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American Zionist Emergency Council, general, 1947-1948.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Peale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

February 27, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Sulgrave
60 East 67 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am writing this letter without any reference to any position which I happen to occupy at present in the Zionist movement, but simply as a Zionist whose judgment, I think, you may respect on the basis of past experience. The present critical juncture impels me to submit to you a few matters of the utmost urgency and importance.

1. I understand that thought is being given, at last, to the proclamation of a Provisional Council of Government. I am glad that this is so. Our only hope to escape the straits in which our enemies have us, lies in a combination of three factors: Persuasion that our aim is not inconsistent with American national interests; political and public opinion pressure in America; and one of several faits accomplis in Palestine. If we proceed on the basis of one or two of these factors only, we shall not succeed. The proclamation of the Provisional Government is the most obvious of all faits accomplis required in the circumstances.

In this matter, however, just as in many others, the practical usefulness of the step may easily be lost through a procedural mistake, however well-meaning. I fear that the Agency may succumb to the temptation of seeking the establishment of the Provisional Government through an act of the United Nations Palestine Commission, in order to comply with the niceties of the Partition Plan. This would be a fatal error. In the present stage, the Palestine Commission is no longer a free agent. Until the passage of a resolution by the Council, the Commission will not decree any measures on its own; after passage of the resolution, the Commission will have to be guided by the Council. It may recommend the setting up of a Provisional Government, but it will not take the decisive step without specific Council authority. Since you are aware of the real aim of the State Department, you will realize that waiting for the Council's authorization would get us far beyond the time-limit of April 1st.

You know as well as I do that there are points in the process of the birth of a nation when decisive steps have to be taken by that nation on its own, rather than wait for somebody's authorization. The matter of the Provisional Government is one of these cases. I suggest, therefore, the following procedure:

Urgent discussions should be held in Jerusalem by the Agency, the Vaad Leumi and the parties not represented on both bodies, during which agreement will be reached on the composition of the Provisional Government. As soon as

this is done, a proclamation is issued by the entire membership of the Provisional Government, proclaiming its establishment in accordance with the Partition Plan, announcing its composition, and making, in essence, the following declaration:

The Provisional Government, composed as follows, has been established by consent of the Agency, the Vaad Leumi and the parties unrepresented. Forty per cent of the places in the Provisional Government are left open for representatives of the Arab citizens of the future Jewish State, as soon as they will be willing to accept the United Nations decision and to participate in the Government. The Government will begin functioning on April 1st. As of April 1st, the Jewish Agency, the Vaad Leumi, and the other parties, will accept its authority. As of April 1st, the Provisional Government will request all friendly Governments to recognize it and to give it lawful assistance. As of May 15th, the Provisional Government will expect to take over the rule of, and the responsibility for, the area of the Jewish State (under the guidance and supervision of the United Nations Palestine Commission.)

In a simultaneous statement, the Provisional Government will address itself to the United Nations Palestine Commission, indicating its representative character, and requesting to be recognized by the Commission.

As you see, I visualize both statements coming from the Government as a body which has already been constituted, and not as a communication from the Agency, or some other bodies, announcing that they are constituting a Government and pray for its recognition. Provisional governments do not come into being like sub-committees of the Actions Committee. As long as other bodies speak about a provisional government, the whole thing remains in a tentative and preliminary stage. It is necessary that the matter get out of this stage by a Government having proclaimed its establishment. It would be necessary, on the other hand, for the Agency and the other bodies to make ~~preliminary~~ announcements acknowledging the authority of the Government and requesting all concerned, including the United Nations Commission, to give that Government full recognition.

2. Probably by now you regret as much as I do the fact that, out of a doctrinaire and unrealistic attitude, the Agency has clung to the slogan of an international force consisting of national contingents. There were enough indications from the very start that this insistence on a formula which, of all possible formulas, is the most inconvenient for the American Government, would lead us nowhere and would only give ammunition to those of our enemies who represented the whole problem as one of sending American boys to die for the Jews and as opening Palestine to Soviet troops.

The hour is late, and much has been lost because of this attitude. I urge you, however, to waste no more time, but to shift the emphasis immediately to the Jewish militia, fortified by an international force on strictly a volunteer basis. I hope it will be decided that our spokesmen should make it clear everywhere that in speaking of volunteers we have in mind mainly, and in the case of the United States exclusively, Jewish volunteers.

3. I am compelled to draw your attention to the fact that the expression "concerning the implementation of the General Assembly resolution", which occurs both in the Austin statement and in the Austin resolution, does not necessarily and exclusively mean "how the resolution should be implemented", but will, undoubtedly, be construed as meaning "whether the resolution should be implemented".

If there is any wishful thinking among our friends who refuse to see this, they had better forget about it.

4. Because of this, it would be dangerous for the Jews to become involved in consultation procedures. On the other hand, it would be an act of impudence to refuse to participate in any and all consultations. Incidentally, such a refusal would also be ridiculous since you are perfectly aware (let me remind you of the London Conference) that the Jews will participate in consultations, whatever is decided on paper.

I, therefore, suggest an immediate announcement by the Agency to the effect that the Jews will participate in consultations for the sole and explicit purpose of discussing details of implementation, in accordance with the Assembly resolution; that they would not sit down at the table with any party which refuses to agree to such a basis (thereby following the example of the Arabs at the time of the Round Table Conference -- an example which showed itself to be most fruitful of results), and that they would leave the conferences and consultations the minute an attempt will be made by anyone present to use the machinery of consultation for a revision of the United Nations plan.

5. In presenting ~~your~~ ^{the} case before the Trusteeship Council in connection with the draft statute for Jerusalem, the Agency spokesman should emphasize an essential point which I do not see at all included in the "observations" presented by the Agency on February 2nd. This point is that, under the Partition Plan, the safeguarding of religious or communal interests is in the hands of the Governor and the Trusteeship Council, who possess a power of absolute veto over all decisions of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council, on the other hand, is meant as a representation of the local inhabitants on a democratic basis. To subvert democratic elections by an artificial scheme of communal representation would mean that democratic representation would be totally absent from the free city. In view of the overwhelming power of the Governor, such arrangement would be completely unjustified.

In arguing against the proposed arrangement, you should also appeal to the European and Latin American delegates in the United Nations, who are perfectly familiar with the meaning of the term "Proportional Representation", against the attempt of the British and American members of the Working Committee to subvert this decision of the Assembly into a kind of static communal representation, used by the British in India to establish deep cleavages between the adherents of various religious groups.

These two lines of reasoning will, undoubtedly, appeal to a great many of the delegates.

Sincerely yours,

B. Austin

Benjamin Austin

BA:LD

AHS

MEMORANDUM

From: Dr. Benjamin Aksin

March 4, 1948

PALESTINE AND THE ERP

1) Aside from the merits of the question, it does not seem advisable to suggest, or to accept the suggestions made to us by individual members of Congress, that an amendment be introduced to the ERP plan, withholding ERP money from Britain unless that country complies and cooperates with the United Nations recommendation on Palestine. The reason for rejecting this suggestion is that such an amendment is certain to be defeated and would merely increase the anti-Zionist propaganda now going on.

2) At the same time, it is inconceivable that the attitude of Britain vis-a-vis the Jews and the United Nations be passed in silence in the course of the discussion of ERP in Congress. It will have been noticed that the issue of the general cooperation of the nations benefiting under the ERP plan is being raised constantly in the course of the discussions. All kinds of suggestions are being made with a view to assuring that the recipients of ERP should contribute to the solution of the burning international problems of the day. It would, therefore, be very much in order if the attention of our friends in the Senate and in the House were drawn to the need to emphasize the intolerable situation in which the British Government places the rest of the world: On the one hand, it pleads for economic aid because of its own situation; on the other hand, it contributes to the political ailments of the world by adopting an attitude of noncooperation and sabotage on the question of Palestine. The old principle that no one is entitled to equitable relief as long as his own hands are unclean, should be emphasized in this connection.

3) Although it is certain that the ERP plan will be adopted, there is a matter of dignity and self-respect involved in the way in which Jewish members of Congress ought to take a stand on the occasion of the vote. I would neither ask nor expect that they vote against the allocation of sums to Great Britain if they believe that general world interests do not permit the withholding of such moneys. But to vote affirmatively on the allocation of money to a Government which is now engaged in bitter hostility against the Jews, and whose Foreign Secretary has made public propaganda for "a war between Jews and Gentiles", would be an act of self-abasement and utter indignity, of which I do not think Jewish members of Congress would be capable if they thought through the question. For any honorable Jew to vote in favor of the allocation in such circumstances, would be unthinkable.

I suggest that the above be brought to the attention of all Jewish members in the House of Representatives. If this were done, I am certain that they would ask for a separate vote on the authorization and appropriation of moneys to the British Government, would make their stand clear by appropriate

speeches, and would abstain from voting. Such a demonstration would be utterly dignified and would redound to their credit in the eyes of their colleagues and the entire country. I do not believe it impossible that a fairly large number of their non-Jewish colleagues in the House would adopt a similar attitude, leading to the passage of the British portion of ERP by a much smaller majority than the other portion of the plan.

BA:EF



EPHRAIM L. MARKS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
518-520 BRANDER THEATRE BLDG.
OMAHA 4, NEBRASKA
TELEPHONE ATLANTIC 1311

March 29, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The writer is the President of the ZEC of Omaha.

In common with many thousands of fellow Zionists, we in Omaha have followed with admiration your magnificent fight on behalf of the cause.

We feel impelled, however, to draw your attention to two of your recent news releases which we believe are injudicious and dangerous.

You were quoted in the New York Times on March 22nd as making the following statement at a ZOA meeting:

"The Jews will have no other recourse but to fight it as they fought the 'White Paper.' It makes no difference whether the soldiers of the trustee power wear French or Chinese or American uniforms, the opposition will be there. The only question will be who is on the other side of barbed wire."

check

It has been pointed out locally by responsible Jewish leaders that such statements can expose the Zionists to charges of disloyalty. What do you suppose would be the effect on American Jewry if, after such statements are made by you as the chosen representative of our people, American soldiers were sent to Palestine and they were killed by Jewish forces?

We should not permit ourselves in an excess of zeal for the cause, to be maneuvered into a position which could be construed by our enemies and even by our faint-hearted friends as placing our loyalty to the Jewish state above that to our own country. Moreover, your statement injected an immaterial issue into a controversy already too confused.

This is not alone the local Jewish reaction to your speech; I am reliably informed this feeling is shared in other parts of the country. We fear that it will have

EPHRAIM L. MARKS

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OMAHA 2, NEBRASKA

TELEPHONE ATLANTIC 1311

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

-Page Two-

March 29, 1948

an adverse effect on the fund-raising campaign in which we are now engaged.

I should like to call your attention also to the form of resolution enclosed with Mr. Shapiro's memorandum of March 23. This resolution indulges in intemperate and unwise language. To characterize the action of the United States government as a "betrayal", a "reneg", and as "callous" is in our judgment going beyond the dictates of good judgment. Please understand that we are not among those timid souls who advocate the "shah-shah" school of diplomacy, but we do believe that in this time of crisis it ill behooves any minority group in as precarious a position as ours to use these terms as applied to the action of an American President and an American Secretary of State. Whatever may be said of Truman's vacillation and Marshall's oil-conscious advisers, the fact remains that both Truman and Marshall are on record as saying that the reversal was prompted by the gravest considerations of national security, and we have no doubt they acted out of a sense of patriotic duty. Certainly Truman would not have thrown away what little chance he had of carrying New York state if he had not been prompted by the urgent demands of his military advisers.

We do not for a moment say that we should not protest this action by our government, and protest vigorously. But it is a question of degree, and we believe your speech and the proposed form of resolution exceed the bounds of good judgment and sound statemanship.

These comments are offered for the good of the cause, and we are sure you will take them in the same spirit. We are likewise sure you appreciate that you as the leader cannot go too far beyond your constituency. If the tone and spirit of the statements above referred to are not merely spur-of-the-moment reactions given off in heat of battle, but represent your considered and mature thinking on the subject, there is danger of estranging many American Jews who are and want to continue to be loyal Zionists.

We should like to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

Ephraim L. Marks
EPHRAIM L. MARKS

ELM:raf

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THE JEWISH NEWS

A Weekly Review of Jewish Events



2114 PENOBSCOT BLDG.

DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

Randolph 7936

Accepted
 5-1155

April 1, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 American Zionist Emergency Council
 342 Madison Ave.
 New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

In connection with that very great address you delivered yesterday (we had it rebroadcast in Detroit at 10.45 p. m.), I would like to make the suggestion that the radio attack should now be pursued as strongly as possible. I would like to suggest a nationwide, one-hour hook-up (if possible), by yourself, Joshua Liebman (because his name is so well known now) and former Governor Lehman.

Now, with regard to Senator Vandenberg: I have two (PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL) letters from him. In the first he pleads that

"A public quarrel between the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Secretary of State or the President in respect to any aspect of this total problem would certainly be a disservice to all concerned. I shall have to continue my labors--as always in the past--'without benefit of headlines.'"

He proceeded to say that it is not a subject he would care to discuss in a letter and suggested we talk it over personally and then stated:

"Under our form of Government there is no getting away from the fact that there is only one man who can formulate and direct a foreign policy--and that one man is the President of the U. S."

Today I received the second letter, in response to an appeal I made to him on March 20. He states that partition has not been handled properly, that the matter should have gone to the Security Council immediately after the "recommendation" of the General Assembly. (Underlined word and quotations are his. His direct statement is:

"We confront a condition and not a theory. Palestine is in a frenzied turmoil. The opposition of the Arabs has solidified to an unexpected degree. The determination of Palestine Jews to 'carry on' is equally intensified. British responsibility ends May 15th. There is just one paramount problem at the moment. It transcends the question of 'partition' (which I still believe the best ultimate answer if it can be achieved without permanent civil war.) The immediate problem is law and order. The immediate problem is to prevent wholesale mutual

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slaughter in Palestine after May 15th. The immediate problem is to being this about without American troop casualties which could have tragic repercussions at home. This is the reality as of today. It is underscored by the fact that this Government now confronts a global hazard in which Palestine is only one of the seconds. The situation must be faced in this light. I shall be glad --as usual--to keep you advised regarding developments. You may be very sure that I share all of your anxiety and all of your regret that Zion's long-time dream confronts these jeopardies. But we must not be too impatient. Haste may make waste. We must keep a faithful eye on the long-range objective--doing the best we can under difficult and dangerous circumstances. I regret that this confidential discussion must end upon such an inconclusive note. I have not been consulted by the State Department or the White House in connection with any of these developments. That is where foreign policy is made and where it has to be made under our Constitutional system. We can only have one President at a time. But you will know where my constant interest lies."

Here you have the total tragic situation insofar as our Senator is concerned. I am delaying writing to him--I intend sending him the text of the Evatt statement and Sumner Welles' last article--until hearing from you. In the first place, I would like to send him the text of your yesterday's address. That you must rush to me at once. Secondly, since he constantly harps in talking to me personally, I would like your suggestion as to whether I should undertake such a trip. I could arrange to see him next Thursday and I would therefore have to write to him at once asking for an appointment.

Please let me hear from you at once.

Yours most sincerely,

Philip Slomovitz

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

SUITE 701

1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LEO R. SACK

April 1, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o Sulgrave Hotel
40 East 67th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed is copy of the invitation being sent to members of the Congress to attend the dinner, at which you will be the speaker, on Wednesday, April 14th at the Mayflower Hotel.

We have reserved a room for you at the Mayflower.

You will note that Senator Taft's name appears among the sponsors. We had earlier asked Mr. Lodge, but he stalled us for three days and then said no, so Mr. Taft was asked as a last minute substitute and he graciously accepted.

On the question of presiding, from the four Senators and four Congressmen, and two of each group from each party, we will solve this question of protocol by asking our very good friend, Brien McMahon, to open the meeting and then let Bob Taft introduce his "very distinguished constituent and friend from Ohio." I hope this arrangement meets with your approval.

You were entirely too busy Wednesday night with other things and I did not care to intrude on your conversations after the meeting to tell you of my visit with Speaker Martin. He fully agrees that the Republicans are missing the boat and he intends to see what can be done to change this situation. In the meanwhile, he, himself, is personally stymied in a protest to Vandenberg because of personal political considerations. Like Mr. Taft and others, he does not want to intrude too much in what is regarded as Mr. Vandenberg's special political bailiwick. He feels that his motives will be compared to the proverbial Greek "who bears gifts."

Mr. Reese has been out of town, but he is back today, and I hope to see him. In the meanwhile, may I repeat my suggestion that Mr. Dewey speak out on the subject. He is not burdened by Congressional protocol, nor is he hesitating to offer his own solution to our international problems.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

April 5, 1948

The Honorable (Name),
Senate (House) Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Colleague:

You are cordially invited to attend an informal and off
the record dinner we are giving for members of the Congress on:

Wednesday, April 14, 1948
Chinese Room - Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D. C.
Cocktails - 6:30 P.M.
Dinner - 7:00 P.M.

Our guest will be Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland,
Ohio, Chairman of the American Section of The Jewish Agency for
Palestine and Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council,
who will discuss freely and frankly the facts and issues which
are involved in the problem of Palestine. Dr. Silver will be
prepared to answer any questions. He is, as you know, the chief
spokesman for the Jewish people before the United Nations and
can speak with authority concerning the action taken in the General
Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. In view
of the fact that the Palestine problem has become one of general
concern, we are sure you will welcome an opportunity to hear every
aspect fully and fairly presented in an authoritative way.

We sincerely hope you will be able to be with us. We
shall appreciate your notifying us whether you will be able to
attend by mailing the enclosed postcard to Miss Penny Pierce,
701 Ring Building, 1200 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D.C., or
by telephoning her at Executive 1080.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Lister Hill
Robert A. Taft
Brien McMahon
Irving H.ves

John W. McCormack
Everett M. Dirksen
John Kee
Christian A. Kertter

R.S.V.P.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

SUITE 701

1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LEO R. SACK

April 8, 1948

"Confidential"

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd.
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed herewith is a memorandum written by Mr. Slomovitz for you in this office a few minutes ago. Mr. Slomovitz came here, at my request, before hurrying to the airport, so the enclosed copy is his original typing, which was corrected by him after reading it through.

Here are some things which are not in the memorandum. You will note paragraph 5, wherein Mr. Vandenberg referred to "crude pressure." Slomovitz inquired, "What do you mean by crude pressure, Senator?"

"Well" replied Van, "the proposed dinner to be held here next week, is an example. This is a grave error. You have two kinds of friends; those who are deeply concerned (and Slomovitz got the impression that he meant himself) and those who are moved by political motives." Here Slomovitz asked, "Who are the front for the proposed dinner next week?" Van replied, "Leo Sack and Silver."

I explained to Slomovitz that Dr. Silver has never, insofar as I knew, discussed this dinner with anybody, certainly he has not been active in Washington. I did not tell Slomovitz, but it happens to be a fact that I have not discussed the dinner with Mr. Vandenberg, nor has Mr. Schulson. Vandenberg had been invited like the other Senators, but he has discussed the matter with some of his colleagues who went to him about it, Lodge for example.

After mentioning Leo Sack and Silver, Vandenberg said, "Of course, Silver must hold up the flag but I think, nevertheless, it is a grave error." According to Slomovitz, there was no other references made to Leo Sack.

Continuing his discussion of crude pressure, Vandenberg said, "The Zionists are making a mistake in applying pressure upon Marshall; that is wrong. Marshall won't yield to pressure."

Then Slomovitz said, Vandenberg told him in deepest confidence that because of Zionist pressure (he did not specify upon whom), Mr. Marshall was ready to resign "a week ago" because

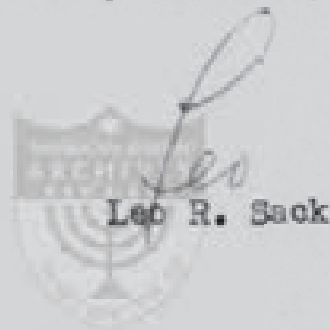
of the Zionist problem unless Truman yielded to him.

Slomovitz got the impression that Marshall was prepared to quit unless Truman reversed this government's position on partition.

Slomovitz told me that Vandenberg insisted that he was a friend of the Zionist cause, "but that" -- and here Slomovitz said that Vandenberg pounded the desk and spoke loud and was red in the face -- "The United States comes first. I am for law and order."

So, my dear Dr. Silver, that is your man.

Very sincerely yours,



P.S. Because Mr. Slomovitz was obviously in a hurry to get his plane and was both writing under pressure and then talking to me under pressure, might I suggest, when you have time, that you get him on the 'phone so that he can give you more details, and also to find out what Slomovitz said in rebuttal.

-LRS.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

701 Ring Building
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Constituent Organizations

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April 16, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Sulgrave Hotel
40 East 67th Street
New York, New York

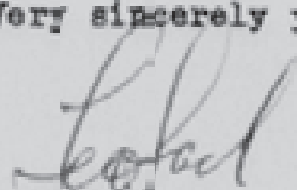
Dear Dr. Silver:

It will interest you to know that Senator Ives told me today that "the meeting the other night did an awful lot of good". Ives said that he had been told by a number of people that they were tremendously pleased and surprised, because it was a straight-forward, factual discussion and no effort was made to propagandize the Senators and Congressmen or to urge them to do anything at this time.

"You know, Leo," he went on, "before the dinner, a lot of people were leary and they were fearful that they might be embarrassed by being asked to do this or do that. I am now telling a lot of people who didn't go that they really missed a most excellent meeting."

In the light of Senator Ives' report and the statements of other people, I am confident that neither Silver nor Leo Sack were engaged in "crude propaganda".

Very sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:cw

701 Ring Building
xxxxxxxxxxxxxx

April 16, 1948

Mr. Harry Shapiro, Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
343 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Harry:

I was impressed with the letter in the New York Times today signed by Joseph Dunner of Grinnell, Iowa. I think it's an excellent job, and the author, I hope, can be used more often.

I looked in Who's Who to see if he was there, but he was not. Then I called Dick Wilson, Chief of the Des Moines Register Bureau, but Dick didn't know him and was going to ask his home office tonight about him to ascertain who he is for me. A little later, Dick telephoned me and said that one of his editors in Des Moines came into the office shortly after he had spoken to me, and Dick asked him whether he knew Dunner. He did. He said Dunner is a very competent person, a professor at Grinnell College, at Grinnell, and is a German or Austrian refugee who came to the United States in the early days of the war. This editor recalled that some time ago, one of the Register correspondents did a series on the Middle East, and our Iowa Zionists didn't like it. They complained to the Register, and the Register thereupon asked them to detail a man to write the Zionist point of view. Dunner was given the assignment by the Iowa Zionists, and, according to the editor, "did a most excellent job, and we were very happy to have his piece". It seems to me that Professor Dunner should be used more often in the Mid-West. Suggest this to Mrs. Shepard, please.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

LM3:ew

Leo R. Sack

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

SUITE 701

1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LEO R. BACH

April 23, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Hotel Sulgrave,
60 East 67th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

At the bottom of page 4864 of the Congressional Record of April 22, (recording the debate in the Senate yesterday afternoon) Senator Brewster has a paragraph which I think we could well utilize in the future.

He says: "The birth of a republic in Palestine has an authenticity which has never been possessed by any other people in the world who have bespoken their freedom by their own effort." The text of the paragraph follows:

"The birth of a republic in Palestine has an authenticity which has never been possessed by any other people in the world who have bespoken their freedom by their own effort. When we declared our independence we did not have the sanction of a United Nations of the world in a resolution approved by two-thirds of them. Yet now, although the resolution was adopted by the overwhelming majority of all the nations composing the United Nations and of peoples of the world outside the Moslem countries for the first time we see the inauguration of an embargo upon munitions, and upon the participation of our young men, in violation of the precedent of almost a century and a half, and, with glittering exceptions of the rule which has always hitherto prevailed. This is the reason why there seems to be increasing concern over the policies which we are pursuing."

I think you will agree with me that this is a well-termed expression of our position.

May I commend, also, to your careful reading, Senator Pepper's observations. He really got down to basic facts and did, in my opinion, a beautiful job. I hope Mr. Shapiro can find some way to get Pepper's speech, as well as the entire discussion, to our Christian friends throughout the country.


Dr. Silver

April 23, 1948

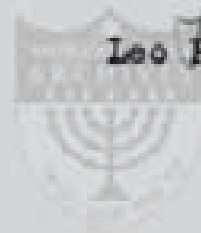
Since dictating this letter, Senator Brewster, who left for Boston this afternoon to speak on Palestine at the Harvard Law School, had Mr. Bercovici, of his office, telephone me to call to your particular attention Mr. Vandenberg's statement in reference to the President's powers to send troops to Palestine. Brewster, pleased, of course, with Vandenberg's admission that he had not been consulted by the State Department prior to Austin's announcement for trusteeship, was struck by Vandenberg's discussion of the President's powers to send troops to Palestine. Brewster says that, if the President could send troops to Palestine to enforce the trusteeship, he most assuredly has the authority to send troops to enforce the proposed partition. In other words, if he has authority to do one thing, he has equal authority to do the other.

Brewster also has the idea that we should have a reprint made of this entire debate and Bercovici has asked me to see him about it on Monday. I hope Mr. Shapiro will telephone me early Monday morning as to your wishes in the matter.

Very sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

LES/mp
CC: Mr. Shapiro



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

SUITE 701

1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LEO R. SACK

April 27, 1948

Confidential

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Sulgrave Hotel
40 East 67th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed herewith is the first copy of the draft of the Resolution proposed by Senator Pepper to extend recognition of the Jewish people in Palestine.

At my request, Senator Pepper gave me this draft to forward along to you for your information, reaction and criticisms, if any. Senator Pepper has no pride of authorship in the enclosed preliminary draft. It is subject to polishing up, revision and tightening up, if you think it is wise to go ahead with it. In such event, any suggestion you have to make will be appreciated.

The Senator had no illusions - nor have I - that the proposed Resolution will be supported by the State Department, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, or by the Democratic Leader, Mr. Barkley.

I repeat, as I have just told you over the telephone, that the construction is loose and is subject to revision and polishing up. The important thing is, however, that Pepper get your approval.

Very sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

WHEREAS the Jewish people of Palestine are and of right ought to be an independent and self-governing people, and

WHEREAS the tragedy and the glory of Jewish history and all the appeals of humanity, call upon the United Nations and the member states thereof, for the recognition of this people for membership in the family of nations.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, by the Senate of the United States, that it is the sense of the Senate, that the Jews of Palestine are a separate people and nation entitled to restoration to their historic place among the nations of the world; and that if the Jewish people of Palestine shall proclaim that they are, and of right ought to be, an independent people and nation, and shall establish a Democratic government espousing Democratic principles, then in such case such people and nation shall be entitled to membership in the United Nations upon a basis of equal sovereignty with the members thereof and like all member states entitled to enjoy security and freedom from aggression.

~~XX~~

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that it is the sense of the Senate that in the event the Jewish people in Palestine shall proclaim their independence and declare themselves before the peoples of the world a nation with a responsible government, democratically chosen and espousing democratic principles, the same shall be duly and promptly recognized by the Government of the United States.

C O P Y

SOL BLOOM
20th Dist. New York

Committee on Foreign Affairs

New York Address:
1451 Broadway

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Telephone: Wisconsin 7-7580

May 14, 1948

My dear Mr. Schulson:

Acknowledging and answering your letter of May 13th, I am enclosing herein a copy of a telegram which I sent to President Truman yesterday and which was given to the press this morning. I think this covers all of the suggestions made in your letter to me.

If I can be of further service, please command me.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Sol Bloom

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council
701 Ring Building
1200 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

SB:V

May 14, 1948

R E L E A S E

Representative Sol Bloom wired President Truman last night urging that the United States be among the first of the nations of the world to recognize the new Jewish State in Palestine. The text of Mr. Bloom's telegram to the President is as follows:

"On November 29 the United Nations voted by very large majority for the partition of Palestine in which the United States took a very prominent part and which I have always wholeheartedly supported. Within the next few hours there will be proclaimed in Palestine a democratic Jewish State. I asked Ambassador Warren Austin when he appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee Wednesday, May Fifth what will be the position of the United States with reference to recognizing this Jewish State that will be established on May 15. The Ambassador informed me that this question had not been considered up to that time, which answer surprised me very much. Now I would like to ask you, Mr. President, what the position of the United States will be with regard to recognizing the Jewish State in Palestine? I have been informed that the Soviet Union and its satellite countries and many other countries throughout the world are going to recognize the Jewish State. Don't you think, Mr. President, that the United States should be one of the first to recognize the Jewish State and thus show its leadership in world affairs and promotion of democratic ideals which we have so often proclaimed to the people of this country and of the world. Our act of recognition and our outstretched helping hand to this new Jewish State will not only encourage all democratic forces throughout the world but will also help keep Palestine and the near East from Soviet influence and domination.

SOL BLOOM. M. C. "

C O P Y

Melvin Price
22d Illinois District

Home Address:
426 N. Eighth St.
East St. Louis, Ill.

Member Committee on
Armed Services

Joint Committee on
Atomic Energy

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 14, 1948

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council,
701 Ring Building
1200 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Schulson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your
letter of May 13th and the enclosed statement by the
Honorable Sumner Welles.

I am grateful to you for sending a
copy of this statement to me, and I shall try to be
in a position to make a few remarks on the Floor of
the House on May 16th.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Melvin Price, M.C.

MP/jc

C O P Y

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Public Works

May 15, 1948

Hyman A. Schulson, Esquire,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
701 Ring Building, 1200 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Schulson:

I appreciate your letter of May 13.
I am sure that you are rejoicing, as I am, over the
fact that our government yesterday gave immediate
recognition to the new Jewish State. I hope that
it has a glorious and permanent future ahead of it.

With kindest greetings, I remain

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Spessard L. Holland

SLH/ec

C O P Y

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Banking and Currency

May 15, 1948

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
701 Ring Building
1200 - 18th St.. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Thanks for your letter of May 13, regarding the Jewish State in Palestine. I was interested in your suggestion that I urge the Government to grant recognition to the Jewish State. Our own Government beat us both to this. I think it was a good thing to do, and I was pleased to see the promptness with which action was taken.

Sincerely,

(Signed) John Sparkman

C O P Y

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Finance

May 15, 1948

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council
701 Ring Building
1200 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Schulson:

I thank you for your letter of
May 13, with enclosure.

In view of the President's
recognition of the de facto authority of the
new government of Palestine yesterday, upon
which I was pleased to comment favorably,
I do not think it will be necessary to make any
further statement at this time.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Walter F. George

COPY FOR: DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

701 Ring Bldg.
1200-18th St.N.W.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

May 18, 1948

Mr. Harold Manson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Harold:

May I suggest that you consider the enclosed material as a basis for advising editors of leading newspapers and magazines, columnists and radio commentators, to taking a line branding as war criminals the heads of the Arab States and their military commanders now engaging in an aggressive war against the Republic of Israel. The material should also call for their being brought to trial before an International Tribunal.

On December 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a Resolution affirming the principles of International Law recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. The purpose of the General Assembly in this Resolution was to deter and punish all those who in the future would commit crimes against peace as defined in the Nuremberg Charter and Judgment of the Tribunal. Copy of this Resolution is enclosed herewith.

You might ask Dr. Aksin or Dr. Robinson to look up "An Opinion and Judgment of the International Military Tribunal", published by the United States Government Printing Office, entitled "Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression". The opinion and judgment of the International Tribunal discusses the principles involved in crimes against peace and violations of international treaties. I am sure that you can get this in the New York libraries, or Dr. Robinson may have a copy.

May I also refer you to the opening statement by Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, before the International Tribunal, wherein he deals with the crime against peace. This is published in a book entitled "The Nuremberg Case" by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947, page 86. I am enclosing portions of this statement.

At this time when the Security Council will be considering questions of breach of the peace, threat to the peace, and aggression, I think we should lead public opinion to thinking of bringing charges against the heads of the Arab States and their military commanders as war criminals within the purview of the UN Resolution and the legal principles of the Charter of the Nuremberg trial.

I would deeply appreciate your advising me what you think of the idea, and what you are planning to do about it.

Sincerely yours,

Hyman A. Schulson

OPENING STATEMENT OF MR. JUSTICE ROBERT H. JACKSON,
CHIEF OF COUNSEL FOR THE UNITED STATES, IN
"THE NUREMBERG CASE", pgs. 86-88, 1947,
ALFRED A. KROFF, NEW YORK

- - - - -

THE CRIME AGAINST PEACE

A basic provision of the Charter is that to plan, prepare, initiate, or wage a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements, and assurances, or to conspire or participate in a common plan to do so is a crime.

It is perhaps a weakness in this Charter that it fails itself to define a war of aggression. Abstractly, the subject is full of difficulty and all kinds of troublesome hypothetical cases can be conjured up. It is a subject which, if the defense should be permitted to go afield beyond the very narrow charge in the indictment, would prolong the trial and involve the Tribunal in insoluble political issues. But so far as the question can properly be involved in this case, the issue is one of no novelty and is one on which legal opinion has well crystallized.

One of the most authoritative sources of International Law on this subject is the Convention for the Definition of Aggression signed at London on July 3, 1933, by Rumania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Turkey, The Soviet Union, Persia, and Afghanistan. The subject has also been considered by international committees and by commentators whose views are entitled to the greatest respect. It had been little discussed prior to the first World War but has received much attention as International Law has evolved its outlawry of aggressive war. In the light of these materials of International Law, and so far as relevant to the evidence in this case, I suggest that an "aggressor" is generally held to be that state which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

- (1) Declaration of war upon another State;
- (2) Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
- (3) Attack by its land, naval, or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State;
- (4) Provision of support to armed bands formed in the territory of another State, to take in its own territory, all the measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection.

And I further suggest that it is the general view that no political, military, economic, or other considerations shall serve as an excuse or justification for such actions; but exercise of the right of legitimate self-defense, that is to say, resistance to an act of aggression, or action to assist a state which has been subjected to aggression, shall not constitute a war of aggression.

It is upon such an understanding of the law that our evidence of a conspiracy to provoke and wage an aggressive war is prepared and presented. By this test each of the series of wars begun by these Nazi leaders was unambiguously aggressive.

It is important to the duration and scope of this trial that we bear in mind the difference between our charge that this war was one of aggression and a position that Germany had no grievances. We are not inquiring into the conditions which contributed to causing this war. They are for history to unravel. It is no part of our task to vindicate the European status quo as of 1933, or as of any other date.

The United States does not desire to enter into discussion of the complicated pre-war currents of European politics, and it hopes this trial will not be protracted by their consideration. The remote causations avowed are too insincere and inconsistent, too complicated and doctrinaire to be the subject of profitable inquiry in this trial. A familiar example is to be found in the Lebensraum slogan, which summarized the contention that Germany needed more living space as a justification for expansion. At the same time that the Nazis were demanding more space for the German people, they were demanding more German people to occupy space. Every known means to increase the birth rate, legitimate and illegitimate, was utilized. Lebensraum represented a vicious circle of demand -- from neighbors more space, and from Germans more progeny. We do not need to investigate the verity of doctrines which led to constantly expanding circles of aggression. It is the plot and the act of aggression which we charge to be crimes.

Our position is that whatever grievances a nation may have, however objectionable it finds the status quo, aggressive warfare is an illegal means for settling these grievances or for altering these conditions. It may be that the Germany of the 1920s and 1930s faced desperate problems, problems that would have warranted the boldest measures short of war. All other methods -- persuasion, propaganda, economic competition, diplomacy -- were open to an aggrieved country, but aggressive warfare was outlawed. These defendants did make aggressive war, a war in violation of treaties. They did attack and invade their neighbors in order to effectuate a foreign policy which they knew could not be accomplished by measures short of war. And that is as far as we accuse or propose to inquire.



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The UNITED STATES and the UNITED NATIONS

REPORT

by the PRESIDENT to the CONGRESS
For the Year 1946

Page 20.

AFFIRMATION OF LEGAL PRINCIPLES OF CHARTER OF NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL

On October 24, 1946 the Secretary-General pointed out in his oral report to the General Assembly that "in the interest of peace . . . it will be of decisive significance to have the principles which were employed in the Nuremberg trials . . . made a permanent part of the body of international law as quickly as possible". In a letter of November 9, 1946 to Justice Biddle, United States Member of the Nuremberg Tribunal, the President stated that "the time is therefore opportune for advancing the proposal that the United Nations as a whole reaffirm the principles of the Nuremberg Charter in the context of a general codification of offenses against the peace and security of mankind". These principles establish the responsibility and liability to punishment of individuals, as well as of nations, for the waging of aggressive warfare and for crimes against humanity.

The United States Delegation took the initiative in introducing a resolution to this effect. The resolution as passed by the General Assembly was reaffirmation by all the United Nations of the legal principles recognized by the Nuremberg Charter and confirmed by the judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal. It also directed the committee appointed by the General Assembly on the codification of international law to treat as a matter of primary importance plans for the formulation of these principles, in the context of a general codification of offenses against the peace and security of mankind, or of an international criminal code.

Page 129.

AFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW RECOGNIZED BY THE CHARTER OF THE NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL

This resolution affirms the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the judgment of the Tribunal. It directs the General Assembly Committee charged with the study of the methods for the codification of international law to treat as a matter of primary importance plans for the formulation of the principles recognized at Nuremberg. The resolution was proposed by the Delegation of the United States. It was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 11, 1946.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

RECOGNIZES the obligation laid upon it by Article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraph a. of the Charter, to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification; and

TAKES NOTE of the Agreement for the establishment of an International Military Tribunal for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis signed in London on 8 August 1945, and of the Charter annexed thereto, and of the fact that similar principles have been adopted in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the trial of the major war criminals in the Far East, proclaimed at Tokyo on 19 January 1946.

THEREFORE

AFFIRMS the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the judgment of the Tribunal;

DIRECTS the Committee on the codification of international law established by the resolution of the General Assembly of December 1946, to treat as a matter of primary importance plans for the formulation, in the context of a general codification of offenses against the peace and security of mankind, or of an International Criminal Code, of the principles recognized in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal, and in the judgment of the Tribunal.



American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
701 RICE BUILDING
1720 S. MICHIGAN STREET, Northwest
KIDNIGHT 4480
EXecutive 1060

May 19, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dr. Silver:

I learned yesterday from a very reliable source, with whom you are acquainted, that the U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. ~~Doyle~~, has informed the Department of State in a top-secret letter that Dr. Nahum Goldmann, on or about May 13 or 14, came to the Ambassador's office and reported to him as follows:

(1) That Hector McNeill indicated in a long conference he had with Dr. Goldmann that he was strongly for partition.

(2) Dr. Goldmann informed Mr. Johnson that he had made frequent visits to the Foreign Office and he never found them more friendly.

(3) Dr. Goldmann told Mr. ~~Johnson~~ that Bevin "is the greatest friend the Jews ever had".

(4) Dr. Goldmann asked Mr. ~~Johnson~~ to keep secret what he had told him about McNeill because it would embarrass McNeill if it ever leaked out.

In ~~Johnson~~'s letter to the State Department, he indicated that he was not at all impressed with Dr. Goldmann's remarks, in view of the black record of the British, both before and especially after the partition resolution of the General Assembly. He expressed amazement to the Department that Dr. Goldmann could speak as he did after what the Jews had gone through. He indicated that he was at a loss to understand what Dr. Goldmann was driving at.

My friend who reported this matter to me asked me to advise you that this type of expression by Dr. Goldmann to an American Ambassador does the new Jewish State of Israel a great deal of harm. The reaction of several of the top-level men in the Department who read the letter was bad, particularly in view of the actual sabotage by the British of the UN resolution on partition. My friend asked me to advise you to do something about this matter and to make sure that Nahum Goldmann is ordered by competent authority to cease and desist from such activities.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

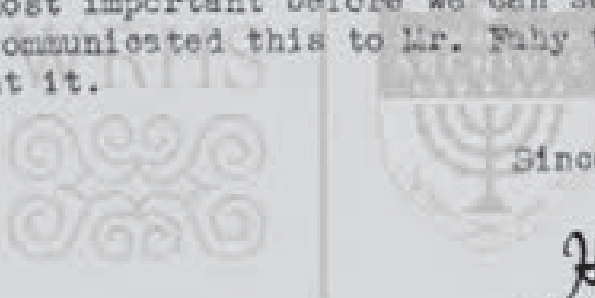
May 15, 1948

Trygve Lie has been sending reports to the State Department that he is very much alarmed by the situation in the Middle East and is fearful lest it might lead to a Third World War. It was obviously Mr. Lie's intention to urge the United States to take a very strong stand in the Security Council. Mr. Lie's alarmist reports have had a bad effect on the Department, and I suggested to Mr. Eban, to whom I reported this yesterday, that he ought to see Mr. Lie this morning in order to disabuse him of this fear.

I also learned that British agents, both at UN and in Washington, are passing around strong rumors that the Arab States will break relations with the United States or any country that recognizes the new State of Israel. This is obviously dirty propaganda and should be exposed as such. I wish I could give you the names of the agents, but I was unable to secure them.

I was also advised by my friend that we should see to it that our Government is urged to inform, through diplomatic channels, the Big Powers, and our friends on the Security Council, how far we are willing to go in implementing a cease-fire order or a finding of a breach of peace, threat to the peace, or aggression in the Security Council, and what our Government is willing to do to back it up. This is most important before we can secure a majority vote in the Security Council. I communicated this to Mr. Fahy this morning and he will try to do what he can about it.

Sincerely yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

Hyman A. Schulson

HAS:cw

May 20, 1948

Senator J. Howard McGrath
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McGrath:

I know of the great and unfailing support which you have given to our cause, and on this occasion when the Jewish State has been established and has been recognized by our government, I wish to express to you my profoundest appreciation. You have been a tower of strength to us. The new republic of Israel and the Jewish citizens of the United States will always remember your loyal support in a critical hour.

Most cordially yours,

WRHS

ABBA HILDE SILVER



AHS:or
Via Air Mail

ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS., CHAIRMAN

WILLIAM LANGRISH, N. CAR.
ROMER PERKINS, MICH.
CHAPMAN REVERSON, W. VA.
E. H. MOORE, OKLA.
FORREST C. DONNELL, MD.
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.

PAT MCCARRAN, NEV.
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
WARREN G. MAGNISON, WASH.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
J. HOWARD MC GRATH, R. I.

HAROLD R. WILDE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

May 27, 1948

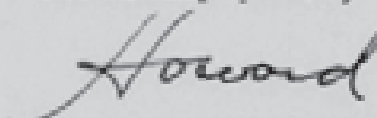
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I certainly am most grateful to you for your very kind letter of the 20th. It has been a great source of satisfaction to witness the birth of this new State, and a real pleasure to have had a small part in its recognition.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,



J. Howard McGrath

JHMcG:RD

C O P Y

C O P Y

C O P Y

June 2, 1948

Mr. Morris Margulies
Committee for Progressive Zionism
Hotel Dixie--230 West 43d St.
New York 18 N.Y.

Dear Morris:

I have just received a copy of your reply to S. P. Benany. I have also read his letter to you. I have known you for a long time, Morris, and I remember working with you when you were Secretary of the L.O.A. To put it frankly I read your reply and I could not possibly believe that you were the author of it. It was a most confusing letter and it gave me the impression that you and those for whom you speak were feebly trying to find alibis and reasons for the existence of the group that you represent. I am not going to go into the details of the many things that you say that are definitely without foundation.

You begin by charging Benany with vicious language and then you proceed in your second paragraph to make a charge that is baseless. I spoke to Benany a few weeks ago and I assure you that he was the author of the contents of that letter. When you speak about a statement that one officer of the L.O.A. made and you emphasize this type of stuff, you are engaging in a smear campaign which I would expect Mr. Bevin and others to indulge in. You know as well as I that that is not the attitude or the feeling of anyone in the present administration and for a group of Zionists to indulge in the horrifying tactics of spreading this type of rot is almost unbelievable.

On page 3 in your second paragraph you speak about placing a premium on uniformity and obedience. I want to say that there are more energetic people in the administration today than ever before. Under the leadership of the administration that you attack the L.O.A. has reached the greatest numerical strength of any Jewish organization in America and is enjoying the greatest respect and prestige. In the days that you speak of I remember the L.O.A. was floundering around with a membership of 8,000 or 10,000 and all during those years ~~some~~ of the names that appear on your stationery and that you speak so eloquently of when they were in control of the administration really throttled its growth as was evidenced by the numerical stature of the organization for so many years. I have travelled throughout the entire country in the last 3 years and I tell you and members of your group that in every community without exception there is a united front behind the administration. In every community the leadership and the rank and file of the people worship and I say this without exaggeration, deeply love, the leadership as typified by Abba Millel Silver and Dr. Emmanuel Neumana.

I have been in some of the communities where people whom you list on your letterhead live and the impression I gathered was that these people speak for themselves and that few or no people in the community back them up in what they are doing in this, your committee. All of these men have rendered valuable service to the Zionist movement. Some people who do not have as much money as some of those whom you speak about in your letter have given their very life blood couched in deep sincerity and love for this Zionist movement. The people whom you talk about in your letter are men who are unselfishly giving of their all for the State of Israel. They are great men and it is regrettable that in days like these they should be maligned and assailed. When Dr. Chaim Weizmann sent a telegram congratulating Silver and Neumann it was read at the Madison Square Garden Rally and it was a great thrill. The men on your committee have worked for this end. The men in the present administration have labored for this same end and it seems to me that your committee would better serve the cause that we are all dedicated to if they would send letter of congratulation to both Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann. This is not time for rangling. Men and women are dying and we cannot afford the luxury of indulging in this type of controversy that has no basis.

There are many charges that you make in your letter that I could refute with great ease.....the allegation, for example, that the present L.O.A. leadership has no access to the White House etc., is so ridiculous especially when the President in the White House recognized the State of Israel a few minutes after it was proclaimed. What service do you render by disseminating this type of propaganda. Wittingly or unwittingly you help to weaken our movement rather than strengthen it. Today the representatives of the State of Israel are speaking in behalf of the State of Israel. Yes, we still have difficult days ahead of us and I urge you as a friend of long standing ...as a friend of many on your Executive Committee, to stand together united behind the fighting men in the land of Israel. In that way, all of us together will be rendering a real service and not a disservice.

Yours very truly,

js

Joseph Goldberg

JOSEPH GOLDBERG
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
401 SLATER BUILDING
390 MAIN STREET
WORCESTER 9, MASSACHUSETTS

June 2, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I sent to the Committee for Progressive Zionism in reply to their communication.

Yours very truly,

Joseph Goldberg
Joseph Goldberg

jc;m

June 7, 1948

Mr. Joseph Goldberg
390 Main Street
Worcester 2, Mass.

My dear Joe:

I am very grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the letter which you sent Mr. Margulies. I read it with keen pleasure.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Z.O.A. Convention.

Most cordially yours,

ANNA HILLEN SILVER

AMS:er
Dictated but not signed

C
O
P
Y

C
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P
Y

A. T. WALMED
Fox Building
Sixteenth and Market Streets
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

June 9, 1948

Hon. Leo R. Sack
Ring Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Leo:

As an old newspaperman I assume that you know Drew Pearson. If so, I believe that I have a sensational radio scoop for him of international importance and I wonder if I can utilize you to get my message to him. But first I want to give you my reasons for my actions.

I have always contended that there are many so called "big" men in this country (as there were in Europe before the two world wars) who have no flag, no pride of country, no scruples, no honor, no humanitarian instincts but only greed for profit and power.

These are the men who would not have hesitated to make peace with Hitler if there had been any doubt of victory, so long as he would have agreed not to disturb their property and power. Any flag with two P's (Profit and Power) is their flag.

These men are confined to no race, religion, color or nationality. Germany and Italy had them. China and India have them. England has an overdose of them. The Catholics and the Protestants have them as do the Mohammedans and the Hindus, and last, but not least, the Jews have them - and thereby hangs my tale.

Anti Semites want to believe and many sincere gentiles mistakenly believe what you and I know to be untrue, viz: that all Jews, rich, powerful and poor are all banded together in the single purpose of helping to create the new State of Israel. There are powerful men in America today who have Jewish blood coursing thru their veins who are deadly enemies of everything or anything that would improve the lot of Jews anywhere in the world, and would help destroy them if only it meant personal power and/or profit to them.

What prompts my actions is a little newspaper clipping (enclosed) in which the Associated Press reports that Oswald Sappe, the great industrialist, recently declined a high decoration from the British government with a scathing statement to the British Ambassador that "the vacillating, reprehensible and non-constructive attitude of your Government with regard to Palestine has left me without respect for its position."

Though he is not a professing Jew and has married out of the faith and probably is a communicant of a Christian Church, which is his right, he has never denied his Jewish ancestry and neither has his brother Herbert Bayard Swope. Yet in the hour of travail of the Jewish people this great soul comes boldly forward and flings back into the teeth of our oppressors the empty trinket of tinsel and vanity with which Britain has rewarded many misguided sincere people and many more stooges. Britain knows very well why Gerard Swope refused this empty honor.

Now contrast Swope's actions with that of one of the foremost bankers in America who very few people know is a full blooded Jew, who like Swope married out of his faith (which I certainly do not hold against him as we have five Christians in my own family, all splendid young men and women) but who has spent half of his life creating conditions to prevent the general public, and many of his close associates from knowing that he is a Jew, and in the evening of his life is forefront among Israel's enemies in using every satanic attempt to crush the young Republic.

Who is this man? On May 30th Drew Pearson said over the radio that he had information that Dillon Read & Co. had made a personal contribution to King Ibn Saud of \$200,000. As you know these patriots (?) are the backers and bankers of all the oil merchants including the infamous American-Arabian Oil Co. who charged the U.S. Navy \$1.50 per barrel for oil which it was selling to Britain for 40%. Their representative in Washington is Jas. V. Forrestal.

And who is the head of this gang of financial exploiters? None other than Clarence Dillon, and if Drew Pearson will get a copy of Who's Who in American Jewry, 1938-39 edition, he will find the name of Clarence Dillon on Page 210, son of Samuel Dillon and Bertha Steenbock born in San Antonio, Texas Sept. 27, 1882 - as well as that of Gerard Swope on Page 1067, born in St. Louis Dec. 1, 1872, son of Isaac and Ida Swope.

You and I, humble people are proud with the late nobleman Brandeis and Cardozo and the living Barney Baruch, Herbert Lehmann and Felix Frankfurter to call ourselves Americans of Jewish ancestry but to this leut it is evidently a badge of shame. Such being his distorted viewpoint nothing would be greater punishment than to expose what he is trying to hide. Let him suffer the pangs of remorse together with the probable contempt of his financial associates, and probably of his own family.

June 9, 1948

You might argue, what will be gained by exposing him. I remind you of the evil days when in order (in his distorted mind) to humble Danes of Jewish ancestry Hitler pinned the Star of David on them as a badge of shame. History records that King Christian of Denmark went about his realm with the Star of David on his breast "as a badge of honor". Did he ask what was to be gained? No. He hit back at the enemies of the Jews. If being a Jew is shameful to this renegade Jewish Anti-Semite, let's shame him and hit him in his most sensitive spot while we take our place with King Christian of Denmark.

Let him spend the rest of his days turning his head away or dropping his eyes at every glance of his associates who might be thinking "Here is a Jew who for money sold his own people down the river." Let every glance haunt him as an escaped criminal is haunted by any pair of eyes that are even innocently directed towards him.

Only Drew Pearson in his inimitable style could bring all this out - and he would get the grateful thanks of his many American listeners of Jewish ancestry. What say you Leo?

Sincerely,

A. T. MALMED

ATM/c/p

P.S. It might be very interesting if Drew Pearson would have a search made in San Antonio of the elder Dillon's ancestors.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 1060

June 10, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

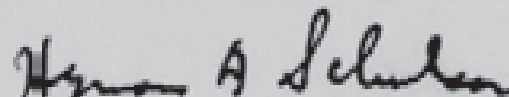
Judge Louis Levinthal just telephoned me that the best he could get for you was a room at the Warwick Hotel with two Murphy beds which fold up, and during the day the room looks like a parlor. I shall check in for you in your name on Wednesday evening, June 16. Harold Hanson and I have a double room at the Ritz-Carlton and one at the John Bartram Hotel.

When I was on the Hill yesterday, I happened to run across Mr. McCarthy, Senator Lodge's secretary, and he told me that the Senator had not received any communication from you. I hope that your communication did not get lost. If you do not hear from Senator Lodge by tomorrow, may I suggest that you communicate with him again.

I have learned that Congressman Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts will serve as an advisor in drafting the Foreign Affairs plank of the Republican Party platform. You will recall that Mr. Herter was one of the hosts at the meeting you addressed of Senators and Congressmen at the Mayflower Hotel. Mr. Herter has been working very closely with Congressman Javits and the other Republican Congressmen who have been sympathetic to our cause. I think that it would be worth your while also to drop a note to Congressman Christian A. Herter.

With warmest personal regards and good wishes, I am,

Most cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS:cw

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date July 6, 1948

From Mr. Adolph Hubbard

Enclosed is a copy of the United Nations World of June, 1947 that contains the article on President Roosevelt's plan for refugees about which I spoke to you in Pittsburgh. The article begins on page 14 and gives a general description of the project, and the item in which we have an interest is on page 64. That deals with the Negev as a place to settle refugees.

I have been trying to get hold of the original report ever since it appeared. Rabbi Unger has approached the Roosevelt people in Poughkeepsie and he has communicated with Mr. Morgenthau, but so far this has produced no result. I have written to Farago, the author of the article, and have tried to reach him in the New York office of the United Nations World but so far have not been able to get to him. The only other bit of information that I have succeeded in obtaining is that the report on the Negev was written by Captain Glueck. This is not Nelson Glueck. A search in Washington might produce this report.

AH:SR

Enc

RAYMOND E. BALDWIN
CONNECTICUT

CATHERINE M. FLYNN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

GENEVIEVE CONLON
PERSONAL SECRETARY

AHS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
CIVIL SERVICE

LESLIE T. FOSSEL
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Shapiro

July 6, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Doctor Silver:

Thank you very much for your kind letter expressing your appreciation for our work on the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention. I was very happy to render all the service that I could, and I am very glad that you feel pleased with the resolution concerning Israel included in the platform of the Republican Party. Our next task is to see to it that this pledge is fulfilled.

With kindest personal regards.

Yours very sincerely,

Raymond E. Baldwin
Raymond E. Baldwin
U. S. Senate

mt

B. Silver

July 7, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Benjamin A. Tober
151 Congress Street
Portsmouth, N.H.

Dear Mr. Tober:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of this morning, I send you the enclosed draft of the letter which you were going to address to Senator Bridges. As I mentioned to you over the telephone, we have no objection to your changing the personal parts of the letter at the beginning and at the end, if you want to make your request for action more emphatic. The body of the letter, including the long quotation, had better be left as is.

I will appreciate it if you will send us an exact copy of the letter which you will despatch to the Senator.

May I also remind you of the suggestion that, two days after you send the letter to the Senator, you follow it up by a telephone call to him, in order to give him a greater sense of urgency. I would be grateful if you would thereupon telephone or write us to let us know what was the Senator's reaction.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

BA:AF
Encl.

Benjamin Aksin

DRAFT

July 7, 1948

My dear Senator:

I have been greatly interested to read the Associated Press story of yesterday's date indicating that a letter has been sent to you by Paul G. Hoffman, the Economic Cooperation Administrator, advising you that no foreign aid funds are being used by Great Britain to help Arab countries.

In view of the profound interest which you have taken in justice to the Jewish people and to Palestine, I should like to draw your attention to another pronouncement by Mr. Hoffman made in the course of a press conference on June ³⁰ 28. I quote from a Washington story by Robert J. Donovan on page 10 of the New York Herald Tribune of July 2:

"Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Co-operation Administrator, disclosed Wednesday a new and broader policy aimed at blocking shipment of any potential war goods to Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe from nations participating in the European Recovery Program.

"The policy outlined by Mr. Hoffman at a press conference is to discourage any E.R.P. nation from shipping 'contraband' war goods to Eastern Europe, even if these goods were manufactured out of the nation's own resources and not with American materials. Mr. Hoffman indicated that a nation engaged in such trade might be deprived of American aid.

"Hitherto it had been his announced policy that any E.R.P. nation using American materials to make war goods for Russia or its satellites would forfeit American aid. . . .

"In answer to questions at his press conference Wednesday, Mr. Hoffman said that strategic materials should not be sent to Russia whether they were made in the United States or in Western Europe.

"He said that if any E.R.P. national should sell war goods to Russia, the United States would seek immediate discussions with that nation. These discussions evidently would lead straight to the question whether such a nation would be eligible for further American aid if it continued its sales, and Mr. Hoffman indicated that the answer would be 'no.'

"He was reminded by a reporter that in the past Great Britain had sold jet engines to Russia.

"A jet engine is still a jet engine," he commented, "whether it comes from this country or a participating country."

"Mr. Hoffman said that goods which the E.C.A. considered 'contraband' were those which the Department of Commerce, in the interest of national security, would refuse to license for export to the Soviet-dominated nations. . . ."

You will readily observe, my dear Senator, to what extent two different standards are being used by Mr. Hoffman in the two cases. In the case of export of certain materials to the Soviet Union, once the assumption is granted that such export is not in line with American policy, the Economic Cooperation Administrator takes the correct attitude that any country which exports potential war materials to the Soviet Union makes itself liable to have further American aid discontinued, whether or not the production of such materials has been facilitated by American economic aid. In the case of Arab aggression against Israel, on the other hand, Mr. Hoffman takes the narrow view that as long as funds provided by the United States are not actually used to assist the Arabs, Congress ought to be satisfied and the Administration does not have to halt aid to Britain.

There is no need for me to dwell on the obvious contradiction between these attitudes. Materials are of course convertible to different uses. If material from the United States is made available to Britain for one purpose, this may release other supplies in the hands of the British Government for use by the Arabs in their war of aggression. Similarly, funds are convertible. If funds are placed by the American Government at the disposal of the British authorities for one purpose, this releases other funds already in the hands of the British Government for the purpose of assisting Arab aggression. This direct connection between American Aid received by a foreign government and the ability of the same foreign government to extend economic aid to a third government in a manner contrary to American policy, has been clearly understood by

the Economic Cooperation Administrator in the case of the Soviet Union, and it is very odd, to say the least, that he ignores this connection in the case of Palestine.

I am certain that you will realize the importance and the urgency of this problem, and I hope that you will take all necessary steps to insure that the United States Government, and the Economic Cooperation Administrator in particular, apply forthwith to Great Britain and the Arab Governments in connection with their war of aggression against Israel the same standards as are being applied in regard to the export trade of foreign nations with the Soviet Union.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,



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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

1211

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

C O P Y

WASHINGTON DC
 ABBA HILLEL SILVER CHAIRMAN
 AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
 342 MADISON AVE.
 New York City

July 7, 1948

ABSENCE FROM THIS CITY PREVENTED ME TO ANSWER YOUR COURTEOUS TELEGRAM OF JUNE 28TH STOP I HAVE TRANSMITTED TO MY GOVERNMENT APPRECIATION AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL FOR PANAMIAN RECOGNITION STATE OF ISRAEL STOP I WISH TO SEND TO YOU AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES IN YOUR PATRIOTIC ENDEAVOURS.

OCTAVIO A. VALLARINO AMBASSADOR OF PANAMA

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
• 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Date July 8, 1948

From Benjamin Akzin

Enclosed please find copy of a letter sent to
Mr. Tober together with a draft of a letter which we
asked him to forward to Senator Bridges.

BA:AF
encl.

BA.



EASTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

For radiograms and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

CL146 PD=XJ NEWYORK NY 9 1028 A:

=DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

:THE TEMPLE=

HAVE ARRANGED MEETING AS PER OUR CONVERSATION YESTERDAY
WITH MONSIGNOR MCMAHON FOR THIS TUESDAY AT THREE PM
REGARDS

HARRY L SHAPIRO=

:PM=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

AHS

July 9, 1948

Dr. Benjamin Aksin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Aksin:

I read the letter which you wrote for Teber to be addressed to Senator Bridges. It is a very good letter. I feel, however, that an official letter should be sent to Mr. Paul G. Hoffman by the Emergency Council calling attention to the very things which you mention in the Bridges letter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

July 16, 1948

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Harry:

I am enclosing a letter which I received from Leo Sack. Does it indicate to you that Leo Sack is worried as to his continuing with the Emergency Council due to the fact that he is not able to give the same measure of service which he did in the past? I would suggest that you reassure him. We are not likely to make any changes as regard our staff until such time as we consider the complete reorganization of our work which may be quite a ways off.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABRA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

July 15, 1948

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Harry:

I assume that Manson is arranging to represent the Emergency Council also at the Convention of the "Wallace for President" which will be held in Philadelphia on July 23rd. I understand that public hearings on the party platform will be held on July 21st and 22nd. The chairman of the Platform Committee has invited our organization to present its views. If Manson cannot be there, then I am sure that you will make other arrangements.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

July 22, 1948

Dr. Benjamin Akzin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Akzin:

Thank you very much for giving me the privilege of reading a copy of your most interesting and thoughtful letter to Dr. Neumann of July 21. Thank you also for the compliment you pay me in a covering letter that if Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann react favorably to your suggestion, I am the logical person to enlist the help of Senator O'Mahoney and Leslie Biffle.

Right here let me say that because of my unfortunate enforced absence from the office for more than two months, plus the fact that here at home, as I am, practically the entire day, I do not have the opportunity either to keep thoroughly posted through the daily newspapers and other sources of information, nor do I see many people to talk about current developments. As a matter of fact, I have seen extremely little of Schulson, who would keep me informed as much as he could, because as you know, he has been out-of-town a great deal recently and has been very busy otherwise. Thus, my dear doctor, because I am not mentally equipped to argue the case at the moment, I beg of you not to urge me to plead an issue in which men like O'Mahoney and Biffle would clearly know that Leo was advocating emotionally and without complete knowledge of the facts. If I attempted ever to do this, it would destroy my future usefulness.

I do think, however -- and I am sure Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann agree -- that the facts should be laid on the line to the President, to Senator McGrath, to Senator Barkley and to Secretaries Marshall and Lovett, and perhaps also to Mr. Satterthwaite, Loy Henderson's successor. I think asking Baruch, the Swope's, Rosenman, Walgren and Farley to intervene is wasted effort, unless they, like O'Dwyer and others, should remind Truman again that the State Department is still kicking our dog around and that the Jews are not unaware of what is going on.

Mr. Benjamin Akzin

July 22, 1948

By the same token, and without going into the fact-by-fact exposition of the fouling-up processes which have been followed at Lake Success and in the State Department, I think some of our other politically-minded friends -- Arvey in Chicago, Hague in Jersey City, McCormack in Boston, McMahon in Connecticut, Fitzpatrick in New York, et al, et al -- can and should remind the President that "now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party", and this includes giving the Jews really something to feel kindly about.

Now as to the person who should speak to the President, to Mr. Barkley and to Mr. McGrath, may I suggest Dr. Neumann, the recently re-elected President of the Zionist Organization of America, who was one of the Jewish spokesmen at Lake Success before the creation of the State of Israel. Ordinarily, as you know, I would want Dr. Silver to lay these facts on the line, as only he can do, but I would no more have Dr. Silver stultify himself by seeking an appointment with the President than I would endeavor to conduct mass tomorrow morning in St. Patrick's Cathedral!

I think Dr. Neuman is the man to speak to Truman, particularly in view of the fact that, as I heard it, he received a cordial letter of appreciation from the President in response to a recent letter of thanks. I am sure that Dr. Neumann could make Mr. Truman understand that he is still being double-crossed by the State Department. Dr. Neumann knows Senator Barkley well, and Barkley knows who he is. In the case of Mr. McGrath, I could go with Neumann to see him, but I think Mr. McGrath's long-time political friend and "favorite Rhode Island Jew", Archibald Silverman, should go with Emanuel to see McGrath. An appointment should be made, and McGrath, who is sympathetic to us, should be made to appreciate the gravity of your allegations.

As you know, my dear doctor, at the recent Philadelphia Convention at the time the Northern political leaders were so concerned about Truman's ability to win votes and influence people, the chief source of complaint of these practical gentlemen was the fact that Truman was out of favor with the Jewish vote. In other words, what we in the Emergency Council, in our modest way, have been endeavoring to accomplish over a period of years, bore fruit at Philadelphia, because the top-flight politicians were publicly admitting that the Jewish vote is no longer "all bound round with a woolen string". This state of affairs still continues, and if the most excellent Republican ticket is to be prevented from winning the Jewish vote, the President must do more than give us the kind of lip service we have received over the past eight years, and which is directly responsible for the inflammatory Arab nationalism which has already cost us thousands of Jewish lives and millions of dollars of Jewish treasure. I am all for Truman knowing the facts of life, but I think he should get it straight from elected headquarters, in this case, Emanuel Neumann.

With my very kindest regards, and thanks again for sending me a copy of your letter, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

LRS:ew

Leo R. Sack

P.S. I am taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zaria Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 1060

July 22, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

For your information, here is my
reaction to Dr. Akzin's letter to Dr. Neumann,
of which he was kind enough to send me a copy.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,



(per cw)

Leo R. Sack

LRS:cw
encl.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

SUITE 701

1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LEO R. SACK

July 26, 1948

NOT FOR GENERAL CIRCULATION

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd.
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

A couple of weeks ago there was a mysterious B17 raid over Cairo, as you may recall. At the time no one seemed to know very much about it and Tel Aviv officials denied any knowledge whatsoever.

On Saturday I learned that the State Department has very angrily protested to one of the Aviation Agencies over the fact that this plane got away over the United States embargo. The Department was irate because the Cairo government was indignant over the reported casualty list of thirty killed and five hundred wounded.

My information comes from a source I deem to be very, very reliable.

Sincerely yours,

Leo R. Sack

Leo R. Sack

(Dictated by telephone)

AHS

Used?

July 23, 1948

Mr. Hyman Schulson
American Zionist Emergency Council
1200 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Hy:

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing drafts of the proposed letters to the President, one by Democratic, the other by Republican Senators and Representatives.

Will Kaufman and I will prepare a few speeches suitable for delivery on the floor. You ought to get them by Monday at the latest.

Sincerely yours,

BA:AF
Encls.

Benjamin Aron

Democratic

Dear Mr. President:

The undersigned have the honor to draw your attention to the pledges contained in the Palestine plank of our Party's platform, adopted at the recent National Convention of the Democratic Party, as follows:

"We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. We affirm our pride that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in the adoption of the resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish State.

"We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of Nov. 29 and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

"We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

"We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision.

"We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places in Palestine."

You will have noted that the objectives of this plank are also supported by the platform of the Republican Party.

The subject of Palestine, falling as it does within the field of foreign relations, is one in which the Executive is generally free to act on its own, without need for specific action by Congress. In the case of Palestine, and in view of the urgent need of the newly created State of Israel for the measures of support pledged in our platform, we hope that the Executive will make a special effort to achieve without delay the objectives pledged by us. Knowing that public sentiment, as formulated

in the platforms of both major political parties, would be behind you, and that all constitutional means for action are in your hands, we hope that you will give immediate implementation to the pledges contained in the Democratic platform on Palestine.

Two of the pledges contained in our Party's Palestine plank are particularly significant in the sense that they are capable of instantaneous fulfillment: the pledge of full recognition of the State of Israel, and the pledge of appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources. The substitution of full recognition for the limited de facto recognition of Israel can be accomplished by you without any delay whatsoever. The extension of economic aid to Israel, in the form of a \$100,000,000 loan through the medium of the Export-Import Bank, application for which has been on file with that Bank for a considerable time, is delayed solely by the failure of the Department of State to accord its approval. As loyal members of the Democratic Party anxious to see the record of our Party and of your Administration in living up to its pledges placed beyond cavil of doubt, we earnestly urge you to take without delay the steps necessary to fulfill these pledges.

Respectfully,

Republican

Dear Mr. President:

At this time when you invited Congress to meet in extraordinary session for the purpose of considering certain urgent questions falling within its jurisdiction, we have the honor to address to you this letter dealing with a subject within the province of the Executive. We refer to the policy of the United States toward the State of Israel.

We note that on this question the platforms of the Republican and the Democratic parties find themselves in substantial accord. Though the two platforms differ in their evaluation of the part played by your Administration in the past in connection with Palestine, they take a similar view of the future. Specifically, both platforms pledge themselves to the full recognition of Israel, to the support of its territorial integrity, and to aid in developing its economy.

Since the means for giving effect to this policy lie in your hands as Chief Executive, we can only urge you to take speedy action in order to implement the above objectives. Strengthened by the certainty that these objectives enjoy bi-partisan approval and secure in the knowledge that they can be accomplished forthwith by Executive action, we hope that you will see fit to give effect to these pledges with all the urgency which the situation requires.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

AHS

July 28, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Bulgrave Hotel
50 East 67 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Following receipt of the copy of General Klein's letter to you, which you forwarded to this office, I asked Mr. Craditor to tell General Klein that we shall be very grateful to him if he first writes and then visits Cardinal Spellman in connection with the Andersen lecture. I have also asked him to let me know the Cardinal's reaction to General Klein's demarche.

In this connection, I would like to inform you that I spoke last week to Dr. Simon Segal of the American Jewish Committee and asked him to get Judge Proskauer to take more active action in the same matter.

Sincerely yours,



Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

JUNE 1947 • PRICE 25 CENTS

ATOMIC MAP OF THE WORLD: UNW EXCLUSIVE

HERBERT H. LEHMAN: THE REFUGEE SOLUTION

PERÓN AGAINST THE PRESS

VINCENT SHEEAN: THE ARAB AWAKENING

REFUGEES: DISPLACED FAMILIES IN PARIS RECEIVE CLOTHING
FROM U. S. BACKGROUND—A PRISON CAMP MURAL



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Parfums

BOURJOIS

NEW YORK, Distributor

"The United Nations is an organization which cannot stand still. It must either go forward or backward."

CLEMENT ATTLEE,
Prime Minister,
Great Britain.

LETTERS

UNW

It (UNW) impresses me as meeting a definite need and as being unusually well edited. It should serve a very useful purpose.

LOUIS RUTHENBERG
President
Serval Inc.

It seems to fill the need for the proper dissemination of information in connection with the United Nations activity.

J. P. SEIBERLING
President
Seiberling Rubber Co.

Congratulations on this splendid magazine and best wishes for its success.

WALTER H. BEECH
President
Beech Aircraft Corp.

Finis?

The United Nations Organization so far is only a debating society, and I do not believe there is time enough left for it to function successfully. Nor do I think it makes any difference "whodunit". . . . All things considered, I have little faith left in anything or anybody but God—and in my opinion He will soon write 'finis' to the whole story.

Mrs. WILFRED ROMICE
Pomona, California

A Ten-Strike

I think you've got a ten-strike in UNITED NATIONS WORLD. I hear some fine comments about it.

JOSEPH KATZ
The Joseph Katz Company

The new magazine should certainly fill a need, not only in our country, but in all the countries of the United Nations.

B. C. DUFFY
President
Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.

A Family Affair

I have waited a little while before acknowledging receipt of UNW because I wanted to read it. However, I found it difficult to do because my wife and daughter-in-law grabbed it and read it before I had a chance to. I have not read all of it, but I have read enough so that I can say I think it is a



Where do you
keep your "valuables"?

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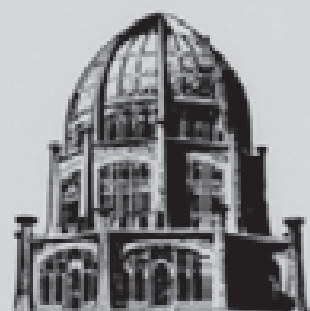
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splendid job, and I know it is going to be a success.

NEIL MATHEWS
Executive Vice President
Farm Journal, Inc.

The Right Direction

I hardly need to wish you luck; it's evident you are set in the right direction. . . . I don't see how any right-minded man can help but be with you in your undertaking.

FRED S. HALE
Cushing & Nevell
New York, N. Y.

Who's Big?

The first thing I read in your interesting magazine (April) was the section containing rules for the Editorial Staff. The second was the introduction to Fred Smith's editorial. Might it not be preferable to avoid also "people in the street" (where are you?) and most particularly "little man" (who's big?).

CAROL LIPKIN
New York, N. Y.

Well taken—Ed.

A Shudder

I know you are interested in impressions—here are a few of mine briefly . . .

I was delighted at the variety of material. I would have wished for some stronger stands on issues. . . . The article on Greece (May issue) was quite courageous. . . . Calendar: important events column . . . swell; first column rings no bell with me. . . . The map is wonderful. I shuddered when I saw in cold bold print "Anglo-American Influence."

In general, a very appetizing dish.

MRS. DAVID DAVIS
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

A "Good Beginning"

You might be interested to know that I have seen your paper displayed in our Union Station here in Washington, where it is being given more prominence than any other paper. You have a distinguished group of editors and writers and have constructed an excellent periodical in answer to a real need.

A. E. GIDGENACK
Public Printer of the United States
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C.

Debate About "Freshness"

UNITED NATIONS WORLD . . . has been a disappointment to me. I fully expected it to be more "fresh" than it is. It seems to me, and I could most certainly be wrong, that your articles are muted.

MRS. CLINT COX, JR.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

After reading through the April issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, I'm immensely impressed by the fresh approach of your maga-

zine—by its piercing, authoritative quality, and easy-to-read style.

CHARLES HULL WOLFE
Radio Commercial Department
Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

Our Editorial Staff

Your magazine sounds interesting, but unless you get some Russians on your editorial staff, I don't think it will really be a "United Nations World" magazine.

JOSEPH E. KORVIEK
Washington, D. C.

When you add to your staff a John Foster Dulles who can speak for the Protestants on controversial matters, and a well-known Catholic writer who can speak for the people of his religion all over the world, as well as a Rabbi who can interpret and speak for his people, then I'll give you . . . subscription.

CLARE R. GUIDOTTE
San Jose, California

In the five issues of the magazine which have appeared to date, there have been articles by Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Hindus, Mohammedans and others.—Ed.

The "Important Facts"

Especially commendable is the section "World Files." Few people have the time or inclination to ferret out such items of interest, as it means plowing through columns of contradictory comments and the important facts are often either left out or lost among a maze of words.

JANET L. DIERDORFF
Denver, Colorado

UN "Honorary Citizenship"

I happened to read . . . that Lincoln was a citizen of two countries, having honorary citizenship in San Marino. . . . It crossed my mind that internationalism would be greatly aided if the various United Nations would offer honorary citizenship to certain groups of people. I myself would like to see everyone able to feel free to come and go in all parts of the world.

MRS. W. G. COCHRAN
Raleigh, North Carolina

A Luxembourg Viewpoint

I heartily endorse the value of this publication from a general point of view, as small nations like Luxembourg are most desirous of seeing international differences settled at conference tables. This means co-operation and I believe your magazine is greatly contributing toward this end.

HUGUES LE GALLAIS
Minister of Luxembourg

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UNITED NATIONS WORLD, JUNE 1947

LIFE IN OUR WORLD

AN AMAZING COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

THIS month the UN celebrates the second anniversary of the signing of the Charter at San Francisco (June 26, 1945). Since 1946 was the first operational year of the UN, this seems a good time to check up on the UN as compared with the League of Nations' first operational year in 1920. Such a comparison provides some striking facts: the UN, in 1946, with 51 members (now increased to 55), had a budget $6\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as the League, with 41 members, in 1920; UN's personnel was 16 times as great as the League's, yet its payments in salaries and expenses were barely eight times as great. The comparative figures stack up as follows:

	Budget	Personnel	Salaries
UN, 1946.....	\$19,390,000	2,992	\$6,492,979
League, 1920..	3,000,000	182	824,000

In these times when everything is so much more expensive, we were surprised to learn that the UN is costing comparatively less than the League. Thus the cost of session days of the League in 1920 was \$7,334, while an equally full session at the UN last year—in the world's most expensive city—was but \$5,483.

UN—Fewer But Tougher Jobs

SO FAR as plenary sessions of the General Assembly are concerned, UN in 1946 was busier, worked longer, turned out more work—and attracted a press attendance more than three times as great as the League in 1920. Comparative data for the two assemblies is as follows:

PLENARY SESSIONS OF ASSEMBLIES				
	No. of meetings	Dura- tion	Resolu- tion adptd.	Press attend.
UN, 1946.....	67	107½ hrs.	135	600
League, 1920..	31	84 hrs.	35	187

Compared with the League of Nations' Council, which in 1920 held 11 sessions lasting 85 days, the UN's Security Council was in "continuous" session for 349 days (including many Sundays). However, in contrast with the 113 questions considered by the League Council in 1920, the Security Council considered only 20 last year—providing evidence that, compared with the aftermath of World War I, there are fewer outstanding issues today, al-

though those to be dealt with are more complex.

UN Commuters

AS FOR the members of the Secretariat staff, particularly the clerical assistants, working at the UN just now is often a bit tougher than in the League. In Geneva League sessions were held practically in the center of town, and the employees didn't have to spend two or three hours traveling back and forth from home to office as they do at Lake Success. Nevertheless, the devotion of the UN staff is at least equal in every way to the great enthusiasm shown by the old League staff.

Vox Populi

IF THE people of the U. S. and U.S.S.R. have the last word, there will be no war between these two countries—that's what 87 per cent of the American people think, according to a poll taken by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver. Asked whether they felt the current disagreements between America and Russia are serious enough to warrant war, 73 per cent said no.

Britain's Shipping Lead

MORE than half of all the merchant shipping exceeding 100 tons gross produced anywhere in the world last year was built in Great Britain and Ireland, according to Lloyd's. The percentage, 53.3, is the highest since 1913 except for the war years.

Aussies After Oscar

HARRY WATT, British film producer of the famed Australian picture



"The Overlanders," is in Australia to produce a new series of films. The series will be the first real attempt in Australia to produce films for the world market.

Crossing Barriers

"ACROSS Barriers," a movement "to combat hatred and narrow-mindedness, and in their place create cooperation and confidence founded on jus-



tice," is sponsoring correspondence between women in Sweden and in war-devastated countries. Heading the movement is Fru Inga Almqvist, who hopes that similar groups will be started in other countries. Her address is 9a, Eriksbergsgatar, Stockholm.

Denver Children "Adopt" Brest

SCHOOL children in Denver, Colo., have "adopted" the devastated city of Brest, France. The campaign is sponsored by American Aid to France, Inc. and is endorsed by the Rotary, Kiwanis and also service clubs in Denver. Through contributions from piggy-banks and grown-ups, a health and rehabilitation center will be built for the children of Brest. Letters, snapshots and gifts will be exchanged between pupils in the French and American cities.

"There's a U (YOU) in UN!"

THE villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown (pop. 13,000) were the scene on May 21 of an important announcement: plans for a nation-wide celebration of United Nations Week, Sept. 14-20. Sponsored by the American Association for the United Nations, NBC, and the National Education Association, with the support of over 50 national organizations, the week will coincide with the opening of the General Assembly and will be devoted to stimulating community interest in the UN. Its slogan is: "There's a U (YOU) in the United Nations!" The Tarrytowns have been chosen as a model community to highlight the week's activities.

Sightseeing in Russia

UNION members from Denmark and Norway will be able to spend

their summer vacations seeing Russia. Two travel associations in these countries have completed negotiations with the Soviet Intourist for low-cost vacations for workers; this is one of the first tourist arrangements made by the



Soviet Government. . . . 20,000 prospective American sight-seers in the Netherlands are expected to spend about \$4,000,000 this summer (more than double the 1933 figure) . . . Norway is putting out the welcome mat for 125,000 tourists.

A Lesson from Ceylon

CEYLON's new University, which will cost 35 million rupees (\$10,500,000) and take 10 years to finish, will combine the best features of ancient Sinhalese and modern Western architecture. Its site, a picturesque spot four miles from Kandy, the last capital of the Sinhalese Kingdom, was occupied during the war by camps of the Southeast Asia Command under Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten. No fees will be charged, for in 1945 the State Council made education free from Kindergarten through University.

"Britain Can Make It"

A SEABORNE "Britain Can Make It" exhibition in miniature left the U.K. in April aboard the 10,000-ton S.S. *Merriel* for a three-month exhibition cruise. The exhibit will touch all



major ports along the South American eastern seaboard. Principal exhibits are machinery, aero and automobile engines, and radio and electrical goods, for all of which there is a great demand in South America.

War Winnings (If Any)

SIXTY-FIVE per cent of the people polled by the Opinion Poll Inc. think the United States has what she fought for. No definitions were given of "what she fought for." As for the

other 54 members of the UN, only 37 per cent of persons polled think their countries got what they were hoping for. Fifty per cent feel that the United Nations members have avoided a worse situation because of fighting the war—but they do not think the world situation now is much better than before the war.

"Global Typewriter"

THE largest collection of typewriter stock in the world—one million type faces in 145 languages and dialects—is to be found in Martin Tytell's Typewriter Emporium in New York. Tytell is working on many new typewriter designs: he cooperated with U. S. Commander Dvorak in developing typewriters for one-armed writers and is working with former U. S. Senator Robert Owen on the development of a "global typewriter" which he hopes "will bring world peace, or at least understanding."

"Women in White"

A WORLD-WIDE nurse shortage was reported at the first postwar Con-



gress of the International Council of Nurses, which met during May at Atlantic City, N. J. Six thousand "women in white" from 32 nations planned also to extend more educational advantages to nurses. The next Congress will be held in Sweden in June, 1949. It will mark the 50th anniversary of the ICN, probably the oldest international organization of professional workers.

Colombia Curtails Imports

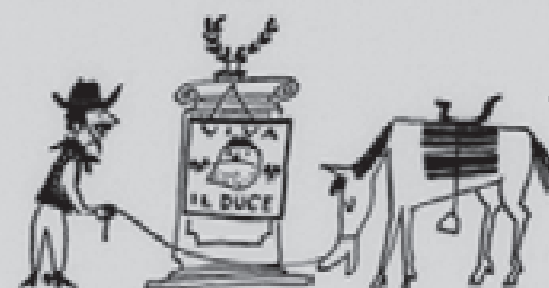
TO RELIEVE the congestion plaguing its ports, Colombia has reduced its monthly import quota from \$18,000,000 to \$13,000,000. In granting import licenses, preference will be given to medical products, foodstuffs, machinery, raw materials and fertilizer.

Help for Yugoslavia

SWEDISH youth is offering a helping hand across Europe. A group of 200 young men and women will go to Yugoslavia this summer to help rebuild the railroads between Bosanski and Sarajevo. They will be joined by similar groups from other countries.

Hailing the Duce!

MUSSOLINI may be gone, but he's not forgotten. In Feru, local Italian and Peruvian fascists attended a requiem mass held by the Fascist Action Party for the soul of Benito Mussolini on the second anniversary of his death. In Brazil, Sao Paulo Italian and Brazilian fascists attended a mass for the



"Italian martyrs," including Achille Starace, Fascist Party secretary, and Clara Petacci, Mussolini's mistress. In Argentina, a picture of the dead dictator appeared on the Buenos Aires tomb of Giuseppe Mazzini, Italian national hero, and several wreaths reading "Viva il Duce" were placed at the monument of the Unknown Soldier in Mendoza's Italy Square.

The Ambitious "Monkey-Nut"

PEANUTS—groundnuts or "monkey-nuts," as the British call them, are news today. No less than 800,000 tons are expected to be produced annually on the 3,250,000-acre tract being cleared for nut production under British sponsorship in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. The huge enterprise will be government-financed and operated, and journals in India are already busy protesting the announcement that 750 Europeans and 32,000 Africans—but presumably no Indians, of whom there are many in West Africa—will be employed. The West African monkey-nuts will supply undernourished Britain with much-needed protein and oil.

Expensive "Trimnings"

CIRO's, one of Mexico City's snappiest restaurants, was fined for charging 60 pesos (about \$15) for a steak. The



management pointed out that the price charged was not just for steak, but included potatoes and onions.

Wings Over Siam

SIAM is starting an airline between Bangkok and the U. S., known as Pacific Overseas Airlines Siam Ltd. The Siamese Government owns 26 per cent of the stock, Siamese private investors 25 per cent, an Oriental business agency 5 per cent and American interests 44 per cent. Total capitalization is \$700,000, or seven million *bahits*. American pilots will fly the planes at first and also train Siamese pilots.

Forgers in Java

COUNTERFEITERS have lost no time in forging the new banknotes of the Indonesian Republic. Police confiscated the counterfeiting equipment, but with both Indonesian and Dutch police in the picture the forgers somehow escaped. Silver and copper coins are being hoarded to such an extent that Batavia storekeepers have begun to issue their own token money as small change, pending a new issue of banknotes.

Pumpkin Trees

THE Russians have a new invention—a pumpkin that grows on trees. They obtained it by crossing the old-



fashioned vine pumpkin with the Greek, Italian, Japanese and Mesopotamian eggplant and the Chile bush pumpkin. The new fruit is an improvement over the vine type which takes up 60 square feet per plant and cannot be cultivated. The small pumpkin "trees" take up only 10 square feet and can be cultivated by tractors.

Señora Perón's Trip

AFTER visiting Spain as guest of Gen. Franco this month, Señora Evita de Perón, First Lady of Argentina, will go to Rome at the invitation of the Italian Government. There she will be received by His Holiness Pope Pius XII. Countess Maria Adela Harilao de Olmos, a wealthy Italian widow, is said to have petitioned the Holy Father to make Señora Perón a Pontifical Marchioness.

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Homeward Trek

ABOUT 63,000 Armenians from the United States, France, South America, the Balkans and the Near East are going back to their homeland this year—12,000 more than in 1946.

Toward Freedom of Travel

THE recent abolition of visas between Great Britain on the one



hand, and France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Norway, on the other, is likely to be extended to other nations as a result of current British negotiations with interested countries.



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PERCIE and BERNARD MINKEL

Play Ball!

A JAPANESE all-star baseball team has been organized by 47-year-old Prince Tsunenori Kaya to reacquaint Japanese children with the American sport, which became unpopular during the war but is now being revived.

Buddha's Disciples

Two small caskets containing bone fragments believed to be authentic relics of Buddha's "left and right hand disciples," Sariputra and Moggallana, who lived 2500 years ago, are being returned to India after nearly 100 years in England, where they were on display in the India Museum in South Kensington. Buddhists have long been campaigning for the restoration of these sacred relics. A special envoy is taking them to the famous Buddhist site at Sanchi, India.

"Thar She Blows!"

FOURTEEN whaling expeditions, seven Norwegian, three British, two Japanese, one South African and one Dutch, which completed the four-month



season in the Antarctic on April 7, reported a haul of 15,230 blue whale units which is the equivalent of 230,000 tons of whale oil. One British expedition attributed its success in part to the pioneer work of aircraft in spotting whales and reporting on ice and weather.

Religious Congress for UN

A WORLD Congress of Religion in support of the United Nations, sponsored by the Church Peace Union founded by Andrew Carnegie, will be held in Boston in the fall of 1948.

Delegates will be asked to accept only four points: 1. A belief in a Supreme Being; 2. A desire for fellowship and understanding; 3. Cooperation to help secure international justice; and 4. The over-all purpose of the Congress to unite men and women of all religious faiths in support of UN.

Versatility in Soviet Research

TWENTY medical expeditions are being sent out this year by the U.S.S.R.'s Academy of Medical Sciences. They will study cases of encephalitis in the Far East and goiter in the Transcarpathians. Later in 1947, a group of scientists will leave for the Arctic regions to observe living conditions among polar workers; another mission will study working conditions in the Magnitogorsk steel mills.



Money to Burn in Brazil

ABOUT \$5,000,000 in Brazilian paper currency was burned last month in a drive to combat inflation. Sr. Correia e Castro, Brazilian Finance Minister who directed the burning, said the same amount would be destroyed every month until a normal amount of paper money is in circulation. The amount of the currency issue increased from \$275,000,000 in 1939 to over \$1,000,000,000 in February, 1947.

Korean Flag at Olympics?

KOREA hopes to enter the Olympic games in London in 1948 under its own colors. Hitherto its athletes have always been forced to contend under the Japanese flag. Yun Bok Suh, who recently won the Boston Marathon, setting a new course record in spite of a fall and an injured knee; Kee Chung Sohn, who won the 1936 Olympic Marathon for Japan at Berlin, and Nam Sung Young, who fin-



ished third at Berlin (all recently sent to the U. S. by GI friends) are working to secure Korean athletes an official place at London because they believe it will help their country's cause. All three were active in the Korean underground during the war.

Bypassing Coal

BELGIUM is planning to electrify her major railway lines. The program, which will cover 900 miles, will save 650,000 tons of scarce coal, equivalent to the annual ration for Belgium's 400,000 households. . . . Czechoslovakia is making similar plans covering a network of 700 miles. At present, the Czech state railways consume about 4½ million tons of coal a year.

1,000,000 Books by Ship

TONS of books have been sent by the American Book Center to Europe

and Asia. This organization was set up by the Joint Committee on Books for Devastated Libraries, a committee of 12 national library associations in the United States and Canada. By the end of 1947, more than a million books will have been sent abroad. Characteristic of the present needs is the fact that 59 per cent of books sent by the Center are on technical, medical and scientific subjects.

Saskatchewan's Crackdown

THE Canadian province of Saskatchewan has a new law making racial, religious and color discrimination a criminal offense. The law, which became effective May 1, authorizes injunctions against offenders and provides fines up to \$200 or three months' imprisonment.

Lion's Claws for Auriol

DURING his recent tour of French West Africa the French President, Vincent Auriol, was presented with



some lion's claws, eight ostrich eggs, a throne, 40 pounds of gold jewelry, animal skins and a coat of mail.

Incidents in South Africa

THE Rev. Michael Scott, clergyman of the Church of England, was recently fined by a Johannesburg (South Africa) court. Charge: he lived in the Orlando Negro section, defying racial taboos. . . . During recent elections in Durban, there were 4,000 native Africans qualified to vote. They were given only two hours in which to cast their ballots, then the polls were closed to them. Only 34 had time to vote; hundreds more were turned away.

Famous Painters Aid Fashions

SOME of France's most famed painters are using their talents to give ladies' dresses an extra aesthetic touch. Raoul Dufy, Marie Laurencin, Vertès,



Cocteau and Lorjon are a few who have tried their hand at textile designing for Parisian *haute couture*. Designers Poiret and Bianchini were the first to collaborate with these painters.

Fast-growing Trees

A REVOLUTIONARY discovery for the lumber industry has been made in Sweden. Scientists, under Prof. Nils Sylven, have used an X-Ray treatment to speed up the growth of certain trees by 50 years! This is done by changing the chromosome content of the tree's cells. By their experiments, the giant aspen will be ready for commercial use in 30 years instead of 80, its former maturity age.

Northern Europe Warming Up

A SWEDISH geographer, Prof. Hans Ahlmann of Stockholm University, says (despite the recent coldest winter in years) that the climate of



northern Europe is growing milder. Both fish and plants have moved up beyond their previous northerly limits, crops are better and Scandinavian trees do more growing in the course of a year. The temperature of the Gulf Stream in that part of the world seems to have been gradually rising.

Boons for Miners

RECENTLY introduced Soviet aids for miners include: an aluminum shovel, which weighs only a third as much as a steel one; and aluminum hoists and pit props. . . . A new sort of coal-cutter-loader, that enables 14 miners to do the work of 36, is having an effect on Britain's coal industry.

Arctic Weather Men

CANADA is establishing a weather station at Eureka Sound within 600 miles of the North Pole—the first of five deep-Arctic weather stations. Supplies, to be flown in, include 120 pounds of stationery.

A Turtle Story

EACH of 500 Yale students recently found a plain but somewhat bulky letter in his mailbox containing a dim-

inutive live turtle with a "Work for World Government" sticker on its shell. This ingenious scheme was the work of a member of the Yale Student Federalists, who asked the recipients to send as many such turtles as possible to their Congressmen. Result—a cruelty charge brought by the ever-vigilant Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The defendant was acquitted in court but few turtles reached Washington.

SO-30-R's for DC3's

A NEW French stratosphere airplane has passed its ground tests with flying colors by withstanding 22 tons of pressure. The usual testing method is to pile sand bags on the plane's fuselage and wings to simulate the extreme pressure of stratosphere flying. In testing the new SO-30-R, however, air valves were applied to the rudders and attached by levers to powerful dynamometers. Only when air pressure got up to 26.4 tons did the fuselage give way. The SO-30-R, an all-metal twin-engine monoplane will replace the Douglas DC3s on Air-France.

Franco's New Institute

TO REPLACE his Council of Hispanidad, widely criticized as a vehicle for spreading Fascist propaganda in Latin America, Gen. Franco has set up an Institute of Hispanic Culture. The Institute has chosen the Virgins of Guadalupe and of Pilar as its patron saints.

Czechoslovakia's Visitors

ANOTHER busy vacation land is Czechoslovakia. About 1,000 children of American occupation soldiers in Germany will summer there. Some of the best-known Czech spas have been leased by trade unions and cooperatives from Britain, by French railroad employees, Soviet journalists and an association of Belgian artists.

India's Radio

THE All-India Radio has decided that, except in the South, it will broadcast news programs in simple



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Hindustani as distinct from literary Hindi and Urdu, and has set aside a certain proportion of its time for other Hindustani features besides news.

Poland Helps Widows, Orphans

TO CARE for thousands of lonely and homeless war widows and orphans the Polish Government has built a group of rest homes. These centers are completely self-sufficient. All the women must work five hours a day. The rest of their time is spent in the classroom and in recreation while the children are in the center's kindergarten or the village school. Each rest home accommodates about 100.

Suppressed Poem

U. S. military censors in Japan, apparently frowning on any reference to the destruction wrought by Allied weapons during the war, suppressed the following *haiku*, or 17-syllable poem:

*Small green vegetables
Are growing in the rain
Along the burned street.*

Cordero's Hormone

DR. GABRIEL SANCHEZ CORDERO, 36-year-old Mexican physician, reported to President Alemán that after 12 years of research he had discovered



a new hormone which will cure typhus, typhoid fever, polio, syphilis, and perhaps cancer. The Wilson laboratories of Chicago have contracted to manufacture the new hormone.

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Heard In Our Office

HERE'S a pleasant sequel to our flag cover in May. Cushman & Wakefield, whose representatives won the award of the Real Estate Board of New York for assembling the land "package" for Webb & Knapp for the UN site, are world-conscious. In their big ground-floor window on the northeast corner of Madison and 40th Street is a most attractive UNITED NATIONS WORLD display. The original painting for our May cover occupies the center. On one side, blown up to three times its original size is "The Key to the Flags of the United Nations," which we published. Arranged on the floor of the 15-foot window are 18 or 20 copies of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, and across the window are strung miniature flags of the 55 United Nations.

West Virginians on the Alert

THE Fort Breman Study Group of Parkersburg, West Virginia, writes us that it has decided to use *UNW* as the guide for next year's programs. We welcome them to the ever-widening group participating in global problems.

Helen Keller Reads Us

THE story has reached us a bit late, but a good story is always news. It seems that Miss Polly Thomson, Helen Keller's companion, received from a friend the first issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD. She was delighted with the new magazine and spoke to Miss Keller about some of the articles. Miss Keller was intrigued and asked to have the whole issue put into braille. She read it, we are told, with intense interest from cover to cover. We hope that this great American woman, who is also a citizen of the world, honored by many countries, will follow our future development.

War Department Reprints Us

Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory, the War Department's weekly digest of public opinion (for official use only), has reprinted "The Rise and Fall of the Morgenthau Plan," by Fred Smith in our March issue. Permission to reprint Smith's piece came at the request of General Eisenhower himself, who was quoted at length in the article. The War Department weekly has also recently reprinted from our April issue "Balance Sheet of Disaster," by Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias.

International Editor Overseas

LOUIS DOLIVET, our International Editor, flew to Europe on May 8, to be away for some weeks on a tour of western and northern Europe. His schedule includes the International Trade Conference at Geneva, the UNESCO conference in Paris and a visit to the Göteborg office of *Världss Horisont*, the Swedish edition of *UNW*. Dolivet will contact not only European leaders and government officials but also individuals in all professions and walks of life to get a fresh perspective on world opinion from the European angle.

The Staff's Best Wishes

OUR Publisher, Colonel Egbert White, has just been appointed commanding officer of the 135th Composite Group, Organized Reserve of the First Army Area, New York City. Colonel White was Officer-in-Charge of *Yank* and later of *Stars and Stripes*.

Back from Greece

Laura Vitray, *UNW* Paris correspondent, showed up in the office the other day. She gave us a somber account of starvation in Greece. In May we published her article, "A Five Year Plan for Greece," which contained an interview on American aid with Foreign Minister Tsaldaris. Mrs. Vitray said that Tsaldaris requested her not to include his statement of the magnitude of the Greek needs—that the full facts should not be conveyed to the U.S. public and the U.S. Congress until the vote had been taken on the Truman plan. The 250 million dollars, he said, could hardly last more than a year, and he felt that the United States, once committed, would not abandon its Greek program, regardless of the heavy investment that may be required for future development.

On the lighter side, Mrs. Vitray's cabin mate on the steamer leaving Greece was a young Englishwoman who for four months had replaced the governess of King Paul's three children. She is a great friend of the Duchess of Kent and sometimes takes the children of the Duchess to visit Queen Mary, whose favorite outdoor sport, we are told, is chopping trees. Every day she sallies forth to chop down her morning tree. Paul Bunyan, take notice!

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

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JUNE, 1947

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UNW NEWSREEL

UN PAVES WAY FOR FREEDOM OF
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L. to r.: H. Laugier, Assist. S.G., chats with J. P. Humphrey, of UN, and G. J. van H. Goedhart, Neth., head of Subcom. on Freedom of Information.



L. to r.: S. Lopez Philippines, seen with L. Sychrava, Czechosl., and G. V. Ferguson, Can. Subcommittee met May 19 to plan conference for 1948.



In Lake Success lobby, Christian A. R. Christensen, Norway, P. H. Chang, China, J. de Montousse, France, and R. Fontaina, Urug., exchange ideas.



Representatives of the Big Three, Zachariah Chafes, U. S., A. R. K. Mackenzie, U. K., and J. M. Lomakin, U. S. S. R., in friendly confab.



Cartoon by Robert Osborn

THE STATE OF THE WORLD: *ROUNDUP*

Against the background of a persistently uneasy international situation, despite hints here and there of a slight lifting of tension, the following stood out as the most significant signposts during May:

1. *The special session of the UN General Assembly successfully negotiated the hurdle of the Palestine debate. The UN emerged with enhanced prestige from this session (see State of World Organization, page 40);*

2. *Partition of India became almost inevitable;*

3. *There were increasing indications of closer cooperation among South American countries and of growing hemispheric solidarity;*

4. *Final legislative approval of U. S. loans to Greece and Turkey marked the emergence of the "Truman doctrine" from the state of heated controversy. The U. S. and the world at large began to take stock of the long-range implications of the new U. S. foreign policy. Secretary Marshall's statement that the U. S. will make no further commitments until an exhaustive study is made of conditions outside the U. S. echoed the growing realization of the American people that the initial loans may be only the first steps on the road to unprecedented U. S. foreign commitments.*

EUROPE

• The British and French have been told by their Governments that the November Conference of Foreign Ministers will be "the most vital in the world's history." A deep sense of anxiety pervades both France and Britain because of the failure of the Moscow Conference and the almost hopeless economic situation. Despite the severest cut-down on imports, the British balance of payments is still short by more than one-third. France is faced with the gravest coal, wheat and industrial equipment shortages. She still lacks about half the hard currency needed to meet expenses.

Britain has four major fears: the financial situation when the American loan is exhausted; a depression in U. S. with its consequences to the rest of the world; the coal crisis next winter; and further aggravation of American-Soviet relations.

France fears an immediate food crisis; financial uncertainty unless

considerable loans are granted; strengthening of Germany by both East and West blocs; internal agitation, particularly by the De Gaulle movement.

Trends in Britain and France

• Two important events, one in support of UN, the other aimed at promoting a United States of Europe, illustrate British trends. At a party given at 10 Downing Street for the UN Association, Prime Minister Ailes expressed qualified optimism. He put his hope in the peoples' action. Anthony Eden frankly expressed disappointment in the UN and blamed the veto. Lady Megan Lloyd-George, of the Liberal Party, appealed for a citizen's army for UN ideas.

Agitation for a U. S. of Europe has increased in England and France, particularly since the impressive Albert Hall meeting on May 14, addressed by Churchill, Archbishop of Canterbury, T.U.C. leader George

Gibson and others. The underlying theme of the new Churchill propaganda is the contention that this is the only way out for Europe. Speakers stressed that the movement is not directed against the U.S.S.R. However, seasoned observers are convinced that the movement has no chance as long as Churchill is its political and moral leader, for Socialist-inclined Europe will not accept Tory leadership. Furthermore Europe is not inclined to defy Russia.

There is strong popular feeling for European unity within the framework of the UN. An economic solution, many believe, is impossible without unification of European economies within the world economic framework. Disappointment at the slowness with which the UN acts is very deep and real. But the consequences of World War II are so grave for Europe that war is the most dreaded of all dangers.

The cry for great American leadership on the highest moral, economic and political level is still great despite considerable deterioration of American prestige. As one important statesman put it to UN WORLD, the U. S. is a wonderful philanthropist, but not a good partner in world reconstruction. Philanthropy is too late and too little. One more winter like the last, and Europe will look like Hitler wanted it to look.

England and France put serious hopes in the UN Economic Commission for Europe and anxiously await the Clayton report and the American policy following the Geneva meeting.

• Meanwhile Italy, involved in a grave political crisis, went the full circle from de Gasperi to de Gasperi. On the premier's resignation, due to his desire to broaden the government as a means of coping more effectively with the financial situation, 79-year-old Francisco Nitti and Vittorio Orlando, 87, reappeared on the scene in an atmosphere reminiscent of post-World War I days. When neither could form a Cab net, de Gasperi was called upon to try again, this time with the encouragement of all parties.

ASIA

• Disunity is the trend in Asia. Partition of Palestine and partition of India are forecast; civil war rages in China; factional rivalries in restless Korea, Indo-China and Indonesia are complicated by outside influences. Strangely, only from occupied Japan come encouraging reports of orderly progress. There Tetsu Katayama was appointed first Socialist premier of the land of the Rising Sun.

Two historic events loom in India. "Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offense." This clause, written into the new constitution by Hindus themselves, is a step toward unity. But a leap in the opposite direction is the virtual agreement by all Indian leaders, except Gandhi, that the communal division of India is inevitable, and that Jinnah will get his Pakistan. At least two of the Indian States, Travancore and Hyderabad, are planning for independence.

The Viceroy's flying visit to London may portend British withdrawal earlier than June 1948; a treaty of mutual defense between India and Britain, and continued strong trade relations.

Growing Crisis in China

• In China, tormented by inflation, food riots, civil war, student strikes and ugly suppression, the People's Political Council met for the last time. The first nation-wide elections are supposed to start soon; there are less than seven months before the National Assembly is to "enforce the Constitution" and the new Legislative Yuan is to convene. . . . As the Communist forces closed in on Changchun, the capital of Manchuria, China was swept by the demand that the war be stopped. It was voiced by leading newspapers, high officials and dignified patriots. Thousands of students left their classes and paraded the streets of the cities, shouting such slogans as "Guns are fat, the people are thin." Police beat and kicked them, but still they marched. Charges that they had been egged on by the

rightwing "C. C. Clique" or on the other hand by the Communists, could not obscure the fact that they spoke for a people sick of war and weak with hunger. . . . The Communist radio reported that an autonomous Inner Mongolian state had been set up in western Manchuria.

• In Korea, Russian delegates arrived in Seoul to renew the talks with the Americans, broken off more than a year ago, about forming a provisional government.

• Turkey, with \$100,000,000 of American money in its belt for military use, will seek a loan for economic development from the World Bank.

• In Burma the majority party, meeting to draft a constitution, agreed to stand for complete independence rather than dominion status.

LATIN AMERICA

• Three Latin American presidents participated in conferences late in May which may decisively affect the course of Latin American affairs. Enrico Gaspar Dutra of Brazil and Juan D. Perón of Argentina met at the newly constructed international bridge linking their two countries. Next day Dutra met Tomás Berreta of Uruguay. While no official announcement was made, many observers believe that economic affairs, the Rio Conference and Communism were discussed. There was talk that President Gabriel González Videla of Chile would shortly confer with Dutra, Perón and Berreta.

Perón Tightens His Grip

• In an unprecedented trial—in which only written defense was permitted—the Senate convicted 3 of the 5 Supreme Court justices, as well as the Attorney General, of upholding the legality of the 1930 and 1943 de facto governments and for resistance in declaring Perónist legislation constitutional. Several Argentine judges resigned and two of the country's non-partisan bar associations set aside a day of "mourning" for Argentine legal institutions. Independent newspapers pointed out that Perón

now controls the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Argentine government.

Brazil Outlaws Communists

• On May 7, Brazil's Electoral Tribunal outlawed the Communist Party by a 3 to 2 vote, on the grounds that the Communist Party is not in conformity with the 1946 Constitution, outlawing activities by "any political party or group having a program contrary to democratic principles." The Communists retorted by taking the case to the Supreme Court.

The Tribunal's decision met with a relatively cold reception in the press. Some newspapers contended that this step might result in weakening the democratic system in Brazil, and in strengthening the Communist Party by driving it underground.

Cuban Labor Split

• At a Congress attended only by Communist labor delegates and sympathizers, Lazaro Peña was reelected Secretary General of the 400,000 member Confederation of Cuban Workers. An all-Communist executive committee of 55 members was also elected. Auténtico and Independent labor leaders not only stayed away from the Congress, but also threatened to call a new congress and set up a rival organization.

Trujillo's Fourth Term

• Polling all but 50,000 of the 800,000 votes cast, President Rafael L. Trujillo of the Dominican Republic won a fourth term. However, nobody took the opposition seriously—not even the two opposing candidates.

Berreta Firmly in Saddle

• After three months in office, President Tomás Berreta of Uruguay has consolidated his position. With his own men in key army and police jobs, his government begins to show the earmarks of a strong government, with a conservative tinge. On a good footing with business interests, the new regime is making concessions to the powerful Herrerista opposition, and has succeeded in narrowing the real opposition to Independent Nationalists, Socialists and Communists.

Refugees: THE LAST MILLION



By HERBERT H. LEHMAN

THE half-year mark of 1947 will bring a momentous change in the organized care of Europe's remaining refugees and displaced persons. On June 30, UNRRA is scheduled to go out of existence. On July 1, the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization will assume operational responsibility.

This is admittedly an emergency measure. Under its Constitution, the IRO will come into existence only after it is accepted by fifteen countries whose joint contributions provide at least 75 per cent of its operational budget of \$151,060,500. At the time of this writing, there are sixteen signatures under the Constitution, providing a little more than the minimum contributions required.

However, only five of the sixteen signatories have ratified the Constitution thus far and—pending its acceptance by the other eleven countries—only about 20 per cent of the contributions is guaranteed. Fully realizing the urgent need for a working organization, the Preparatory Commission assumes the responsibility which would normally be that of the IRO. This vital and courageous decision was taken to assure the continuity of operations on

Although 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated, the most difficult job of all—that of resettling the last million and thereby aiding the peace and stability of Europe—is still unresolved and in jeopardy. Here the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, former Director General of UNRRA and one of the world's foremost authorities on displaced persons, enters an appeal for fast action under IRO.

On the next page, Ladislav Farago, United Nations World Washington bureau chief, gives the exclusive story of President Roosevelt's plan for the world's homeless—and how it bears upon the problem confronting IRO.

behalf of the refugees and displaced persons who would otherwise be abandoned to their fate without aid, guidance and protection.

Several appeals have been sent to the various United Nations urging them to sign and ratify this crucial charter of humanity's most pressing obligation. Today I am adding my own plea to those other appeals—in the full knowledge that the problem which the IRO is called upon to solve is still very far from even being alleviated.

In recent years, in my capacity as Director General of UNRRA, I had the opportunity to study at first hand the aftermath of war. I saw the debris of human life left in the wake of battle. I witnessed suffering which words are inadequate to describe. In the midst of the ruins of war, in the tragic remains of the concentration camps, I saw broken people. They were literally remnants of humanity.

UNRRA's Outstanding Job

BUT the situation is not all shadow. There are occasional lights in the overall picture. It is my firm belief that UNRRA has done an outstanding job within the limitations of its charter and budget. It helped to bind the wounds, to lift the shattered people out of the twilight zone of the living dead.

Since V-E Day, 11,000,000 dis-

placed persons, an incredible total, have been repatriated. The American Zone of Germany provides a typical example for the other zones. The advancing troops of the American Army found a total of 3,577,891 men, women and children for whom it coined the impersonal term of "displaced persons." Of this immense multitude of war's hapless victims, no less than 2,999,481 were repatriated and 19,844 resettled by May 1, 1947. There are now but 562,556 of them in or out of camps in the American Zone.

The first phase of the operation to save Europe's displaced persons and refugees is over. Today we stand on the threshold of the second phase in this great life-building work. However immense and gratifying the job had been, the accomplishments of the past cannot blind us to the tragic fact that more than two years after V-E Day, close to one million displaced persons are still confined in concentration-like camps in all Europe.

The remaining D.P.'s are composed of many religious faiths and many nationalities. There are more than 500,000 Catholics and about 200,000 Jews among them, the remainder being Protestants and persons of other faiths. Most of them are natives of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Others come from Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Russia and various other Euro-

pean countries. More than half of the displaced persons are women and children. Over 150,000 of the children are below the age of 17. No less than 70,000 of them are estimated to be under six years of age—many of them born within the horrible confines of extermination camps.

The Last Million

THOSE who are left behind in Europe's scattered camps represent the Last Million—but it is the most difficult million at that. To most of them the word "home" has lost all its warm meaning. They look upon their native lands as cemeteries of everything that was once nearest and dearest to them—their families and hopes and ideals.

Their most cherished dream is to start life anew in a country where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement, and freedom of opportunity.

These people require special consideration. Otherwise we shall doom displaced persons to a relief status for an indefinite period. Otherwise we shall doom homeless men and women to be outcasts and wanderers probably for the rest of their lives.

The International Refugee Organization will have to encourage and assist the repatriation of persons assigned to

its care, always remembering the principle that "no person shall be compulsorily repatriated." Beyond that, it will have to find new homes in remote lands for those hundreds of thousands who "definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of all facts . . . express valid objections to returning to their own countries."

IRO's Responsibilities

IT is evident that the funds now available to the IRO are inadequate to accomplish all these aims, and particularly to finance the urgent problem of resettlement. The IRO itself is keenly conscious of the difficulties under which it assumes responsibility for the Last Million.

It is difficult to envisage how under existing circumstances the vast and costly problem of resettlement can be accomplished. And yet, this is the fundamental approach that would in the final analysis guarantee the eventual solution of the problem. It is the erroneous conception of many that resettlement is by itself a form of charity. The hollowness of this conception cannot be emphasized strongly enough, neither can efforts be spared to advertise its fallacious foundation. The country which is able and willing to accept refugees and displaced persons is

bound to gain both socially and economically from this modern migration, especially if it is organized on an appropriate scale, financed with adequate funds, and prepared with preliminary vocational training.

The United States is no exception. We should call upon the Congress of the United States to enact legislation permitting us to welcome, without regard to race, religion or national origin, our fair share of the pitiable victims of an unparalleled disaster. I believe that with our leadership other countries will do their share as well; without it they will do little or nothing.

It is the eleventh hour to recognize that the Last Million remaining in the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy represent a blot on our civilization which must be erased without further delay. They constitute one of the most tragic groups in the world and provide a world problem of the first magnitude.

I have been abroad many times during these past few years. I have visited many countries and I have seen with my own eyes many of these survivors. I can, therefore, testify that they are worthy of our care and attention. They stand before us not as beggars, pleading for crumbs of charity. They stand before us as brave men and women who are anxious to take their rightful place in the new world.

Refugees: THE SOLUTION AS F. D. R. SAW IT

By LADISLAS FARAGO

Revealed here for the first time is President Roosevelt's momentous M-Project which would have started 20 million people on the road to a new and better life. Working under the President's direct supervision, a small group of top scientists prepared 600 documents dealing with every aspect of the global problem of Displaced Persons. An "International Settlement Authority" with an annual budget of \$1,000,000,000 was envisaged as necessary to solve humanity's most persistent international problem—once and for all. Many a lesson contained in the M-Project may be of great value to the UN and IRO in their urgent quest of a solution.

WHAT the few top-ranking scientists who know about Franklin D. Roosevelt's mysterious M-Project regard as a definitive answer to the problem of displaced persons is buried in some 600 documents—now filed and forgotten with the mass of the late President's official papers. These documents, holding the key to one of the world's most persistent international issues, were the product of four years' intensive research by a small staff of population experts under the President's supervision.

They represent an unprecedented geopolitical *tour de force*, typical of Roosevelt's practical approach to perennial problems and the depth of

his humanitarian concern for the misery among the restive peoples of the world.

Roosevelt died on the eve of the completion of the documentary work on the M-Project. Shortly after his death, despite efforts to save it, the Project was allowed to fade out of existence. Even today, as the International Refugee Organization prepares to tackle the problem, the crucial findings of the M-Project remain concealed behind a smokescreen of official secrecy.

It is hoped that the revelation of these studies will attract international attention for the forgotten Project and its finished products. If so, and if the documents were placed at the disposal of the UN, the IRO would be saved much preliminary work. The over-all problem, now tackled only in its most immediate aspects, would be brought closer to a comprehensive and final solution, thus making a contribution to lasting peace as envisaged by F.D.R.

The Birth of the M-Project

WHAT was the M-Project? And what was the top-secret mission that Roosevelt assigned to it?

The letter "M" stands for the word *Migration*—signifying both the scope and the contents of the Project. Its mission was, first, to investigate the complex problem in its most minute details without regard for national or international prejudices, sensibilities and jealousies; and second, to suggest ways and means whereby the problem could be solved once and for all—even if it takes from 20 to 50 years to solve

it. It was top-secret because of the manifold political implications inherent in the investigations, but chiefly because a premature revelation of its findings would have alerted the perennial opponents of all migration studies against the Project.

The M-Project had its spiritual birth in Roosevelt's effervescent mind long before it was brought into existence with financing from the President's unvouchered emergency funds. Despite the scope of the studies, the Project required only a relatively small financial outlay. A total of \$150,000 was spent on the M-Project over a period of four years between 1942 and 1945.

It was in the late spring of 1940 that Roosevelt first brought up the idea during a conference with one of his confidential White House aides. "When this war comes to an end," he said, "there will be thousands or perhaps millions of people uprooted in Europe and Asia with no place to go. Somebody will have to do something—in a big way—to solve their problem. And we better start thinking right now about just what to do if we want to be ready in time."

Roosevelt's Conception of the D.P.

In the light of today's inadequate definitions, Roosevelt's conception of the D.P. appears unorthodox and revolutionary. He regarded the victims of the war as representing but one of the three groups. In the second group were the *surplus populations* of certain European and Asiatic countries, while the third group was made up of so-called "geopolitical problem children,"

minorities whose presence in certain countries is traditionally exploited for power-political purposes.

Roosevelt believed that the postwar necessity of a large-scale resettlement of refugees would enable him to solve the interdependent problems of all three groups simultaneously.

The idea was hatching in the President's mind for almost three years when, in November 1942 he decided to tackle the problem in a practical way. He enlisted the aid of his good friend and adviser Dr. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University and one of the world's foremost geographers. John Franklin Carter, a diplomat and publicist, serving as the President's confidential aide, was named liaison officer, while Dr. Henry Field, a noted archaeologist and anthropologist, was placed in immediate charge of the newly born M-Project. Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, of the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to act as the director of the Project, supervising a small staff of eminent experts and consultants.

The group was called upon to provide the President with comprehensive answers to four questions:

1. *Who are the people in need of resettlement?*
2. *Where are they?*
3. *Where could they go?*
4. *What is required to make their resettlement a permanent success?*

They were to approach the problem *comprehensively*, in a way never be-

(Continued on Page 64)



The Desperate: This overcrowded boatload of Jewish refugees tried to run gauntlet to Palestine. They were captured at Haifa.



The Weary: Their home is a stable, their bedding straw. That's the lot of these refugees in Italy. Fifty crammed into one room.

LA PRENSA

Outstanding Independent Argentine Newspaper

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

BY LAURA DE PASCAL

OF ALL the great Buenos Aires daily newspapers, the only one which stands up defiantly to Perón is the mighty *La Prensa* (The Press). It is the last shining beacon of a free and independent press in Argentina. Alone, it has braved the wrath of Argentina's "strong man," Juan D. Perón. It has been the object of an official boycott and was nearly burned down in January upon broad hints cast by Perón in one of his public speeches. Even Central Bank President Miguel Miranda's "magic wand" of economic pressure has been useless against this tremendously rich, independent newspaper which, according to legend, has 100 million pesos (\$25,000,000) in its war chest against "emergencies."

It was on May Day, Argentina's Labor Day, that I had an appointment with Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, aristocratic, highly conservative publisher of *La Prensa*. As I entered the great doorway on the Rivadavia Street side of the building, which stands at one end of the Plaza de Mayo in full view of Perón's Casa Rosada at the other end, I noticed that the huge wooden gate which had nearly given way in the January 24 attack was now considerably thicker. A two-inch thickness of armor-plated steel had been added recently, making at least that side of the building well-nigh impregnable to attack.

Dr. Gainza Paz knew me personally and by reputation, but on this occasion he had a tradition to live up to. In a formal manner, he said: "Throughout the history of *La Prensa*, it has been a tradition for the publisher never to receive journalists professionally. It is presumed that anything a publisher of

La Prensa may have to say will appear in his newspaper."

A *La Prensa* Tradition

GAINZA PAZ, however, partially broke this precedent for UN WORLD. He referred us to his political editorialist Adolfo Lanús, well-known in the Argentine democratic movement long before Perón came on the scene. This one-time president of the *Círculo de la Prensa* (Press Club) is normally a liberal informant on Argentina's scene. But now his manner was guarded as he received us at his home on spacious Avenida Santa Fé. He at once reiterated his principal's position by saying: "Gainza Paz did not wish to break one of the paper's more sacred traditions; that is why he would not answer questions."

I said: "It seems to me that the time has long passed for refusing to speak out, and that stuffy traditions ought to be laid aside. Since *La Prensa* today is the only newspaper telling the truth, some plain talking would do a lot more good than tradition-bound reticences. *La Prensa* is not saying much these days, and people are beginning to wonder. Is it fear, maybe?"

Lanús smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and answered obliquely: "The paper's primary job is to inform the reading public, not necessarily to fight anybody. Oftentimes we do our job of informing people of the day's news while remaining silent on many other things. Simple, straight, uncolored news is our job. And we go on giving such news despite the shower of hard words, sneers and attacks that fall on us from all sides. If we can con-

tinue informing Argentina's reading public independently of pressure or propaganda, then we shall have succeeded in our fight to maintain this paper free and independent."

"All right, that's a pretty good goal to aim for. But suppose the Government's campaign against *La Prensa* is suddenly intensified. What would be its attitude then?"

"That's a very difficult question to answer," he replied. "Since we don't know how the Government would conduct its campaign, it would be extremely difficult to say in advance what our plan of action would be. But if that moment ever arrives, *La Prensa's* attitude would be what it has been until now: firm against all attacks."

Advertising and Subscriptions

LANÚS fervently believes that *La Prensa* will survive Perón's efforts to silence it. "For one thing," he said, "public support has been unanimous. We don't have enough newsprint to satisfy the extraordinary demand for advertising space. We have had to establish priorities. Anyone wishing to advertise in July must reserve space now. On the whole, the effect of the hostile campaign has been good for us. Perón launched his fight against us with a nationwide broadcast, and with all the State propaganda machine's resources. He warned his listeners not to buy *La Prensa*. Yet our circulation has gone up from the last figure we had in January, which was 397,334. He tried to break up the carrier home subscription system which we have painstakingly built up over 50 years. When he tried this, we had exactly 33,000 subscribers. Today we have 51,000. He warned advertisers not to advertise in *La Prensa*. We were averaging about 155 columns of advertising then; we are now averaging



"WHY DON'T YOU TACKLE SOMEONE YOUR OWN SIZE?"

(Top—Cost of Living; Bottom—University, freedom of unions, free press, Law 1420) *La Vanguardia*, Buenos Aires.

180 columns daily and must turn away advertisers.

"As part of the struggle to put us out of business, the Peronist sheet *Tribuna* offered its readers free publication of want ads. Despite the *Tribuna's* five pages of want ads, *La Prensa* has increased its want ad lineage by 30 per cent. Newsboys who normally took 20 copies of the paper a day have begun demanding 40 and 50 copies. We have been unable to supply their demands. The newsboys complain loudly against us. The reason for this is that *La Prensa* is the backbone of their livelihood. They are against us only in lip service to the Labor Secretariat. Otherwise they would not be able to sell any newspapers. To be able to earn their living, they must join the newsboys' syndicate, recently created by the Labor Secretariat under a trusted leader."

The Question of Paper

IT SEEMED strange that *La Prensa* should talk of newsprint difficulties when it is known that the paper owns its own vessel—operated by the shipping industrialist Alberto Dodero—in which it brings down its own newsprint supply. Throughout the war, it was the one Argentine paper that had no newsprint difficulties.

"That is because our circulation has grown since the war ended," said Lanús. "We are putting out a bigger

Almost alone among Argentine newspapers, La Prensa, outspoken friend of democracy and freedom of speech, is battling the restrictions placed upon the press by the Government of President Juan D. Perón. In the following exclusive interview with the publishers, UN World correspondent Laura de Pascal shows that La Prensa is fighting with its back to the wall but nevertheless has strong hopes of survival.

edition today. On top of that, the Government requisitions from us ten per cent of our newsprint supplies for its own uses. To compensate this, we get some additional newsprint from the supply which the Government imports directly and then distributes equitably among all newspapers." A curious fact is that the Government is apparently in no hurry to claim the ten per cent set aside for it from *La Prensa's* newsprint stocks. This is mounting up in the paper's warehouse so that one of these days the storerooms will be bursting with newsprint that is not *La Prensa* property and that it dares not touch.

Lanús clearly shares his publisher's viewpoint on the prospects of *La Prensa's* immediate future. He thinks these are good "but not without danger." He implied, without putting it into so many words, that the publishers do not feel they are altogether out of the woods as far as another all-out attack against *La Prensa* goes.

Hemispheric Protests

HE CONFESSED, however, that the chances of another physical attack grow daily more remote—firstly, because the paper is today in a better position to repel attacks. He did not go into detail on this point, but it is generally understood that *La Prensa* premises are now more easily defended than they were in January. Secondly, prospects have improved because of the hemisphere-wide revulsion of feeling against the first attack. Other sources also agree that Perón today would not risk further Continental displeasure by inciting another affair like last January's. President Perón appears, instead, to be devising legal ways and means of driving *La Prensa* to the wall.

One of them is quite unique: a bill before Congress which Perón himself

is said to have suggested to Peronist Deputy José Emilic Visca. If this project ever passes Congress, it would present the business world with the most cockeyed law on commercial advertising ever invented by man.

According to the project, all advertisements would have to be sent to the Central Office of Advertising. This is a bureau in the already huge Under-Secretariat of Press and Information. There all advertising would be thrown into a common pool and officially distributed equitably among all newspapers. This would mean, for example, that someone earmarking an ad for *La Prensa* would be likely to see it published in *Evita* Duarte de Perón's *Democracia* next morning! And somewhere along the line, the Government would make fabulous profits out of this—if it were feasible—as it has done with its handling of food exports.

Another advantage of this law is that it would permit the Government to exercise a closer censorship on advertisements than heretofore. For example, a manufacturer of a cement that stops runs in stockings would find it impossible to get by with even one ad using the perfectly innocent phrase "*Evita La Corrida*" (avoid runs). When this ad did appear once, with resultant snickers throughout the nation because in plain Spanish it also means "Evita, the woman with a past," the manufacturer was visited by the police and ordered not to run it again.

The Possibility of Closure

THERE has been much speculation in the past couple of years as to just what *La Prensa* would do if the Government were to decide to brave Continental censure and simply close down the paper. "It would stay closed," said Lanús. "What else could we do?"

(Continued on page 53)

NORWALK GIVES A LEAD---

Connecticut City's Plan to Promote the UN Can be Adapted by Any U. S. Community

The community of Norwalk, Conn., felt that the UN should not only be actively supported by the townsfolk but also strengthened. It did something about it—and with spectacular success. Here one of the planners tells how it was done—and how other communities can do it too.

By INNES MACCAMMOND

ALTHOUGH the preamble to the Charter specifically states that the UN was conceived "to maintain international peace," there is no machinery in the body of the Charter by which this can be accomplished. And without it, World War III remains an ever-present threat. So Norwalk, Connecticut (pop. 40,000), believes. The result was that a group of its citizens drafted a petition embodying three amendments designed to put teeth in the UN. Then they buttonholed some 16,000 citizens and signed them up.

A healthy publicity campaign preceded the getting of the signatures. The motion picture, *One World Or None*, was shown in theaters, to high school students, and to other civic groups. Statements endorsing the petition from Senators McMahon and Baldwin, and Governor McConaughy, were featured in the local press. Churchmen talked it up in their pulpits and calendars.

Norwalk's High School Superintendent Eric Malmquist, who had set up the air-raid wardens system during the war, re-recruited some 300 of his former volunteers and other townspeople. On that Sunday they distributed leaflets explaining the petition to almost every house in the city. The next Sunday, May 4, and the following few days, the workers, armed with petitions swarmed out to sign Norwalk up at home, at church, at the movies, at work.

If a campaign to collect a mere 16,000 signatures sounds easy, do not be misled. Norwalk didn't find it so. The plan was very nearly torpedoed shortly after its inception by the "Communist" bogey. A number of townspeople held the petition was Communist-inspired,

designed to give aid and/or secrets to Russia. A politician and a churchman refused to give public endorsements on these grounds. Just how this issue pertained, or whence it arose, leaders of the plan were confessedly ignorant. The petition, certainly, was designed to have the opposite effect.

Norwalk is not the only American city to circulate such a petition. Clearwater, Tampa and Winter Park, Fla., rounded up signatures. Dunkirk and Pelham, N. Y., have also taken up the idea. Altogether, more than 70 communities have signified their intention of starting similar plans. Both the College of the City of New York and Purdue University have signed up the

ORGANIZE BEHIND THE UN!

The UN World will be glad to supply further information about the Norwalk Plan and how it may be adapted by other communities. Send your request to: The Editors, United Nations World, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

student body. The common hope is that the idea will snowball across the country and bring in millions of names.

The movement took root in Norwalk last fall after a talk on world government by Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

One aroused member of the audience asked what the average person could do to make UN more effective. Cousins suggested the petition method. After a delay of some months, in April the Town Hall Association took the petition under its sponsorship. As finally worded it read thus:

"We, the people of Norwalk, Connecticut, recognize the still-present danger of war. We believe it of critical urgency that the UN be given the machinery of world law called for in the preamble to the UN Charter. We therefore petition our properly elected and appointed representatives in government to the end that the United States delegation may immediately propose and support specific amendments to the UN Charter. In particular we advocate measures which would strengthen the UN so that:

"1. No member nation should have the power or the right to withdraw or secede.

"2. The United Nations would have compulsory jurisdiction in essential matters related to world security.

"3. This strengthened United Nations must have access to, and authority over, the individual, in limited, well-defined, and specific matters related to world security, such as control of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adapted to mass destruction."

As a result of the experiment, there are a number of lessons which can be passed on to interested communities.

First, any similar plan must be sold to leaders in the community. If politicians are brought in, all parties must approve. The support of the clergy is mandatory.

Second, the cooperation of the local paper or papers and radio stations is necessary.

Third, no campaign can get by without money for printing petitions, circulars and instructions, and for mimeograph work, advertisements, postage, telephones, and rental of motion pictures. Norwalk ran its campaign on \$750.

Fourth, there must be a chairman to manage the drive, and another person to handle publicity.

Fifth, plan the campaign well ahead. Stores can be approached to donate window space, without conflicting with their own displays.

World Food Shortage

HOW MUCH LONGER?

Unlike the situation after World War I when food became abundant, the world today is plagued by acute food shortages in various areas despite record output by some of the major producers. In this article, Dr. FitzGerald clarifies the complex factors that are delaying the desperately needed comeback of world food production and explains the basic policies by which the IEFC is working to speed the day of its own dissolution.

Two years have passed since the shooting stopped in the European theaters of the second World War; 21 months since the guns were silenced in the Far East. Yet hundreds of millions of people are still hungry. Not only the vanquished but many of the victors and the neutrals in the war are dangerously close to topping over the margin into the pit of continuing, energy-sapping malnutrition. Britain, for example, is on a more restricted diet than ever in wartime; so, among the neutrals, is Switzerland. In contrast the people in the major food-exporting countries which escaped war's destruction have been producing food at the highest rates in history and eating more heavily than ever before.

This is true of the United States and Canada, and of Argentina, the greatest granaries of the Western Hemisphere. It is true also of Brazil and Mexico, now able to consume more than ever because of war-born ability to purchase more imported foods. It is true—to a lesser degree than of the West-

By D. A. FITZGERALD

SECRETARY-GENERAL, INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY FOOD COUNCIL

ern Hemisphere countries—of the great exporters of the Antipodes, New Zealand and Australia.

Why has world food shortage persisted so long into the postwar period? How long will shortage continue? Everyone is asking these questions. The second can be answered finally only by time, since weather will play a large part in getting production, and more production is the only definitive answer to shortage. Nevertheless, men try to answer it anyway because the solution to this puzzle is also the answer to the \$64 question of these times—How soon can world economic revival gather real headway?

Food—and the Two Wars

RETURNING to the first question—Why does world food shortage persist?—the first step toward clarifying the problem is to dispel the un-

fortunately widespread notion that the world food situation now is, or should be, like that following the first World War. It obviously is not. Two years after the end of that war there were world surpluses in a number of foodstuffs and world prices had started down the slant which led to the economic crash of the 1930's. Now world prices are still holding high. What makes this difference?

The answer can be found in the Far East. That area was relatively untouched by the first World War. In 1914-15 it kept on producing basic foodstuffs such as sugar, rice and vegetable oils. Stocks piled up and, when peace came, these stocks went out on the world markets and soon supply was greater than effective demand.

This time the situation was utterly different. The Japanese occupation and the assaults of the liberating armies destroyed vital food facilities such as sugar mills as well as the inter-island small craft which gather up copra. Wartime developments cut supplies of such important food-producing materials as fertilizers; and also wiped out stocks of consumer goods and thus destroyed the workman's incentive to put in a full day's work.

As a result not only was the Far East unable to send out surpluses after the war but it actually was a deficit area and had to seek imports from the Americas and the Antipodes.

The grain stocks of the United States,



The Author: Born near Grenfell, Canada, in 1903 Dr. D. A. FitzGerald obtained the degree of Bachelor of Scientific Agriculture from the University of Saskatchewan, and went on to take further degrees from Iowa State College and Harvard. From Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., where he was engaged in research in agricultural economics, he went to the U. S. Department of Agriculture as a principal agricultural economist in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. His activities there ranged from livestock planning to the international distribution of food to famine-stricken countries. He served as Deputy Director of the Food Production

Administration from 1943 to 1945 and as Director of the Office of Requirements and Allocations of the Production and Marketing Administration in 1945. In 1946 he was appointed Secretary of the Policy and Program Committee to review and coordinate policies and programs of the Department. He accompanied ex-president Hoover on his world food missions in 1946 and again in 1947. FitzGerald was elected in 1946 by unanimous vote to be Secretary-General of the IEFC. Now a citizen of the U. S., he lives with his wife and two children at Greenacres, Md. In his spare time, when he has any, he likes to play tennis and dabble in carpentry.

Canada, Argentina and Australia are not sufficient to meet the grain needs of the world, in part because the export rice supply of Siam and Burma, French Indo-China, Formosa and Korea falls far short of the import rice demand of the other Far Eastern countries. It falls by about six million tons to meet the rock-bottom subsistence needs of rice-importing peoples. Their only recourse is to draw on cereals from the Western Hemisphere and Australia. Unfortunately, the latter has suffered from three crippling droughts in succession and can export only limited amounts, all of which are already committed. Most of the demand for cereals thus falls upon the Western Hemisphere.

The three great exporters of the Americas, fortunately, have had a succession of better-than-average crops. Were it not so, the world would indeed be hungry this spring. As it is, extraordinary efforts by the United States and Canada—in the face of box-car shortage and, unfortunately for inland transportation, the worst winter weather in generations—have moved out large exports of grain and brought stocks in these countries down to a low point.

The Argentine Can Help

IN the weeks immediately ahead the European and Far Eastern importing nations which are in trouble because of the unforeseen bitterness of the winter must place heavy reliance on the Argentine. This major exporter of the Southern Hemisphere—not a member of the IEFC—has a good crop of corn and wheat this year. But the grain has been slow in coming up to the ports, because inland transportation is a problem in the Argentine as well as in all the other countries of the world. Shipments through mid-April were running behind the schedules that everyone had hoped for—and several nations had depended on.

Now is the time of greatest opportunity for the Argentine to contribute to world stability and recovery as well as avert misery and suffering. Its grain alone is available to tide a half dozen major Northern Hemisphere importing countries over the worst period of an extremely bad year. Now if ever is the time for hemisphere to speak unto hemisphere the most practical of goodwill messages—the sending of life-giving cargoes of grain.

In April through a cabled message on behalf of the International Emer-

gency Food Council I placed before President Perón an appeal for action by his Government to raise the rate of shipments, making them, if possible, reach 1,000,000 tons a month in May, June and July. We are counting on the generosity and international cooperation of the people and the Government of the Argentine to overcome the undoubtedly substantial difficulties in the way of more rapid movement of breadstuffs during this critical period.

Only Half Enough Fats and Oils

THE demand for cereals is made more insistent by the fact that world supplies of edible as well as industrial fats and oils are only about half as large as needed to meet the minimum demands of importing nations. The world wants a minimum of six million tons of fats and oils in this calendar year. About three million tons are in sight. Assuming that the entire shortage of three million tons of fats and oils is in the edibles, this means a calory shortage equivalent to over six million tons of grain, for a pound of fats gives more than twice as many calories as a pound of cereals.

In considerable degree this shortage of fats and oils turns on the postwar reduction in output in the Far East and Africa. North America has stepped up its output. The Argentine output is about normal. But Europe is way down on edible fats—as well as on meats—because its flocks and herds were cut so deeply by the war. And a major part of the feed grains that are locally grown and all those imported must be used for human food.

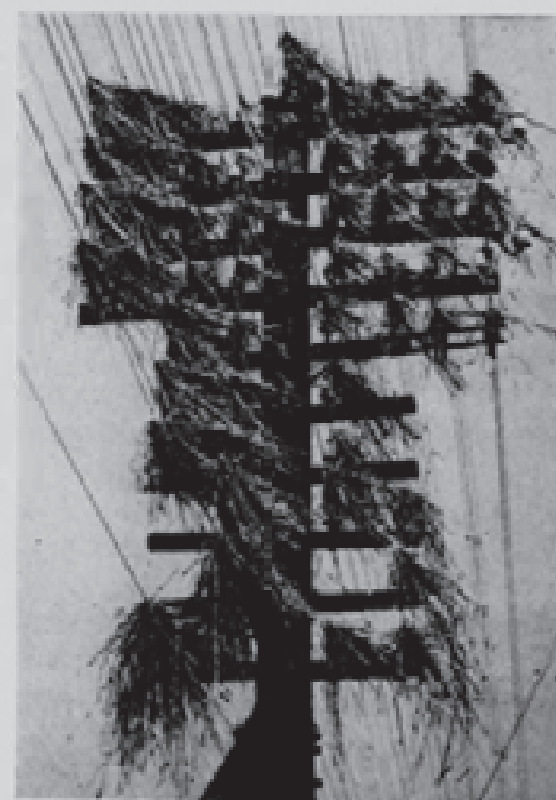
When Europe turns to the tropical vegetable oil areas for replacement of the animal fats destroyed by the Moloch of war, it finds that production is down everywhere but in the Philippines. In the East Indies and elsewhere the small craft that ply among the islands to collect the copra are gone. Even if the craft were there, the Indonesians would have small incentive to gather copra because there is little for them to buy with the money or credits they might earn. Revival of tropical oil production generally waits upon the same things which have brought it back in the Philippines with U.S. assistance—trucks and boats for transporting the raw materials and trade goods for the workers to buy with their earnings.

As for the world sugar shortage, here

is where the contrast with the aftermath of World War I is most marked of all. In 1919-20 sugar came out from Java and the Philippines onto the world market. This time none has moved from either place—and the world's two leading export areas, after Cuba, thus have been out of the export market. As a matter of fact, they have even been in the import market.

Nature's Grim Joke

EVERYONE had hoped that grain could be released for animal feeding in considerable quantities this year. But nature—with some help from man—has played a grim joke on the hopeful. Some vagary of the global distribution of polar air masses this past winter shoved the frigid belt of the Arctic Zone down 10 or 15 degrees of latitude from its normal range and gave the British Isles and Continental Europe their worst winter weather of



The gales that blew hay up on this English phone pole deprived cows and men of food

half a century or longer. The result was winterkill of fall-sown grains to a degree not even yet known in detail, so late have the thaws come. And, as always, following the break-up of heavy river ice coatings and the melting of deep snows, floods have hampered farming operations and killed off livestock that could ill be spared from the already decimated herds and flocks of Europe.

Man's contribution to the halting of the desperately needed comeback in



After Britain's worst winter in half a century spring thaws brought floods like this, sweeping away buildings, hampering farm production, killing off badly needed livestock.

food production is a shortage of nitrogen fertilizer, without which the starved soils of Europe, particularly, cannot yield their maximum. European nitrogen production is off nearly 300 thousand tons from the prewar level, primarily because of the shortage of coal—which goes back to the shortage of food for the miners of the Ruhr—and there we are in another vicious circle.

But the shortage of nitrogen is especially vicious because it is going to bring down yields already threatened by the severe winter weather and spring floods. Even given average weather or better from now on, the United Kingdom and Western Europe cannot equal their 1946 output of grains. The Mediterranean may do as well in grain as in 1946; the Danube basin a little better. As to Eastern Europe, information is too fragmentary as yet to venture even a general forecast.

Prospects for 1948

So we can look for continued strong import demand for cereals from Europe in 1948. The same will be true of the Far East because even though the Indian rice crop is average, Far Eastern rice exporters will not this year catch up with the deficit and remove that territory from the world

market for bread-grains and coarse grains. Because the coarse grains will have to be used largely for human rather than animal food again in 1948, fats and oils will continue in short supply even though tropical production should improve under the extraordinary efforts being made now by colonial governments and local authorities. As for sugar, although the Cuban crop is not likely to match this year's record output, the total world supply may come closer to the normal prewar level. The Philippines and the East Indies are expected to return to the export market. Nitrogen fertilizers, however, will continue to be far short of world need.

Should Allocations Be Continued?

THIS is as much as can be said just now to answer our second question—How long will world food shortages continue? It is certain that 1948 will see continuing stringency in some of the basic food lines. Will the exporting and importing nations continue to take cooperative action to ameliorate the worst effects of the shortages? That cannot certainly be said as yet. When the International Emergency Food Council was established in July, 1946, it was confidently believed, as well as

hoped, that after the 1947 harvests the shortage era would be over. Therefore the life of the Council was to terminate December 31, 1947.

At the third meeting of the Council in late January a committee was named to formulate a report for presentation to the fourth meeting giving the results of an investigation into what commodities, if any, would continue after December 31, 1947 in such short world supply as to necessitate continued allocation recommendation. This report is now coming up before the Council for discussion.

It may be that the nations will conclude that they should retain the machinery of the IEFC for a further brief period. The indications now are that they will need some such mechanism if they wish to keep the distribution of short supplies on a basis of relative need and general equity. Certainly, without some forum for discussion and agreement and some obligation to carry out agreements, the distribution of foods will follow a quite different pattern from the one held to in the first postwar years. The nations with greater purchasing power will get the lion's share of important foods. For example, the United States would be able to obtain an even larger share



The war is long since over—yet, like this Chinese boy, millions are undernourished

of the world's supply of fats and oils than it gets now, and that would give other nations a smaller share, for the supply will not be large enough to go around.

Toward a Freer World Trade

TRUE, the people in many nations are growing restive under the long continuance of controls over the basic foods and fertilizers. Fundamentally, this is a healthy sign. It means that the nations want freer world trade; that they do not wish to repeat the dismal record of the 1930's when world trade, chained within all sorts of barriers to free movement of goods, shrank to a very small compass, and the movements for self-sufficiency and *Lebensraum* marked a trend toward armed conflict. The tendencies one can observe within the work of the IEFEC seem to me to mean that the nations deeply and sincerely want to make a success of the movement for wider world trade, which will doubtless find more permanent expression in the recommendations of the International Conference on Trade and Employment currently sitting at Geneva.

Such divisive influences as have arisen within the commodity committees of the Council have flowed primarily from a desire of the nations to trade on the principle of relative advantage—to seek the markets which promise them the greatest return when they have goods for export; to purchase in the markets which give them

the most for what they have to trade when they are looking for imports. It is understandable that importing nations dislike to accept allocation recommendations that cause them to buy from exporting countries which are holding their prices above the general level. It is equally understandable that exporting countries dislike to accept allocations to send food or materials to countries with which they do not normally trade, while these countries draw part of their supply from new sources. Nevertheless nations must accept such disturbances of routine and such out-of-pocket costs or threats to established business connections if there is to be fair sharing of the world's supplies in this time of shortage.

It is generally encouraging to me that the nations so far have proved willing in the overwhelming majority of cases to support the principles of equitable distribution, though oftentimes at cost and sacrifice to themselves. More than 90 per cent of the recommendations made by the commodity committees of the IEFEC on the distribution of scarce foods and fertilizers have been concurred in by member nations. The exporting countries are maintaining tight export licensing systems to see to it that the goods move in accordance with the recommendations which they have accepted. The importing countries are controlling im-

ports so that their governments or their private traders cannot bring in more than the amounts recommended for them in the IEFEC schedules. Within each member nation there exist government regulations designed to bring to a maximum the amounts of the scarce foods moving from the farms into commercial channels; to avoid waste or less essential uses (use of wheat in alcoholic beverage making is universally prohibited and the use of other grains severely restricted, for example); and to expedite the movement of foods and food production materials and share them effectively and fairly among all in the population of each country.

No one likes to live in a world bound and hedged about and groaning under the weight of restrictions on the way the individual eats and does business. The basic policies of the IEFEC are directed toward easing the world food shortage in the shortest possible time and working the Council itself out of a job. Continuous cooperation of all nations so that there may be intelligent management of the world food supply will not retard, but rather speed, the day of emergence from shortages into the new era of abundance and international trade which is the best assurance on the all-important economic front for attainment of the United Nations' ideal of peace and opportunity to pursue man's highest ethical and cultural development.

THE INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY FOOD COUNCIL

Formed in June, 1946 under the sponsorship of UN's Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Emergency Food Council is the successor of the war-time Combined Food Board. It has a membership of 32 nations which play a substantial role in the export-import trade of the world in basic foods and in fertilizers.

Through committees specializing in various food products, the member nations reach agreement on how much of these commodities shall go to each nation which needs to import them. The IEFEC simply recommends actions. Control is exerted by the individual nations.

The following nations are members of the Council:

Australia	Egypt	Poland
Austria	Finland	Portugal
Belgium	France	Republic of Philippines
Brazil	Greece	Siam
Canada	Hungary	Sweden
Chile	India	Switzerland
China	Italy	Turkey
Cuba	Mexico	Union of South Africa
Czechoslovakia	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Denmark	New Zealand	United States
Ecuador	Norway	

Note. The only major food producers which are not members are the U.S.S.R. and Argentina.



The Position Of Egypt

Discussing the growing unity of the Arab nations, Vincent Sheean gives Egypt the paramount position in the Moslem world.

NO element in the whirligig of international relationships remains constant for long, in spite of incessant recurrences and almost hallucinative similarities. That is, although certain primary questions come up insistently throughout modern history (the question of the Dardanelles, for example) they do so in ways determined by a whole set of new relative values, and each time take on new colors or meanings. It is possible to say, I think, that both the constant and the inconstant elements are hallucinative: that is, that what seems permanent may be an effect of light, and what seems the merest maneuver may—if the maneuver is performed by clumsy amateurs—turn into a reality of history.

Above all is this churning flow, this weird intermingling of the illusory and the real, to be distrusted when it concerns the rise and fall of individual states. It would appear now that many observers see only Russia and America in the world, and reduce the multitude of their associates to shadowy insignificance. This is what seems to be true today; it may not be true in a year or in five years.

The Awakened Arabs

IN the great world of Arab and Moslem life, a world scarcely touched upon, really, by either of the giants in the foreground (Russia and America), we have beheld a shifting and changing in the past 25 years that no man could have foreseen. It was inevitable that something, somehow, some time, would awaken the energies

of the Arab peoples. It was not inevitable that a series of things—the Zionist menace, the ascertainment of immense oil deposits, the abrupt discovery that the American war against Russia, if or when it is fought, must be fought from the Near East—should all happen at once, giving the Arab peoples simultaneously a rallying cry, a reason for action and a means of action.

Nor could anybody have foreseen, 30 years ago, the central position of Egypt in this development. It is still not quite clearly in focus for the Western "statesmen," but they will discover it before long, as they do most things in due course, usually too late. At the end of the last war Egypt was supposed to be in the full flood of a semi-colonial decadence. The war of 1914-18 had indeed overthrown the Ottoman empire and the caliphate of the Turkish sultans; Islam no longer had even a titular center; there was a place vacant, so to speak, for an aspiring Moslem genius with the right national instrument.

The British perceived the opportunity and thought to take advantage of it by thrusting the Hashimite family of Mecca into the caliphate. To do so they made promises to the Arabs as a nation (in the MacMahon-Hussein correspondence) which have never been carried out. The compromise which ended the period of conflicting promises was the Cairo settlement of 1923, made by Mr. Winston Churchill when he was Colonial Secretary. Instead of one great Arab nation it created a handful of Arab states, all dependent upon either Brit-

ain or France; it set aside one Arab province, Palestine, to be made the subject of a sort of vivisection experiment; and it effectively safeguarded (for a while longer) some "imperial interests" which the events of just those years, still uncomprehended by the great, had already undermined.

The Churchill settlement confirmed the Hashimite princes on the new thrones of Iraq and Transjordan, but in the meanwhile Arabia itself was lost to them through the rise of the hereditary Wahabi chief, Ibn Sa'ud. This extraordinary man seems not only to have been destined to unite Arabia but also—what is even more remarkable—seems to have been aware of his destiny from a relatively early stage. At any rate since 1918 there has been no doubt of the direction he takes. He is uniting, or has united, the Arabian peninsula, with necessary exceptions (Aden, Yemen), and aims at no less than the creation of sedentary populations and a modern state. His work in transforming nomads into settled peoples has been going on for many years. It has now received powerful aid through the development of the oil industry in part of the peninsula, and it would appear to be certain that irrigation, roads, railroads and communication systems will alter all of the fundamental conditions of life in that part of the world within a few years.

While these shifts and changes were going on in the most purely Arab part of the Arab world, Egypt was continuing its national struggle which is only now coming to a close. But as the narrowly nationalist phase tended to disappear (with the attainment of the objectives, that is) here occurred the usual fragmentation of parties and dif-

fusion of interests. This happens in more or less the same way in all countries and at first looks like a symptom of decay, whereas it is, of course, only a sign of maturity. The Wafd, for instance, which once included practically every patriotic Egyptian, was splintered and exfoliated into a number of parties, so that the parent body under Nahas Pasha can no longer claim the monopoly of patriotism. The war, in which Egypt was technically neutral, at once enriched many Egyptians and dispelled the fear (which was strong in Egyptian minds during the late 1930's) of an Italo-German empire based upon Cirenaica at one side and Ethiopia on the other.

The New Egypt

AND this new Egypt, freed from some heavy preoccupations, approaching full independence and enjoying prosperity (through a nascent industry and a lucky commerce as well as from the traditional agriculture) has awakened to its own Arabism just at the moment when Arab leadership was urgently needed.

It will be some time before the Arabian peninsula itself can fully assert itself among the nations. Until then the natural arrangement is for this rising power to ally itself with the most Western of the Arab states, which is Egypt, for the advantage of both, so that the vigor and originality of Ibn es-Sa'ud—not to speak of his sovereignty over the petroleum lands—may be aided by Egyptian experience and skill in negotiation.

And something of that kind is just what has taken place. The Turkish and Albanian and other Middle Eastern influences which once were strong in Cairo have all faded out by now; everybody in Cairo, whatever his origins, is Arab today.

What is more, I think it is beyond any doubt that Moslems of all countries, as far west as the straits of Gibraltar and as far east as Bengal, think of Arabia as the home of their religion, of Arabic as its language, and of the Arabic Koranic culture expressed in Mecca, Jerusalem and Medina as its essential focus.

These things conspired to create an empty position into which Egypt now seems, perhaps still half-consciously, to have moved. The great Moslem university of El-Azhar in Cairo has had a rebirth of prestige and influence in the past 15 years, and Moslems come from all over the world to study there. The development has been complex, due to many reasons, taking many forms, and of course neither wholly conscious nor wholly coordinated. For example, the late Ghazi Pasha of the Turks, whether he knew it or not, effectively destroyed any claim his people might have had to Moslem leadership and thus gave still more opportunity to Egypt. Mustapha Kemal Pasha was a violent man by temperament and when he wished to modernize his people he did it violently. Some of this (the forcible unveiling of the women, for example) gave deep offense throughout the Moslem world. The same things are accomplished in Egypt more slowly, by evolution and persuasion, and are ably rationalized into modern forms of Islam by the theologians of El-Azhar. Egypt is thus a kind of synthesis between the old Islam of before 1914 and the rip-snorting modernism of the Ghazi Pasha, and is able to move into the place of leadership for both.

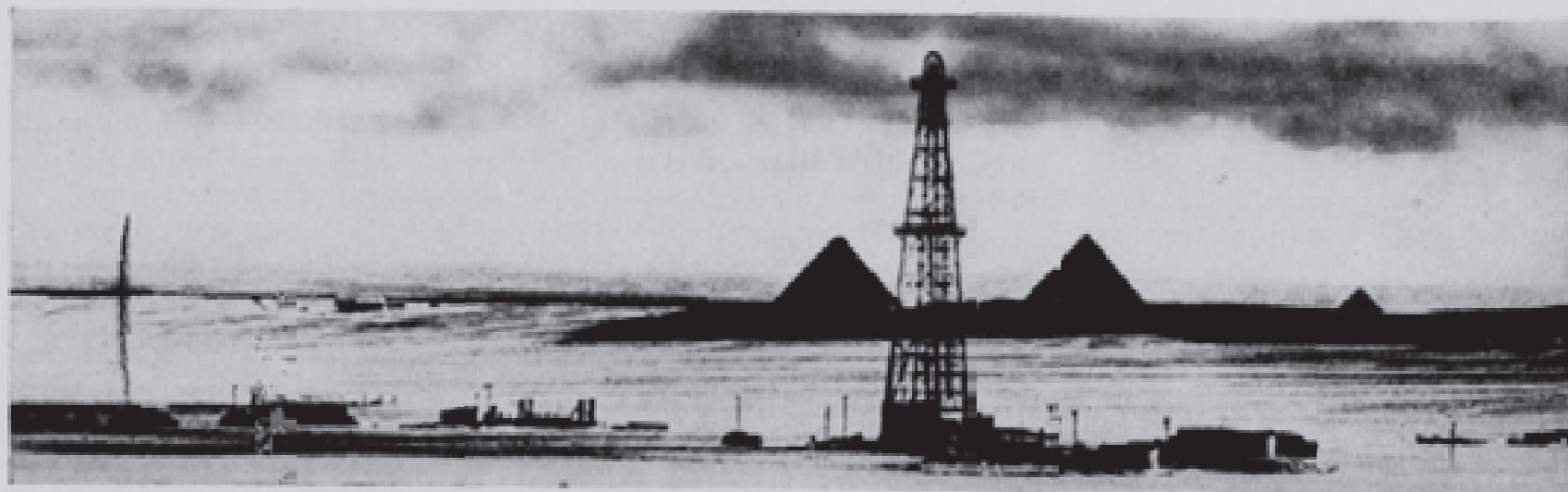
Egypt's Great Opportunity

THE Arab League in its short two years of existence has made it quite

clear how natural and desirable this Egyptian leadership is. Mecca and Medina are too far from the West, too close to the desert; Jerusalem, the third holy city of Islam, is torn by a hideous and unnecessary conflict; there remains Cairo, the largest Arabic-speaking city in the world, the home of the greatest religious university in Islam. It has seemed natural that meetings of the Arab League should take place in Cairo, that Egyptian leaders, with their knowledge of the West, should move to the fore.

The other elements in the League—those which lie between Egypt in the west and Arabia in the east—are, chiefly, the Hashimite princes with their British-protected kingdoms, Syria and the Christian Arabs of the Lebanon. The Arabs of Palestine, who have no political rights in their own country because of the Zionist experimentation, are nevertheless consulted by the League in matters concerning that problem.

And this, of course, is a large part of the whole business of the League. Zionism has performed for the Arabs and for the Moslem world the invaluable service of uniting them on at least one question, which is the defense of Palestine against expropriation. There are no other questions on which all the Arabs or all the Moslems are united, but on this one question no difference of opinion exists. By stepping out resolutely on the question—which Egyptian politicians once treated as a matter of no direct concern to them—Egypt has attained the paramount place in the Arab League and in the Moslem world. How long that place will be kept depends upon how firmly and skillfully the great Arab nation is defended in the next three or four years against the innumerable dangers that will beset it.



In the shadow of the pyramids, an experimental oil well—symbol of the Arab world's most coveted treasure



This was a Manchurian weaving and dyeing factory. The hole in the wall was blasted by the Russians when they removed the machinery.

MANCHURIAN TRAGEDY

By JACK CHEN

War-weary Manchuria is today an arena of civil war, its great Japanese-developed industries in a state of near ruin, its land divided between the Kuomintang-held central plain and railway network and the Communist-led "Liberated Areas." Jack Chen, well-known writer and cartoonist of Leftist sympathies, here gives an eye-witness report of conditions in this important trouble-spot.

ON VJ DAY, like most Chinese I thought that there were good prospects of Manchuria's being restored almost intact to a democratic, united China. I pictured this great industrial area, which the Japanese had built up into an arsenal of war, being turned into a tremendous workshop for the peaceful reconstruction of China. That picture has been shattered by tragic reality. Manchuria, after 14 years of war, is again a battlefield.

And as usual the victims are the people. People such as those with whom I travelled back to Manchuria in a crowded refugee LST. They covered the deck and the rim, sweating hold so that there remained only two narrow six-inch passageways for movement. There were whole families of

them, with children, dirty, attractive, chubby and contented in a *melee* such as only Chinese seem able to attain. At first it seemed an inchoate mass. Then you distinguished the student groups, Kuomintang and Communist, in their long gray or blue cotton gowns, among them one vigilant little fellow who looked horrified every time we made a joke about "Shankajack," as the Americans irreverently call the Generalissimo. In the pedantic and incorrect English that so many Chinese write so well they later invited an UNRRA woman official to "a game of bridge in which we hear you are proficiency." Then there was the ever-excited CNRRA organizer who turned every argument into a bawling match and invariably created chaos out of

disorder. And the baby born on the open deck and christened with the spray of the sea. And the wife who swallowed her wedding ring in anger. "Give her raw fish!" said the first mate. The ring was quickly recovered and amity restored to a household that consisted of two suitcases set at right angles and topped with a basket of oranges.

China Needs Democracy

FOR four days, except when he took his morning constitutional, the Buddhist philosopher sat cross-legged in easy conversation or quiet meditation, at peace in a holdful of 600 people. Despite his flowing white beard and gentle eyes he had fought the invaders at the Nonni River and hunted

them with the guerrillas. Now he was going home again. A long tin of American canned pork was his arm-rest; a string-bag of bananas hanging from the porthole behind him, his only luxury. I asked if he thought he was going back to peace. He answered shortly, "No!"

"What does China need most?" I continued.

He answered in one word: "Democracy!"

At Hulutao the refugees were packed into open railway cars for the journey north. I followed them by jeep, on a journey that took me to Chinchow, Mukden, Fushun, Anshan, Changchun and Harbin. I talked to the common people, to generals, diplomats and political leaders. As I flew out a month later to Peiping I wondered if its people would be as great as this country whose valleys and forests and mountains stretched beneath me on an heroic scale. I knew then how vast was the conflict now taking place in Manchuria. That it was more than whether the Communists or Kuomintang would win, or the influence of the Russians or the Americans, or the peasants or landlords, the farm lads with pikes or the ambitious generals who wish they could have an atom bomb—just one. . . . The Japanese conquest of Manchuria was the start of World War II. Events here are again portentous.

Dual Control of Occupation

BRINGING 14 years of Japanese domination to an end, the Russian Red Army's rapid advance at the close of 1945 caused little destruction of towns or industry. The Red Army occupied the main towns but had neither the time, the troops nor the inclination to occupy the rural areas. Expeditions mopped up aggressive bands of Japanese stragglers but rural administration was left in the hands of the local people, assisted by the Resistance Movement. Gradually leadership of this Resistance passed into the hands of the

Communists who had been sent in to help the Manchurians in 1931. They fought quite large engagements till 1940; then Japanese pressure compelled them to operate in small bands only, or in the Underground. Nevertheless, when their Commander-in-Chief General Chao Pao-tsung gave the order, on receipt of the news of the Russian advance, 150,000 men appeared at their appointed stations. It is these men who form the core of the Joint Democratic armies of the Liberated Regions.

Gen. Chao is a burly Whampao-trained officer, 45 years old, who came to Manchuria in 1932 and has been on active service continuously since, mainly in northeast Manchuria.

Outside the Russian-occupied centers, these Resistance forces were in effectual control of the country. If the Central Chinese Government had taken over Manchuria in an orderly way, as for instance was done in France, no difficulties would have arisen. But the change-over was accomplished by international intrigue, shameless double-crossing and the political murder of Resistance leaders and supporters of the Soviet Union.

Knowing that by tacit arrangement Chinese Communist forces did not enter Russian occupied areas, the Kuomintang officially requested the Russians not to evacuate Manchuria until Kuomintang forces were ready and in a position to take over.

Russians Refuse to be Pawns

THE Russians acceded to the first request because at that time negotiations were going on between the Communists and Kuomintang and there seemed to be a possibility that agreement could be reached between them to form a united, democratic government which could take over Manchuria in good order. But similar second and third requests, which came in early 1946, were not agreed to by the Russians because they felt that Nanking

was trying to use them in its political struggle.

At the same time Nanking itself, falling more and more under the domination of the Right-wing militarist groups, refused to extend the January cease-fire order to Manchuria, and prepared to take it from the Resistance by force of arms. In order to mobilize the American public behind its plans, it organized demonstrations in Chungking and Nanking and other centers under the slogans of "Unless Manchuria is Chinese, the war will have been fought in vain!" and "Russians! Get out of Manchuria!"

Nanking's tough policies in regard to Manchuria came up against tough Soviet reaction. Nanking put its trust in American protection and aid. American ships of the 7th Fleet brought General Tu Yu-ming's Kuomintang troops north. They were equipped with American weapons. It is no secret that the Soviet authorities believed then, and still believe, that American support, in supplies under Lend-Lease, loans and services such as the transport of troops, was designed to strengthen the Kuomintang in its struggle with the Communists. It was also felt that this was aimed indirectly against Soviet interests and positions in Siberia, Korea and Mongolia. There is no doubt that a considerable number of Kuomintang members also believe this.

In late November a young Kuomintang army doctor in Mukden took me to his room for a "private chat." "What is the fighting in Manchuria really about?" I asked him. He thought deeply for a moment and then said: "We are really fighting the Russians!"

Country's Resources Stripped

THE Russians are by no means politically naive. They diagnosed the trend of events and decided to evacuate key industrial war equipment from Manchuria. The actual amount of equipment removed is probably small.



The Author: Two decades ago, in 1926, Jack Chen, like many other overseas Chinese, hastened to Hankow, where the new Nationalist government had set up its capital. Born in Trinidad, in the British West Indies, he had spent almost all his 18 years in London. But his highly articulate Western-educated father, Eugene Chen, as China's Foreign Minister, was making headlines throughout the world by his angry speeches in defense of China's national rights. Jack "helped around the Foreign Office" and went to work on *The People's Tribune*, where, being as prolific in ideas as the rest of his talented family, he

was soon turning out effective cartoons as well as rewriting copy. After a year as eventful as any in the history of modern China the Hankow government expelled its Russian advisors and Jack Chen went with them across the Gobi and on to Moscow, where he became a student at the leading art school. Since then he has worked as artist and journalist in Russia, China, the U.S. and Britain. "I like to think that I am a publicist for international understanding," he writes. After six months in China for a group of British newspapers, he has just returned to London.

In significance for war-making purposes, however, it is probably large. But far more destruction to Manchurian industry and its hopes for recovery has been done by the Chinese themselves. In their retreats from Kuomintang attacks, the guerrillas removed a large amount of portable equipment. In the intervals between the evacuations by the Japanese, the Russians and the guerrillas, and Kuomintang forces, there was always a period of looting by the people. Whole housing estates, hospitals, barracks, factories were gutted of everything movable.

There are thousands of gaunt skeletons of buildings all over Manchuria. Doors, windows, roof rafters, fittings have all been taken away. At this very moment tiles and bricks are doubtless being quietly dismantled. One hospital ward was re-equipped by UNRRA, which simply bought back looted beds and fittings from a Thieves Market a few blocks away. And this looting by the poor is paralleled by large-scale looting by the rich, influential and greedy officials who have descended on Manchuria like conquerors.

An UNRRA engineer calculated that even under normal conditions it would take ten years to restore Tung-Pei (Northeast) industry to the production peak attained under the Japanese. Every day the civil war continues, lengthens this period of reconstruction.



Two colored paper signs like the above denote a restaurant to Manchurians. However, the proprietors usually have little to offer, as indicated in the picture of a Mukden sidewalk stand.

Under present circumstances no capitalist, Chinese or foreign, will risk taking over even these enterprises left intact and now put on the market by Kuomintang custodians of enemy property. And the Kuomintang is unable to keep them running itself.

A State of War

MANCHURIA meanwhile has become an arena of unlimited civil war and dissension. The country is divided into two very unequal parts. The Communist-led "Liberated Areas," with Harbin their unofficial capital, comprise 39 per cent of the total area and 76 per cent of the population. The Kuomintang controls the larger part of the rich central plain and railway network based on the Tientsin-Mukden-Changchun line. Here for the first time it has set up its one-party dictatorship. Every official and functionary is appointed, and the whole *régime* is under the direct supervision of the Generalissimo's Headquarters in the Northeast, directed by General Hsiung Shih-hui, who is concurrently Chairman of the Northeast Political Council. He collaborates closely with General Tu Yu-ming, Commander-in-Chief of the Northeast Command. Blockhouses have been built at intervals of a few hundred yards for the whole length of the railroad. This work has taken up more labor power than any other single proj-





Nationalist soldiers in Manchuria have turned many of the railroad buildings into fortresses. Above, sentry on duty.

ect in the country, yet there is hardly a point that could not be cut at will by guerrillas.

Official figures in Mukden give an impressive list of plants taken over from the Japanese by the Nationalist Mukden Production Board: 75 iron-works and machine shops, 48 chemical industry plants, 14 paper mills, nine sawmills, etc. A year later I found only one iron-works in operation (producing license plates), a cosmetic factory, a digestive yeast plant, a whisky and a sauce-making plant, a vegetable-oil press and a few other small plants. The arsenal was repairing trucks at the rate of a few a week.

The Fushun mines formerly comprised the biggest Japanese enterprise in Manchuria. The Kuomintang has a very competent and hard-working technician in charge, but his assistants are all Japanese or young and inexperienced Chinese, and at every step he is hampered by difficulties inherent to a state of war in which the military demands priority on all transport and production. The Japanese mined 60,000 tons of coal a day from Fushun; the Kuomintang gets only 5,000 tons.

Plenty of Food

FORTUNATELY there is no lack of food in Manchuria. The hardy farmers have gone on with their tilling in spite of war. In fact large surpluses of Manchuria's chief export crop, soya beans, and other produce as well, are piling up because of lack of export outlets. Soya bean cake is even being burned as fuel.

Manchuria has been billed to play a big role by both sides in the civil war. The Kuomintang hopes to exploit its exportable agricultural surpluses and raw materials as soon as transport has been restored. The Communists have self-supporting agricultural areas but little effective industry. Their biggest advantage here is manpower, and their present policy is designed to mobilize this advantage to the full, in preparation for a counter offensive that will, they expect, drive the Kuomintang out of Manchuria or at least force it to bring in reinforcements which will weaken it inside the Wall.

Keystone of the Communist policy is social reform in the towns and agrarian revolution in the country. Harbin is more or less the showplace for urban development. The city is very dilapidated but as soon as you begin to probe into its life you find the beginnings of a new human content, unlike anything in any other Chinese city.

In spite of the Kuomintang blockade and the closed borders between the U. S. S. R. and the Liberated Area, everything possible is being done to encourage both private and cooperative trade. Taxes are low because administrative expenses are absurdly low. Most of the key men are "dollar-a-year" men or Communists observing the spartan regimen of Red China.

Profit-Sharing in Harbin

THE chairman of the Harbin City Council is Li Ko-tsun, one of the richest men in the city.

"I am a capitalist," he told me. "So are most of my friends. But I work with the Communists because they are working for the people."

He discussed the profit-sharing scheme in Harbin which has brought general satisfaction in owner-employee relations, and is typical of the realistic if unorthodox methods of the Chinese Communists. The Lopata Cigarette Company was actually saving more through reduction in waste than it was paying out to its workers in a 25-per cent share of the profits, in addition to

their normal wages.

I spoke to both Russian and Chinese employees, to the management and Trade Union Committee and they all said: "This scheme works well!"

Li Li-san, one of the leading Communists in the government, in another interview stated that the most important development in the Northeast was agrarian reform, since 70 per cent of the peasants are landless or tenants. The first process in any area is to enforce the regulation for a 25 per cent reduction of all excessive rents. (This is a Kuomintang regulation that is enforced only by the Communists.) Where this is not sufficient to bring alleviation after confiscation and distribution of lands belonging to Japanese, traitors, and collaborators, the big landowners are "called to account" in an open village meeting. "Accounts are squared," and any debt to the tenants is paid off by the sale or rendition of land itself. In every case, however, the landlord is left enough land to maintain the standard of living of a middle-class peasant in that particular area.

One Road to Democracy

IT WAS clear from conversations I had with leaders of the Tung-Pei Liberated Areas that they had encouraged this land reform movement now, because the Kuomintang was mobilizing the gentry and reactionary elements to form a "Second Front" in the civil war. The rough justice inevitable in such movements has probably been a bit rougher than it would have been under less pressing circumstances.

Perhaps all that is taking place in the Liberated Areas is not very perfect democracy, but certainly I saw there the only attempts at representative government existent in Manchuria. I found Trade Unions, Poor Peoples Associations, Peasants Associations, a real People's Militia, a government that is certainly honest and hardworking, even if it lacks technicians, and many kinds of specialists. I found a press that expresses every point of view except the extreme Kuomintang one. I found a real attempt at bringing about good worker-employer relations; a real and effective campaign on to solve China's basic problem—the agrarian question. But it was obvious that in order that these reforms should bear real fruit in a higher living standard for the people, the civil war must be brought to an end. No solution can be hoped for without peace and a united, democratic coalition government in China.



Maj. Jorge Eguino, RADEPA triggerman, begs for mercy just before crowd hangs him.

BOLIVIA

BY ALBERT C. HICKS

DR. ENRIQUE HERTZOG became president of Bolivia last March 10, climaxing a decade of violence during which none of the six men who held the office of Chief Executive completed the four-year term, and two died violent deaths.

Hertzog is the second president of a newly established democratic government. His predecessor was Judge Tomás Monje Gutiérrez, appointed interim president after the bloody and violent July, 1946, revolution that swept the Villarroel military dictatorship out of office.

Now that the period of transition is over, democracy in Bolivia can settle down to grappling with the major problems confronting the nation. How

FIGHTS FOR ITS LIFE

Bolivia's great natural wealth, both developed and undeveloped, may play a major role in the future of Latin America. Here Albert C. Hicks, close student of Bolivian economy and politics, tells how the landlocked country is struggling to maintain its recently won democracy while contending with powerful internal and external pressures.

and whether these problems are settled is of grave concern to the entire Western Hemisphere.

The importance of Bolivia to hemispheric life hinges on its natural wealth. It is the world's second largest producer of tin, and the largest in the Americas. Its minerals, mainly tin and silver, are dug out of the earth of the great altiplano plateau at an altitude

of from 12 to 16 thousand feet above sea level.

There are three important Bolivian provinces in the lowlands beyond the Andes—Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz, and the Beni. Chuquisaca is rich in oil. A \$17,000,000 Government oil development program is currently in progress there to produce sufficient petroleum products for domestic consumption.



Although a Chicagoan, Albert C. Hicks has spent most of his life either in New York or traveling. He is a frequent haunter of the Caribbean area and continental Latin America, where he represented the American Broadcasting Company as roving correspondent, giving radio reports from the various national capitals. A veteran newspaperman, Hicks has worked for newspapers and press services in New York, Chicago and Puerto Rico.

While in Puerto Rico he began his investigations of the Trujillo regime, which took him to the island of Hispaniola and led to a series of articles in national magazines on Dominican and Haitian affairs and to *Blood in the Streets* a review of the life and rule of Trujillo. Just back from a trip across South America, he is now writing a book on Bolivia, where he lived for several months, traveling from one end of the country to the other.

Argentina has long looked lovingly on Bolivia's oil wells, just across the border. Shortly before meeting with sudden death during the late thirties, Dictator Germán Busch sold Argentina a railroad franchise and contracted to deliver \$40,000,000 worth of oil to that country over a period of 20 years. Not much was done about the franchise until Juan Domingo Perón rose to power. Now an Argentine railroad is under construction. It has reached the Bolivian border and is headed for Camiri, Bolivia's oil capital. Beyond the oilfields, in the direct line the rails are taking, lies the lush Santa Cruz Province, and its capital, the city of Santa Cruz.

At the same time the Bolivian Government sold a railroad franchise to Argentina, another was sold to Brazil. Brazil's railroad line has progressed as far as San José, halfway across the Bolivian border to the city of Santa Cruz.

Riches of Santa Cruz Province

SANTA CRUZ PROVINCE has an incomparably rich soil that will grow practically anything not requiring frigid temperatures. Here, too, there are oilfields, most of them undeveloped. In 1938—during the Busch regime—the governments of Bolivia and Brazil set up a Bolivian-Brazilian Mixed Commission to develop oil potentialities. There are also undeveloped mineral deposits in Santa Cruz, including, I've been told, uranium.

The province adjoining Santa Cruz is the Beni, a great jungle area producing mainly rubber and quinine. Whoever controls Santa Cruz, controls the Beni. The two provinces extend over an area half again as large as France.

Throughout Bolivia's history, governments in Sucre, official capital of the country, and in La Paz, *de facto* capital, have forever ignored and wholly neglected Santa Cruz and the Beni. And now the two giants of the continent are racing to spread their hegemony across the Bolivian lowlands. If either succeeds, it will be the beginning of the end of Bolivia as a nation.

When in July of last year dictator Gualberto Villarroel was hanged to a lamppost in La Paz, the man outside the country to suffer the greatest loss was Perón of neighboring Argentina.

Numerous revelations were uncorked following the revolution, the most important of which was the existence of

a secret alliance between Perón and RADEPA, Bolivia's vicious secret army officers' lodge, aimed at tying Bolivia to the tail of Perón's kite. Had the revolution failed, Bolivia would be a vassal state of Argentina by now.

But the revolution of July, 1946 succeeded, and Perón could only hope for a successful counter-revolution; and hoping, perhaps act. During Monje's interim government there were three major attempts to unseat democracy in Bolivia, and an attempt to murder the president.

Monje, upon taking office, announced that national elections would be held on January 4, 1947.

Two Sides, Same Coin

BY November two men had emerged as leading candidates: Luis Fernando Guachalla, a distinguished diplomat, former Ambassador to Washington, and Dr. Enrique Hertzog, a medical man of considerable reputation and a one-time politician. The political sentiments of both men were slightly left of center. Both men had actively sought the downfall of Villarroel and the military machine that made him.

The candidates did not clash on any major issue, so Bolivian votes simply registered an endorsement of democracy. Forty-odd thousand votes were cast for each man, with Hertzog leading by some 200. So close, indeed, were the final figures that it was decided that Congress should make the official choice. Whereupon both candidates agreed that no matter what the final decision, there would be a coalition government of all democratic parties.

And then, on January 10, there was an uprising of Aymará Indians in the Lake Titicaca area sparked by former supporters of Villarroel, including members of RADEPA, who had hoped, apparently, that the uprising would spread. But their hopes were promptly crushed by the quick action of soldiers rushed in from La Paz.

Explosive Protest

BEFORE January was out, the interim government in La Paz, awaiting Inauguration Day, saw democracy meeting its most serious threat of all. The Aymará Indians having failed them, the militarists, using the same tactics, turned to the Quechua Indians and the miners around Potosí

and in the Cochabamba slope of the sub-altiplano.

Adjoining the city of Potosí is Cerro de Potosí, a hill rising more than 16,000 feet above sea level, a vast catacomb of small and large tin mines, the most prominent of which is Mauricio Hochschild's Unificado. The majority of the miners around Potosí are followers of José Antonio Arze, chief of PIR (Party of Leftist Revolutionaries), a man of declared Marxist philosophy but highly respected for his integrity. The minority group of miners hold union cards in the STM (Syndicate of Mine Workers), headed by Juan Lechin and Mario Torrez. Lechin, more the politico than labor reformer, was once closely associated with the Villarroel government. Torrez heads a small extreme leftist quasi-political party. Both men are violently opposed to the government that succeeded the military dictatorship.

While Lechin's STM went hand in hand down the path of totalitarianism with the militarists of RADEPA, Arze's PIR fought for democracy. When democracy was won, Arze opposed Monje's interim government in a forthright and open manner, calling for labor and economic reforms. But Lechin sought every possible means of embarrassing the new government, stirring up strife in the mining areas where he was strongest, and making demands of management which he knew could not be met.

When, in January, it came time to strike at democracy, *agents provocateurs* among Lechin's followers on Cerro de Potosí had established a mood. The STM miners were told that if they rose up against the La Paz government the rest of the miners would join them, and that they would be immediately supported by the people and the soldiery of Potosí. But when they marched down the hill carrying dynamite sticks and descended upon the city, they found both the people and the army supporting the government. Clashes followed and casualty figures ran high. Around 80 were wounded and about a score dead.

The same tactics were used in the Cochabamba area, and sporadic uprisings of Quechuas there cost still more lives.

When the smoke had cleared away it was apparent that Bolivian democracy remained intact. More thoroughly intact, probably, than before. The miners, upon realizing they had been misled by their leaders, returned to the

mines, *agents provocateurs* among them were purged, and Lechin lost some of his prestige and power.

U. S. Fumble

ALTHOUGH Monje's interim government played a noble role well, Hertzog and his coalition government will have anything but clear sailing.

Hertzog's first major official act as president was the signing of a trade agreement with Argentina. Bolivia will once again receive food from Argentina, plus loans totalling \$65,500,000 and, most important of all, 76 cents a pound for the independent mining companies' tin.

Prior to the Argentine-Bolivian trade talks in La Paz, and during them, Mauricio Hochschild was in Washington discussing a new contract with the RFC. Under a five-year contract ending this year, Hochschild and the other independents delivered tin to the United States for 69 cents. Bolivia asked 76 cents a pound, Hochschild doing the negotiating. The RFC was not prepared to meet the figure. When Perón offered to pay Bolivia 76 cents, the Bolivian Government agreed to ship Argentina 8,000 tons of tin out of the annual output of 17,000 tons the independents had been shipping the United States. The RFC, belatedly albeit hastily, went to 76 cents, thereby salvaging approximately 55 per cent of the tin that should have come to the United States.

Perón had carefully set the stage for the La Paz trade talks. When the new government came in, he stopped all food shipments to Bolivia. Bolivia asked the United States for help, but no foodstuffs came from the United States and the RFC haggled over the price of tin, although the prices of other minerals were soaring. The United States might well have supplied the money with which Perón bought his way into the La Paz fold.

Headaches For Hertzog

THE trade pact with Argentina is a double-barreled problem for the new Bolivian Government. It was patently designed to incorporate Bolivia into Perón's five-year program of government-controlled industrialization, a plan which may well have political repercussions in La Paz. Therefore it is Hertzog's gargantuan task to keep his country from being sucked wholly into Perón's economic and political orbit.

Hertzog fully realizes that the crux

of his country's future lies beyond the Andes, in the Beni and Santa Cruz Provinces. He is anxious to raise money to build highways and railroads to connect the lowlands with the altiplano. This would enable the Andean half of Bolivia to live off the fertile soil and the livestock of the lowlands. But more than transportation is necessary to put this plan into effect. The lowlands are sparsely populated. People are needed to till the soil and raise the cattle. Hertzog hopes to encourage immigration, but even if his colonization plan works, it will take many years, at least ten, and well before then two major problems will have to come to a head. First, the shortage of foodstuffs, and second the spreading hegemony of both Argentina and Brazil through the area, with the inevitable clash of interests.

If and when Brazil and Argentina clash in Bolivia, one of two hemi-



Interim President Tomás Monje with President Enrique Hertzog.

spheric-shaking developments may be expected. One of the two will have to be squeezed out of the area through political maneuvering or war. As this day will probably arrive in less than five years, it is just possible that President Hertzog will preside over the liquidation of his country unless he finds a way to avoid the *dénouement* that now appears inevitable.

Meanwhile, his domestic problems will no doubt grow. In the face of recent defeats the revolutionaries will probably lie low until dire economic hardships catch up with Bolivians. When that time comes they will no doubt strike again.

"Luxuries of Democracies"

HERE again Lechin, his prestige on the ascendancy with the signing of

the treaty with Argentina, has his role to play. If he can force outrageous demands upon the mining companies, many mines will shut down. This not only will result in growing unemployment, but will knock the props from under the government's budget, for the government depends almost entirely on the mines for revenue. As this is being written, the government receives \$250 for every ton of tin exported, regardless of cost of production. That brings the value of tin to the mining companies—aside from the cost of mining it—down to around \$1,000 per metric ton. If the cost of production can be forced up sufficiently, tin mining can be made unprofitable, a horrible depression will follow, and undemocratic groups will be in a position to have their way.

Should the militarists regain power, in all likelihood an attempt will be made to squeeze Brazil out of the lowlands. If successful, this would give Perón a free hand. The rest of the nation will then come under Argentine domination as a matter of course.

Hertzog is aware of this threat and has a plan which he hopes will avert it. At any rate, he had a plan before he was elected, which he told me in some detail. He said he had drawn up a program whereby miners and other workers would share in the profits of the companies for which they work.

In the program he included a plan for compulsory Social Insurance designed to free workers from fear of illness and insecure old age.

Whether Hertzog is to meet with serious difficulties is putting this program into effect remains to be seen. If there is opposition to it, the opposition will probably come from professional agitators, "the luxuries of any democracy," as Hertzog describes them. Hertzog is out to break Lechin's power; but only if Lechin proves to be one of "the luxuries of democracies."

In the final analysis, Bolivia today is the scene of a political war being waged between the Latin brand of fascism and the Latin brand of democracy. And in all probability, the way Bolivia, with its untold natural wealth, goes, so will go the whole of the South American continent.

Whether democracy can manage to survive in this badly mauled country remains to be seen. Significantly, Bolivia has violated the UN resolution against Franco by appointing an envoy to Madrid.



THE ATOM: *Race for Uranium and Scientific Leadership Spreads Over the Earth*

FROM the Canadian Far North to down under in Australia, from the remotest steppes of the Soviet Union to the Andes in Argentina, the rush is on for uranium and thorium, the two elements which make the atom bomb tick.

All the information that is obtainable from reluctant but reliable official sources is shown in graphic detail for the first time on this exclusive *United Nations World* map.

This map reveals the three major stages of the atomic race:


One. There are only two major regions on earth where pitchblende, the chief source of uranium, is mined in substantial quantities: at Labine Point, on the east side of Great Bear Lake in Canada's Northwest Territories, and in Katanga, Belgian Congo. To these areas is now added Stanthorpe in Queensland—if Australian reports of a new

uranium bonanza turn out to be true.

Small countries, like Czechoslovakia and the Indian State of Travancore attain major importance by virtue of their wealth in uranium or thorium.

Ironically enough, the United States is comparatively poor in the necessary basic resources.

Two. Recovery and milling activities are most developed in the Canadian plants clustered around Port Hope,



Der Morgen

SÜDKURIER

NEUE ZEIT

LEIPZIGER
ZEITUNG

The New Democratic Press of Germany

What kind of job have the Allies done in resuscitating the German press on democratic lines? In this analysis, Kurt Ehlers, a close observer just back from Germany, tells how the occupying powers, and particularly the Americans, have met the problems of paper and personnel shortage, politics and control.

SINCE the beginning of the occupation in Germany the Information Control Division (ICD) of Military Government has made remarkable progress in the establishment of a free press in the U. S. Zone. Except for the *Neue Zeitung*, the organ of AMG, all overt U. S.-sponsored papers have been replaced by papers entirely written and published by Germans under a system of licensing instituted and controlled by ICD. The German press is still subject to constant ICD scrutiny and guidance. Existing controls, however, are gradually being relaxed or abandoned in order to develop information media as nearly in accord with normal democratic practices as is compatible with pre-existing political and security conditions. Similar developments have taken place in the other zones under Allied control.

Under the fascist regime the Nazi Party and its Propaganda Ministry had gained complete control over the German press, and ICD personnel had to start from scratch. The prostitution of all news and writing under the Nazis and the exclusion of all anti-Nazi-minded journalists had created a dearth of politically clean, professionally trained newspapermen. The bomb-battered state of plants and equipment at the end of the war and the lack of newsprint production capacity presented almost herculean problems. In spite of all this, ICD has so far licensed some 43 individual papers in the U. S. Zone, with a total circulation of four million, mostly twice weekly. In addition it has licensed and created facilities for a German News Service (DANA) which is putting out a news file of more than 40,000 words daily.

In order to impress Germans with the idea of a free press and to make this free press a structural part of the new democratic life, newspapers were placed in German hands under a system of licensing individual journalists for individual papers. Thus, responsibility for the papers clearly lies with the individual licensees. To make sure they warrant the trust placed in them, potential licensees are carefully screened by ICD on the basis of political background, experience and journalistic standards. Their intelligence files, based on thorough investigation, must reveal anti-Nazi activity or attitude, ability to assist in the democratization of Germany and an ability to assume leadership in civic affairs. In no case will ICD recommend anyone for a newspaper license who is politically the least bit compromised. Today the shortage of suitable personnel and the lack of newsprint have practically put a stop to the licensing of more papers. In most cases two or more journalists are being licensed for one individual paper to insure that its content is well balanced, that no one political viewpoint is given too much prominence, and that the paper does not come under the ideological control of pressure groups, whether political parties, industry, church or government.

Unbiased News a Problem

At present, postpublication scrutiny of output is the only means of control applied in the American Zone. Licensees are merely being advised that nothing of a Nazi, militarist or imperialist nature and nothing that violates military security or causes disrespect for the occupying powers may

be printed. This type of guidance and scrutiny has proved to be very effective; so far there have been few violations. However, it was quite a problem to make the German press present unbiased news. Even in pre-Hitler days factual reporting was something rarely encountered. To offset old habits and to divorce news from opinion ICD insisted upon Anglo-American news techniques.

ICD has recently introduced competition by licensing second papers in key cities such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich and Berlin. However, most communities still have only one paper, which must make its space available to all parties, on the assumption that no paper can call its news honest and unbiased unless it reports conflicting phases of opinion and action.

The attitude of the German public toward this new type of press is entirely favorable. Recent opinion polls have shown that the majority prefers a nonpartisan press and unbiased news; through years of experience they have become tired of tendentious writing. Only party leaders and functionaries are not satisfied, because they have nothing to fall back on for their propaganda but little political propaganda sheets with a small circulation which are also licensed by ICD for each party.

How well has this new free press fulfilled its mission to democratize life and institutions in a country ridden by authoritarian spirit, militarist tendencies and racial bias? After careful analysis one must conclude that its record is by no means satisfactory. Some papers are excellent, some are good, but many are only fair and hard-

ly fulfill their mission, a fact which is all the more regrettable since newsprint in Germany is so scarce and valuable. The main reason for the unsatisfactory performance of many papers is the dearth of progressive, solidly anti-fascist newspapermen. As a result of years of Nazi dictatorship, a good many of the licensees are today tired and worn-out men, lacking drive and aggressiveness in attacking the burning issues of the day. They do not provide the vigorous leadership so badly needed; their papers are not politically articulate and have no definite social aims. There is grave danger that the licensed press may fail to provide leadership along the thorny road of democratic regeneration, and thus unnecessarily prolong the spirit of reaction.

In this field as in other spheres of activity in Germany, AMG has been throwing a good portion of its support to the wrong kind of anti-Nazis. Analysis reveals that a little more than 50 per cent of all 83 licensees are close to the left wing parties, primarily the Social Democratic Party, and a little less than 50 per cent belong to the right wing parties, primarily the Christian Democratic Union. As regards articulateness and aggressiveness, the left wing licensees exhibit by far the best showing, almost half of them providing the type of vigorous leadership expected of them. This, however, cannot be said of the right wing licensees, of which perhaps ten per cent attack current issues with the necessary vigor and spirit. The relatively good showing of the left wing licensees supports the frequently expressed view that only the German Left can be counted upon to lead Germany to a healthy and reformed democratic life. If only one-third of all licensees work out satisfactorily, the only solution seems to be to replace the unsatisfactory ones as quickly as more suitable personnel becomes available unless we allow the German press to fall down on its job.

Leading U. S. Zone Papers

Among the superior papers the U. S.-licensed Berlin *Tagesspiegel* is pre-eminent. It is published and edited by such

solid anti-fascists as Reger, Karsch and Red-slob and enjoys a daily circulation of 450,000. Its quality and coverage are excellent, perhaps the best in Germany. It used to be Berlin's most popular paper until the advent of the British-licensed Social Democratic *Telegraf*, which quickly conquered the heart of the Berliner because it is written in a more popular vein. Politically, the *Tagesspiegel* is a vigorous supporter of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) in its fight against the Socialist merger SED (Social Unity Party). In the U.S. Zone proper, one of the leading papers is the left-ist *Frankfurter Rundschau*, first paper to be licensed in the Zone after the capitulation; its circulation is 250,000 twice weekly, under the licensees Carlebach and Rudert. It is competing with the rightest *Frankfurter Neue Presse*.

Of considerable importance is the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* because it is published in Munich, capital of Bavaria, largest of the *Laender* in the U. S. Zone. The licensees Goldschagg, Schoeningh, Schwingenstein and Friedmann make it a "middle of the road" paper. In its editorial policy it gives prominence to the federalist policies of right wing Social Democratic leader and Bavarian Minister President Hoeg-

mer. A recently licensed competitor is the *Muenchner Mittag*. An extremely interesting paper is the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, published and edited in Heidelberg by Minister of Education Heuss and Communist Agricola. Among intellectuals it enjoys a zone-wide reputation, features aggressive editorials and devotes great care to financial and business news, with a view to becoming the successor of the old *Frankfurter Zeitung* which was known over the Continent for its high and liberal standards and its excellent economic service.

There are three or four additional papers of more than local importance

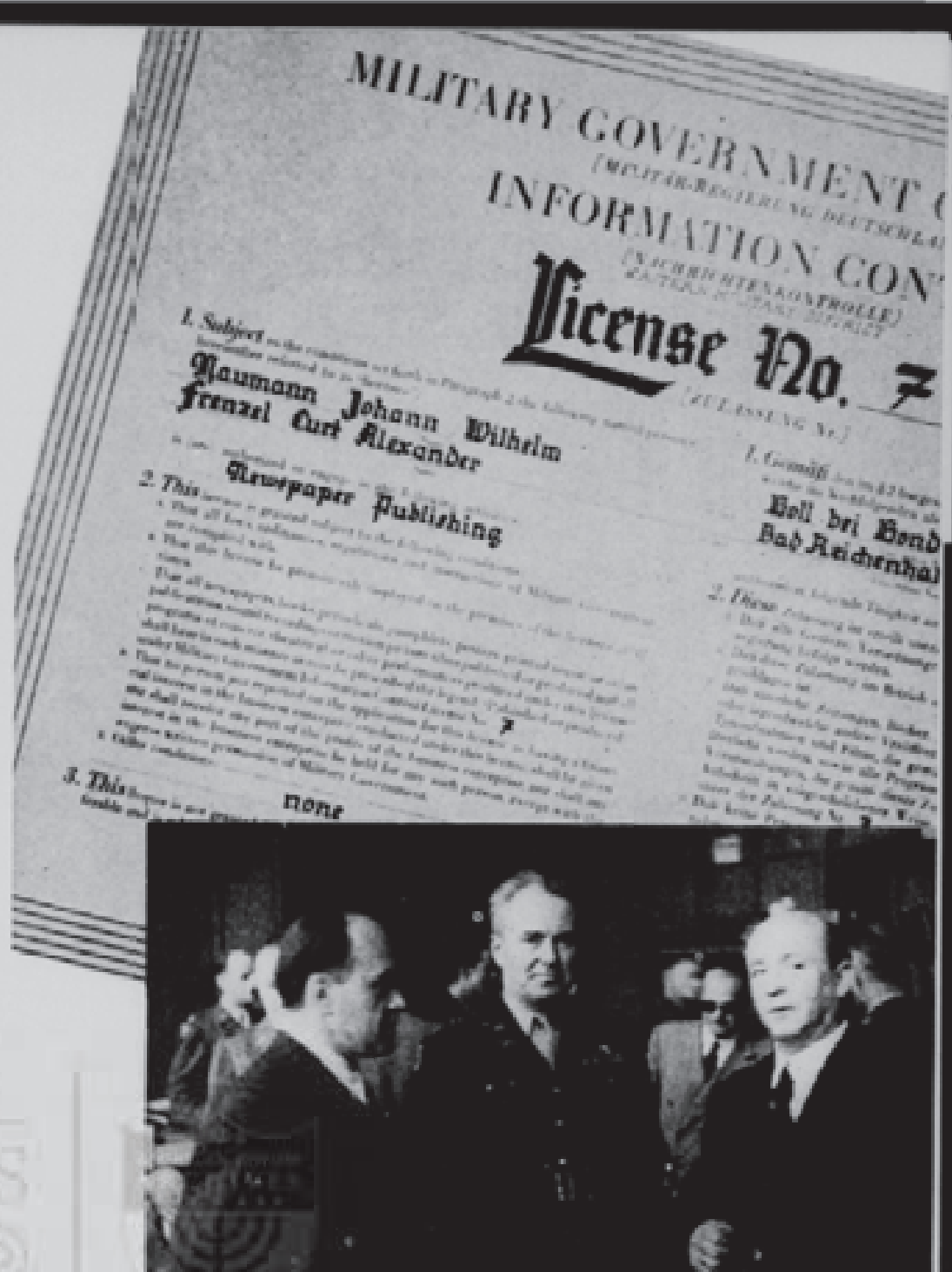
BY

KURT H.

EHLERS

The Author: Kurt H. Ehlers recently returned from Germany where he was an intelligence officer for the information and control division of the Military Government in the U.S.-Zone (the accompanying article gives his personal opinions and not necessarily those of the AMG). In Germany he participated in the work of denazifying the German information services and observing the trend of political activities and public opin-

ion. During the war he was with a SHAEF Psychological Warfare Division combat team, interrogating prisoners of war and encouraging German soldiers to surrender. Before he entered the army, he was Assistant Professor of Economics at Clark and Indiana Universities and the University of the Philippines in Manila. He left his native Germany in 1933, spent several years in Switzerland, and came to the U.S. in 1938.



Curt Frenzel (left) and Wilhelm Naumann (right), licensees of the *Schneeschische Landeszeitung* in the American zone, talk over a press problem with Col. B. B. McMahon, ICD Chief for Bavaria. Above—the license granted Frenzel and Naumann by the American Military Government.

and well-known or interesting for the type of material they cultivate. The *Wiesbadener Kurier* features excellent coverage of foreign affairs and domestic business news and is at present the only paper authorized for sale outside Germany. The *Stuttgarter Zeitung* used to be good for its stand on denazification and democratic reconstruction. Recently its left wing licensee was switched to another paper and its character has since become colorless.

The *Schwäbische Landeszeitung* in Augsburg is well known for its opposition to German particularism, particularly of the Hoegner brand, and also because its two licensees, Curt Frenzel and Wilhelm Naumann, are outstanding among German newspapermen. Frenzel, an old left wing Social Democratic editor, who has spent a considerable amount of time in a concentration camp, is today the president of DANA, German News Agency. Naumann was an active Catholic underground fighter and renounced his journalistic career in 1934 to avoid writing for a Hitler press. Today he is the leading spirit in the Newspaper Publishers' Association of the Zone and responsible for putting teeth into the Press Law prepared by the *Laenderrat*. Last but not least, the *Neue Presse* of Coburg, a former Nazi stronghold, should be mentioned, for the uncompromising anti-Nazi stand of its editor and publisher, Peter Maslowski.

The British and French Zones

Much of what has been said so far about the press in the American Zone applies equally to the other western zones.

In the British Zone the licensed press is predominantly a party press, but features straight and unbiased news as well as editorials and news comments. There are altogether 43 licensed papers in the British Zone, with a total circulation of approximately 5.6 million twice weekly, which gives a 1:4 per capita ratio of circulation. Of these 43 newspapers, 37 are straight party papers, five are non-partisan and one is a paper of Danish minorities. Political affiliation of the papers conforms fairly closely to the distribution of votes, 75 per cent of which are shared in almost equal portions by the two major parties, the SPD and the CDU (Christian Democratic Union).

Each party paper has a nominal head, its chief licensee, who is chosen by the party concerned and approved by the British ICD, and a publisher and editor chosen by the British ICD. Thus there is a double responsibility, and the type of leadership provided is strictly the result of individual drive and alertness and of pressure from the party rank and file. This explains why some of these papers in their editorials and comment on the news have often shown a rather aggressive attitude with respect to current problems. It should be said, however, that the political affiliation of a paper is no guide to its popularity. As in the American Zone, the trend of popularity is toward a non-partisan press. Approximately the same policy instructions are held to as in the American Zone: postpublication scrutiny is the rule and prepublication censorship is applied only during the first month of a paper's appearance.

In the French Zone, there are some 17 papers of which three or four are straight party papers; the rest are non-partisan. Most of the 17 papers appear thrice weekly, some twice; the total circulation amounts to three million, which yields a per capita ratio of 1:2. The general impression made by these papers is favorable. Make-up is frequently poor, but coverage seems adequate and news is presented without bias. Prepublication censorship is still

applied but there are rumors that it will be lifted soon.

The Soviet-Sponsored Press

In the Soviet Zone, the authorities do not place the same amount of trust in German publishers and editors as do authorities in the western zone; hence support is given primarily to selected individuals or groups. One of the major Soviet objectives has been the elimination of the spirit of Nazi imperialism, roots and all, or what the Russians call the "unholy alliance of Junker aristocracy, monopoly capital and militarism." They have therefore used the press extensively to destroy the spirit of the Nazi age and to introduce economic democracy. As far as political democracy of the western type is concerned, they believe that the Germans cannot yet be trusted sufficiently for such an experiment. They hold instead that the only guarantee for the ultimate development of truly democratic institutions in Germany is a strong, unified and uncompromisingly anti-fascist labor movement. They consider that the SED represents such a movement. Therefore they are working through the SED and throw much of their support to the SED papers.

It is in this context that one has to understand the political distribution of the party press in the Soviet Zone. Best available sources indicate that there are some 20 individual papers many of which have separate local editions. Of these 20 papers, ten belong to the SED, eight to the Opposition parties (four to the CDU and four to the LDP, Liberal Democratic Party). The rest are sponsored by nonpartisan groups such as trade unions.

In none of the five political subdivisions of the Soviet Zone did the SED score more than 50 per cent of the votes, and it seems a deliberate policy of the Soviet authorities to authorize more SED papers than Opposition ones. The SED papers also all appear daily whereas the papers of the two other parties appear only two or three times a week. The overall circulation of these papers is close to three million.

Prepublication censorship was recently lifted, but there still exists a tight control of channels through which news flows to the papers. It remains to be seen to what extent the crusade for social reform and democratization of institutions on the part of the SED papers will be able to sway public opinion in the desired direction.

Cat-chorus.

"So you don't like our music? But you could listen to Hitler's speeches from A to Z!" *Leipziger Zeitung*



Experts in Exports

Commercial diplomats are turning Washington into a world mart as they purchase penicillin, reconditioned army uniforms, hard-to-get nails, steamrollers, second-hand sewer systems, and even an entire power plant once used by Eisenhower in North Africa. Here Ladislas Farago, Washington correspondent of UN World, begins a series of articles on these diplomatic buyers. Next month: Russia's Amtorg agency.

WHEN Bülent Yazici, shy young Financial Counselor of the Turkish Embassy, goes on a shopping spree in downtown Washington, he might be buying a pipe for himself, a chic hat for his beautiful wife Nevare—or a locomotive for the Turkish National railways. M. Yazici is just one of hundreds of international buyers from all parts of the world who are still in Washington despite official American efforts to reroute governmental purchasing into normal commercial channels. Altogether, there are no fewer than 113 Purchasing and Supply Missions from 54 countries still operating in Washington and New York.

The Small and the Great

NOT all of these so-called missions do justice to this collective title. Some of them consist of but one single purchasing agent or commercial representative doing a million-dollar business out of a modest Washington hotel room. But others, like the British and French missions, overflow to several buildings and employ scores of officials, accountants, clerks—and scouts.

There is a peculiar spirit of adventure these days in scouting for an international buyer. The lucky scout who discovers a few available tons of nails somewhere in the United States is as exuberant about his find as if he had struck oil in sedate Rock Creek Park.

Many of these international buyers, like Bülent Yazici himself, are accredited diplomats whose business premises are protected by elaborate extraterritorial rights. But there is very little of the conventional diplomat in these special envoys. In fact, the ma-

jority of them are newcomers to the big business of diplomacy as they practice the diplomacy of big business.

In the expressive British Foreign Office lingo they are called "commercial diplomats"—with the emphasis on the first word. As far as they are concerned, diplomatic horse-trading is no figure of speech. In their daily routine they might actually be trading for horses—as did Dr. Karl Mariassy, a Hungarian envoy extraordinary who journeyed all the way from Budapest to replenish the depleted stock of the famous Hungarian studs with a few healthy American stallions.

Typical Commercial Diplomat

BÜLENT YAZICI is typical of this new type of diplomat. A prominent Istanbul economist with a Columbia University degree, he combines the best features of the statesman and cosmopolitan financier. He "operates" out of his residence at 1700 Webster Street. Every morning around 10, he goes upstairs to his office and opens shop for the day.

Once settled behind his desk, Yazici does business in a big way. A suspension bridge or 50,000 pairs of shoes might be items on a day's shopping list. There is a strange but fascinating contrast between the innate modesty of this diplomatic shopkeeper and the magnitude of his business. Like most of his colleagues, Yazici conducts his transactions in an abstract scientific way. He often settles a major deal in a three-minute telephone conversation or buys a trainload of machinery between cups of strong Turkish coffee served at his desk on the hour.

Home Away from Home

THE house on Webster Street is just like any middle-class home that could be found in the residential districts of Ankara or Istanbul. Nothing ostensibly indicates that the business plenipotentiary of a sovereign state has his headquarters behind its walls. Salesmen coming to offer their wares to Turkey via Webster Street might be greeted by Yazici's three-year-old son Ibrahim, known as "Ibi" to the neighborhood kids. Or by his wife in the midst of her household chores.

Madame Yazici, one of the most striking beauties of Embassy Row, blends perfectly into this typical American environment. She is an "international buyer" in her own right—doing her shopping in a self-service Super Market, or, like any good American housewife, knocking on a neighbor's door for a pinch of salt or a cup of sugar.

Once in a while Yazici guides special trade delegations from his country through the United States; attends the conferences of the World Bank; or goes to Lake Success as Turkey's delegate to the UN Economic and Social Council. His evenings are devoted to the study of financial papers and trade journals, or to the writing of lengthy economic



In this ordinary Washington house, Turkey makes huge purchases of U.S. goods



Bülent Yazici, Turkey's able purchasing agent, combines the best features of statesman and cosmopolitan financier. With him are Mme. Yazici and "Ibi"

reports for his home government. He is but seldom seen in diplomatic drawing rooms where his political colleagues peddle a different brand of foreign affairs. Soon he will be busy disbursing the \$150,000,000 loan granted by the U.S. to Turkey for military supplies—a gigantic job which he will tackle without turning a hair.

Retrenchments

ON May 4, 1946, a discreetly but firmly worded State Department communication was brought to the at-

tention of Washington's many flourishing Purchasing and Supply Missions. "Officers of the Department of State," the note read, "have recently informed representatives of governments having purchasing missions in this country that the United States, while recognizing the valuable services performed by these missions during the war emergency, nevertheless believes that they should be terminated by the end of the transition period."

The policy of the United States Government, as explained to the represen-

tatives of the other governments concerned, favors the use of private commercial channels in international trade. It is the desire of the State Department that the "state trading agencies should conduct their trade in accordance with usual commercial considerations." Despite this avowed policy of the Department, compliance has not been general and several governments continue to maintain their supply and purchasing missions.

One of the few which has complied is the government of Yugoslavia, even if it was only by necessity rather than by design. Due to the strained state of Yugoslav-American relations, several attempts of the Tito Government to obtain substantial credits in the United States for large-scale buying were blocked, compelling a retrenchment of the Yugoslav purchasing system in the United States. Yugoslavia is in the market for machinery, industrial equipment, lumber, tools for the mining industry, chemicals and pharmaceutical products, and rayon yarn, to mention only the major items on its shopping list. Since no credits are granted to pay for these commodities, Yugoslavia is now promoting exports to the United States to accumulate sufficient dollar exchange with which to finance its imports.

Under the circumstances, Commercial Attaché Beno Habjanič merely acts as a go-between linking private American firms interested in the willing Yugoslav market with the appropriate agencies of the Belgrade government.

A similar reorganization, although motivated by different considerations, is under way in the Netherlands Supply Mission, which plans to close its doors within a few months, making place for private firms at both ends. Future official Dutch purchases will be confined to inter-governmental transactions. Prominent among them will be the purchase of Japanese textiles which the Netherlands government will acquire for private accounts through General MacArthur's trade outlets in Tokyo.

THE STATE OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

THE UNITED NATIONS

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

• As usual when the General Assembly is sitting, Secretary-General Trygve Lie was exceptionally busy last month. Yet he found time, during pauses in the Palestine discussions and afterward, for weekend spells at his favorite sport of tennis, and he also looked forward to a pleasant prospect—vacation time. The S.G. is now a regular member of the West Side Tennis Club, Forest Hills, and hits a mean low ball off the forehand.

Both on and off the scene, Lie devoted much of his time during the first fortnight of the month to the job of insuring that the Special Session ran smoothly. There was a long-range as well as an immediate purpose in this, for the S.G. was out to prove that the UN is capable of handling important issues in special sessions of this kind. The handling and despatch of the session went far to prove his point.

After the Assembly, Lie's chief concern was the UN budget for 1948. Along with Byron Price, Assistant S.G. for Administrative and Financial Affairs, Lie held long conferences on the budget, which will be printed this month and sent to member nations and UN's Advisory Group on Budgetary Affairs before being submitted to the Assembly in September.

Lie was also busy on preparations for a brief trip to Canada this month, where he will make a speech in Winnipeg—a project that especially pleases him since the prairie city is considered one of the Dominion's most international centers.

At the end of June, Lie expects to leave by air for a month's vacation in Norway—his first real holiday since his election to the Secretary-Generalship in January 1946.

SECURITY COUNCIL: BALKAN QUESTION TO THE FORE

• Two major events appeared last month on the Security Council's calendar: a resurgence of the Greek question, and receipt of the long-awaited report of the Council's Military Staff Committee.

The controversy over Greece was reopened as a result of an interim step by the Balkan Investigation Committee pending the filing of the report it was drafting at Geneva. Under the terms of the Security Council resolution of April 18, the Commission set up and dispatched to Salonika a subsidiary group to continue the inquiry into conditions on the northern border of Greece.

The refusal of Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to cooperate with this subcommission because of the broad scope of its terms of reference resulted

in the whole matter being sent back to the Council for ruling.

The discussion opened in the Council with dramatic flare-ups between the Soviet and American representatives. Meanwhile the Balkan Commission completed a majority report which, insofar as past faults are concerned, made qualified charges against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, but refrained from recommending effective enforcement action against these three countries.

The report emphasizes the desirability of establishing conditions which would work toward normal good neighborly relations. It recommends that the Security Council appoint a UN body to aid in the pacification of the area.

The majority report also contains a long range recommendation of potential significance. It proposes that future support of armed bands operating within or across the border of a state "should be considered by the Security

Council as one of the cases of aggression contemplated in the Charter of the United Nations."

• **THE UN "POLICE FORCE."** After 15 months' work in almost complete secrecy, the Council's Military Staff Committee, consisting of 15 generals and admirals of the Big Five powers, finally adopted a report on the problem of making national armed forces available to the UN as an "international police force." The voluminous report contained 41 articles, including 25 agreed upon and 16 in dispute.

Without minimizing the gap still separating the U.S.S.R. and the other members of the Big Five on several major issues, it can be said that a substantial area of basic agreement has been achieved.

However, the idea of a future police force able to take care of any major world dispute was not supported by the report. The delegates evidently based their deliberations on the primary concept of the UN—the peaceful co-existence of the Big Five—since military sanctions against any one of them would entail the break-up of the UN as presently constituted and result in a fullfledged war.

• **THE COMPOSITION OF UN FORCES.** In the field of disagreement, the chief issues concerned: (a) the composition of national contingents in the police force; and (b) the location of the armed forces and control of operational bases.

On the first point, the U.S., U.K., France and China argue that a modern, balanced and effective UN army, with an adequate proportion of land, sea and air components, would require equivalent contributions from the Big Five, i.e., weapons and manpower which, while differing in type, would add up to equivalent contingents from each. On the other hand, the U.S.S.R., basing its stand on the principle of

equality contained in the UN Charter, contends that Big Five contributions must be *equal*, i.e., the same number of men, tanks, planes, etc. from each. In such case, the various components would have to be selected on the basis of the lowest common denominator, i.e., the type of weapons and manpower that could be supplied by any and all five nations. The need for adjustment of this principle of rigid equality is, however, recognized by the U.S.S.R. when it agrees to consider "departures" from equality, subject to Security Council agreement.

• **PLACES AND BASES.** The next major point of disagreement—that of bases to be made available to the Council—centered on interpretation of Article 43 of the Charter, requiring all UN members to provide the Council upon call, and by virtue of special agreement, with "armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage . . ."

The U.S.S.R. interprets "assistance and facilities" as not including bases; China, the U.K. and U.S. hold that the phrase does include bases; France, while agreeing with the latter position, insists, along with the Russians, that time limits be set in agreements between the Council and member nations.

The question of withdrawal of UN forces after the threat to peace has been removed was another point at issue. The U.S.S.R. wants the forces withdrawn to their respective territories within 30-90 days after fulfillment of their mission unless otherwise directed by the Council. The other major powers propose that the decision be left to the Council.

Finally, agreement is lacking as to the geographical distribution of UN armed forces so as "to enable the Security Council to take prompt action in any part of the world . . ." China, the U.S., U.K. and France agree generally that UN contingents should be stationed in locations to which the participating powers have "legal access" or are permitted to assign troops by virtue of special agreements. The U.S.S.R. prefers the UN forces located in their respective home territories.

In view of these differences, it is now the task of the Security Council to broaden the area of agreement so as to speed the establishment of the UN police force.

The Riddle Of

GENERAL ASSEMBLY NAMES 11-NATION COMMITTEE TO RECOMMEND SOLUTION

The United Nations Organization passed a stern test and emerged with enhanced prestige from the special session of the Assembly on Palestine.

The World Organization made a strong display of vitality, dissipating apprehensions in some quarters that it might have been weakened by the manner in which the Greek question had been dealt with.

The speculations of many a political expert as to a possible Arab-Latin American coalition; the question mark overhanging the role of the U.S.S.R.; misgivings due to lack of a well-defined U.S. attitude; and the increased wave of underground terrorism and British counter-reprisals in Palestine—all contributed to an atmosphere of uncertainty and doubt.

The very vagueness of the original assignment awaiting this Special Session was by no means conducive to high morale as delegates of 55 nations assembled at Flushing Meadow.

However, when the showdown came in the form of votes and more votes, the representatives of 55 nations required but 23 days to compose their differences and reach a decision.

Preliminary sparrings included insistent Jewish requests for a full hearing, and no less insistent Arab claims for immediate Palestine independence.

When Fernand van Langenhove of Belgium declared the General Assembly session open, the eyes of the world were focussed on Flushing Meadow with the fervent hope that the UN would bring peace to a strife-torn land and contribute to the solution of the age-old Jewish problem.

After the unanimous election of Señor Aranha of Brazil to the presidency of the special session and the official



Symbol of UN Spirit—Rising above the bitter differences between their two organizations, Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League (left) and Moshe Shertok, political chief of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, exchange a friendly handshake.

PALESTINE



Dramatic moment in the special session—Assembly President Aranha, flanked by Trygve Lie and Andrew Cordier, in an exchange with Farid el Khouri, during the chief Syrian delegate's impassioned speech.

admission of Siam as a member of the UN, the debate on Palestine was on.

The terms of reference for the investigating Committee, as finally adopted, were couched in the broadest possible terms. The Committee, whose seat is in Jerusalem, is free to examine all aspects of the Palestine situation, and has the right to visit the displaced persons camps in Europe. This inquiry into the fate of Jewish D.P.'s may have a bearing on one of the major problems inherent in the Palestine complex—immigration.

It is also left within the power of the Committee to examine the question of eventual independence as to both timing and preserving the peace within the Holy Land and in the whole Middle East.

The resolution adopted, the Special Session moved toward its close with unexpected dispatch. There appeared but one stumbling block to the appointment of the Investigating Committee: the question of Big Five rep-

resentation. The desires of the small powers backed by the U. S. eventually prevailed: the eleven-nation committee does not include any of the Big Five.

As finally constituted, the Committee consists of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

Not merely in the membership of the Committee, but throughout the Special Session, the small powers played a gratifyingly prominent role. A very real political independence was displayed in the manner in which resolutions and amendments were proposed, frequently conflicting with the avowed aims of the Big Five. Eastern European countries were often found in opposition to the U.S.S.R., and others, habitually voting with the United States, now voted against it.

Chairman Pearson of the Political Committee emphasized that members of the Committee are representing the United Nations and not their respective

governments. This was in answer to published speculations which divided the Committee into pro-Arab, pro-Jewish and pro-British factions.

One of the most reassuring features of this Special Session was the skill with which President Oswaldo Aranha and Chairman Lester B. Pearson handled their difficult assignments in the General Assembly and the Political Committee. The fears that the Assembly would bog down in the absence of Paul-Henri Spaak proved unfounded. The UN again was fortunate in the selection of its presiding officers. The efficient aid provided by the Secretariat was still another boon to the increasing prestige of the UN.

The formation of various blocs was expected prior to and even during the deliberations of the General Assembly, but beyond the standing Arab Bloc, these expectations failed to materialize.

The climax of the General Assembly came when it reconvened for one of its final sessions, with the speech of the Soviet representative who was the sole delegate of a major power to offer a basic policy statement during the Special Session. Reversing a traditional opposition to Zionism and a current objection to a partitioning of Palestine, Mr. Gromyko stated in unequivocal terms that his Government would support either an independent Palestine of Arabs and Jews, or should the former prove unattainable, partitioning into Arab and Jewish states.

Commenting on the Soviet delegate's speech, Warren R. Austin of the United States expressed the hope that the attitude of the U.S.S.R. "would pave the way toward eventual agreement."

The implicit agreement of the Big powers on a compromise solution is bound to facilitate the preparation of the investigating committee's report, and eventually the action of the General Assembly next September.

• ARABS CHALLENGE BRITISH PROPOSAL. At the very start, the General Assembly was faced with the necessity of making a major political decision. As requested by the U.K., the

agenda was to consist of only one item: the setting up of an investigating committee to prepare a report which would enable the second regular session of the Assembly in September to consider the question of Palestine. The Arab states, with the support of the U.S.S.R., pressed hard for the admission to the agenda of a second point: termination of the British mandate in Palestine and the proclamation of immediate independence for the Holy Land. This proposal was defeated, by a vote of 24 against, 15 for, and ten abstentions.

This decision enabled the General Assembly to avoid bringing the whole Middle Eastern situation to the fore with the inevitable clashes of power interests.

The question of participation by the Jews—one of the major parties to the Palestinian dispute—in the UN inquiry was bound to arouse heated controversy. The most far-reaching proposal, claiming for the Jewish Agency the right to be heard by the General Assembly in plenary sessions, was that of Poland and Czechoslovakia, backed by the U.S.S.R. The U. S. opposed this solution on the grounds that the UN Charter does not provide for participation of non-governmental organizations in the General Assembly. The Polish-Czech proposal was defeated, and the Assembly instead adopted a U.S.-supported compromise granting the Agency a hearing before the Political and Security Committee.

When a similar privilege was granted the Arab Higher Committee by the Political and Security Committee, the Arab delegates vehemently demanded that this decision be made by the General Assembly itself. After many incidents, the Political Committee adjourned and immediately reconvened as the General Assembly (which required only a change of chairman from L. B. Pearson to Sérgio Aranha). As such, the Assembly resolved that the decisions of the Committee were in keeping with the intentions of the General Assembly.

• **THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.** After thus disposing of these preliminary stumbling blocks, the Assembly got down to its main business: setting up the Investigating Committee.

When the General Assembly adjourned—merely to reconstitute itself into the 55-member Political Committee—impassioned pleas and testimonies were heard from Jewish and Arab spokesmen.

Far more dramatic than the mere presentation of the claims and counter-claims was the protracted question period during which Ambassador Asaf Ali of India played a conspicuous role. By then, the Indian-Moslem statesman had emerged as one of the Special Session's chief figures. He was among the first to advocate an invitation to the Jewish Agency to appear before the General Assembly, exclaiming: "We are enacting Hamlet in the absence of the Prince of Denmark."

While determining the scope of its terms of reference and eventual composition of the Investigating Committee, the Assembly had to tackle many important issues, each of them involving not only the fate of the Holy Land, but also the interplay of power relations in the Middle East.



Left to right: Quo Tai-chi, head of the Chinese delegation; Sir Carl August Berendson, New Zealand; and Fernand van Langenhove, of Belgium, who opened the special session of the General Assembly.

It was obvious that the question of determining the geographical scope of the Investigating Committee was fraught with significant implications. If the inquiry were confined to Palestine alone—a solution for which the Arab delegates pressed very hard—the whole question of the fate of Jewish displaced persons in Europe would be irrelevant; if the word "independence" were included in the terms of reference, the inquiry committee would be implicitly committed to submit a recommendation on this issue.

A U.S.S.R.-Indian amendment insuring the inclusion in the terms of reference of the inquiry committee of "a proposal on . . . establishing without delay the independent democratic state of Palestine" was defeated by 26 votes against 15, with 12 absentions.

POPULAR SUPPORT FOR UNESCO

The growing role of non-governmental organizations in UN activities is especially important for two reasons: (1) as an aid to the UN itself by enlisting the support of millions of civic-minded people the world over and (2) by spreading knowledge about the UN to the average citizen.

Last month, more than 50 of them—all international in scope—met in Paris to discuss UNESCO's program of worldwide educational rehabilitation. As a sequel to plans already laid for raising \$100,000,000 to finance education, scientific and cultural recovery in devastated countries, the meeting aimed to set up an International Council as a top-planning body.

UN NOTES

Hungary and Italy applied for membership in UN. . . . With information bureaus already functioning in London, Paris, Geneva, Copenhagen, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai and New Delhi, the UN plans to add five more overseas centers this year—in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Mexico City and Cairo. . . . The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) opened its first assembly in Montreal last month with an attendance of 300 delegates and observers from 41 countries. First move was to oust Spain as a member; this enabled it to affiliate officially with UN. ICAO followed this step by admitting Italy to membership. . . . The 17-Nation Committee on the Progressive Development of International Law and its Codification met last month in the first attempt in history to codify international law and outlaw crimes against the peace. . . . The Sub-Commission on the Freedom of Information and of the Press met to plan the international conference on Freedom of Information to be called in '48. (See UNW Newsreel, page 9.)

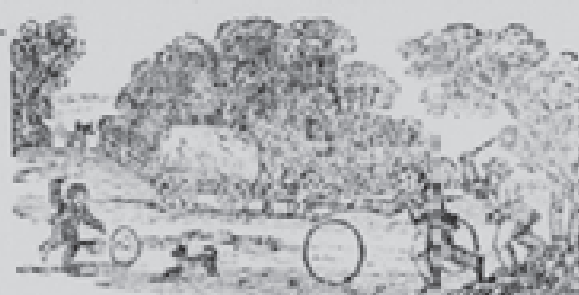
The addition of China, Iceland and New Zealand increased the number of adherents to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) to 16—one more than the minimum required. Despite the fact that 11 of the 16 adherents have still to ratify their participation, the Preparatory Commission of IRO decided to assume responsibility for refugees on July 1 next—one day after expiration of UNRRA. . . . The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made its first loan—a \$250,000,000 grant to France.

CALENDAR OF WORLD EVENTS

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Almanacs from All Over the World

JUNE

Days of the Month,
Births, Deaths, Marriages
and Festivals



Important Events

1947

Historical Anniversaries,
Notes, Comments
and Forecasts

1. S.	Christ'r Marlowe died (1593) Jacques Marquette born (1637)	Champagne Fair, Reims Congressional Elections, Ecuador	A calendar, a calendar! look in the Almanack; find out moonshine, <i>Shakespeare</i>
2. M.	Giuseppe Garibaldi died (1882) Thomas Hardy born (1840)	FAO* Executive Committee, Washington Econ. & Employment Commis., Geneva	P. T. Barnum began 1st circus tour (1815) Italy voted to abolish monarchy (1946)
3. T.	Opium Suppression Day, China Win'sr wed Mrs. Simpson (1937)	ECITO # Council Meeting, Paris Inter-Mt. Jr. Fat Stock Show, Salt Lake	French Comm. Nat'l Liberation est. (1943) West India Co. est. in Holland (1621)
4. W.	Robespierre beheaded (1794) Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm died (1941)	British Derby, Epsom Downs Eire v. England, boxing, Wembley	J. Lawrence: "Don't give up the ship" (1813) Rome taken by Allies (1944)
5. T.	Liberals' Day, Ecuador Mme. Chiang Kai-shek b. (1897)	ILO† Gov. Body Stand. Comm., Geneva International Bicycle Race, Stockholm	Allied control of Germany began (1945) Uncle Tom's Cabin began as serial (1851)
6. F.	Flag Day, Sweden Pierre C��r��n�� born (1606)	Women's Internat. Golf, Gullane, Scot. Truman at 35th Div. Reunion, Kans. City	D-Day (1944) Yanks began Battle of Belleau Wood (1918)
7. S.	Robert Bruce died (1329) "Bean Brummell" born (1778)	Swiss Musicians Festival, Rapperswil Boyd International Quaiich, St. Andrews	Norway separated from Sweden (1905) S. Baldwin became Brit. Prime Min. (1935)
8. S.	Seaman's Day, Iceland Robert Schumann born (1810)	Royal Psych. Med. Assoc., Eastbourne, Eng. Sweden v. Scotland, Soccer, Stockholm	It on the 8th of June it rain <i>Eng.</i> It fortels wet harvest, men sain. <i>Prose.</i>
9. M.	Peter the Great born (1672) Charles Dickens died (1870)	WHO‡ Comm. on Biol. Stands., Geneva Draft. Comm., Bill of Rts., Lake S.	Norway surrendered to Germans (1945) Ecast—Crime wave sweeps U. S. O. <i>Moore's</i>
10. T.	Camoses Day, Portugal Ralph Kirkpatrick born (1911)	Dairyland Festival, Watertown, N. Y. Presentation Garden Pky, Buckingham Pal.	Italy decl. war on Eng. & France (1940) Lidice razed (1942)
11. W.	Kamehameha Day, Hawaii Roger Bacon died (1292)	59th Annual Rose Show, Portland, Ore. Int'l Eisteddfod, Llangollen, N. Wales	Comstock Lode, Nevada, discovered (1859) Anglo-Soviet 20-yr. treaty signed (1942)
12. T.	Anthony Eden born (1887) John Roebing born (1806)	Scandinavian Otolologist Congress, Stockholm George VI's official birthday celebration	Declaration of Rights adopted, Va. (1776) 1st baseball game, Cooperstown, N.Y. (1839)
13. F.	W. B. Yeats born (1865) Jos�� Bonifacio, Br��l. b. (1763)	ILO Governing Body, Geneva Indust. Exhibition, Long Beach, Calif.	Pershing and staff reached Paris (1917) 1st flying bomb on S. England (1944)
14. S.	Flag Day, U. S. Harriet B. Stowe, born (1811)	International Sample Fair, Paris Nat'l Press Photog. Pageant, Atlantic City	Germans entered Paris (1940) Hawaii became U. S. territory (1900)
15. S.	Father's Day Edvard Grieg born (1843)	International Sample Fair, Barcelona Glassworks & Wares Fair, Ales, France	Magna Carta signed, Runnymede (1215) Beni. Franklin's kite experiment (1752)
16. M.	Duke of Marlboroughd. (1722) A. Sperry, Am. inv. died (1930)	Econ. Comm., Asia, F. East, Shanghai ITU § Telem. Experts Cnf., Lake S.	Virginia became Crown Colony (1624) F.D.R. signed N.I.R.A. (1933)
17. T.	Igor Stravinsky born (1882) Joseph Addison died (1719)	ICAO** S. Amer. Regional Mtg., Lima Ascot Races, England	Republic of Iceland established (1944) Battle of Bunker Hill (1775)
18. W.	Maxim Gorky died (1936) Samuel Butler died (1902)	Marian Congress opens, Ottawa Int'l Olympic Comm. Congress, Stockholm	British infantry first wore trousers (1823) Battle of Waterloo (1815)
19. T.	Blaise Pascal born (1623) Jos�� Artigas, U'guay, b. (1764)	Int'l. Labor Conf., 30th Sess., Geneva Int'l Golf Tournament, Montevideo	Maine separated from Massachusetts (1819) Texas annexed by the U. S. (1845)
20. F.	Flag Day, Argentina Lillian Hellman born (1905)	Fair at Bourges, France Int'l Mtg. of Ornithologists, Edinburgh	U.S. adopted "E Pluribus Unum" (1782) Esover proposed debt moratorium (1931)
21. S.	Leland Stanford died (1893) Capt. John Smith died (1631)	Midnight baseball, Fairbanks, Alaska Eng. v. S. Africa, cricket, London	U.S. Constitution went into effect (1788) Sumer is y-cumen in; Loude sing cuckoo!
22. S.	First Day of Summer Erich M. Remarque b. (1898)	Folklore Fest., near St. Malo, Brittany Nat'l Ass. Retail Grocers Conv., San Fran.	Joe Louis won heavyweight title (1937) Hitler launched attack on Russia (1941)
23. M.	Empress Josephine born (1763) Irvin S. Cobb born (1876)	Cloth & Velvet Fair, Amiens, France Int'l. Tennis Ch'sh'ps, Wimbledon, Eng.	Sholes patented the typewriter (1868) 1st English regatta, Thames River (1776)
24. T.	St. John's Day Grover Cleveland died (1908)	Wastia Procession, Wavre, Belgium Indian Festivals, San Juan, Ecuador	Cabot discovered coast of Canada (1497) Joy Treaty ratified by U.S. (1795)
25. W.	Thomas Eakins died (1916) Stanford White killed (1906)	New Zealand Parliament opens Irish Derby, The Curragh	Caster's last stand (1876) Cherbourg taken by Allies (1944)
26. T.	Francisco Pizarro died (1541) Richard Crooks born (1900)	2nd Int'l Film Festival, Locarno, Switz. Royal Windsor Horse Show, Windsor, Eng.	UN Charter signed, San Francisco (1945) Eshower commands U.S. forces, Eur. (1942)
27. F.	Helen Keller born (1880) Charles S. Parnell born (1846)	U. S. Track & Field Championships, S. Lake Royal Scot. Acad. Exhibit, Edinburgh	Wilkie nominated for President (1940) Axis columns 100 miles in Egypt (1942)
28. S.	Rousseau born (1712) Archd. Francis ass'tated (1914)	Scandinavian Surgeons Congress, Stockholm Scap Box Derby, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Treaty of Versailles signed (1919) Weeds seeding. Mow them down, O. Farmer's
29. S.	Paderewski died (1941) Rubens born (1577)	Europ. Auto Race, Spa-Franc-Champs, Belg. Des Moines Festival, Des Moines, Iowa	Golly Pitcher made a sergeant (1778) Wilson sailed for home from France (1919)
30. M.	Harold J. Laski born (1893) Wilfred Pelletier b. (1896)	British Open Golf Champ., Hoylake, Eng. Am. Library Assoc. Conv., San Francisco	Bikini bomb test (1946) Pillory abolished in England (1837)

*Food and Agriculture Org.

‡European Central Inland Transport Org.

†International Labor Org.

** International Civil Aviation Org.

International Telecommunications Union
† World Health Org.



La Palix



THE STATE OF WORLD DIPLOMACY

THE outstanding—as well as the most unexpected—diplomatic development of recent weeks which is likely to have far-reaching repercussions the world over is the growing understanding between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. This rapprochement had its quiet start when Foreign Secretary Bevin called on Premier Stalin in the early days of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers.

A second step toward the elimination of Russo-British differences was made during the London visit of a delegation of Supreme Soviet deputies. Their journey was seized upon by both sides to conduct a series of important conferences during the course of which numerous political and economic aspects of Russo-British relations were examined.

The cordial welcome extended by British M.P.'s to their Soviet colleagues induced Vassili Kuznetsov, leader of the Russian delegation, to send to the Speaker of the House of Commons a farewell message couched in unusually warm terms.

Trade Talks

EVEN more significant was the trip to Moscow of the British Secretary for Overseas Trade, James Harold Wilson. The purpose of his mission was to initiate a series of preliminary talks with his Soviet counterpart Anasthasius Mikoyan, concerning the possibilities of increased trade between the two countries. While Wilson was not empowered to conclude a formal trade agreement at this time, he was nevertheless commissioned to "facilitate the negotiation of specific contracts between the buyers and sellers on both sides."

In the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, His Majesty's Government is "especially concerned that everything possible should be done to bring about resumption of the flow of those raw materials, such as timber, which Britain used to import from Russia and the Baltic States before the war." The Soviet Government has also expressed its desire to obtain from Britain sizable supplies of machinery and equipment which Russia urgently needs for reconstruction.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RAPPROCHEMENT

A TIMETABLE OF INTERNATIONAL RADIO

DIPLOMATIC NOTES

Washington Reaction

COMING at a time when Russo-American relations continue to be strained, the British move could not fail to attract considerable attention in Washington. Several informal delegations representing important American business interests long engaged in lucrative trade with the Soviet Union are reported to have recently called at the State and Commerce Departments requesting a "clarification" of Russo-American relations with a view to a possible resumption of U. S. trade with the U.S.S.R. The current developments again seem to confirm Maxim Litvinov's well-known thesis that "trade usually precedes political rapprochement."

NOMEN NON EST OMEN

ONE of Washington's most consistently right Ambassadors is named Wrong—Hume Wrong of Canada. To complicate matters—or is it to counter-balance them?—Mr. Hume Wrong's Third Secretary is none other than Mr. Hume Wright.

Just to provide further proof that *nomen non est omen*, Lieut. Colonel W. P. Careless of the British Embassy is generally regarded by the fraternity of military attachés as the most conscientiously careful of men.

"VOICE" VS. THE VOICES

WHEN Washington diplomats speak of "The Voice," they do not refer to Frank Sinatra but to the international broadcasting program of the State Department, known to thousands of overseas listeners as "The Voice of America." It must come as a surprise to both proponents and opponents of short-wave transmission of American programs—concurrently the subject of Congressional controversy over whether funds should be supplied to continue them—that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union lead the world

in the volume of international broadcasting.

A survey prepared by the State Department's own Office of Public Affairs reveals that the British Empire is the world's foremost international broadcaster. It consumes approximately 26 per cent of a monthly total of 4,275 hours during which short-wave transmitters of some 50 nations beam news, views and music to the world at large.

BBC in the Lead

THE British Broadcasting Corporation is the world's greatest single consumer of the air waves with 16.56 per cent of the total, beaming its well-balanced and objective short-wave programs to as many as 12 different "targets" simultaneously and broadcasting in no fewer than 69 languages, including Japanese, Malayan, Siamese, Hindustani—and even Kyoyu.

France and the French Union jointly occupy second place with a little over 12 per cent, while the United States trails in third place with nine per cent of the monthly total. The Soviet Union brings up the rear. Radio Moscow and its affiliated short-wave stations consume only six per cent in a purely quantitative analysis of international broadcasting. However, a qualitative analysis of Soviet broadcasts to Europe, conducted by Mallory Browne of the *New York Times* and quoted by the State Department, found that Soviet propaganda is "almost everywhere the most active and the most effective. Britain and United States are a bad second and third, with France an also-ran."

Contrary to popular belief, the Soviet Union is no longer going "full beam ahead." Soviet international broadcasting reached its peak in May 1944, when 90 hours and 44 minutes of short-wave transmissions were beamed daily in 37 languages through 15 stations.

International Sports

THE FIGHT OVER AMATEURISM

BY WALTER BYERS

Today the U.S.S.R. broadcasts only 42 hours and ten minutes daily in 30 languages, even though the number of transmitters was increased to 18. Next to Europe and the Far East, North America receives the greatest attention from Radio Moscow, which sends a daily four hours and 30 minutes to the U. S. and Canada. Two hours are allotted to India, while three and a half hours are devoted to the Near East, with broadcasts in Turkish, Iranian and Arabic.

DIPLOMATIC NOTES

A MYSTERIOUS political testament left by King II of Greece is kept in the vaults of Athens' Royal Palace. . . . Serious disagreement within the Argentine Government over Señora de Perón's European trip may lead to the resignation of Foreign Minister Atilio Bramuglia who might well be succeeded by Dr. Oscar Ivanissevitch, Perón's personal physician and Washington Ambassador. . . . The Arab League is supporting Viet Nam and Madagascar rebels against France, but acknowledges with thanks France's qualified aid in their fight against Jewish immigration into Palestine. . . . A pamphlet exposing the Grand Mufti's pro-Nazi war record has been banned by the British authorities in Jerusalem. . . . The new global commitments of the United States were reflected in the fact that while an American "task force" visited Turkey, another fleet unit called on Australia at Sydney harbor. . . . In a large-scale drive to rid China of the opium scourge, remnant of Japanese imperialism, dangerous drugs valued at Hong Kong \$2500,000 were dumped into the sea.

The liberation of Ethiopia was celebrated with renewed demands for the annexation of Eritrea, a former Italian colony. . . . Due to overcrowding of the detention camps on Cyprus, new camps for "illegal" immigrants to Palestine will be established in Tripolitania. . . . The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union has definitely set January 10, 1948, as opening date of the oft-postponed IX Inter American Conference in Bogota. . . . Ellis O. Briggs is most prominently mentioned to succeed Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden.

Two old international friends, Bo Lindman of Sweden and Avery Brundage of the United States, have succeeded in arguing a simple question of morals into a prickly world problem which already has damaged post-war sports amity. Now, fueled by the tempers of these two veteran sports leaders, it threatens preparations for the XII Olympiad at London in 1948.

The question of morals, of whether an athlete should receive money for representing his nation on the sporting field, has been a bogey since the days of the ancient Olympic games at Elis, Greece. It provoked hot words in 1894 when the kindly Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France founded the modern Olympics and with it the classic definition of amateurism which has ruled for more than half a century.

But now, 53 years later, Lindman and his supporters are demanding a change. National pride, an unmatched postwar eagerness to defeat other nations in sports, has spurred the outbreak. Some nations feel they cannot muster their best athletes on the field without some type of payment. A slight sacrifice of the original creed (sports for sport's sake, alone) is not too big a price to pay for international victories, they argue.

Lindman, Sweden's athletic spokesman, although he has retired as president of the *Svenska Idrottsförbundet* (Swedish Athletic Association), is leader of the Scandinavian bloc and has rallied the Northern countries to his cause for "broken time" payments to athletes. These payments would cover the time athletes lose from their jobs while competing for their nations in international competition.

Brundage, a contractor whose beliefs are as sturdy as the skyscrapers he has erected throughout Chicago, declares that as long as he is head of the U. S. Olympic Association

and a member of the International Committee, Sweden isn't going to pay its athletes kronor, nor the U. S. its men dollars, and still call them amateurs.

France is a strong supporter of Brundage's determination to stick to true amateurism. And Great Britain was a firm ally until this spring when, disturbed by repeated international defeats, its sports leaders admitted there was some logic to "rigidly controlled" payments for athletes.

Russia, which for the first time has announced that it wants to play international sports, already has chosen its side in the argument, but cannot pitch in until the International Amateur Athletic Federation—ruling body of world amateur sports—acts on its application.

Russia has made no secret of its stand—since it has long paid its athletes and given bonuses for record-breaking performances. It was an unexpected concession when the Soviet leaders, in applying for I.A.A.F. membership, said they would comply with the world amateur rules. But Russia is just as eager as Bo Lindman to have those rules altered.

Lindman is pressing the issue. With the recent addition of Belgium, Iceland and Czechoslovakia as supporters, he has forced an "extraordinary" meeting of the I.A.A.F. Congress for this month in London to chart a course for a later Olympic Committee meeting. He has even threatened to pull Sweden's athletes out of the I.A.A.F.



LINDMAN





BRUNDAGE


WORLD RADIO

High spots from the month's world radio: Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay are joining in a concerted effort to combat communism . . . The Japanese hold a "World Peace Conference" of religious sects . . . A French commentator is angry at the thought of the return to Germany of ex-Chancellor Bruening . . . The Basque Resistance chortles over a celebration in defiance of Franco . . . Australia says "No" to Japanese trade



FRANCE

  Paris, French Home Service, commentary by Henri Benazet: "The report that Dr. Heinrich Bruening, former Chancellor of the Reich who emigrated to the United States some 15 years ago, is returning to Germany, has been officially confirmed. What is he going to do there? To oppose Schumacher, the Social Democrat, under British protection? . . . Any one of us may think whatever he wishes of Schumacher and consider him an enemy of France, but it must be admitted that after having been imprisoned by the Nazis for ten years he has, from the German point of view, a certain right to claim power in a regime that would like to appear democratic. But Bruening cannot claim even that much. He is one of the persons mainly responsible for Hitler's coming into power . . . This politician of a past era should remain in the chair kindly offered him by an American university."

CHILE

  Santiago, in Spanish to Chile: "The forthcoming meeting of the Chief Executives of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay is motivated by their common desire to draft joint plans for efficient action against Communism . . . A distinguished member of Parliament, a university professor, made the following comment: "The conference of the three Presidents is only the prelude to a conference of the foreign ministers of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in September, at which proposals will be made to eliminate Communism from all political activities. Chile's situation at this conference cannot be one of isolationism but of frank cooperation with a continental policy."


INDIA

  New Delhi, Indian Home Service: "Jamal Hussein (a nephew of the Grand Mufti and prominent leader of the Higher Arab Committee) has just announced that an Arab delegation will shortly visit the Soviet Union to propagandize the cause of Palestine. He also said that a delegation composed of Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian members will go to South America on an identical mission. Hussein himself hopes to go to the United States."



AUSTRALIA

  Melbourne, in English to Australia: "Referring to reports that the United States would resume trade with Japan on July 15, Prime Minister Chifley stated that Australia will not follow the American example. For the time being, the Prime Minister said, his country will confine its trade with Nippon to the importation of those Japanese commodities of which there is a shortage in Australia. All these purchases will be made through the Supreme Allied Command. Full-scale trading between the two countries will be resumed only after the settlement of the Japanese peace treaty, but even then no finished goods will be bought."

BASQUE UNDERGROUND

  Radio Euzkadi, the "Voice of the Basque Resistance," a clandestine radio station, in Spanish: "The celebrations at the Montserrat Monastery have been the strongest demonstrations of Catalan nationalism since the end of the Civil War. All the religious ceremonies with the sole exception of the sermon of the officiating archbishop were conducted in Catalan. On the eve of the celebrations, several Catalan flags were painted on the rocks near the monastery. The 50,000 pilgrims who attended the ceremonies saw the flags clearly, giving the ceremonies an added Catalan flavor, in defiance of the authorities who made great efforts to prevent this from happening."



TURKEY

  Ankara, in Arabic to the Near East, quoting a Baghdad correspondent: "The Iraqi government of Salih Jabr is waging a campaign against Communism to the same extent as that of ex-premier Nuri es-Said. In the Iraqi Parliament, Jabr declared: 'We shall resume our struggle against dangerous propaganda and destructive ideologies in the country. The Government cannot possibly, after having found that a Communist hotbed exists in the country, resume the work of rehabilitation before uprooting Communist activities. Therefore those who participate in Communist activities will be tried summarily by Special Courts established for this sole purpose.'"


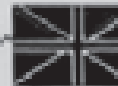
ITALY

  Rome, in English to North America: "According to a report from Rio de Janeiro, the head of one of the most important Italian airplane and automobile works, Francisco Caproni, is on his way to Argentina. Signor Caproni revealed that he was about to conclude a significant agreement for the development of the Isotta-Fraschini automobile with the aid of certain foreign capital. He added that the new Isotta-Fraschini plans will produce new cars in Argentina with a six-cylinder engine at the rear, and with a top speed of about 100 miles per hour for passenger cars."



U. S. S. R.

  Moscow, Soviet Home Service "An All-Union competition of the Osoviakhim organization's short-wave radio transmitters has just ended. Hundreds of Soviet 'hams' had fought for the leadership in establishing the fastest and remotest two-way contacts with foreign shortwave radio amateurs. During the competitions, the Soviet 'hams' visited all the climatical belts of the globe. For example, the amateurs of the Moscow Radio Club established two-way contacts and carried out conversations with 'radio hams' of Denmark, France, Costa Rica, England, the United States, and Canada. Altogether they established two-way contacts with 42 foreign amateurs."

GREAT BRITAIN

  London, in Arabic to the Middle East: "Following the withdrawal of all British Forces to the Suez Canal Zone, the Egyptian Government informed Britons and foreigners that the wearing of military uniforms will no longer be permitted outside the Canal Zone. The measure also applies to military and naval personnel travelling by plane to their destinations via Cairo . . . Certain incidents occurred when several British and American army personnel were stopped at Cairo airport and ordered to change into mufti. Several American sailors were forbidden to enter Alexandria. Motor vehicles of the U.S. Army and Navy were stopped and the occupants asked to obtain civilian tags for their cars." (Note: Nevertheless, by special arrangement with the Egyptian Government, American personnel from the Carrier *Leyte* and accompanying war ships were permitted to enter Egypt in uniform last month.)

JAPAN

  Tokyo, Japanese Home Service: "A 'World Peace Conference,' held at the Tsukiji Hongaji Temple, was attended by some 800 representatives from all religious sects. A resolution was adopted by the general assembly expressing the hope that the United Nations would succeed in eliminating all causes of war and establishing a lasting world peace. The resolution said that the confused post-war world is placing its hope in religion as the strongest support to all movements interested in working for permanent peace."

WORLD PRESS

Highlights from the world press: Léon Blum supports Premier Ramadier's policy of eliminating Communists from the government . . . An Argentine weekly and a Yugoslav daily ascribe the Truman doctrine to U. S. domestic phenomena; the London Economist gives it qualified support . . . A Cuban writer bemoans the garb of U. S. tourists . . . Japan's Asahi likens the development of democracy to the raising of crop. . . . A Norwegian suggests Gallup polls for Norway.

LE POPULAIRE

Léon Blum, France's Elder Statesman, writing in the Socialist *Le Populaire*, Paris, gives his approval to the forced elimination of the Communists from the Ramadier Government. "It is neither possible nor conceivable that men who have voted against the Government after a solemn debate on a problem of capital importance, should continue to form part of the same Government," he says. "It is a question of respect for the Constitution and of common sense. Any other course would mean dealing the Republican Constitution a mortal blow, and covering parliamentary institutions with discredit and ridicule."

The Commonweal

Paul V. Miller, writing in *The Commonweal*, liberal U. S. Catholic weekly, on "Censorship in Japan," takes the attitude that some censorship may have been necessary at first to insure peace and assist in shaping occupation policies, but that "censorship does not coincide either with our professions or our ideals as a democratic nation." After citing a number of astonishing instances of "arbitrary and stupid censorship" and discussing the "mysterious secrecy" in which the military "cloak their operations," Miller concludes: "We can assume only that they are adopting the same fascistic methods and responding with the same lack of responsibility to the home [U. S.] government that has characterized so many military machines of the past and brought shame and reproach on the countries they represented."

The Sydney Morning Herald

The *Sydney Morning Herald* features an article by the British author J. B. Priestley under the striking title "The Danger of a Cultural Democracy." While professing his admiration for political democracy, Priestley frankly "detests" cultural democracy, or the doctrine that "the ordinary man and woman is the best judge of everything. . . . Shoddy commercialism is, of course, greatly in favor of cultural democracy, if only because one man's shilling is as good as another's. . . . The danger is that if only the lowest levels of taste and intelligence and knowledge are allowed to survive, then succeeding generations may find themselves exiled from whole worlds of wonder and delight."

DIARIO DE LA MARINA

A writer in *Diario de la Marina*, Havana newspaper, complains that instead of the traditional linens, panama hats and two-color shoes usually worn in summer, men are now wearing guayaberas, the long, loose, cotton jacket used by generations of Cuban peasants. "When we see U. S. tourists wearing guayaberas and other informal clothes that do not fit into our urban life, we realize that travel ads have led them to bring only informal clothes with them. Neither they nor the Europeans who haunt our hotels and restaurants know or care anything about our city's traditions and prestige. But it is up to us to think of that and to observe the rules of good taste which we inherited from our forefathers."

The Economist

The *London Economist*, in its leading article "The Failure of a Mission," applauds Mr. Bevin's support of the Truman doctrine "but with a vital qualification . . . the object of the tough line must be to attain general agreement, in the first place between the United States and the Soviet Union, in the second place between Britain and the Soviet Union. . . . So long as the Truman doctrine can be regarded as the starting point for an eventual understanding between the Russians and the Americans, it should have British support. But if it is to lead to a kind of indefinite phoney war with dollars and words, then Mr. Bevin, with the British people deeply divided, will have to find a way to security and prosperity within the Empire and Western Europe."

HIRLAP

Hirlap, official organ of Hungary's Small Landowners Party, quotes Msgr. Istvan Balogh, a prominent Catholic priest who is now Hungary's Secretary of State: "We wish for sincere friendship and collaboration with the Western Powers, but under no circumstances do we desire to leave, nor will we leave, the path along which the Provisional Government at Debrecen started out, when we enjoyed the confidence of the USSR. . . . We do not wish to cast away the friendship of the Soviet Union, sacrificing it for selfish aims and foolish experiments in foreign policy. Hungary could not stand another bloodletting nor could it again rise from the grave."

An editorial in the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi* cautions the people of Japan: "Our teacher of democracy is America, our democracy is coming from America, but if we don't adapt our lives to this democracy we will not have a good democratic system in our own country." Insisting that democracy cannot be imported like a piece of merchandise, the editorial likens its development to the raising of a crop in which the growth of each plant is essential. "The individual must care for these plants, protect them from weeds and insects; only then can a successful crop be expected."



An editorial signed by Michael Petrovich in the leading Belgrade daily *Politika* examines the "Truman Doctrine" and concludes that the recent American preoccupation with foreign affairs serves merely as an escape from serious domestic problems. "It is clear enough that the question at stake is not to save the democratic regimes, since neither Greece nor Turkey is a true democracy," he writes. "The American monopolies are living today, not under the fear of foreign imperialistic designs, but under the fear of an economic bankruptcy and its repercussion upon the American people."

ПОЛИТИКА

According to *Qué*, Argentine news weekly, the U. S. plan for aid to Greece and Turkey



is a move in domestic rather than international politics. "Truman the candidate for reelection in 1948, not Truman the President, spoke for the plan," says the magazine. Although the Democrats were taken aback by the recent Republican electoral victory, they have recovered from the shock. Divisions in Republican ranks have stymied their program. Of their campaign promises, only one remained: cutting the budget to reduce taxes. But the Truman Doctrine which requires large expenditures, is asking Republican plans. In addition, Truman is replacing Vandenberg as the spearhead of the country's anti-Soviet policies. "While papers like *The New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, and the Hearst and Scripps Howard chain support the Doctrine, the man in the street remains cool towards it."

Writing in the Norwegian labor paper, *Arbeiderbladet*, Nic. Stang advocates Gallup Polls

Arbeiderbladet

as a necessary supplement to political debates in shaping the policy of the administration, especially between elections. Insisting that the press has "a smaller role to play in representing public opinion than is actually believed," as witness the electoral victories of Roosevelt despite overwhelming opposition from most U. S. newspapers, the author admits that the poll "is still not perfect, and may never become perfect, but with increasing experience and technical training especially in putting questions, there is reason to believe that better results will be had."

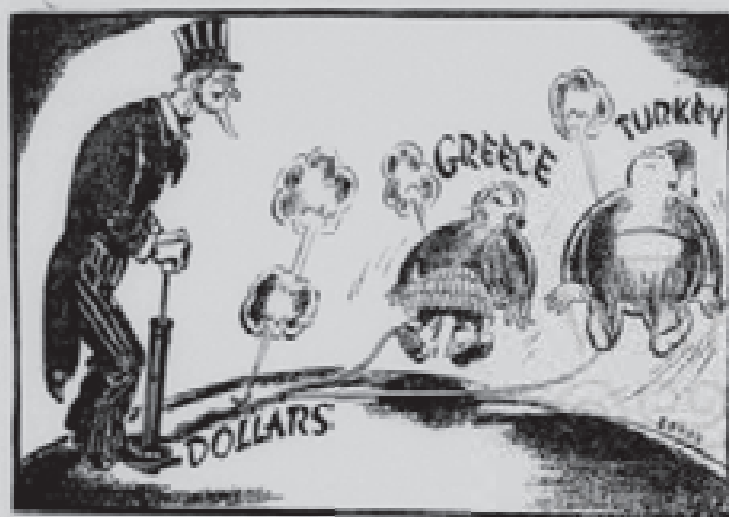


"Who says the Jews are not represented at the UN?"
HAARETZ, Tel Aviv.

POINTS OF



Miss America: "Another song, please, if you want my dough!" *WELTWOCH, Zurich.*



BALLOON BARRAGE
THE FINANCIAL TIMES, Johannesburg.



TOURISM

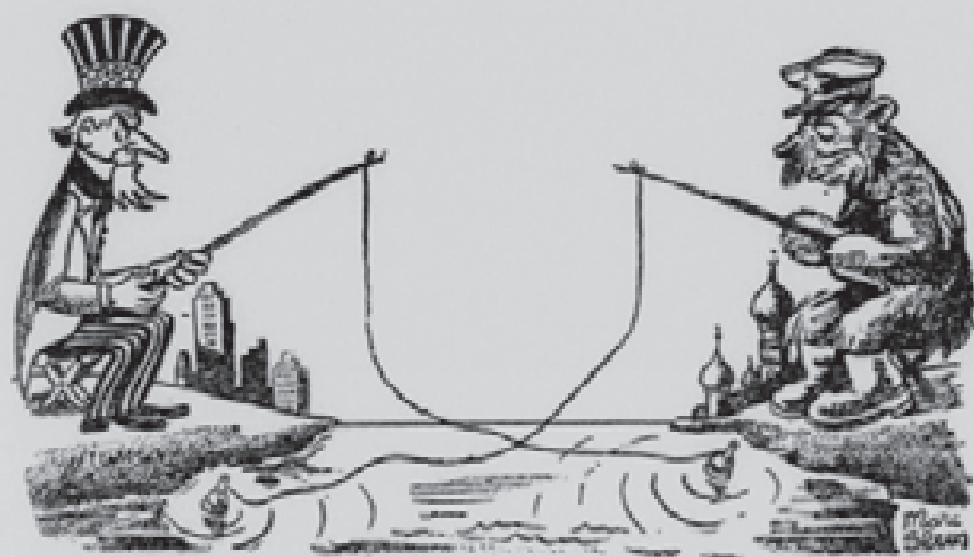
Press Report: Nazi Travel Unions in Austria operate under the guise of tourists.
 "They know us in Yugoslavia and in Greece. In fact, I don't know where we should go for our summer vacation."
JEZ, Belgrade.



THERE'S A LIMIT

Stalin: "I don't object when they attack our erratic methods, but they'd better not blame the Texas explosions on us!"
MANANA, Montevideo.

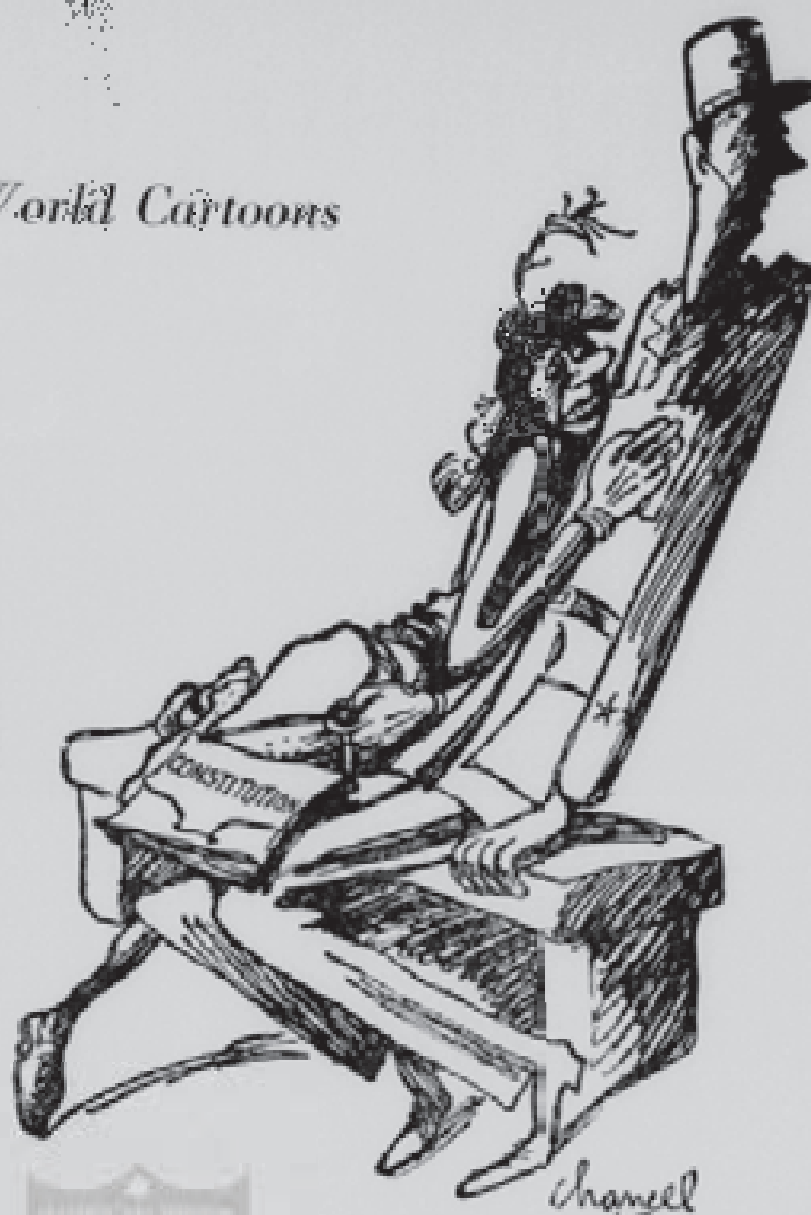
VIEW . . . A Selection of World Cartoons



THE SMART FISHERMAN.
DE NIEUWE STANDAARD, Brussels.



IN GERMANY
Roots and sprouts. EL TIEMPO, Bogotá



"Do you really want to be the last Resister of France?"
CARREFOUR, Paris.



COMMOTION IN THE GERMAN NURSERY
Education for Democracy. (Stalin's book titled: "Nursery Rhymes") FOLITIREN, Copenhagen.

BRITISH FILMS

... forge ahead

Recent British films, such as *Henry V* and *The Seventh Veil*, have in many cases won top acclaim for freshness and originality. In this article, Thomas Baird, Director of the Film Division of the British Information Service, gives some of the reasons.

By THOMAS BAIRD

BRITISH movie audiences grew critical of formula pictures through a surfeit of movie-going during the war years, when the cinema was one of the few outlets for their leisure time and money. Today they are eager for something fresh, original and diverting. And British movies have been highly successful in providing this originality. They have provided new faces, new stars and, above all, new treatments.

Popularity polls reveal that the English movie-goer would rather see the new British stars in the new British pictures than the old American stars in American routine pictures. The young British actor James Mason sprang to high popularity in *The Seventh Veil*, an exciting and original film dealing with psychiatry. His following in London now exceeds that of any other star. Stewart Granger, another new name, rides high in the popularity polls. Ann Todd and Phyllis Calvert, still relatively unknown overseas, are major stars in their homeland.

Forced to be Ingenious

JUST how British films have acquired this new originality is hard to say, but choice of story material is important. For the most part, British film writers have concerned themselves with stories set in backgrounds which they know intimately. Perhaps the closer contact with grim reality during the war has given British writers a rather more profound insight into human relations. Invention and fantasy are not absent from the films, but the major preoccupation is with the real world in which we live.

The acute shortage of studio space in Britain has forced producers to be

ingenious and economical in sets and this in turn has forced them out into actual locations. English towns have become film sets, Scottish glens and Irish moors have brought their breath of reality into films. This calls for harder work, more traveling and a dependency on variable weather but also tends to exercise the minds of producers and introduce freshness and reality not always achievable in the studio.

As for the studios, they are all near London. British actors are not forced to choose between the studio and the theater, and therefore producers have the whole array of London's West End acting talent to call upon for major and minor parts. It is easy for an actor, even while working in a play, to take part also in a film, and in many recent British pictures the smallest parts are played by distinguished and very competent players. The British cinema itself, however, has no long tradition. Pictures have been made in Britain off and on as long as in any other country but the industry has not, until recently, really prospered. This means that most of the people in it are still fresh. They have not yet settled down to repeat the successes of former years, and this makes for originality and a sense of experiment.

Henry V Taps Foreign Markets

FILMS about Shakespeare's plays have always been regarded as poison by the film industry and on the few occasions when film companies have attempted to film Shakespeare's plays, financial catastrophe followed. When Laurence Olivier decided to make *Henry V*, the project was described as folly. But Olivier went ahead and made what has been called "the best film of the year." It is one thing to make the

best film of the year and another to reap a harvest at the box office. But every penny which was jeopardized in this production has been recouped and there is no end in sight to the profits.

Both *Seventh Veil* and *Henry V* have taken substantial profits for their makers out of the worldwide market. And this is important to Britain at the moment, with its adverse trade balance. For years Britain has paid large sums to the United States so that U.S. films could be shown in Britain. No government dared to tamper with this free trade, for film-going was one of the chief relaxations of the people, and if this were curtailed there might well



Laurence Olivier in *Henry V*.

be bad effects on the public morale. Britain is asking herself how long she can afford to pay these large sums, but perhaps this question will not have to be answered, because this fresh, virile and imaginative approach to film-making is likely to pay dividends overseas.

Little Make-up, Less Heat

IT is no easy matter to make a film in England today. With all controls still maintained, materials are difficult to come by. *Henry V* had to be made in Ireland, to avoid the disturbance caused by V1's and V2's. Cellars had to be ransacked for costumes. Horses, unobtainable in England, were hired in Ireland. Paints, clothing and material were acquired through the unwilling agencies of Government departments. Today in England make-up is spread thinly and carefully. The vast studios are unheated and in cold seasons stars shiver between shots. Most of the studios were commandeered during the war, because they provided ideal stor-

age space. Thousands of tons of sugar broke the floors at Pinewood, the records of Lloyds of London were heaped up on the stages at Denham, precious equipment of the studios was commandeered by official units, laboratories were crowded with the footage from the warfronts. It took a big heart to venture a film against all these difficulties.

But with the popular success of recent British films and with the desire of the Government to earn money abroad, restrictions are being slowly lifted and, as one moves about the studios of Britain, one finds a restless activity, which is likely to produce other excellent pictures. Authors of worldwide renown are scribbling corrections or shooting scripts. *Caesar and Cleopatra*, from a script by George Bernard Shaw with Vivien Leigh playing Cleopatra, is now being shown. Noel Coward adapted his one-act play, *Still Life*, to make *Brief Encounter*.

Noel Coward's *This Happy Breed* was recently completed and Wesley Ruggles traveled from Hollywood to make *My Heart Goes Crazy*, a musical about London. James Mason will short-



Finlay Currie and Anthony Wager in *Great Expectations*.

ly be seen in *Fanny By Gaslight*, a dramatic story of Victorian England. Charles Dickens' novel *Great Expectations* has been taken off the shelf to provide one of the greatest films ever made in England, directed by David Lean, who made *Brief Encounter*. Later on he will make a new film of *Oliver Twist*. Dickens also provided the basis for *Nicholas Nickleby*, directed by the skillful Cavalcanti, with Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Fay Compton and Sybil Thorndike appearing in this timeless story.

Music is playing an increasingly important part in British films, and the piano solos by Eileen Joyce in *Seventh Veil* no doubt prompted Gainsborough Pictures to make *The Magic Bow*, in which Stewart Granger plays Paganini. In this case Yehudi Menuhin provides the music.

A Look Ahead

DAVID MACDONALD, who directed *Desert Victory*, often called the



Bernard Miles and Derek Bond in *Nicholas Nickleby*.

best film of the war, has returned to civilian film-making and has taken a unit, including Patricia Roc, to Scotland's western isles to make L.A.G. Strong's story *The Brothers*. Emeric Pressburger and Michael Powell, who are famous for a series of original films, including *The Invaders*, *Colonel Blimp* and the very successful *Stairway to Heaven*, have chosen an Indian setting in which to produce Rumer Godden's *Black Narcissus* in technicolor.

Many film production units have gone abroad. Charles Friend has taken a unit to Antarctica to recreate the adventures of Scott the explorer.

A unit will go from Gainsborough to produce *Rescue*, a story of an air crash in the Alps. David Stackpole's *The Blue Lagoon* will be produced once again and this time will be filmed in the tropics; and Derek Twist, now out of the Air Force, will go to Brazil to make *End of The River*. But the film which most people will probably look forward to is Laurence Olivier's forthcoming production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Perhaps in an attempt to avoid the difficulties in England rather than to achieve accuracy, this film will be made in Denmark.

LA PRENSA

(Continued from Page 17)

There have been a lot of silly rumors that if we were to be closed by the Government, we would go to Montevideo or somewhere else and publish the paper in exile. Those are nice-sounding phrases. Actually, that would be futile, because if the Government went so far as to close us up, it would also go so far as to prevent the entry of a *La Prensa* published abroad.

"There have also been rather strong rumors recently," Lanús continued, "to the effect that the Perón Government is preparing to expropriate the entire block where our paper is located, under pretext that the land is badly needed by the municipality. Actually, I don't think this goes beyond the realm of pure rumor. It would be too transparently direct an attack against us. And the Government considers it neither wise nor expedient to reveal its antagonism so publicly."

As regards freedom of the press, Lanús affirmed that "press freedom in Argentina is a myth."

It is against these almost insurmountable handicaps that *La Prensa* continues its lone struggle for existence as an independent, uncensored newspaper. The only other which can stand by its side in defiance of the Government is the Socialist Party's official organ, the combatively spunky, frankly and militantly oppositionist weekly, *La Vanguardia*, whose editor Américo Ghioldi is under two indictments for "contempt of the Presidential person." Meanwhile, figures disclosed in the government's official organ, *La Epoca*, show that the Perón regime was spending as of last February at least \$1,114,925 U. S. per year in keeping six Buenos Aires newspapers happy.

If Perón buys up enough papers in this manner, he may well afford to laugh at the independent or opposition press such as *La Prensa* or *La Vanguardia*. He has even found a way to make capital of *La Vanguardia's* stinging attacks each week. This paper is now rushed to a number of key embassies abroad by airmail. In Washington, for example, Argentine Embassy functionaries have used *La Vanguardia* as a means of laughing off charges of press restrictions. All such charges are invariably answered with: "Nonsense! Of course we have a free press. Just look at this latest issue of *La Vanguardia*!"

The World Bookshelf



FOR A READER'S PERSPECTIVE ON CHINA

POPULAR books on China concentrate at present on her wartime difficulties, official corruptions, economic crisis and other ugly features. While factual and occasionally without prejudice, such accounts lack the historical and cultural perspective which alone can lead to a true understanding of the Chinese situation. To see China through her war years alone is about as instructive as to see the United States through American political campaigns.

Confucianism and Taoism

FOR the foundation of a total perspective on China, one has to read China's great books, especially Confucian and Taoist classics. After all, in the past two thousand years every typical Chinese has been a combination Confucianist and Taoist. The cross current of Confucianism and Taoism runs through his entire blood stream. [Confucianism is not strictly a religion, but a humanist system of ethics. Taoism, at first a naturalistic philosophy, has become a popular "religion."] As a Confucianist, the Chinese is first and last a humanist; a reasonable, moderate, compromising, conservative person; a socio-political being with a strong conviction of the moral law. As a Taoist, he is natural, individualistic, patient, simple, humble, tolerant, intellectually impartial, spiritually free. Two hundred years of political and economic chaos and thirty years of double-barreled totalitarianism (both Nationalist and Communist) have not changed the Chinese character, and the best way to understand it is to read the Confucian Analects in English translation by James Legge or Arthur Waley, and Lao Tzu's *Tao Te Ching*. The English translation of the latter by Paul Carus is still standard and a recent version by Arthur Waley is scholarly. However, strange as it may seem, the version most helpful to the uninitiated is that by Witter Bynner, who does not read Chinese but who, from Western sources, attempted "to

acquaint Western readers with the heart of a Chinese poet whose head has been too much studied."

China's Five-Foot Shelf

THE Analects and the *Tao Te Ching* are a good beginning, but only a beginning. As a matter of fact, the meaning of these classics will not unfold until one reads their complementary volumes, namely, The Golden Mean, The Great Learning, and the works of Mencius of the Confucian school (found in Lin Yutang's *The Wisdom of Confucius*), and the celebrated Taoist classic, Chuang Tzu, translated by H. A. Giles, Fung Yu-lan or Lin Yutang. The Analects is a reservoir of Chinese wisdom in the art of government and social relations. But it is in the complementary classics that one finds the Confucian, and therefore Chinese, synthesis of political, social, educational, moral and religious ideals which have been guiding stars of Chinese cultural development for two thousand years. They were the main inspiration for the Neo-Confucian movement from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. Mencius influenced Tang and Sung scholars as much as, if not more than, the Analects.

Similarly, Chuang Tzu takes the reader to a higher vista of Taoism. The literary beauty of Chapter One and the philosophical insight of Chapter Two have always fascinated the Chinese. They have taught them a sense of romantic abandonment, liberality of mind, a relativistic approach to opinions and values, a transcendental spirit, intense love of nature and a sweet mellowness in spite of all the hardships in life.

Twenty Centuries of Culture

THERE are people who think that Confucianism and Taoism are dead. A hundred years of onslaught by Christian missionaries and thirty years of attack by China's own intellectual rebels and Communists have destroyed

these traditional systems as controlling forces in Chinese life. But Confucianism and Taoism have by no means been eliminated from the Chinese scene. Even Sun Yat-sen, a revolutionist and a Christian, could not ignore Confucianism in the moral foundation of his political doctrines and his governmental structure.

Perhaps the most important, creative intellectual movement in China today is the emergence of New Rationalism led by Professor Fung Yu-lan. From his *New Rationalism*, *New Ethics*, *A New Inquiry on Tao* and *A New Inquiry on Man*, it is evident that the new movement proposes to synthesize Western thought with Confucianism. Even his titles are based on Confucian classics. There is no Confucian revival in China; few expect there will be. China is now a new cultural stream into which fresh water is flowing from many sources. But, whether we like it or not, the fresh water will be colored by what has been in that stream for twenty centuries. The study of Confucianism and Taoism, therefore, remains the first step to the tower of true observation of China.

CHAN WING-TSIT.

BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTS, and the Anti-Trust Laws, by Harry Aubrey Toulmin, Jr. Cincinnati, W. H. Anderson Co. \$15.00.

This imposing tome is of practical value to two special groups—to U.S. attorneys specializing in international law and to U.S. business organizations making trade contracts abroad. The author contributes his own experience of more than thirty years as a corporation lawyer concerned with foreign trade relations and also as an officer of the U. S. Government handling business transactions between countries. He treats the problem of private international agreements from the angle of the economic and business ar-

rangements and also from the attitude of the governments controlling the parties to the agreement. In every case he warns U.S. citizens to keep their government fully advised of what they are doing and to submit copies of proposed contracts. Apparently there are many pitfalls, obstacles and disasters in the complicated field of international trade, and this comprehensive volume takes them all into account.

EUROPE

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI by Carlo Levi. New York, Farrar, Straus & Co. \$3.00.

In this sensitive book, distinguished for its simplicity and the untrimmed picture it presents of the forgotten peasants of southern Italy, Carlo Levi, anti-Fascist, artist and physician, records his year of political exile in the forlorn mountain village of Gagliano in Lucania. It was 1935, and Mussolini was on the up and up, and the Ethiopian war was on. But the villagers did not rush to arms, fired by the mayor's patriotic speeches. They stood silent and stolid even when forced to listen. Rome to them meant only taxes to starvation, a cold enemy—the State—before which they had always been helpless and beaten. The book gets its title from the peasants saying, "We're not Christians. Christ stopped at Eboli," where road and railway turn into the desolate region of Lucania. Carlo Levi warmly entered into the lives of these poor peasants, treating them when they were sick, sharing their little festivals, never condescending.

The pathos and tragedy of it—the malaria-worn bodies, the pitiless work, the meager diet and the rotten little gentry group hating one another like poison and lording it cruelly over the peasantry—all this the author describes with compassion and restraint. In the end we, too, feel that we know them—these people of Gagliano. They seem to stand as a symbol for all the mute people of the soil everywhere, fettered by ignorance and poverty, at the mercy of little tyrants who represent a bigger impersonal monster, the totalitarian State which, if uncontrolled, can swallow the world like the old dragons.

THE REPUBLIC OF SILENCE, compiled and edited by A. J. Liebling. New York, Harcourt Brace & Co. \$4.00.

Having a deep love for France and believing that "France has a great future, because France is full of great people," A. J. Liebling has compiled with devotion his book of selections written by Frenchmen between May, 1940 and September, 1944, showing the growth and strength and human qualities of the French Resistance movement. In one of his own delightful and richly understanding pieces, which add so much to the flavor of the book, he tells how a young friend of his snorts a bit contemptuously that all these efforts of individual men and women are, in this atomic age, dated already. Liebling's reply was perfect. "Courage has no date."

Courage—the courage of peasants and women, soldiers and young boys, doctors, lawyers and scholars, all Frenchmen who felt the humiliating lash of the Nazis across their country—is represented here. There are a few pieces by well known writers. But mostly these selections are the brief epics of obscure patriots who wrote for the under-

ground papers, as they lived, in constant risk of torture and death.

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND by Allen Welsh Dulles. New York, Macmillan. \$3.00.

This is a more or less formal history of the underground movement against Nazism in Germany. It traces the anti-Hitler movement through its various stages, starting with the July 20, 1944 plot, and working its way backward and forward from that date. There are interesting sketches both of famous anti-Nazis such as von Stauffenberg, Leuschner, Leber and von Moltke and of top Nazis. Mr. Dulles acknowledges the debt the Allies have toward the few who are still living and the many who lost their lives fighting Hitlerism. In addition, his book is a warning to those who just sit by and take no interest in what is going on about them.

THE GREEK DILEMMA, War and Aftermath, by William Hardy McNeill. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$3.50.

This book by the U.S. Assistant Military Attaché in Greece from November 1944 to June 1946, covers the political upheaval in that country from the Italian invasion on October 28, 1940 through the return of the late King George II on September 28, 1946. The concluding chapters present a brief analysis of Greece's territorial disputes with her neighbors today, her position as "an unwilling pawn of Great Power politics" and her economic and political disorganization. The book was finished before President Truman's declaration of U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey. However, perhaps because of the overwhelming amount of data it attempts to cover, it emerges more as a listing of events than as an interpretation of Greek history. Thus the reader does not acquire a sufficient grasp of the petilous condition of Greek economy, or of the ideological struggles between Leftists and Constitutional monarchists, between those who want freedom from British influence and those who fear Slavic domination.

PAUL HYMANS, UN HOMME, UN TEMPS (Paul Hymans, the Man and His Era) by Robert FENAU. Brussels, Office de Publication. \$2.50.

The author, a counselor of the Belgian Foreign Ministry and professor of diplomatic history at the Institute Supérieur de Commerce, was confidant and aide to Paul Hymans, the noted Belgian statesman. He describes with a devotion that is equaled only by his objectivity the role which Hymans played in Belgian and European diplomacy for more than a half century. Dr. Fenaux's book is especially valuable for its documentation, which includes a comprehensive bibliography of contemporary history.

STATISTISK AARBOG (Statistical Yearbook) and FOLKEMAENGE OG ADMINISTRATIV INDELING 1946 (Population Studies by Administrative Divisions). Copenhagen, Det Statistiske Department. \$1.00 each.

Before the war, Denmark's Royal Statistical Department was known throughout the world as an outstanding research institute for population studies. German occupation with its attendant intellectual hardships pre-

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vented the Danes from publishing their annual reports. With the defeat of the Germans and the departure of the Nazi oppressors from Denmark, the Danish Government moved to reorganize its Statistical Department. The publication of these two volumes reveals that Danish statisticians are still among the leaders of their profession.

UNITED STATES

OUR VICHY GAMBLE by William L. Langer.
New York, Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.75.

Three years or so ago former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, stung by the bitter criticism of the U.S. policy toward Vichy France, called on Professor Langer, Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard and at that time one of the chiefs in the Office of Strategic Services, to make a "detailed and independent" study of the Vichy policy from the Franco-German Armistice to Admiral Darlan's assassination in December, 1942. Professor Langer had at his disposal inaccessible State and War Department records, including those of his own OSS, personal help from President Roosevelt, captured German documents and many other papers. Master that he is in sifting, assembling, organizing and interpreting historical data, he has made an important contribution in his revelations of hidden diplomacy and of what was taking place behind the Vichy stage.

Professor Langer justifies the Vichy policy as the only practical one because it furnished a political and military listening-post of the highest value and provided the groundwork for the invasion of North Africa. He is contemptuous of de Gaulle and, like the State Department, minimizes the value he had as a fighting symbol for the French. One does not have to be an historian to feel that this book has over-justified our Vichy stand.

AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1947. New York, The
Gresham Press. \$3.75.

In his witty and delightful introduction Philip Wylie not only protests against the "cosmic undertaking" thrust upon him, but he insists that "the American Thinker scarcely thinks at all"—that modern Americans have the lowest record per capita for thinking in the world. Be that as it may, such thinking as is available, omitting all that is too painfully deep to follow, has been conscientiously combed for this volume, although one occasionally gets a shock at finding local-color articles on Oklahoma and Muncie, Indiana, enshrined as thought.

What one really has in this volume is an anthology of good articles on various subjects from aeronautics to zoology, which have appeared in the best quarterlies and scientific reviews. Among the contributors are some of the more vocal American "thinkers," chiefly distinguished for distilling ideas to a secondary level, but several selections stand out for originality and robustness. Of the whole the anthology is an ambitious undertaking and, if the plan works out ideally, residents of Keokuk, Iowa, should soon be familiar with the inner thought processes of Brazilians in Rio and Englishmen in Birmingham on such varied subjects as atom bombs, electronics, biology, international affairs, radio drama and psychical research.

ASIA

NO PEACE FOR ASIA by Harold R. Isaacs.
New York, Macmillan. \$3.50.

Although much of the factual information in this book has been "covered" by newspapers and magazines, as one reviewer complains, it has not been covered adequately, nor assembled in so constructive a pattern as this. Mr. Isaacs spent seven years or more in Asia as editor and correspondent.

He unrolls a very pessimistic panorama of the whole Asiatic continent, of China especially. His scorn is colossal for the treatment accorded Korea after the war both by the Russians and the Americans; for the British and French in Indo-China; the British and Dutch in Indonesia. He is scathing about the policies of all the Powers toward the weaker nations of Asia, which looked in vain for liberation and relief from their servitude to the West. Nor does he spare the United States in the attitude it has taken since the war, showing in detail the disillusionment of all Asia in the hope they had placed in American backing. Finally he does not hold out much hope for peace unless Russia and the United States give up their delusions of "security," and withdraw from their advance positions in Europe and Asia, and all countries give up their colonies. This is a forthright book by a man who knows and sympathizes with Asia and has the courage to say what he thinks.

THREE CAME HOME by Agnes Newton
Keith. Boston, Little Brown & Co. At-
lantic Monthly Press Book. \$3.00.

The many admirers of Agnes Keith's *Land Below the Wind*, that delightful and entertaining account of British life in North Borneo, which came out in 1939, have had a personal interest in what happened to her, Harry, her husband and George, the baby, under the Japanese occupation. Now she tells it all in **THREE CAME HOME**. It is a remarkable book, a classic narrative on internment under the Imperial Japanese Army, which will be read long after many of the other prison biographies of World War II are forgotten. The civilians were first hustled off to Berhala Island near Sandakan and later to Kuching on the West Coast of Borneo—the men separately from the women and children. It would be difficult to decide which place was worse. In both life was horrible with its humiliations, starvation, illnesses and cruelty of all varieties. The courage and endurance of these gently nurtured women under the most barbarous conditions and the viciousness of their Japanese overlords leave one breathless. Not only the mothers but all the women kept going, determined to stay alive for the sake of the 34 children, the spark of the future. The story is not all black. There are amusing as well as tragic moments, for Agnes Keith has too keen a perspective, too rich a sense of life itself, too sane an outlook, not to see the picture as a whole. As she says, "The Japanese in this book are as war made them, not as God did and the same is true of the rest of us." Her real horror is for war and for those who speak indifferently of "the next war."

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BREAD AND RICE by Doris Rabens. New York, Thurston Macauley Associates. \$3.00.

This is the personal experience of a young UP reporter and instructor at the University of Manila and her husband under the Japanese domination of the Philippines. It is also an expression of gratitude toward the Philippine people who did so much to help Americans stranded on their islands during their own period of travail. The story of suffering of both Americans and Filipinos is a moving one, and when Miss Rabens sticks to it her book is absorbing and lucid. When she attempts to philosophize, she does not do quite so well. Fortunately, self-appraisal and introspection are confined to very few pages, and the rest of the book is effective.

LATIN AMERICA

A TREASURY OF MEXICAN FOLKWAYS by Frances Toor. Illustrated by Carlos Mérida. New York, Crown Publishers. \$5.00.

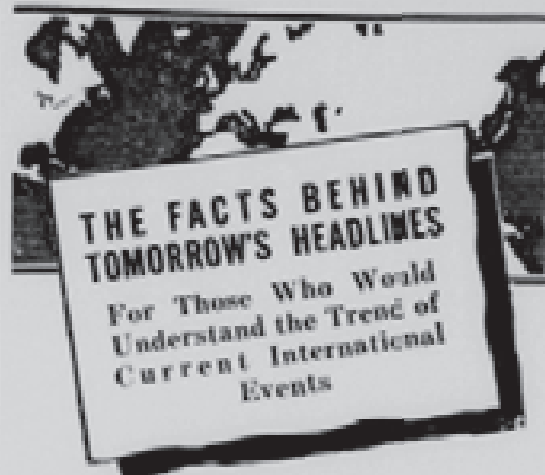
This book makes wonderful reading. Packed with descriptions of dances and fiestas, customs and ceremonies, stories of saints and bandits, it captures admirably the color and vitality of Mexico's people. It is a storehouse of information on the traditional beliefs and customs of the Mexican people, their folk and ritual arts. The text is enriched by Carlos Mérida's lavish illustrations in color, by black and white drawings and by photographs. Note to readers interested in Mexican music: The words and music of more than 100 songs, many of them never before published, are included.

THE STORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN MEXICO by Trent E. Sanford. New York, W. W. Norton & Co. \$6.00.

This volume should attract the intelligent traveler as well as the reader with a special interest in architecture. The story of architecture in Mexico reflects the history of the country. It is a story of adventure, religious faith, heroism, great hardship, exploitation, civic consciousness and creativeness. Written by an architect with many years of study and travel in Mexico, this account covers the great pyramids and ancient cities of the Indians; the buildings built by Spanish friars and conquistadores; the colonial churches, cathedrals and palaces; the homes of the people; and the modern trend in architecture. European styles transplanted to Mexico are traced. Maps, photographs and drawings illustrate the text.

CONSIDER THE LILIES OF THE FIELD by Erico Verissimo. New York, Macmillan. \$3.00.

Readers acquainted with the work of Brazil's most widely read novelist know his knack for characterization. Here he tells the story of a man's struggle against the personality scars left by the humiliations of a poverty-stricken childhood. Determined to climb to success, Eugenio Fontes, the central character of the novel, becomes a doctor and marries a rich woman, forsaking the girl he loves. Only after the shock of his lost love's death and the discovery of the daughter she concealed from him does he find himself. This is the third of Verissimo's novels to be translated into English.



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(Covers period from April 24 through May 17, 1947)

96:47 Netherlands Restricts Imports

April 24, Amsterdam

1. A "priorities committee" was established to revise the imports program in order to adjust the adverse balance of trade.

Note: The deficit in the balance of payments for 1947 was estimated at 2,234,000,000 guilders (\$843,452,000).

97:47 U. S. Note to Yugoslavia

April 24, Washington

1. Renewed request that Yugoslavia relinquish 9 Italian vessels, including the former luxury steamer *Rex*, seized when the ships were beached near Trieste.

Note: This is the second U. S. note on the subject. It challenges Yugoslavia's contentions that she has a right to the vessels, charges that the seizure was a violation of the Italian treaty and insists that the vessels be turned over to the Allied pool, under the terms of the Italian armistice.

98:47 British Ban on Home Heating

April 24, London

1. As of May 5, effective for five months, the use of gas and/or electricity for the purpose of home heating is prohibited.

Note: An acute shortage of coal (approximately 10,000,000 tons) needed for stock-building and for necessary consumption is threatened. It is hoped through conservation measures to save at least 25% in home consumption, as compared with last summer, and thus help avoid another breakdown in industrial production.

99:47 Wheat Crisis in France

April 24, Paris

1. Effective May 2, bread rations are reduced from 300 to 250 grams a day for a period of at least a year.

2. Other conservation measures include:

restriction on the sale of sandwiches and other products based on bread; compulsory closing of bakeries one day a week; and prohibition of use of wheat flour for anything but bread.

Note: Delays in deliveries from the U. S., a deficit in collections from French farmers and a disastrous frost are the causes for the wheat shortage. A deficit of 65,000 tons for this season and a shortage of at least one-fifth of next year's needs are envisaged.

100:47 Yugoslav Five-Year Plan

April 24, Belgrade

1. \$5,566,000,000 to be used in industrialization, electrification and agricultural up-building.

Note: Nearly 50% will be expended on industrial development. The plan envisages a four-fold increase in electrical production over prewar levels, the drainage of nearly 2,000,000 acres of farm land, research, cattle raising, and other improvements.

101:47 Report of International Emergency Food Council

April 24, Washington

1. A 62-page report which describes in detail the measures taken by needy countries to conserve their slim stock of grains. Basic commodities affected are: cereals, dry beans and peas, sugar, cocoa, fats and oils, protein feeds, meats and meat products, rice, fishery products and fertilizers.

102:47 Guatemala Adopts Censorship Law

April 25, Guatemala

1. Copies of all editions of all newspapers must be delivered to the Government one hour before being placed in circulation.

2. Introduction of foreign publications is prohibited.

Note: A strong protest against press censorship was directed to President Juan José Arevalo by the Inter-America Press Association of the U.S.

103:47 U.S. Note to Yugoslavia

April 24, Washington

1. Renewed request that Yugoslavia relinquish 9 Italian vessels, including the former luxury steamer *Rex*, that were seized when the ships were beached near Trieste.

Note: This is the second note on the subject. It reiterates that the seizure was a violation of the Italian peace treaty. Yugoslavia declared that the ships did not come under the Italian armistice terms because they took part in operations after the armistice. The U.S. contention is that ships which fought after the armistice are not to be exempted.

104:47 U. S. Naval Vessels Transferred to China by Executive Order

April 26, Washington

1. At the request of the Chinese Government, and under authority of Public Law 512, approved July 16, 1946, President Truman ordered the transfer of naval vessels, not to exceed 271, to China together with plans, and personnel to train the Chinese in their use, not to exceed 100 officers and 200 enlisted men. The personnel are, however, forbidden to accompany Chinese troops, aircraft, or naval vessels "on other than training maneuvers or cruises."

105:47 Hungary Requests Membership in UN

April 26, Lake Success

1. Formal request for admission of Hungary to membership in the UN was made by the Hungarian Minister to Washington in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter, and the preamble to the Hungarian treaty.

Note: To date only Britain has ratified the Hungarian treaty. Before the UN can act on the application the treaty will have to bear the required number of ratifications.

106:47 MacArthur Statement on Japanese Elections

April 27, Tokyo

1. The Japanese constitution is among the most liberal and progressive national charters in the world.

2. The masses are raised from practical slavery of totalitarianism to the status of free men.

3. The Japanese people have "chosen a moderate course sufficiently centered from either extreme to insure the preservation of freedom and the enhancement of individual dignity."

4. "I have faith that they will not fail their new obligation."

107:47 Anglo-Polish Trade Agreement

April 27, London

1. A three-year agreement provides that Poland will import \$140,000,000 worth of British wool, rubber, tin and other capital goods and materials from Britain. Britain will purchase \$92,000,000 worth of foodstuffs, textiles, furniture and coal from Poland.

2. Of the \$28,000,000 Polish gold reserve in England, Britain will accept \$8,000,000 in part payment, \$16,000,000 in payment of Polish debts in Britain; the balance of \$4,000,000 will be returned to Poland.

Note: This represents the first time that a country within the Soviet sphere of influence has signed a trade agreement with one of the Western powers.

108:47 Marshall's Report to U. S. on Moscow Conference

April 28, Washington

1. Disagreements which appeared in the negotiations for the Italian and Balkan treaties came into sharp focus and remained unsolved. Among the problems were: the degree of centralization of the future German state; the character of Germany's economic system and its relation to all of Europe; the character and extent of reparations; the boundaries for the German state; and the manner in which all Allied states at war with Germany are represented in the drafting and confirmation of the treaty.

2. Negotiations on Austria resulted in agreement on all but a few basic points, chief of which was the Soviet demand for German assets in Austria, regarding which there was a disagreement in definition, and it is hoped that cooperation from the Soviet will be forthcoming in future conferences and a final settlement reached. "Possibly greater progress toward final settlement was made than is realized."

3. The positions are now clearly defined.

109:47 Indian Assembly Outlaws "Untouchability"

April 29, New Delhi

1. The Constituent Assembly adopted the following provision from the report of the Fundamental Rights Committee: "Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offense."

Note: There are more than 50,000,000 "untouchables" in India. They are required to do work that other Hindus consider "unclean," such as sweeping, scavenging, tanning, etc.

110:47 U. S.—Nepal Treaty of Trade and Friendship

April 29, Washington

1. U. S. recognizes independence of the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal.

2. Establishes exchange of diplomatic and consular representation, minimum standard of treatment of American nationals who may go to Nepal, and the rule of nondiscrimination in future commercial relations between the two countries.

Note: The State Department announced that no office would be established by the U. S. in Nepal or by the Nepalese in the U. S. but that relations would be conducted through the Nepalese legation in London and consulate general in New Delhi.

111:47 U. S.—Argentina Air Pact

May 1, Washington

1. Signed on the basis of the principles of free competition agreed upon between Britain and the U. S. at the Bermuda Conference of 1946.

Note: Argentina reversed her former policy of insisting on the principle of division of air traffic which blocked agreement in previous negotiations. This is the 30th air pact to be signed by the U. S. in setting up globe-girdling facilities for commercial air lines.

112:47 Marshall Note to Molotov Re: Korea

May 2, Washington

1. In answer to letter from U.S.S.R. accepting proposal to reconvene Joint Commission, reiterates statement of April 8: "the Joint Commission should be charged with expediting its work under the terms of the Moscow Agreement on a basis of respect for the democratic right of freedom of opinion." (See World Files, May).

2. No democratic organization is to be excluded from giving its views because of its opinion past or present.

3. Interprets the U.S.S.R. position with respect to "establishment of 'democratic authority agencies' throughout Korea as referring to local, provincial and national government agencies, chosen . . . by means of free elections . . ."

4. Welcomes Russian assurances regarding aid in restoration of Korea as an independent democratic state and in her rehabilitation.

112a:47 Molotov Reply to Marshall Re: Korea

May 10, Moscow

1. Accepts American position on participation of Korean political elements in a provisional Korean government, and announces readiness to resume talks.

Note: On May 13 Secretary Marshall informed the U.S.S.R. that he was satisfied with its reply.

113:47 China Agrees to Negotiate Lend-Lease Settlement

May 2, Washington

1. China received an aggregate of more than \$1,500,000,000 in lend-lease from the U. S.

2. Negotiations will cover the settlement of lend-lease, other wartime obligations of the two Governments, unadjusted surplus of war-

property transactions and other financial claims growing out of the war.

Note: It is expected that the settlement will follow the same pattern as the British settlement. In addition to lend-lease the U. S. made a loan to China of \$500,000,000 in 1942.

114:47 Report of Military Staff Committee on UN "Police Force"

May 4, Lake Success

In accordance with Articles 42, 43, 44 and 45 of the UN Charter, the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council issued a report on the "General Principles Governing the Organization of the Armed Forces Made Available to the Security Council by Member Nations of the UN." The report consists of ten chapters, including 41 articles, of which 25 were the subject of general agreement. On 16, there were differences, chiefly under the heads of: composition of the contingents; withdrawal of armed forces; bases; location of UN forces; and subordinate leadership.

1. *U.S., U. K., France and China:* For proportional allotment of armed forces according to the strength of armed forces of the individual members.

U.S.S.R. For equal allotment.

2. *U.S., U. K., France and China:* For withdrawal of forces as soon as task is completed; time to be set by Security Council.

U.S.S.R. Time limit of 30 to 90 days to be set in agreement.

3. *U.S., U.K., China:* "A general guarantee of rights of passage and of the use of such member nations' available bases as are required by armed forces operating under the Security Council; and specific provisions covering details of bases and other assistance and facilities, including rights of passage."

France: Special agreements will indicate bases, etc. If necessary, member nations may be called upon to indicate other bases, facilities, etc. for use of the Security Council. Specific agreements will indicate duration and other conditions involved in the exercise of rights thus extended to the armed forces of the Security Council.

U.S.S.R. Special agreements will indicate the "assistance and facilities, including the rights of passage" to be made available to the S.C. by member nations. Special agreements will indicate the duration and other conditions at an appropriate time.

Interpreting the UN Charter literally, the U.S.S.R. contends that "assistance and facilities" does not include bases.

4. *U.S., U.K., China:* Armed forces when not employed by the Security Council will be based "at the discretion of member nations in any territories or waters to which they have legal access."

France: Specifies that such forces may be stationed in the general locations governed by special agreements between the Security Council and the member nations.

U.S.S.R.: Such forces to be based within the frontiers of the contributing member, except where otherwise specified in Article 107 of the Charter.

5. *U.S., U.S.S.R. and China:* Over-all commander or commanders to be appointed by Security Council on advice of Military Staff Committee.

6. *U. K. and France:* In addition to above,

Security Council to appoint subordinate commanders on advice of Military Staff Committee.

Note: See "State of World Organization" page 39.

115:47 U. S. Proposes New Agreement to Panama for Bases

May 5, Washington

1. To be based on the 1936 treaty covering sites needed to defend the canal.

Note: Bases were built at 134 sites in Panama during World War II, some of which were outside the 10 mile limit of the Canal Zone; 98 of these have been returned to Panama. There has been some misunderstanding as to the interpretation of the agreement, and it is proposed that these differences be resolved.

116:47 Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg Adopt Measures to Blend Economies

May 6, Brussels

1. Effective Sept. 1, a common customs schedule will be effective.

2. Tax systems of Belgium and Netherlands will be studied to bring about closer harmony, and trade agreements are to be signed.

3. Under an existing agreement the Dutch are to purchase 328,000,000 florins (\$123,984,000) worth of Belgian goods and the Belgians to purchase 180,000,000 florins (\$68,040,000) worth of Dutch merchandise.

4. Netherlands is to have five years to pay, and is to guarantee 60,000,000 florins (\$22,680,000) to encourage the forthcoming trade negotiations.

5. Belgium and the Netherlands will make a concerted drive against smuggling.

117:47 U. S. and Soviet Exchange Scientists

May 6, Washington

1. Five meteorologists are to be exchanged, according to a Soviet proposal accepted by the U. S.

Note: This is the beginning of what may turn out to be a broad program of cultural interchange between the two countries. Recently the U. S. proposed the reciprocal exchange of 50 scholars in the fields of astronomy, medicine, chemistry, botany, music and history. To date no reply has been forthcoming from Moscow.

118:47 Truman Note to Marshall on Peace Treaties

May 6, Washington

1. Authorizes Marshall to advise Congress of presidential concurrence with the Italian and three satellite treaties (Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian) regardless of situation arising from inability to agree on Austrian treaty at Moscow. The U. S. should not unilaterally withhold approval of these treaties, if it is to maintain leadership in world affairs.

119:47 Britain Notifies Creditors that War Debt Balances Must be Scaled Down

May 6, London

1. Addressing the Brazilian Chamber of Commerce in London, Hugh Dalton, Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, announced that Britain was determined on obtaining drastic reductions in its sterling debt on "balances" resulting from wartime commitments to various Allied powers.

2. It is unfair to make the British carry a load greater even than that which the Germans or Japanese would have to bear.

3. Had lend-lease been applied as it was in the case of the U. S., "by far the greater part of these debts would never have been charged up against us."

Note: British war debts amount to more than £3,000,000,000 (\$12,000,000,000).

120:47 Brazil Bans Communist Party

May 7, Rio de Janeiro

1. The Brazilian Communist party was outlawed by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal by a vote of three to two.

Note: President Dutra also decreed the suspension for six months of the Communist-supported Brazil Workers Confederation and all its affiliated labor unions.

121:47 Allied Claims in Japan to be Paid

May 8, Washington

1. According to a decision of the Far Eastern Commission, property of United Nations' nationals might be destroyed or removed in the disarming of Japan, and owners will be entitled to full compensation for value at the time of the destruction.

122:47 Federation of Indo-China Accord Signed

May 8, Paris

1. Cochinchina, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam Republic are joined into a single economic federation under French and Indo-Chinese control. These states are to develop a common economic policy, fund for public services and import and export program to be drawn up for the joint interests of the member states and the French Overseas Union as a whole.

Note: This is the first of a series of agreements needed to convert the French prewar empire into the French Overseas Union as set up in the new French Constitution.

123:47 Greeks Accept U. S. Amnesty Suggestion

May 10, Athens

1. In a note to the U.S. Ambassador, the Greek Government accepted a U.S. suggestion of an internationally supervised general amnesty for Greece's estimated 15,000 guerrillas. However, the note stipulated that the plan for UN supervision of amnesty be withdrawn.

Note: Both extreme right and extreme left in Greece reacted violently to what they termed "American interference."

124:47 Dutch-Borneo Autonomy Pact Signed

May 12, Pontianak

1. Borneo to be a self-governing territory within the United States of Indonesia (see Cheribon Agreement in World Files, May).

125:47 Mexico Signs Economic Agreements with U. S.

May 13, Washington and Mexico City

1. U.S. will buy \$50,000,000 worth of pesos within four years beginning July 1. This will extend and enlarge the stabilization program set up Nov. 1, 1941.

2. \$50,000,000 loan to be granted by Export-Import Bank for the development of projects aimed at an improvement of the balance-of-payments position of Mexico.

126:47 Special Session of UN General Assembly Appoints Committee on Palestine

May 15, Lake Success

Special 11-nation committee was appointed to prepare report on Palestine question for consideration at the Assembly's next regular session in September. Members: Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

The terms of reference provide that the committee shall—

1. Have the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine.

2. Determine its own procedure.

3. Conduct investigations in Palestine, and wherever it may deem useful, receive and examine written or oral testimony, whichever it may consider appropriate in each case, from the mandatory power, from representatives of the population of Palestine, from governments and from such organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary.

4. Give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

5. Prepare a report to the General Assembly and submit such proposals as it may consider appropriate for the solution of the problem of Palestine.

6. Communicate its report to the Secretary-General not later than Sept. 1.

Note: The vote on the above terms of reference was 45 to seven. The "nones" comprised: Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Turkey. Siam abstained. Haiti and Philippines were absent.

127:47 Yugoslavia Agrees to Negotiate Lend-Lease Settlement

May 16, Washington

1. Negotiations to begin on May 19 to settle \$32,000,000 lend-lease account with Yugoslavia.

2. Readjustments regarding Yugoslav assets frozen in the U.S. and American property in Yugoslavia will be discussed.

128:47 Wider Powers Granted German Bizonal Agencies.

May 17, Berlin

Agreement includes:

1. Creation of a Bizonal Economic Council to coordinate and possibly supervise the work of the economic committees already in existence.

2. A grant of direct executive powers to the existing committees for the control of production and distribution of certain specific commodities.

A GLIMPSE OF *Switzerland*

In the center of devastated Europe, democratic Switzerland, still intact and well-regulated, offers the traveler not only wonderful scenery and weather but one of the world's best transportation systems, plenty of luxury consumer goods, stable politics, an international outlook and—not least of all—peace of mind.

BY PAUL HÉNISSART

Crossing the French-Swiss border at Basle, Switzerland's second largest city, I was immediately struck by the contrast with devastated France. In the Basle main railroad terminal, well-dressed, active, robust people were waiting for electric-powered trains that slid in and out regularly, on time, with a minimum of confusion. A station attendant was hawking bananas, oranges and figs—fruits not readily found anywhere else in Europe in this second postwar year. From my coach window, I could make out the orderlly, normal bustle of city life.

To appreciate Switzerland's position today, economically and politically, an American traveler might do well to enter as I did, via France. Then he will be able to compare the Swiss political economy with that of other European countries as well as with that of contemporary America. Today, Switzerland with its high standard of living and undeadly politics superficially resembles the United States in the "era of normalcy," when bull markets, optimism and prosperity held sway. Nevertheless, by virtue of its geography, tradition, manners and outlook, it is still a European land, continuing to reflect a heritage which its neighbors, in the course of internecine

strife, revolutions and two grand-scale wars, have largely dissipated.

Why Travelers Like Switzerland

EVEN in Basle, I began to discover the especial appeal of Switzerland for the traveler in these postwar days.

First, with regard to the much-acclaimed natural scenery, the Swiss National Tourist Office is, if anything, too modest. Possibly only color photographs can do justice to the variegated panorama of snow-capped mountains, blue lakes and green pastureland. The singular diversity, alternating brusquely from the rolling lowlands around Fribourg to the jagged peaks of the Bernese Oberland, only some 37 miles distant, makes the terrain ideal for winter and summer sports alike.

Then the Swiss Federal Railways is surely one of the most rapid, efficient and punctual transportation systems in the world. Locomotives are new or in fine repair. Almost any trip by rail in Switzerland takes one through breath-takingly grand country. Rail fares are inexpensive, and even third-class coaches are invariably clean, airy and easy-riding.

Another attraction is surely the abundance of luxury consumer goods with which the shops are stocked. Ger-

man cameras and photographic supplies, typewriters and, above all, precision watches and chronometers are for sale in seemingly unlimited supply. The world-renowned handiwork of Patek-Phillippe, Omega, Rolex, Longine, Eterna and Gynas, to mention a few, can be seen in a thousand watchmakers' show-windows most of which display the emblem of the Swiss Watchmakers Guild—a timepiece set at five minutes to two.

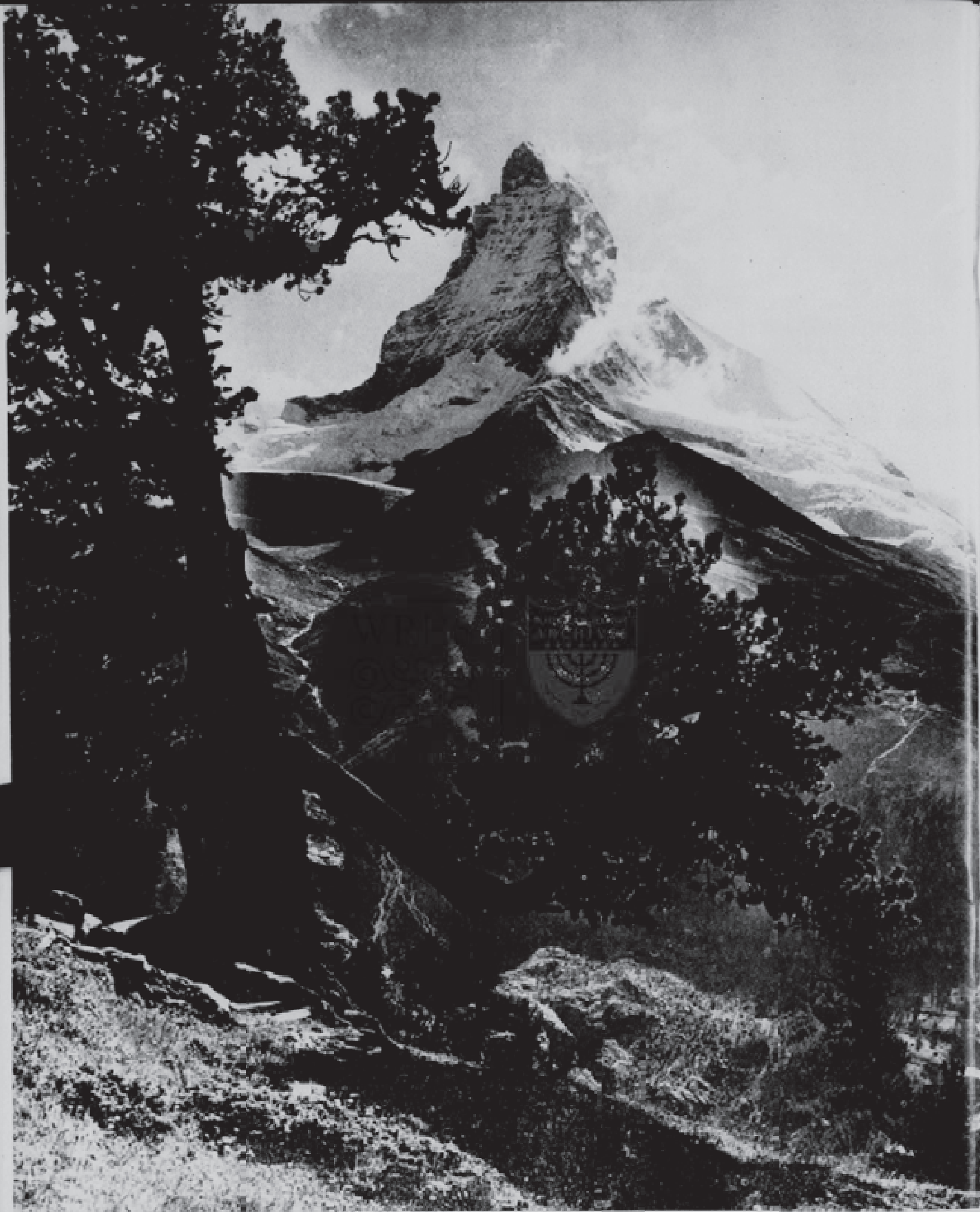
Food and wine too are plentiful. Chocolates, candies and pastries in confectioners' windows attract scarcely a glance. Both dark and light beer are on draft at every café, as well as imported prewar French wines and apéritifs. Even *pernod* is obtainable. In Geneva, in any one of the restaurants along the esplanade facing the lake, one can order a tasteful, ample dinner with wine for eight francs (\$1.33). The most astonishing feature of Swiss economy is, however, the absence of a black market, even in cigarettes.

Weather and Politics Are Stable

STILL another of Switzerland's attractions is the stability of its weather and politics. The ardent skier or bobsleighter can make reservations at a winter sports resort such as St. Moritz or Silvaplana far ahead of time and be reasonably confident of plenty of snow, ice and bright cold days upon arrival. Farther south, Legano (and the entire Tessin), with its long sunny days, is understandably renowned

Paul Hénissart traveled extensively in Switzerland, France and Belgium before World War II and again in 1946 (adding Italy to his list) while working as a civilian writer-editor at the Paris office of Military Intelligence. Born of French parentage in New York, where he went to public school and worked as a copy boy on the *New York Herald Tribune*, Hénissart attended Kenyon College, in Ohio, (1940-1943) and was graduated in February, 1947, having gone into the Army before his studies were completed. In the 94th Infantry Division which was part of Patton's 3rd Army and fought along the Saar River and the Siegfried Line, he was a member of a team interrogating German war prisoners—he speaks, writes and reads German and French fluently. Later he was a member of the CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) in the Ruhr. After he was demobilized from the U.S. Army in Germany in January, 1946, he joined the Paris office of Military Intelligence. Despite his many duties, he found time to attend the Sorbonne. Now back in New York, Hénissart is a writer on the Foreign Desk of International News Service.





The lofty Matterhorn, known as "The King of Kings," is at once a magnificent sight and a challenge to Alpinists.

among travelers who want to forgo winter mist. The extremely dry air of the higher altitudes, as at Davos-Platz and Wengen, has made these locations ideal for sanatoria which attract convalescents from all over the world.

Switzerland is the oldest democracy on the Continent. It has furnished convincing proof of ability to negotiate its internal and external affairs in a manner favorable to the Swiss. During the past 25 years, it has twice preserved its neutrality and maintained its standard of living. This has been no mean feat at a time when larger neighboring countries have undergone political upheaval, and been forced to adopt stringent economic measures.

From one point of view, Geneva is a provincial outpost of Paris. Its animation, fashions and entertainment are Parisian in origin or by example, but they are on a reduced scale, tempered by a national inclination toward stability. Withal, it is a comfortable city. In part, the favorable impression it creates is due to its location along both banks of the thundering green Rhone, which empties here into Lake Geneva. Mont Blanc, eternally snowy, towers in the background.

At five o'clock every evening the *rue* and the *quai du Mont Blanc* are thronged with the local people, besides visiting Englishmen and Americans. The sidewalk cafés are lively, but politics do not, as in France, form the mainstay of every café conversation. Indeed, when politics are discussed, the talk is likely to revolve about the policy of a foreign country.

The League Palace Regains Prestige

JUST outside the city limits of Geneva, in an elaborately landscaped park, with a view of Lake Geneva, stands the palace of the former League of Nations. During the heyday of the League, an eight-lane highway was laid out to bear the heavy official traffic in and out of Geneva, and handsome villas and cottages around the palace grounds were put at the disposal of League personnel. When war broke out the delegates left, and in front of the shuttered villas "For Rent" signs appeared. Until this year the grounds remained in the same condition—vacant, quiet—poignant evidence of the League's tragic inability to cope with the *Machtpolitik* carried on in Berlin and Rome. On weekdays the palace was open as a museum.

Today, however, it has recaptured a

considerable measure of its former distinction. Several United Nations bodies have met in Geneva. One is the Security Council's Balkan investigating commission; others are the European Economic Commission, the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference on Trade and Employment and the Industrial Committee on Inland Transport. Geneva hotels today are overflowing with delegates, their advisers and their secretarial staffs. The villas are occupied again.

A Famous Mountain Resort

SOUTH of Visp, in the canton of Valais, are many narrow, steep valleys extending like gaunt fingers into the snowy mass of Pennine Alps which bulk athwart the Swiss-Italian frontier. At the extremity of one of the most grandiose of these valleys—the Nicholaital—is the mountain hamlet of Zermatt. Its only link with the rest of the world is by the narrow-gauge spur railway, which transports mail, travelers and staples from Visp. Round about are the wind-blown profiles of some of the most celebrated peaks in Europe: the Dent Blanche, the Weisshorn and the Monte Rosa group, containing the highest peak in Switzerland (15,216 feet).



This scenic little railroad links Visp and Zermatt.

From the train which puffs its way up to Zermatt (itself at an altitude of 5,000 feet), the traveler obtains an exhilarating view of the Matterhorn, famous for its unmistakable shape and the tragic history connected with its first ascent by Edward Whymper in 1865. Rising to a dazzlingly slick cone, from a mesa of stony and desolate-looking approaches, it is an awesome challenge to sportsmen who venture up any of its four faces.

The principal street in Zermatt leads past a number of pensions and cafés

to the Hotel Zermatter Hof. Here, during the season, which begins in late April, visitors of all nationalities gather in the afternoon to hear the café-concert in the adjoining gardens; and in the evening they come to dance in the modern nightclub. Mornings, all of the pathways leading out of Zermatt are crowded with mountain-climbers carrying coils of rope and *Alpenstöcke*; and late in the evening they return.

The most interesting popular excursion from Zermatt leads, by means of a cogwheel railway, to the summit of Gornergrat, about two miles away. In an hour the railway climbs five thousand feet, gaining a superb vista of the Matterhorn and the entire countryside.

The Temper of the Swiss People

ZERMATT, with no automobiles, has retained an air of dreamy repose eminently suited to a tourist town. Geneva is a busy yet light-hearted city. In both, the traveler will find signs of a deep and understandable contentment which the Swiss display with their present position in Europe. For they have managed to achieve and safeguard that position by considerable acumen and foresight. Foreigners, however, detect a certain smugness (or perhaps, incomprehension of others'

ills) in such self-satisfaction. It exists.

I was talking to a restaurant waiter in Basle of the hardships which France and England and Belgium had undergone. I mentioned the air attacks. "But we have been bombed, too," he protested seriously. He was referring to a half hour in 1944, when American planes accidentally bombarded and strafed Schaffhausen, having mistaken it for the German town of Singer, 11 miles away. It was, I believe, the only time during the war that bombs fell on Swiss territory.

(Continued from Page 15)

fore attempted, studying all aspects of the resettlement problem, and not merely the isolated Jewish problem; also the geographical, climatological, demographic and ecologic questions, and not merely its political, social and economic aspects.

The M-Project Under Way

In just three unmarked cubby-holes in the Annex of the Congressional Library, the staff of the M-Project went to work to provide the answers to Roosevelt's questions.

They studied and appraised *all* the previous resettlement projects of history.

They studied and appraised the immigration laws and regulations of all countries.

They "discovered" actual and potential resettlement areas capable of absorbing thousands of immigrants, and appraised them from political, economic, social, geographic, ecologic, demographic and geopolitical angles.

They studied surplus population areas, the character of the surplus populations, and their particular needs as immigrants.

They investigated the financial preconditions and economic requirements of eventual resettlement. It was a Gargantuan enterprise, but by the middle of 1944 the M-Project was ready with its preliminary findings.

By then the investigators established that there were a total of 20,000,000 people at large in the world in need of immediate or eventual resettlement, of whom 5,000,000 persons or about 1,000,000 families were expected to represent an immediate problem at the end of hostilities, an estimate that proved uncannily accurate. They found large groups of potential resettles in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Italy, Bulgaria, Greece, Japan, Korea and Manchuria, and established the following areas available for resettlement: The United States, including Alaska; Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Northern Australia, Canada and Manchuria.

They found that certain countries, as for example, the Dominican Republic, were unsuited for resettlement despite their apparent willingness to absorb immigrants. On the other hand, they established that the Negeb in Southern Palestine was suited for resettlement, despite British and Arab protestations to the contrary.

A \$25,000,000,000 Project

EQUALLY significant were the economic discoveries of the group. The ultimate success of resettlement was found to depend almost solely on adequate financial aid to provide environmental conditions to which the resettles were previously accustomed. The failure of former resettlement projects was attributed to the usual disregard for this essential precondition. In the light of this discovery, the M-Project estimated that the resettlement of a single family would involve the expenditure of \$25,000 on the average. On this basis it was calculated that the successful resettlement of 1,000,000 families would require an expenditure of \$25 billions.

This huge figure reflected the comprehensive and final character of the plan drawn up in the M-Project. It went far beyond the expenditure of transportation and preliminary rehabilitation. It took into consideration the development of the projected resettlement areas, their deforestation or reforestation, irrigation and fertilization, the building of roads, problems of hygiene, disease prevention, and even the building of schools, libraries, theaters and motion picture houses. The price of agricultural machinery and industrial tools needed by the immigrants was also included in the calculated sum.

Aside from the demographic, ecologic and economic factors, the M-Project also investigated the political problems of the migration question, since they were recognized as possible impediments to future negotiations with "resettlement countries" which President Roosevelt hoped to be able to conduct and conclude personally. All possible objections were anticipated and countered with valid arguments.

FDR's International Settlement Authority

THE major recommendation of the M-Project was the establishment of an International Settlement Authority, as a specialized agency of UN, to be in over-all charge of all national and international resettlement projects. The annual budget needs of the ISA were estimated to be in the neighborhood of one billion dollars, to be subscribed by the interested governments which were most likely to benefit from the program.

It now appears on the surface that

the International Refugee Organization of UN will at least in part satisfy the needs for which President Roosevelt's "International Settlement Authority" was to be created. There are, however, several fundamental differences between Roosevelt's envisaged agency and the one now being established by UN. An enumeration of these differences will reveal at once why it is a major tragedy that the death of President Roosevelt deprived the world of a definitive solution of the D.P. problem.

Differences Between ISA and IRO

THE major differences between Roosevelt's ISA and the UN's IRO are these:

The IRO is not comprehensive: first, it fails to take into consideration the resettlement of minorities and surplus populations; and second, it makes no provisions for a comprehensive permanent study of the whole resettlement question.

The IRO lacks sufficient funds: in its first-year budget only \$5,000,000 is earmarked for resettlement purposes, out of a total of some \$150,000,000.

The IRO is limited in space and time: moreover it has but limited authority to satisfy its needs and enforce its decisions.

Persons who have been close to the M-Project believe that its work would not be completely wasted were its activity and personnel incorporated in the new IRO. Above all it is regarded as imperative that the 600-odd documents now gathering dust in confidential libraries and archives be placed at the immediate disposal of the UN and that Dr. Bowman be invited to acquaint IRO with the work, accomplishments and findings of the M-Project, probably even to aid in its re-establishment within IRO on a permanent basis.

President Roosevelt was prophetic in anticipating the problem which today confronts the world in displaced persons; in the minorities which, for example, prevent a rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary; in the surplus populations which are bound to lure countries like Japan once more into the quagmire of expansionism. His M-Project was but one of the instruments he planned to build as a means of ensuring lasting peace. And it is not the only one of Roosevelt's projects that today rests in the limbo of forgotten plans.

Read The Magazine The Leaders Read

We know of no better way to describe the UN World than to reproduce these rules of the editorial staff.

1. There is no place in the world "distant" or "far" (from where?).

2. No place, culture, custom or people is "strange" (to whom), "exotic", "queer", or "bizarre".

3. People can be "illiterate" but never "ignorant"; they can be "simple" but never "backward".

4. Avoid any suggestion of the superiority or the inferiority of any race, color or religious group.

5. There are no "heathen", no "pagan cultures", no "Christian ideals" (except in direct discussion), and no "chosen people".

6. Avoid such meaningless clichés as "East is east and west is west, and never the twain shall meet"; "the sun never sets on the British Empire"; "the white man's burden"; or "the yellow peril".

7. Treat every national or local custom with the respect it deserves.

8. Avoid the word "natives" as it has been shaped by imperial custom; use it only in the exact sense, for example: as a "native" of New York—not "the natives of New Guinea".

9. Avoid "we", "ourselves", etc., when referring to citizens of the U.S. or to Westerners in general. "We" are *all* the people.

10. There can be no preaching (*who* is in a position to preach and to *whom*?).

11. Give the *FACTS*. Be objective. The people will make up their own minds . . . and probably they will be pretty close to right!

12. "Important persons" includes everybody of good will.



LEADERS in government business and the professions are reading every issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD because they find it interesting, informative and authoritative. The magazine is also top reading for leading UN delegates such as Asaf Ali, India's delegate to last month's Special Session of the General Assembly, and Oswaldo Aranha, Brazil, Special Session president, shown above. Although it is new, UN WORLD has already been quoted by hundreds of newspapers, magazines and radio commentators the world over.

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