to exercise such other powers in addition to those specified herein as may be vested in it by any trusteeship arrangement.

Section I
FINANCE

The revenues of each trust territory should be employed exclusively for the administration and development of the territory. Any additional amounts required for these purposes should be provided by the administering authority, with such assistance in obtaining financing, when necessary, as may be arranged by the General Assembly. The costs of supervision by the Organization should be provided in the budget of the Organization.

4377

PSF: U. N.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. SUMMERLIN:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Copy of a despatch dated 2/26/45 from the American Embassy at Montevideo, transmitting an original ltr, together with a translation, addressed to the President, from the President of Uruguay, Juan J. Amezaga; re the importance of Uruguay's formalizing its status by becoming a member of the United Nations.

FOR MR. TULLY
WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PR 740.0011 EW/2-2645

March 12, 1945

My dear Miss Tully:

With reference to Uruguay's membership in the United Nations, I am enclosing herewith a copy of a despatch dated February 26, 1945 from the American Embassy at Montevideo transmitting an original letter, together with a translation thereof, addressed to the President by the President of Uruguay.

Sincerely yours,

E. J. [Signature]
Chief of Protocol

Enclosures:

1. From Embassy, Montevideo, no. 5510, February 26, 1945.
2. Letter and translation.

Miss Grace G. Tully,
The White House.



DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

(COPY:PR:FB)

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 30 1972

~~SECRET~~
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 5510

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Montevideo, Uruguay,
February 26, 1945.

Subject: Transmitting Personal Letter addressed to the
President by President Amézaga.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's secret instruction no. 2346 of January 26, 1945, enclosing a personal letter addressed by the President to President AMEZAGA concerning the importance of Uruguay's formalizing its status by becoming a member of the United Nations. Reference is made also to my telegram no. 90 of February 5 reporting the delivery of the President's letter immediately following its receipt by the Embassy.

President Amézaga has requested me to forward the reply which he has addressed to the President and which I enclose. There are enclosed also an English translation prepared in the Embassy and copies of both the Spanish text and the translation for the Department.

In his letter, President Amézaga points out that under the Constitution war could be declared only with the approval of Congress and that in order to assure favorable action it was necessary for him to prepare the ground in advance. The Department is familiar with this situation from my telegrams. I feel that Dr. Amézaga handled the matter effectively and skillfully and that credit is due also to Sr. SERRATO for the dignified manner in which he presented the Government's bill to Congress, stressing the solidarity angle and avoiding statements which might have precipitated a situation embarrassing to us.

While I was confident from the outset that Uruguay would take the action desired, I had hardly dared hope that Congress would act as promptly and by as large a majority as Dr. Amézaga had predicted and as proved to be the case.

Respectfully yours,
WILLIAM DAWSON

Accompaniment: Original autographed letter addressed to the
President by President Amézaga of Uruguay and
translation of letter prepared by Embassy
Enclosure: Copy of Spanish text and translation of letter to
the President by President Amézaga of Uruguay

PSF: U7 | Reference folder
4-45

May 16, 1945

Dear Mr. VonWindegger:

As you can well understand, your letter of April eleventh addressed to the President was not presented to him for reasons with which you are familiar.

I regret my delay in acknowledging receipt of your letter.

Very sincerely,

Grace G. Tully

F. R. VonWindegger, Esq.
The Plaza Bank of St. Louis
1230 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri

MS. 10. 1042
11
12

THE PLAZA BANK OF ST. LOUIS
TWELVE THIRTY OLIVE STREET
SAINT LOUIS

F. R. VONWINDEGGER
PRESIDENT

April 11, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

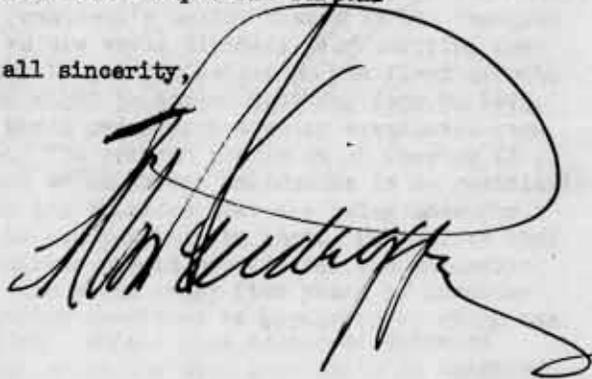
First, it is my earnest wish that you may be able to give the enclosed serious consideration. There is no subject quite as close to my heart as the preservation of world peace.

In my judgment and in that of many thinking men, the greatest weakness in the Dumbarton-Oaks proposal is in the provisions for amendment, which are so very restrictive. As you know, we in Missouri have only recently adopted a new Constitution which was made possible by a provision in the old Constitution for a Revisionary Convention every twenty years. Such a provision in the Charter eventuating from the San Francisco Conference is most vital, though with the speed of the modern world, twenty years is too long a time.

In the name of God, let us take every possible precaution this time to see that this is the last war. The world is looking to us for leadership. Why cannot we insist that as a minimum the Charter provide for a Revisionary Convention every five years?

May The Everlasting Arms continue to uphold you and give you strength to carry the almost insuperable burdens that you have to bear.

In all sincerity,



The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

THE PLAZA BANK OF ST. LOUIS
ST. LOUIS, MO.

April 6, 1945

My dear Mr. Secretary:

April 6, 1945

It is my understanding, on good authority, that when the Dumbarton-Oaks Conference convened, our delegates "were much surprised to find that the delegates of the other nations were ready to grant more than we were prepared to ask." This being the case, it is a little surprising to have the Under Secretary state that "the idea of a super-state has never entered our thoughts in connection with Dumbarton-Oaks." Of course much depends on what he means by "super-state". Surely he cannot mean that the idea of Federation never entered our thoughts in connection with Dumbarton-Oaks.

Owing to intense activity for over a year in the interests of world cooperation for peace, I believe in all modesty that I am as well or better informed than anyone else regarding the attitude of the people in Missouri toward an international organization. The enclosed are only two of many Resolutions adopted by various organizations and forwarded to our State Legislature along with hundreds of letters, telegrams and petitions demanding the adoption of the Resolution which has already been adopted by twelve other states and which has been introduced in and is now pending before the Missouri Legislature. How can such action of our people and their closest representatives be ignored?

Hon. Edw. H. Stettinius, Jr.

We who have watched the breakdown of other means for preserving world order and, therefore, have supported the proven principle of Federation are merely carrying out the President's policy stated in his inaugural address by recognizing that we are world citizens, and striving for perfection. We do not expect to get perfection on the first effort. However, we think we have the right to insist that the door be left open for improvement of the world organization which eventuates from the San Francisco Conference. The present provision of Chapter II of the Dumbarton-Oaks proposal which covers amendments is so restrictive that we do not understand how the promises that are being made for improvements from time to time can possibly be kept. We believe that as a minimum the completed Charter should provide for the automatic assembling of the peoples of the world every five years to consider improvements, and that a standing committee be appointed to study the possibility of World Federation. Surely this anchor to windward is very little to ask by those of us who have lost faith in treaties or leagues.

With the amendments suggested above, we would all feel that we could sincerely and earnestly support the adoption of the Charter resulting from the San Francisco Conference, and call on the people for their support also, as a first step toward lasting peace.

THE PLAZA BANK OF ST. LOUIS
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Page 2 - continued.

April 6, 1945

A copy of this letter is going to each of the delegates appointed to represent our people at San Francisco, with the earnest hope that you and they will give this reasonable request serious consideration and support, to the end that we may be enabled to support whole-heartedly the results of the Conference.

Respectfully,

Hon. Edw. R. Stettinius, Jr.
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Ccs to: Hon. Tom Conally, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Hon. Arthur H. Vendenberg, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Hon. Sol Bloom, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Charles A. Eaton, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Barnard College, New York City, N.Y.
Commander Harold E. Stassen, 744 Stewart Lane, S. St. Paul, Minn.

**MISSOURI BANKERS UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI - JANUARY 24, 25 AND 26, 1945**

SPONSORED BY
MISSOURI BANKERS ASSOCIATION, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI,
AND STATE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

E. P. NEEF, SECRETARY
300 SOUTH OHIO ST., COLUMBIA

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A. J. FORBYTHE, FIERCE CITY
PRESIDENT MISSOURI BANKERS ASSOCIATION
FREDERICK A. MIDDLEBUSH, COLUMBIA
PRESIDENT UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
D. R. HARRISON, JEFFERSON CITY
COMMISSIONER OF FINANCE

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

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MEXICO SAVINGS BANK
H. D. BANKS, COLUMBIA
COLUMBIA SAVINGS BANK
F. B. BRADY, KANSAS CITY
COMMERCE TRUST COMPANY
DAVID L. COLBY, ST. LOUIS
BOATHEN'S NATIONAL BANK
LESLIE K. CURRY, ST. LOUIS
MERCANTILE-COMMERCE BANK & TRUST CO.
KEARNEY WORNALL, KANSAS CITY
CITY NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST CO.
H. B. BROWN, COLUMBIA, ACTING DEAN
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
M. F. MILLER, COLUMBIA, DEAN
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
CLYDE D. HARRIS, CAPE GIRARDEAU
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL CREDITS
MISSOURI BANKERS ASSOCIATION

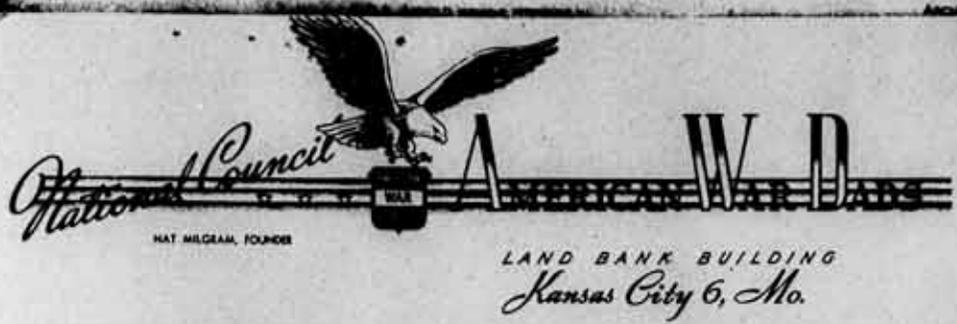
RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MISSOURI BANKERS UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE IN COLUMBIA, JANUARY 24, 1945

RESOLVED, That this meeting of the Missouri

Bankers University Conference, held at the University of Missouri, on January 24, 1945, go on record as favoring the plan of world government based on law described by Mr. Robert Lee Humber, and that the Secretary of the Conference, Mr. E. P. Neef, be instructed to inform both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the State of Missouri of this action, and urge the adoption of the Resolution now pending before the Assembly.

УИД ЗАУТЕ ДИВЕЛЖЕРА ОЛ И
 МИСОУРИ ВУКЕРЪ УВОДОУДОУДИМЪ СЪИВЪ
 ТОМОУДО И
 СОУМБИВЪ МИСОУРИ . УИИПАРЪ 34
 МИСОУРИ ВУКЕРЪ ПИИВЕРЪИ

УИИПАРЪ 34
 УИИПАРЪ 34
 УИИПАРЪ 34



RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
 OF THE AMERICAN WAR DADS AT A MEETING OF
 SAID COUNCIL HELD IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI,
 ON JANUARY 27, 28, and 29, 1945.

WHEREAS, Robert Lee Humber has presented the National Council
 a proposed plan for a World Federation which would bring order
 out of chaos and would aid materially in establishing a lasting
 peace; and

WHEREAS, The American War Dads have their most priceless possessions
 involved in World War II.

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED That the National Council of American
 War Dads endorse the plan as presented by Robert Lee Humber and
 that all chapter officers be requested to give leadership in their
 units to the study of the plan and aid in its general acceptance
 throughout the nation.

Unanimously passed and ordered so reported.

- VICE-PRESIDENTS
- D A GREER KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
 - F HICKS CADLE DENVER, COLORADO
 - J H CONWAY TULSA, OKLAHOMA
 - LESTER E COX SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI
 - ARTHUR B CUMMINGS ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO
 - TOM J DAVIS BUTTE, MONTANA
 - ROBERT W DART BEAUMONT, TEXAS
 - NORMAN J WRIGHTLEY ATLANTA, GEORGIA
- DIRECTORS-AT-LARGE
- D B CHOWN PORTLAND, OREGON
 - C W HUDSON DALLAS, TEXAS
 - R F LITNEY NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
 - RAY F MYERS COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA
 - WM W WEBB WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
 - GEORGE H CHARNO LEONIA, MICHIGAN
 - KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
 - FATHER EDWARD J FLANNAGAN CHURCHMAN
BOYS TOWN, NEBRASKA
 - MAJOR W B PARSONS ASSOCIATE CHAIRMAN
EVANSVILLE, INDIANA
 - AUDIE H ALETAD SEASCOAST, ALABAMA
 - RACHEL WOODRUM
 - EAL, W SHINN LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON, D C
 - H ROE BARTLE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
 - DEO F TILTON CHAIRMAN
RENEGOTIATION COMMITTEE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
 - J FREDERICK RUTHERLAND CHAIRMAN
POST WAR PLANNING
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

ATTEST

 H. Roe Bartle,
 National Executive Director

'United for Service'

PSF: UN

Order or Anarchy—

*Which Do You
Want?*

ONE OF A SERIES OF SPEECHES

MADE BY

ROBERT LEE HUMBER

AT VARIOUS MEETINGS IN THE
STATE OF MISSOURI

OCTOBER 1944

PSF
UN

Introduction

ROBERT LEE HUMBER, the author of this speech and of the Declaration of The Federation of the World (set out in full as an appendix) was born in Greenville, North Carolina, of Colonial ancestry. He graduated at Wake Forest College and Harvard University and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford where he specialized in Political Science and International Law. He served in World War I as Second Lieutenant of Field Artillery, U. S. Army, and is a member of American Legion Post Number I, Paris, France.

After graduating from Oxford he went to the Continent to continue his studies and settled in Paris where he practiced law and was an executive of several business firms for sixteen years. There he had a "Grandstand seat" from which to watch the total disintegration of World Order.

Escaping from Paris just a few hours before the first German land troops arrived, he picked up his French wife and their two sons in Southern France, where he had sent them for safety, sailing from Lisbon for his native land and settling in the old homestead at Greenville.

On Davis Island which had been in his mother's family since earliest colonial times, he gave the "picnic" which Dorothy Thompson described in a broadcast on May 14, 1942. There he first offered his neighbors the Resolution which has since been passed by the Legislatures of twelve states, and made the basis for similar legislation in eight other states. (Appendix).

This Resolution endorses the Principle (not a "blue print") of world order based on law. It was introduced in the Missouri Legislature

early in January, 1945. It has been endorsed by women's clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, National Council American War Dads, American Legion Posts, the Missouri Bankers University Conference, Missouri Council of Churches, Church groups, Parent-Teachers Associations, Chambers of Commerce, at the University of Missouri, and other educational institutions, and by other groups in many cities of Missouri including St. Louis, Kansas City, Sedalia, Rolla, and Columbia. After the meeting at the University of Missouri, the following Resolution was offered by Dean F. F. Stephens and unanimously adopted:

"That this meeting of the faculty of the University, townspeople, and students, go on record as favoring the plan of world government as described by Mr. Humber, and that the chairman of the meeting, Professor John G. Heinberg, be instructed to inform our Representative and Senator in the State Legislature of this action."

Proving that Mr. Humber's Resolution is no utopian dream, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., wrote him on October 31, 1941, after it was passed by the North Carolina Legislature, "In my opinion it is far and away the most statesmanlike proposal that I have heard of."

If you realize that the validity of any plans you may make for your family or your business—that civilization itself—depends upon peace and order in the world; then you are interested in this movement which holds out the only hope of avoiding World War III. Write or talk to your State Legislators—and tell your neighbors about it, urging them to do likewise. Or better still, form a group in your community to forward the movement. For this is a People's Movement working in each state from the "Grass Roots" up—there is no national office—no dues—no paid secretaries. While Mr. Humber has consecrated his life and fortune to this movement, the people of each state

accept their own responsibility and finance their own activities.

For more information write the undersigned:

F. R. VON WINDEGGER, *Chairman*
Missouri State Committee for World
Federation
1230 Olive Street
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A WARTIME PRAYER

From the Perth Amboy (N. J.) Bulletin.

Dear Lord
Lest I continue
My complacent way;
Help me to remember
Somewhere out there
A man died for me today.

As long as there be war;
I then must
Ask and answer,
Am I worth dying for?

Order or Anarchy— Which Do You Want?

THIS is the story of a movement—a movement to bring peace to a sick and troubled world. But there will be no peace until the sovereign people demand it. States and nations are not sovereign, but the people of those states and nations are sovereign, and while they may delegate attributes of sovereignty to their governments—or even permit these governments to assume or usurp these attributes of sovereignty, the people can, in their might, change or recall these granted powers when they will. But how much sovereignty did the people of Poland, of Norway and Belgium and France and other countries have when Hitler's mechanized might rolled over them? How much sovereignty did we have when we permitted Japan to choose the time and place at which to attack us? Science has created a new community—the world community—and previous conceptions of national sovereignty cannot protect us from the disorder of this new world community.

If you ask the manufacturers of America—the men who have created the greatest industrial machine of all time—what they have been doing for the last few decades, they would tell you, "We have made our country the greatest industrial nation of the world, we have raised the national income to unprecedented heights; have given employment to the people and raised the standard of living." They are right—they have done that and more. Unconsciously, no doubt, they and the science with which they have worked, have also destroyed the economic independence of our country. The industrial machine which they have built is dependent on raw materials from nations of

the world which we don't own—over which we have no control. In December, 1941, thirty-five million Americans awoke to the fact that their means of transportation depended upon material originating over 5,000 miles away from our shores. And while we can find substitutes for rubber, there are scores of materials for which there are no substitutes.

But even if we could find substitutes for all the raw materials we need from abroad, the surplus products of our machines must find foreign markets, and if these foreign markets are cut off, the wheels of our factories will slow down, unemployment set in, and standards of living fall.

Scientifically, industrially, mechanically, the world is one community. Now what is a community? A community is a collection of beings which are inter-dependent. Whether we like it or not—and most of us do not—we are in this world community for keeps and as long as civilization lasts we shall live under some form of internationalism.

But this new born community—this inter-dependent world—is sick—sick of a deadly malady. A doctor, before he can treat a malady, must find the diagnosis, and if he can find the diagnosis, then he can apply the remedy. What is the nature of the disorder from which this new born world community is suffering? To be effectual we must be in accord in what the character of the problem is, in order for us to agree now on the remedy to be applied.

World Anarchy is the problem—not city—not state—not national anarchy, but world anarchy. How can we stabilize the world community and thus cure this world anarchy. May I suggest that man is able to profit from the errors of the past, and that what we have done in the past has not stabilized the world. We should examine what we have done.

There were three devices with which we tried to stabilize the world. First, during the last war our great President, Woodrow Wilson, announced to humanity the world over that

the principle of the Balance of Power which has guided international policy in centuries past is hereby repudiated. For the principle of power politics we are going to substitute a new principle—International Cooperation—remember co-operation, not compulsion, not a sense of duty that can be enforced, but spontaneous cooperation. That principal was embodied in the League of Nations, the institution that represented the greatest step that mankind ever took to stabilize the world. Every country on earth belonged to the League, at one time or another, save two—Arabia and the United States. Just two nations not feeling a sense of obligation to the age in which they were living to accept the responsibilities of that age.

Those who went to Geneva did not go as law makers, but went as diplomats with credentials as ambassadors. When they arrived at Geneva they were empowered to bring forth public issues, to debate, evaluate and ventilate them, and embody their conclusions, not in laws but in resolutions. These resolutions the League of Nations could not enforce. They were sent to the various capitals whose countries were members of the League with the request to examine them. "If you in London like them, translate them into British legislation, you in Paris into French legislation, and you in Buenos Aires into Argentinian legislation," and on and on all over the globe. "If there are paragraphs which do not appeal to you, delete them. Now, if nothing in the document appeals to you, ignore the whole thing. There is no obligation at all." Let's see how it worked. This is not sentiment or sentimentality, but realism. We've got to be guided by a realistic, practical approach. When the first crisis arose in the league, Japan invaded Manchuria. The League felt that Japan had done wrong, passed a resolution that Japan had done wrong—and Japan carried on absolutely indifferent and oblivious of any action of the League. The League felt humiliated, vcrly much like France and England felt after Munich. It felt that it

had not discharged its obligation—and those men determined that if another crisis occurred, they would not default. And shortly another crisis did occur. Italy invaded Abyssinia. The League felt that it had a solemn obligation to defend the territorial integrity and the political independence of every member of that body. Clear cut and categorical, the League not only passed a resolution of condemnation of Italy, but actually another resolution recommending that sanctions be applied against Italy by every member of that League. The Resolution gets to London where Anthony Eden says, "I will not risk one battleship in the Mediterranean, but I will apply sanctions on the British against the Italians." In Paris, Pierre Laval, whose character we now know, said, "No sanctions—none at all—by France against Italy." Here was the result of voluntary spontaneous action—the League was paralyzed. It had done all that it was possible for it to do. I believe people can learn as much from failure as from success if they only pore over the reasons for their failure. The reason was the organic character of the League.

Now the second device, the World Court. We called it "The Permanent Court of International Justice" but that Court could not summon a nation or an individual before the bar of justice; it had only voluntary jurisdiction. To give you a true picture, it would be exactly the equivalent of this situation. A crime is committed in St. Louis. What happens? The Judge here instructs the prosecuting attorney to swear out a warrant and get this man. Tomorrow the Sheriff finds this criminal, and asks, "Did you commit this crime?" The reply is, "Yes, I committed it." "A heinous act it was." "True indeed." "Now listen," the Sheriff says, "Right now the Court is sitting in the Court House, the jury is in panel. The Court is ready to try you, won't you be gentleman enough to walk over to the Court and submit yourself to trial and, if convicted, please go over to the prison and serve your ten or twenty years? We would appreciate

it if you would." The criminal just snaps his fingers at the Sheriff and walks off. On that principle we were trying to stabilize international life.

We had a third device, not only a League and a Court, but we tried to buttress these two devices, with an earnest, conscientious effort on the part of national political leadership, by attempting to apply the principal of treaty-making on the most elaborate scale. By September, 1942, there were 4,800 treaties in operation. They concerned every conceivable subject of common interest, bi-lateral treaties between nations regarding raw materials, labor, fiscal problems, economic problems, every kind of problem. Not content merely with bi-lateral treaties, there were multi-lateral pacts, Five - Power Packs, Nine - Power Packs, Locarno Pacts, Washington Disarmament Pacts—all kinds of pacts. Haven't time to name them even. Then, while the world was nominally at peace, we determined that this time we were going to do this job. We were going to outlaw war. We would do the job with the international Briand-Kellogg Pact. We said in that treaty (and I know, I was in Paris when it was negotiated and signed. I know that the spirit of the nations was really sincere in attempting to outlaw war.)

Every nation renounces war as an instrument of international policy. In other words, every signatory power said this:—Hereafter, forever, we will never fight a war with any one of the signing 68 nations. All the nations on the globe signed that treaty! There wasn't to be any more war. It wasn't possible if solemn treaties could be relied upon. Every nation said, We will never fight another war, and yet after that, within just ten years, the whole superstructure of the international order based on the League, based on the World Court with a voluntary jurisdiction, based on 4,800 treaties, collapsed, and now we are in the holocaust again. I don't have to emphasize the fact that there is something missing—something missing. It is not Leagues—we have had them. It is not

World Courts with voluntary jurisdiction—and it is not treaties—if 4,800 treaties were not enough, we could have 10,000, but they will still be treaties. But what is missing? May I suggest coming back to jurisprudence, and it came to me in the form of a personal experience.

When I got out of the last World War and continued my studies at Harvard, my residence there coincided with an episode I will never forget and which brought right into focus, the answer to the problem of how to stabilize a city community, a state community, a national community, or a world community. There is something fundamental, which, if you ignore, you do not have order—but anarchy—if you suspend it you have chaos. The episode occurred at Boston where the Police wanted to form a union. The City Fathers said, You can't form a union. You are the servants of the people—the guardians of the public safety—and you can take orders only from the City Council, not from Union Chiefs. They said, We will form a union anyhow, and went on strike to enforce their demands. (You remember this controversy raised Governor Coolidge to the presidential chair.) That afternoon, coming out of the library, I read on the bulletin board an announcement signed by President Lowell—"The situation in Boston is exceedingly critical. Let all students who can, volunteer." We went over to Boston and for five days, until Governor Coolidge called out the militia, we tried to restore order. There I saw on Tremont Street, Beacon Street, Boylston Street, and in other areas, things which I will never forget. There trucks with hoodlums drove up, and at the point of a pistol these hoodlums drove the proprietors to the rear of their establishment while they emptied the shelves of merchandise, piled it in the trucks and drove off. Crime was rampant in the city. The people who were molested, the proprietors, could not telephone for the protection of the police—there were no police. They could not telephone to the City government, it had broken down—Courts

no longer operated; and I said right then and there, Here is something fundamental to community stabilization. Here is a community 300 years old with magnificent churches, superb educational institutions, reputed to be one of the most cultured in the country—and even the citizens of Boston will acknowledge that—but in spite of these community assets, **THE VERY INSTANT THAT LAW BROKE DOWN, ANARCHY BROKE OUT.** You can't stabilize community life without law because the hoodlums will burn your churches down, the criminals will assassinate you. You must have the protection of the law and there is no substitute for law. That is fundamental. **LAW AND ORDER**—they are indivisible.

Not only do we rely upon law to keep order in our city community, but what keeps order in our State Community? Would the greetings of good will and friendship extended by the citizens of St. Louis to Kansas City saying, "If you come to visit us, you will be well received and have the hospitality of our city"—is that what keeps order in the state community of Missouri? There is only one thing that keeps order here. It is the laws of this commonwealth—laws that protect us against violence; the citizens of these communities against assassination, theft or murder. It is the laws of this commonwealth, not business and not personal relations, which permit a contract to be negotiated, stipulating conditions, which if one party defaults, permit the other party to sue for damages and collect through our courts based on law. There is no substitute for law. You can't keep a community intact without law.

We also belong to a national community. What keeps order in our National Community? The answer is that it is what Washington symbolizes in the life of its forty-eight members. But what if Washington exists no more. Forty-eight "sovereign states" in this nation with nothing to hold them together, no authority, how long would we survive as a nation?

Suppose Washington could do no more than the League of Nations. Pass not laws, but resolutions, and send these resolutions to the forty-eight legislatures and say, Gentlemen, when this resolution gets to Jefferson City, if you like the resolution, submit it for legislation, and you in Sacramento, California, and you in Albany, New York; if you don't like some of the paragraphs, delete them; if you don't like the Resolution at all, ignore the whole thing. How long could this national community survive? Would there be that sense of kinship which has held us together and made us the greatest nation on earth?

Science now has created for us a world community. It is not in its incipient stages. This community is now born—it's here! But in that community there is no law and the absence of law in any community is anarchy. That is what we have throughout the globe. Our sons, brothers, and fathers, who are fighting this war—they realize what universal anarchy is. This brings us to this point. Someone asks, "Is there no international law?" My reply is "None." **THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL LAW**, and I say it in all deference to my professors and also in deference to my humble efforts to try to practice law in Paris. **LAW IS A RULE OF ACTION ENFORCEABLE IN COURTS.** There is no court on earth where one nation can sue another nation against its will for the performance of a contract or treaty—nor can a national of one nation sue the national of another against the declared intention of the law of that nation. **THE ONLY RECOURSE THAT AN INJURED NATION HAS AT THIS HOUR IS THE BATTLEFIELD.** That is not order, that is war, which is anarchy. I submit to you that we can't build a great civilization on anarchy—we have got to institute order if we are to build a community that will endure. "Wait a minute, no international law? What about treaties? Somehow I remember reading treaties are the supreme law of the United States." So indeed the

Constitution says. By the fiat of the Constitution we voluntarily and arbitrarily made treaties the first law of this land. But there is nothing inherent in the character of treaties to make them the supreme law of any land. Japan did not make treaties the first law of Japan, and Germany has more than once called them "scraps of paper." Treaties are simply contracts between nations embodying stipulations which have been accepted by the contracting parties, just exactly like you negotiate a contract with your employer, or one corporation with another. A common agreement between the contracting parties. But the validity of the contract itself is exactly the same as the validity of an international treaty—its depends on its enforceability in courts. Since there is no courts to enforce treaties, their performance depends upon the good faith of each of the contracting parties to voluntarily and spontaneously discharge their obligations. When one of the contracting parties becomes a gangster, he denies any obligation. If we can't get law, we will have anarchy. Don't wish we could get order some other way. Mankind has never been able to find any substitute for law, even to this hour.

How can we get law in our international community? The same as we get it in every community of which man is a part. Only one institution can make it and that institution is **GOVERNMENT**. Any institution short of government cannot make law. We have tried every device known to man in the hierarchy of political science and government, save one. We have had international alliances, eventuating into leagues; international organizations—confederation. **WE HAVE NEVER TRIED INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT.** We have tried everything from resolution up to law, but never law itself. Just as an illustration, in the city community of St. Louis, if every citizen were to gather together in an open field, were it possible physically to do so, to register his or her approval to a proposal which was unanimously

agreed to—that agreement would not be law. It could not be enforced in the city courts. Who can make the laws of your city? Only those men who have been elected and mandated by you to compose your government, your City Alderman, and no one can substitute for the City government. Who makes laws for the state? Not men elected to go to a state mass meeting, only one medium, the state legislature and nobody else. Who can make laws in the national jurisdiction? Congress and nobody else. If every one of the forty-eight states agreed on a proposal, it would not be a law, only the men you elect to the national government can make the laws in that jurisdiction. We regret it perhaps—we may not like it. We may prefer some other way of getting law, but there is no substitute for government. If we want international law, some form of an international government is absolutely indispensable.

Now what kind of government? There are two kinds of government. One subjects the individual only to one jurisdiction. Great Britain has that form of government. In Great Britain everything is subject to Parliament, whether it is a domestic or foreign policy. If you get married or you buy real estate, that's domestic, it is Parliament that defines the conditions. If you negotiate a treaty or declare war, it is still the Parliament that decides everything in this foreign field. Those of us who have read British Law or come in contact with it know there is only one limitation on British Parliament. It can't make a man a woman. British Parliament is supreme. There is no Supreme Court in Britain which can set aside an Act of Parliament.

The other form of government came into being because of dire necessity and was born on this continent. We can feel grateful to our forefathers who conceived this idea, who released it for mankind and implemented it. We can see it has justified the faith of our forefathers. Its concept is this. Our forefathers in 1776 declared the independence of the colonies.

Each state was declared sovereign and independent. Each state could have sent a minister abroad. We did not exercise that privilege, realizing that there should be some association between us. Our fathers looked around for the formula for uniting sovereign states. There was but one way, a league or confederation, so they said we will have a "League of Friendship" and the Articles of Confederation were established in 1778 and functioned until 1789. After the war was over in 1783, they experienced what Fiske called "The most critical period in American history." Our forefathers said obviously this thing does not work. A League does not work. Our national community is disintegrating; already armed conflict has broken out between New York and Vermont, disputing over their boundary lines. Citizens of Connecticut are maltreated by the citizens of Pennsylvania. Each state began to debase its currency to attract foreign commerce, reminiscent of how the nations of today behaved between the two world wars.

So our forefathers said, "Only one principle can stabilize community life, LAW. Discard the League. We want to remain free. The only way to remain free is to be free under law. We can never be free under anarchy." The assembly in Philadelphia debated. They conceived this idea that an individual could be subject at the same time to two governments, owe an allegiance to two governments, be required to obey the law of two governments. They called it Federalism, a Federal Union of sovereign states. Let me emphasize this fact. Don't think this was received with enthusiasm. Even fearless and forthright Patrick Henry said, "There is only one government you can acknowledge, only one jurisdiction. Don't think you have a special aptitude for creating a form of government which the wisest men of history were not competent to think of." But our forefathers, with the intelligence, political sagacity, and courage of Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Adams, etc., said, "Since history does not

give us a precedent, we will invent one," and they were courageous enough to insist that this time there would be an adequate solution, not a panacea, not a makeshift, but this time they would do the job up and liquidate the problem—and you know that almost broke up that Convention. Of the 65 appointed to go to Philadelphia, ten said the problem was too great, its magnitude transcends our ability. The ten never even arrived. Fifty-five got there and the disputes were so profound, disagreements were so tense, when the document was ready, sixteen wouldn't even put their signatures to what Gladstone said was "The greatest document ever struck from the mind of man at a given moment." Only thirty-nine individuals were courageous enough to sign it. In the last few days Washington was presiding over that assembly, and he, feeling that inward sense of obligation not to try to belittle the problem; not attempting to reduce his sights to popular appeal, but addressing himself rigidly and courageously to the solution of the problem, arose and said this at the Convention: "Gentlemen, it is all too probable that no plan that we propose will be accepted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict will have to be sustained. If to please the people (how reminiscent—if to please the people) we propose something which we do not ourselves approve, then how can we defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God." Do your duty. Liquidate your problem. Whether you can succeed or not is not the first consideration. Do your duty and liquidate your problem. The event is in the hands of God.

When the Constitution was submitted to the people, the reaction was so adverse that even after a long campaign reaching into every hamlet, with Madison, Hamilton and Jay writing "The Federalist" papers, the vote in New York was 30 votes in favor, 27 against; Rhode Island, 32 in favor, 30 against; Virginia, 89 in favor but 79 against. My own native

state of North Carolina first rejected it entirely and waited until six months after the inauguration of Washington to approve it. We said there is no Bill of Rights, and until there is a Bill of Rights in the form of amendments, we will not come in. We have this document which we cherish, and which we submit is bigger even than this union. WE HAVE IT AS A MIRACLE OF GOD. All the great movements which have become the greatest achievements of mankind have been wrought by the honest and consecrated efforts of a minority seeking to persuade the majority through heavy labor to support them.

And now what kind of an international government? Only one kind, a Federal Government—one which will recognize and protect the integrity of the Member Nations and States. The people remain sovereign. We have never made a government supreme or sovereign. The people remain sovereign with us. We grant power to our representatives in the state governments and in the national government. It is we, the sovereign authorities, who endow, extend, modify, or withdraw those powers because we at last are the source of all political power in this country.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." You can't keep the world community intact with 68 divided houses in it. We are now confronted with this problem. Can we institute law in a Federal form of government in our international life? And we ask the question immediately thereafter, Why do we need it? LAWS ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO INDIVIDUALS. We want to reach the individual wherever the individual culprit might be—not 80,000,000 people living in a nation, but the individual criminal. Federation permits the individual to be integrated into a state jurisdiction, a national jurisdiction, and an international jurisdiction. Each individual must obey all those laws simultaneously, and not be able to violate the law of any one of these jurisdictions without paying a penalty. Admittedly we haven't abolished

crime in national or state governments, but WE CAN ABOLISH WAR BETWEEN NATIONS as we have abolished it between states and between cities. Right here in St. Louis an individual violates a state law. He, individually, is arrested; his wife isn't; his children aren't; only he is. You do not implicate his family or friends in his crime. In the middle ages it was different and they had collective guilt. We repudiate that in this nation. When gangsterism broke out in Chicago, 47 states did not say, "Our patience is exhausted, we are going to send an army of occupation to Chicago, arrest 3,500,000 people, and punish you." We did not do that. At great patience and long length we ferritted out the individual Al Capones and put the individuals behind bars. We had order. Here in St. Louis individuals violate Federal laws, and the individual is arrested, tried by a Federal Court here in St. Louis. You can't implicate your city in your national crime. The Federal Government does not have to fight the State of Missouri to get to you. If you violate international law as an individual, you would be arrested, tried here in St. Louis as an international citizen, before a judge from this area, and if you are found guilty, you are made to pay the penalty of the crime as an individual. You can't implicate the nation. The nation is not responsible for what you did, and the nation is not going to war. No nation has a vested interest in crime, and when a nation sets forth its 80,000,000 people to protect its criminals internationally, we have abandoned the very basis of order, or law. 80,000,000 people can't be equally guilty. It is the guilty we must seek out if we are ever able to get justice. The first principle of Justice in any jurisdiction is that punishment can be inflicted only on the guilty. But tonight, we have war over Germany—the lights go out, the bombs fall; women, children, innocent,—all perish. There is no discrimination between guilty and innocent. The objective is to annihilate the whole civilian population as well as military. I SAY TO YOU THIS—UNLESS

WE CAN LOCATE THE INDIVIDUAL WHO IS GUILTY AND PUNISH HIM ALONE, WE CAN'T PREDICATE CIVILIZATION UPON JUSTICE. AND IF OUR TOMORROWS CAN'T BE PREDICATED ON JUSTICE, WHO WILL SURVIVE?

We are confronted with realism—fundamentals that belong to the very stability of life. Let us see how it will work. Let us suppose a world government is established—a World Federation of United Nations, which must recognize the integrity of all nations and states. A world government that can act with 1, 2, or 3 powers. That Federation is government, therefore it has an executive, it has legislative, has judicial powers, the three fundamental branches of government operated by men or women who have been elected by their people back home. They are not appointed by politicians in the national capitols and are responsible to the people who elected them and there are frequent elections—just like sending someone next month to Jefferson City or to the national jurisdiction to make laws, we send them to the international legislature to make laws for your new international jurisdiction. The laws made in each jurisdiction are independent of the others. They by-pass national and state governments to you here as individual citizens. You are now a citizen of the world, if you want to use that term, as you are now a citizen of the nation and of the state. Twenty-five years pass. Another Hitler arises in Germany and gathers his henchmen together. He says, "Fifty years ago we made a mistake and lost World War I, and twenty-five years ago we lost again. This time, with adequate, thorough, exhaustive preparation, we can have world conquest. You go to Nuremberg and put up a tank factory. We are going to re-arm, and when we are prepared, we will strike—but this time we can do the job." Federation is functioning. There are laws made by the international legislature; there are international courts to enforce these laws. A supreme court over

the nations, regional courts,—just as there are now, in our states, Federal circuit courts in nearly every major locality. International courts like our Federal Courts are in every metropolitan area and in Nuremberg just like St. Louis, sits an international court. The solicitor, whose duty it is to see that the laws in his jurisdiction are enforced, says to the manager of the tank factory: "What are you manufacturing?" He answers, "Tanks." He can't deny it—they are coming off the line. He asks the manufacturer, "Do you have a license from the Federation to manufacture tanks?" The manufacturer says, "No. Not only do I have no license, but I am not desirous of obtaining one. My Fuehrer commanded me to make these tanks and he guaranteed me immunity from prosecution in the International Courts." The solicitor says, "For the moment I am not concerned with your fuehrer, I am not concerned with who is back of him, I am just concerned with you, an individual operating this tank factory in violation of international law. You have the status of citizenship in the Federation, with all of its privileges and its obligations." So the tank manufacturer, Mr. A., is arrested, brought to court, tried as an individual, and if found guilty, is made to pay the penalty of his crime as an individual. Someone asks, "That sounds all right, but what about the judge? Is this trial being held in Nuremberg and is the Judge a German? Do you think the Judge is going to enforce a penalty on a fellow German who is only trying to increase the power of Germany?" Yes, the Judge sitting in Nuremberg is a German—just like the judge and jury of the international court sitting in St. Louis would be your fellow citizens. Furthermore, the Judge is a close friend of Hitler's. But if he failed in his duty, the remedy is swift and sure—Impeachment by the International Legislature; removal from his position of authority. Just as Congress would impeach a Federal Court Judge or officer of the Federal Court who refused to enforce national law. Let a Collector of Internal

Revenue show special sentiment by dispensing you with the necessity of paying income taxes because he just don't want you to have to pay them. It wouldn't take long for Washington to intervene and correct his deficiency. Now comes Hitler who says that he is going to intervene, is going to pardon the tank maker—take him out of the international jurisdiction. But actually the Governor of a State has no authority in another jurisdiction. For instance, if the head of a state called in a man going to St. Louis to bootleg narcotics, and said, "If the Federal Government arrests you, I will pardon you." The pardon of the governor has no validity in Federal Jurisdiction. The head of the state is not above the law. **FEDERATION IS NOT A GOVERNMENT OF MEN BUT A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS.** All people are subject. Hitler could not pardon a man in the international jurisdiction; could not take him out of that jurisdiction. In actual practice, Hitler would not likely be allowed to increase his gang to a size big enough to become a menace to the peace of the world—his gang would be broken up before it could spread its poison through the whole community. Just as the Federal Government broke up the gangs of Al Capone and Dinty Colbeck. But suppose Hitler had the power to call out the National Guard. Behind the international Federation is an international police force, more powerful than the police forces of any of the 68 units in this group. Never again should the Federation have to be challenged with assurance of success by any one of the a national units around the globe. But here is the safeguard—**THAT INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE IS NOT TO ATTACK A NATION COLLECTIVELY, BUT TO ENFORCE THE VERDICTS OF INTERNATIONAL COURTS AGAINST INDIVIDUALS.**

So we come back to the principles of jurisprudence—laws, government, the principles of political science. We have done a great deal of thinking in the fields of international science, but no CREATIVE thinking in the

field of political science. We have shown no imagination, politically. We are trying—still trying—to pour this new wine of internationalism into the old bottles of nationalism. The bottles are breaking—can't contain it—not created or developed in a manner to contain it. Their contents are setting the whole world on fire!

This thought I leave with you. **ARE YOU PREPARED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT?** Are you prepared to feel a sense of personal obligation? Then the people of Missouri will be given an opportunity in January. Are they prepared to endorse the principle of world order, based on real international law, which is Federation, or do they still subscribe to anarchy? **IT IS EITHER LAW OR ANARCHY** and the reputation of anarchy confirms the absolute indispensability of law. If you do believe in international order based on law, communicate with your State representatives, write to your State Senators. Support this resolution (Appendix A), which has already been passed by seven states, and this coming January is going to be introduced in 12 or 15 other legislatures, including your own in Jefferson City. Are you prepared to give your personal support to it? If you are then we can at last endow this thing we call humanity with something more than political abstractions. We can endow it with personality, with an organization that can transmit these principles to each generation to come. By so cooperating with our fellow citizens, we can make some humble contribution to enabling mankind to realize at last its historic aspiration to live in peace and be free.

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION of the FEDERATION of the WORLD

A Resolution, memorializing Congress on World Federation, as embodied in the preamble of this Declaration, with varying resolves, was adopted by the Legislature of

North Carolina, March 13, 1941,
New Jersey May 1, 1942,
Maryland, March 11, 1943,
Connecticut, April 21, 1943,
Rhode Island, April 22, 1943,
Alabama, June 8, 1943,
Virginia, March 8, 1944,
Louisiana, July 5, 1944,
Tennessee, February 27, 1945,
Utah, March 2, 1945,
Oklahoma, March 15, 1945.
New Hampshire, March 16, 1945

The following text is proposed for adoption by the Legislatures of the different States.

**A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR
A DECLARATION OF THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD**

WHEREAS, it is necessary at the present juncture of human affairs to enlarge the basis of organized society by establishing a government for the community of nations, in order to preserve civilization and enable mankind to live in peace and be free, the following principles and objectives are hereby enunciated in

THE DECLARATION OF THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD.

Man, the source of all political authority, is a manifold political being. He is a citizen of several communities: the city, the state, the nation and the world. To each of these communities he owes inalienable obligations and from each he receives enduring benefits.

Communities may exist for a time without being incorporated but, under the stress of adversity, they disintegrate unless legally organized. Slowly but purposely through the centuries, civilization has united the world, integrating its diverse local interests and creating an international community that now embraces every region and every person on the globe. This community has no government, and communities without governments perish. Either this community must succumb to anarchy or submit to the restraints of law and order.

Governments can only be established through the deliberate efforts of men. At this hour two elemental forces are struggling to organize the international community: totalitarianism and democracy. The former, a recent version of repudiated militarism and tyranny, is predicated upon the principal of compulsion, rules through dictatorship and enslaves men; the latter, a proved bulwark of the rights of

man as a human being and as a citizen, derives its authority from the consent of the governed, embodies the will of free men and renders their collective judgments supreme in human affairs. The corner stone of totalitarianism is the ethnographic state, whose restricted interests define the scope of its favors; the foundation of democracy is man whose integrity is inviolable and whose welfare is its primary concern. The motivating power of the former is violence; of the latter, freedom. One feeds upon unscrupulous ambition; the other upon an enlightened sense of obligation.

One or the other of these forces will now triumph and govern mankind. The present conflict is irrepressible and decisive. It is the challenge of the ages to the generation of today, and represents those spiritually cosmic forces which visit the world at critical periods in human history to shape the destinies of men. This world cannot remain half-slave, half-free; half-totalitarian, half-democratic. The laws of civilized society prevent intercourse between slaves and free men from being either congenial or profitable. If totalitarianism wins this conflict, the world will be ruled by tyrants, and individuals will be slaves. If democracy wins, the nations of the earth will be united in a commonwealth of free peoples, and individuals wherever found, will be the sovereign units of the new world order.

Man has struggled from time immemorial to endow the individual with certain fundamental rights whose very existence is now imperiled. Among those rights is man's freedom to worship, speak, write, assemble and vote without arbitrary interference. To safeguard these liberties as a heritage for the human race, governments were instituted among men, with constitutional guarantees against the despotic exercise of political authority, such as are provided by elected parliaments, trial by jury, habeas corpus and due process of law. Man must now either consolidate his historic rights or lose them for generations to come.

The ceaseless changes wrought in human society by science, industry and economics, as well as by the spiritual, social and intellectual forces which impregnate all cultures, make political and geographical isolation of nations hereafter impossible. The organic life of the human race is at last indissolubly unified and can never be severed, but it must be politically ordained and made subject to law. Only a government capable of discharging all the functions of sovereignty in the executive, legislative and judicial spheres can accomplish such a task. Civilization now requires laws, in the place of treaties, as instruments to regulate commerce between peoples. The intricate conditions of modern life have rendered treaties ineffectual and obsolete, and made laws essential and inevitable. The age of treaties is dead; the age of laws is here.

Governments, limited in their jurisdiction to local geographical areas, can no longer satisfy the needs or fulfill the obligations of the human race. Just as feudalism served its purpose in human history and was superseded by nationalism, so has nationalism reached its apogee in this generation and yielded its hegemony in the body politic to internationalism. The first duty of government is to protect life and property, and when governments cease to perform this function, they capitulate on the fundamental principle of their *raison d'être*. Nationalism, moreover, is no longer able to preserve the political independence of the territorial integrity of nations, as recent history so tragically confirms. Sovereignty is an ideological concept without geographical barriers. It is better for the world to be ruled by an international sovereignty of reason, social justice and peace than by diverse national sovereignties organically incapable of preventing their own dissolution by conquest. Mankind must pool its resources of defense if civilization is to endure.

History has revealed but one principle by which free peoples, inhabiting extensive territories, can unite under one government without

impairing their local autonomy. That principle is federation, whose virtue preserves the whole without destroying its part and strengthens its parts without jeopardizing the whole. Federation vitalizes all nations by endowing them with security and freedom to develop their respective cultures without menace of foreign domination. It regards as sacrosanct man's personality, his right as an individual and as a citizen and his role as a partner with all other men in the common enterprise of building civilization for the benefit of mankind. It suppresses the crime of war by reducing to the ultimate minimum the possibility of its occurrence. It renders unnecessary the further paralyzing expenditure of wealth for belligerent activity, and cancels through the ages the mortgages of war against the fortunes and services of men. It releases the full energies, intelligence and assets of society for creative, ameliorative and redemptive work on behalf of humanity. It recognizes man's morning vision of his destiny as an authentic potentiality. It apprehends the entire human race as one family, human beings everywhere as brothers and all nations as component parts of an indivisible community.

There is no alternative to the federation of all nations except endless war. No substitute for The Federation of the World can organize the international community on the basis of freedom and permanent peace. Even if continental, regional or ideological federations were attempted, the governments of these federations, in an effort to make impregnable their separate defenses, would be obliged to maintain stupendously competitive armies and navies, thereby condemning humanity indefinitely to exhaustive taxation, compulsory military service and ultimate carnage, which history reveals to be not only criminally futile but positively avoidable through judicious foresight in federating all nations. No nation should be excluded from membership in The Federation of the World that is willing to suppress its military, naval and air forces,

retaining only a constabulary sufficient to police its territory and to maintain order within its jurisdiction, provided that the eligible voters of that nation are permitted the free expression of their opinions at the polls.

It Being Our Profound and Irrevocable Conviction:

That man should be for ever free and that his historic rights as an individual and as a citizen should be protected by all the safeguards sanctioned by political wisdom and experience.

That governments are essential to the existence of communities and that the absence of government is anarchy.

That there exists an international community, encompassing the entire world, which has no government and which is destined as a consequence of the present war, either to be ruthlessly dominated and exploited by totalitarianism or to be federated by democracy upon the principle of freedom for all nations and individuals.

That all human beings are citizens of this world community, which requires laws and not treaties for its government.

That the present conflict will determine the survival of free institutions throughout the world, and that it is morally incumbent upon this generation, as one of the declared objectives of the current war, to federate the nations, in order to make secure and hereafter unchallenged, freedom for all peoples everywhere, and in order to impart to those who are called to give their lives and fortunes for the triumph of democracy the positive assurance of the incorruptible utility of their sacrifice.

That World Federation is the keystone in the arch of civilization, humanity's charter of liberty for all peoples and the signet authenticating at last the union of the nations in freedom and peace.

That the universal ordeal, through which mankind is now passing, marks the birth of a new epoch that will affirm for all time the indestructible solidarity of civilization and the abiding unity of the human race.

That there are supreme moments in history when nations are summoned, as trustees of civilization, to defend the heritage of the ages and to create institutions essential for human progress. In the Providence of God, such a crisis is this hour, compelling in duty and unprecedented in responsibility—a fateful moment when men meet destiny for the fulfillment of historic tasks.

Now, therefore, Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

SECTION 1. That the General Assembly of Missouri does hereby solemnly declare that all peoples of the earth should now be united in a commonwealth of nations to be known as The Federation of the World, and to that end it hereby endorses The Declaration of the Federation of the World as is specifically set forth in the preamble hereof, and makes said Declaration a part of this Resolution in the same manner as if same were recited herein, and requests the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of Missouri to support and vote for a Resolution in the Congress of the United States, approving the principle of World Federation and requesting the President of the United States to initiate the procedure necessary to formulate a Constitution for The Federation of the World, which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification.

SEC. 2. That there be selected a territory for the seat of government for The Federation of the World, and that the nation in which the said territory is located be requested to withdraw its jurisdiction over this area and cede it to The Federation of the World for its

Capital, with all the prerogatives and attributes of sovereignty, in order that there might be built in this area a City symbolic of world unity, adequate for the needs of the nations and worthy of the aspirations and destiny of mankind.

SEC. 3. That a copy of this Resolution be sent to each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of Missouri.

SEC. 4 That this Resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification.

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WASHINGTON

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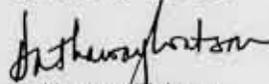
May 21, 1945

Dear Miss Tully:

In the Secretary's absence, I have received your letter of May 16th enclosing Dr. Vannevar Bush's letter to the President dated February 22nd. As I know the Secretary will be interested in it, I have had a copy of the file made which I have forwarded to him in San Francisco.

I return the original file to you herewith.

Sincerely yours,



Hathaway Watson
Assistant to the Secretary

Miss Grace G. Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

3
FOR THE PRESIDENT:

To speak to Secretary Stettinius
about when he returns.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS GRACE TULLY

Before Mr. Hopkins left he
asked me to send the enclosed
letter from Dr. Vannevar Bush
to you to give to the President.

DEK
D.E. Krauss

encl.
Letter re International
Scientific Section in Charter
of the United Nations to be
drafter at San Francisco in
April.

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
1530 P STREET NW.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

VANNEVAR BUSH
Director

February 22, 1945.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Science rapidly alters our manner of living and the means of waging war. International relations in the post-war period will be profoundly affected by the treatment accorded scientific matters at the outset.

The Charter of the United Nations, to be drafted at San Francisco in April, should provide for an International Scientific Section on the same plane of responsibility and authority as those concerned with military or economic matters.

This Section should be charged with establishing means for effective scientific interchanga between nations. It should recommend means for policing the scientific activities of aggressor nations to ensure that they do not, in secret, provide for a new aggression by unusual methods. It should provide for full interchange between peace-loving nations on all scientific subjects which have evident military applications, to the end that no nation shall be caused to fear the secret scientific activities of another, and on all scientific matters by which the health and prosperity of nations may be enhanced.

If the attempt to secure the future peace of the world by international organization progresses well, it should stand ready to recommend procedures for the interchange of information on the actual military applications of science, subject by subject, to the end that fear of secret preparations for war may be as fully dissipated as possible. I make the concrete suggestion that the first subject chosen be that of biological warfare, and that further steps should follow success with this subject.



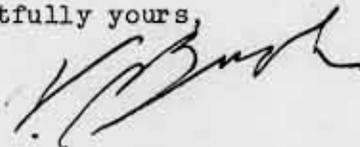
It should stand ready to aid should the time come when the United Nations organization may be entrusted with various aspects of the control of excessively powerful weapons of the future, to use such control for the preservation of peace.

If this path, which has its dangers, but which may also hold the future hope of the world, is to be entered upon effectively, steps are necessary at once in order to present a proposal by the United States in April.

The Secretary of War has assured me that he considers this a subject of extreme importance which I should place before you.

I stand ready to pursue the subject, in such manner and to such extent as you may direct, with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and any others that you may designate.

Respectfully yours,



V. Bush,
Director, Office of Scientific Research & Development.