

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

HES

Mr. Darlington of the Coordination Committee said that there will be circulated before 2pm tomorrow a final text approved by his committee, which will naturally be more valid than the text we have at the moment. Since work on our present text would hardly be through even by that time, it would seem wiser to await that text's arrival and then make the same comparison with it as a basis.

jbt

12
12:30

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Ernie Mandy

Cleveland

City of S.F.

Lv S.F. 7:00 PM 27th Wed

4:30 PM 26th Tue

Ar. Omaha 8:40 PM 29th

4:05 AM

Lv " " 10:45 PM

Ar St Paul 9:35 AM 30th

Ar. Chicago 12:15 PM 28th

Lv " " 4:00 PM

Ar. Chicago 8:30 AM 30th Sat

Ar St Paul 10:30 PM 28th

Lv " " on Zephyr 9:00 AM

Ar St Paul 3:15 PM

Lv on Hiawatha 10:30 AM

Ar St Paul 6:05 PM

329th

*Ernie Mandy
3502*

*Lv 7:00 AM 27th
Ar Paul 5 PM 28th*

UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET
THIRD FLEET

Memorandum HES

File
7-11-1945

From: Commander Harold E. Stassen, USNR.
To : The Commandant, TWELFTH Naval District.
(Public Relations Officer)

Subject: Invitation to be Guest of Honor and Speaker at
Civic Luncheon.

Reference: (a) Com 12 dispatch 282235 of March.

1. Please convey to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Henry F. Grady, President, my appreciation for the kind invitation to be guest of honor and speaker on May 10 or May 17 at a civic luncheon, as contained in reference (a).

2. Also please advise Mr. Grady of the following facts.

(a) I do not wish to accept any speaking engagement during the San Francisco conference until the policy of the United States delegation is established as I wish to act in accordance with the delegation's policy and, of course, the direct work of the delegation in the conference is of primary and overshadowing importance.

(b) I anticipate that this policy will be settled by the 18th of April in Washington.

(c) If the policy adopted is favorable and if the hour of the luncheon does not conflict with a session of the conference, I will be pleased to accept for the May 17th date.

(d) If a definite answer is required prior to the 18th of April, please express my regrets.

HAROLD E. STASSEN.

COMMANDER THIRD FLEET

Classification	ULTRA	SECRET	CONF	REST	PLAIN	Precedence	Urgent	OP	Priority	Routine	Deferred	Visual
ADM	FROM						DATE			RELEASE		
	COM 12						282235			28 MARCH 1945		
COS	TO (ACTION)									CRYPTO-GROUP		CWO
	RADIO WAHIAWA											
OPER	TO (INFO)											
PLANS	<p>PRORELAY TO CMDR HAROLD E STASSEN X SAN FRAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE</p> <p>INVITES CMDR STASSEN TO BE GUEST OF HONOR AND SPEAKER AT CIVIC</p> <p>LUNCHEON MAY 10TH OR 17TH X REQUEST REPLY TO HENRY F GRADY</p> <p>PRESIDENT CARE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER COM12</p> <p><i>File</i> <i>7 minutes</i></p>											
INTEL												
COMM												
GUN												
FLAG SEC												
AIR												
FLAG LT												
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										DATE-TIME GROUP		
							COM 12			282235		

OFFICE OF THE
UNDER SECRETARY

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1945.

NOTE for Governor Stassen.

I will be available tonight at Michigan 1905 and will be glad to
get a call from you.



Abe Fortas.

April 17, 1945.

MEMORANDUM.

There are two basic issues which must be resolved before the advisers to the United States Delegation will be able to formulate a statement of the position of this Government as the basis for negotiations at San Francisco. These issues are, first, whether the United States will propose that the San Francisco Conference adopt merely a statement that a trusteeship system should be constituted, leaving the machinery to be determined subsequently by the United Nations Organization, or whether it will be proposed that a general working framework of machinery and principles should be considered and adopted; and second, whether the Security Council should be vested with exclusive jurisdiction over "strategic" areas to the exclusion of the General Assembly.

I. Principles or Machinery.

1. At the Yalta Conference, it was agreed that specific territories to be included within the trusteeship system should not be discussed at San Francisco, but that machinery and principles should be discussed. Apparently, it was contemplated that there should be an agreement, if possible, at San Francisco upon a definite scheme of organization and guiding principles.
2. It is urged, however, by spokesmen for the military that any attempt to go beyond the general agreement that a trusteeship system should be set up in the future, and to determine machinery and controlling principles would necessarily precipitate a discussion of specific territories. A discussion of specific territories, it is urged, would imperil the unity among the United Nations necessary for the prosecution of the war.
3. On the other hand, it is urged:

- a. that consideration of machinery and controlling principles is no more likely to provoke a discussion of specific territories than is a discussion of a general formula which would leave the determination of specific machinery to the future;
- b. that to leave to the United Nations Organization for future determination the consideration of the machinery of the trusteeship system might imperil our security interests because the military and strategic powers over trust areas which we seek to lodge in the Security Council might not be lodged in that body;
- c. that if the infant United Nations Organization is to undertake the job of devising machinery for the trusteeship system, there might be precipitated a conflict between the Security Council and the General Assembly with respect to the division of powers between them which would imperil the life and success of the United Nations Organization;
- d. that it is impossible without prescribing specific machinery and guiding principles to write a general formula which would adequately protect the interests of the United States with respect to strategic matters, and specifically with respect to the division of jurisdiction as to strategic matters and matters relating to civilian welfare; and
- e. that there would necessarily be confusion and conflict as to whether the General Assembly or the Security Council would provide the over-all machinery of the United Nations Organization

for the supervision of trust areas, and that if the determination of this machinery were left to the General Assembly, the security interests of the United States might be imperiled.

II. Security Council Functions.

1. It has been urged by spokesmen for the military that the entire responsibility of the United Nations Organization with respect to "strategic" areas should be vested in the Security Council to the exclusion of the General Assembly.
2. On the other hand, it is urged that the Security Council should have the following powers with respect to "strategic" areas, to be exercised only with the concurrence of all of its permanent members:
 - a. to approve any amendment of the arrangements by which areas are placed under the trusteeship system;
 - b. to consent to the removal of an administering authority; and
 - c. to terminate trusteeship over any territory.
3. The proponents of this view urge that the General Assembly should have the following powers with respect to "strategic" areas:
 - a. to approve the basic arrangements by which territories are placed under the trusteeship system;
 - b. to approve the territorial charters providing for the internal government of the territories;
 - c. to make investigations and receive reports, subject in the case of strategic areas to such reservations as may be specified in the basic arrangements by which the strategic areas are

placed under the trustee system; and

d. to make recommendations to the administering authority with respect to economic, social and political development.

4. The proponents of this view further urge that it would be most undesirable to exclude the General Assembly from participation in the non-military affairs of any trusteeship area because
 - a. such exclusion would lead to suspicion on the part of smaller nations that the great powers administering the areas (whether they be "strategic" areas or not) are reserving them for their own exploitation of resources and people; and
 - b. that the Security Council should be maintained as a purely military and security agency and should not be called upon to perform economic or social functions.
5. The proponents of this view further point out that to vest in the Security Council complete jurisdiction with respect to strategic areas would involve the creation within the United Nations Organization of two separate administrative units performing the same function--that is, the supervision of the economic, social and political development of some of the dependent people of the world. This would occasion rivalry, recriminations and hostility. They suggest that this can be avoided by placing in the Security Council comprehensive jurisdiction over such matters as may be necessary to preserve strategic rights and interests.

April 17, 1945.

MEMORANDUM.

It may be that the scheme should be revised so as to require approval by the Security Council as well as the General Assembly of the designation of certain areas as "strategic" areas. I see no objection to this. The draftsmen of the March 16 proposal, however, believed that this was taken care of by the requirement that there be agreements to place any of the mandated areas under the trusteeship system. These agreements, I am told, could be made only with the consent of the United States, Great Britain and France.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 1945

Dear Governor,

I am sending to you herewith
for your information a revised chart
showing the delegations of other
countries and their general views,
if expressed, on the proposals for
an international organization.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'H. E. Stassen', written in a cursive style.

Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.

American Delegate

United Nations Conference

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 21, 1945

Dear Governor,

I am pleased to hand you here-
with a summary memorandum which I
have had prepared listing the changes
in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which
the Delegation has decided, subject
of course to developments at the Con-
ference, to propose.

This is the paper from which we
will work in consulting with repre-
sentatives of the other sponsoring
governments. You will note it does
not include the provisions which we
have agreed to support if raised by
others. These I feel can be taken
up with the sponsors when and if
they arise. I have also given this
to the President for his information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'H. E. Stassen', written in a cursive style.

Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.
American Delegate
United Nations Conference

April 21, 1945

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SUGGESTIONS ON THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

PURPOSES (Chapter I)

1. Include a statement that the Organization should act in accordance with the principles of justice and equity in bringing about adjustment or settlement of international disputes (Paragraph 1), and that the Organization should foster the development of international law (Paragraph 2).

2. Include a statement that the Organization should promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (Paragraph 2; in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals this purpose is stated in Chapter IX, Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation).

PRINCIPLES (Chapter II)

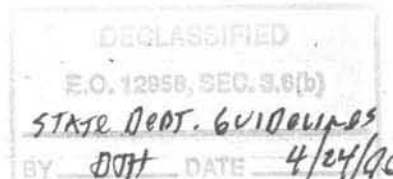
1. Change the expression "sovereign equality of all peace-loving states" to the "sovereign equality of all member states" (Paragraph 1).

2. Make clearer that members must refrain from using any but peaceful means in settling their international disputes and must use such means pursuant to the provisions of the Charter (Paragraph 2).

3. Specify that the assistance pledged by all members in action taken by the Organization would be only assistance in accordance with the provisions of the Charter (Paragraph 5).

4. Clarify that the assistance which members would be obligated to refrain from giving to any state against which preventive or enforcement action was being taken is assistance which would interfere with or nullify the action of the Organization (Paragraph 6).

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (Chapter V)

1. Clarify to show that the General Assembly can at all times discuss any question bearing on the maintenance of peace and security, and that the limitation on its power to make recommendations concerning matters which are being dealt with by the Security Council should be confined to specific recommendations. (Paragraph 1)

2. Give the General Assembly power to determine the qualifications of membership, and to admit new members by its own action unless the Security Council interposes objections for reasons of security. (Paragraph 2)

3. State that apportionment by the General Assembly of expenses among the members should be on the basis of an appropriate pro-ration. (Paragraph 5)

4. Add to recommendatory powers, so can make recommendations relative to the promotion of measures to establish justice, to foster the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to encourage the development of rules of international law. (Paragraph 6)

5. Extend power to recommend measures for peaceful adjustment to include situations likely to violate the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and situations arising out of any treaties or international engagements. (Paragraph 6)

THE SECURITY COUNCIL (Chapter VI)

1. Eliminate provision empowering the Security Council specifically to set up regional subcommittees of the Military Staff Committee. (Section D, Paragraph 2)

MAINTENANCE

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-3-

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY (Chapter VIII)

1. Extend the power of the Security Council to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of settlement as well as of adjustment. (Section A, Paragraph 5)

2. Propose that the exclusion from the scope of the Security Council in peaceful settlement of matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a state should be stated without the present qualification that those matters must be ones which "by international law" are "solely" within domestic jurisdiction. (Section A, Paragraph 7)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1945

Dear Governor,

I am sending to you herewith for
your information the most recent
report on opinion developments con-
cerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'E. Stassen', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke at the end.

Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.

American Delegate

United Nations Conference

SECRET

DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS: CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS AND COMMENT

Report No. 20, for the week ending April 17, 1945

UNITED STATES: OPINION DEVELOPMENTS

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

1. The number of those who have "heard or read about" the Proposals continues to increase; -- from 52% in February to 60% in April. The following results were obtained by the Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research in a nation-wide survey conducted during the last week of March and the first week of April.

"Have you heard or read about the
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals?"

	<u>Dec. '44</u>	<u>Feb. '45</u>	<u>March '45</u>
Yes	43%	52%	60%
No	57	48	40

2. The Proposals provide a "real and practical basis for setting up an international organization to maintain world peace", according to three out of four of those who have heard of the Proposals and express an opinion as to their merit.

"Do you think the Proposals provide a real
and practical basis for setting up an
international organization to maintain world
peace?"

Yes	28%	No	9%	No opinion	23%
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In both January and March this ratio (three out of four) of approval of the Proposals as a "practical basis" has been maintained among those expressing an opinion -- and it may continue to obtain as additional persons hear about the Proposals.

3. An increase has also been registered among those who feel that they have a "good idea" of what the Proposals are about: February, 19% of a national cross section; March, 25%. Nevertheless, even of those who have heard of them, the proportion saying they do not have a "good idea" exceeds that which claims to have a "good idea" (35% vs. 25%).

CONGRESS

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.6(b)

State Dept. 61-100000

BY JPH DATE 4/24/00

CONGRESS

Sen. Connally in a speech prominently headlined April 12, said it was "absolutely necessary" that the U. S. representative on the Security Council have authority to vote on the use of force without reference to Congress. Sen. Bushfield, on the other hand, declared that Congress should decide when the U. S. is to take up arms against an aggressor. (This issue, discussed to some extent prior to the publication of the Proposals, has been more or less dormant until the last few days. Current editorial comment on the question emphasized the necessity for achieving some kind of consultation with Congress -- Washington Post, N. Y. Times, N. Y. Sun. Commander Edward Scheiberling of the American Legion, in a recent speech, expressed a view similar to that of Sen. Connally.)

Sen. Burton, in a Baltimore speech (April 10) predicted the Proposals would be approved at San Francisco and have "a good chance" of Senate adoption.

ORGANIZATIONS, GROUPS AND LEADERS

The Catholic Archbishops and Bishops who constitute the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference have issued a statement declaring that certain provisions in the proposed Charter "give rise to doubt and fear". Mentioned particularly are the voting procedure in the Security Council, the "too broad" functions of the Council, and the "refusal" of the great powers "to submit themselves in every eventuality to the world authority". The statement also calls the solution of the Polish question "disappointing", and urges an international bill of rights, and power in the new organization to make changes in the peace settlements. (N. Y. Times, April 15).

In a letter to the N. Y. Times (April 15) Leland Goodrich of the World Peace Foundation and Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard urge a number of amendments to the Proposals, which in some respects synthesize current suggestions for such amendments which are being widely advanced. Their amendments include: increased powers for the Assembly, some modifications of the rule for unanimity among permanent members of the Council and strengthened authority for the Economic and Social Council.

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The New York County Lawyers Association (which includes Frederic Coudert, Allen Dulles, Arthur Kuhn and James W. Ryan) have urged that the San Francisco conference adopt an entirely new statute for an international court of justice. (This position is contrary to that taken by the American and Canadian Bar Associations and a number of experts who prefer retention of the existing World Court). The Association also urges provision for enforcement of the judgments of the Court and the adoption of a basic code of international law.

Dr. Raymond Fosdick, in a "Beyond Victory" broadcast, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment (April 16), said: "I think that just as many people in America supported the League of Nations in 1919 as are supporting the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals today...I believe today public opinion is better informed than it was 25 years ago... and is determined that this time it will not be blocked by the machinations of reactionary groups". Referring to criticisms of the Security Council, Dr. Fosdick said, "It seems to me that this criticism overlooks the fundamental fact that responsibility and power must go hand in hand. You cannot commit the enforcement of peace to nations that have no armies and navies to contribute".

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers (with three million members) has voted to support the Proposals.

Admiral Yarnell, in an article published in the press, says that the Proposals "while general and vague", furnish a "good foundation for a more concrete draft" and approves the concept of regional arrangements, which he considers especially necessary in the Far East.

Edwin L. Bernays is the author of a recent publication, "Take Your Place at the Peace Table" which is a guide book on molding public opinion in support of a world security organization. Expressed in very simple and practical terms, the 60-page booklet describes how radio, motion pictures, speech-making, publishing and advertising can be used most effectively in enlisting support for the Proposals and the San Francisco Conference.

The United Nations Council of Philadelphia announced April 16 that it had arranged 166 forums and other meetings on the Proposals within a 30-day period.

PRESS,

PRESS, PERIODICALS, RADIO

The announcement that Foreign Minister Molotov would attend the San Francisco Conference has been very favorably received, in comment noted thus far. A majority of those commenting regard it as a "feather in the cap" for President Truman. Some papers have pointed out that the Soviet Government probably decided to send Molotov in order to discover the new President's views on foreign policy, others express the view that Stalin is anxious not to "impair mutual confidence".

President Truman's prompt announcement that the San Francisco Conference would not be postponed because of the death of Mr. Roosevelt was considered reassuring.

A survey of a large number of newspapers from all parts of the country shows that the recent "uproar" over voting in the Assembly evoked real concern, but at the same time far more anxiety was manifested over the paramount aim of reaching an over-all agreement at the San Francisco Conference. The "second thoughts" of a majority of editors agreed that the question of voting in the Assembly was not a major issue. Along the West Coast papers the San Francisco Chronicle and the Seattle Times were particularly alarmed lest the main issue be lost sight of, and the Los Angeles Times, while opposed to multiple voting, was inclined to deprecate the matter.

The appointment of a "long list" of representatives of American organizations to be present at San Francisco was interpreted by Arthur Krock (April 11) as evidence that the "State Department is fighting a losing battle" in its effort to make clear the conference is not a peace settlement. PM comments that by appointing "consultants" the Department is evading the "real issue of adequate representation" for labor, industry, agriculture and Zionism. It is a "step back" from the procedure followed at Mexico City, where various groups and representatives were "advisors" with a chance to talk to the U. S. delegation. The San Francisco Chronicle suggested that the Department has "ventured into a perilous field", as every organization will consider the selection "unrepresentative".

A number of news stories have appeared on the meeting in Washington of United Nations Jurists, but as yet there has been little editorial comment. Among the scant evidence available, it would appear that most editors agree

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with the N. Y. Times that retention of the existing World Court would be "sensible".

There have been a number of press stories on the announcement that the U. S. delegation will reach decisions by majority vote and speak as a unit. The Scripps Howard press called it "an outstanding development". The N. Y. Herald Tribune expressed the opinion that any other method would have been unworkable. H. R. Baukhage said it was clear that the American delegation was willing to make its decisions as "elastic as possible" and thus assure success of the meeting.

James B. Reston (N. Y. Times, April 15) listed the six specific problems likely to dominate the conference: (1) how to keep specific issues (e.g. Poland) from interfering with the support of the Big Three powers on whom the success of the organization so largely depends; (2) how to reconcile the right to veto, requested by the Big Five, with the attempts of some delegates to create an organization able to take action against any aggressor; (3) how to reconcile the Soviet request for two extra votes with the concept that the organization is to be composed of independent sovereign states; (4) how to fit regional security arrangements into the world organization; (5) how to allocate the six non-permanent seats on the Security Council and (6) whether and how to arrange for the new international organization to have jurisdiction over colonial territories.

Mr. Reston also, in the first of a series of articles on the Proposals (N. Y. Times, April 16) predicts that there will be general agreement among the United Nations on the Proposals and that the conference will deal largely with "gaps" not filled in at Dumbarton Oaks.

Time magazine (April 16) commented: "If San Francisco could be made a success by energy and assurance, Ed Stettinius would make it the biggest thing since the angels gathered to throw out Lucifer".

The most recent issue of Vogue carries an explanatory article on the Proposals. The New Yorker (April 14) continues its very oblique criticism of the Proposals because they do not lead to world federation.

II. EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN

The Diplomatic correspondent of the Times (April 14) wrote on the conference in London of Commonwealth and Indian delegates. He said that there was general agreement on certain lines of amendment to the Proposals. The Canadian view (believed to be shared by the Australian government) that a place in the Security Council should be found for "medium" powers was sympathetically discussed. There was also general agreement that provision be made for review of the Charter from time to time, and on the setting up of a military staff committee; also that the Economic and Social Council should be a "going concern". "It appears to be recognized among the Commonwealth delegates that the requirement of unanimity among the great powers in the proposed Security Council represents no wanton overriding of the rights of small nations..."

The Economist (April 7) devoted its main article to the San Francisco conference. Pointing out that the two features which have aroused greatest opposition by nations not represented at Dumbarton Oaks -- the dominant role of great powers and provision for veto by a great power -- have been due to Russian insistence, the article says these demands have stirred up more discussion than they are intrinsically worth. The Economist interpreted this as showing the Russian government was lukewarm toward an international organization. It considered the Russian and American views on how peace could be kept differed widely, with the British view "somewhere in between, but far closer to the American". Speculating on holding the conference on the scheduled date, the article thought "State Department propaganda might recoil on itself" if the conference was postponed, though there were sound reasons for postponement.

The Observer (April 8) supported holding the conference as scheduled. "Except perhaps for the question of Polish representation, there is not one controversial issue which would reasonably be expected to lose its sharp edge by the mere lapse of time"; and to put it off would be like "a declaration of despair". No meeting of the Big Three -- or the Big Five -- could do the work for which the United Nations have been called to San Francisco.

A. Times

A Times editorial (April 12) on the Washington meeting of United Nations jurists, argues that any institution set up to introduce the rule of law in international affairs must work within the framework of the political order set up by the Proposals and must not attempt to go beyond it. "The international rule of law will grow by a slow process of evolution. Nothing is more dangerous than to suppose it can be created in full stature by a deliberate act".

A Manchester Guardian editorial (April 13) discussed the question of international trusteeship. "We should use our experience to devise a new and better form of mandate system ... This system should be improved by vesting the sovereignty clearly with the United Nations and not with the mandatory powers. ... Nor should we close our minds to the submission of our own dependent territories to some form of international supervision, provided it is one which will clearly place the welfare of the colonial peoples above national and commercial rivalries".

FRANCE

There have been only scattered references to the San Francisco Conference in the Paris press during the past week. Interest centered on the question of international trusteeship (most editors disagreeing with what was considered to be the U. S. view on the subject), and there continued to be sporadic complaint on "failure to include French as an official language". Resistance (April 12) said: "As a result of linguistic nationalism, a new Tower of Babel is to be built in San Francisco."

TURKEY

An article by Tewfik Rustu Aras, former Turkish Foreign Minister (1925-38) in Tan (April 5) expressed great optimism over results likely to transpire at San Francisco and said that, thanks to an article by Secretary Stettinius, he understood the Proposals thoroughly and had firm faith in them.

Most other commentators, however, complained of the allegedly inferior position given smaller nations. Most pessimistic was Yalchin in Tanin: "One only talks about

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the Big Powers. They alone plan, they demand, they meet and they decide...If a union of all the small states of the world is not established, the Big Powers will unite us in slavery". A middle view was expressed by Atay in the semi-official Ulus (April 2). While admitting that "big countries have failed to reach complete agreement" and small countries had received the Dumbarton Oaks decisions without confidence, Atay emphasized that "It is better to accomplish little than nothing at all, and a world organization founded with good intentions will be of value in spite of its flaws." Sadak in Aksham (April 4) agreed it was "just to expect the protection of peace and security from nations who possess armed forces".

III. LATIN AMERICA

MEXICO

Mr. Roosevelt's decision and the Secretary's statement that the U. S. would not request more than one vote in the Assembly prompted Novedades (April 5) to praise the decision in glowing terms. "Probably the decision...will not be applauded in any part of the world so much as in Latin American countries". This is reportedly the most favorable comment on U. S. foreign policy which has appeared in Novedades in several months. Other papers manifested mixed reactions to the decision on voting, some (e.g. La Prensa, April 10) showing some alarm at the idea of British and Russian blocs. while others (Mirador April 7), Excelsior, (April 9) considered Mr. Roosevelt had changed his mind because of public opinion.

PL S Shepard Jones
C Emerson
OA E C Brunauer

Memoranda -

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

San Francisco

May 1, 1945

MEMORANDUM

To: Commander Stassen
From: Mr. Armstrong

I attach a letter from John C. Cooper, Vice President of Pan American Airways, who has two observations to make which may be of interest to you. One of them touches on the relationship between aviation problems and the trusteeship question; the other the danger of possible future misuse of civil aviation as a means of aggression.

I attach also a copy of my reply and will send you a copy of any further information which may come from Mr. Cooper in case it seems likely to be of use to you.

H. J. P.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong

Attachments:

1. Letter from Mr. Cooper,
April 27, 1945
2. Letter to Mr. Cooper
May 1, 1945.

HFA:DHM



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