

THE WAR AND PEACE STUDIES
OF THE
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,

1939 - 1945



THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE
FIFTY-EIGHT EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET
New York

1946

JX
27
CEB

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

R. C. LEFFINGWELL
President

ISAIAH BOWMAN
Vice-President

ALLEN W. DULLES
Vice-President

FRANK ALTSCHUL
Secretary

CLARENCE E. HUNTER
Treasurer

WALTER H. MALLORY
Executive Director

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG

GEORGE O. MAY

WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN

PHILIP D. REED

JOHN W. DAVIS

WINFIELD W. RIEFLER

LEWIS W. DOUGLAS

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON

STEPHEN DUGGAN

MYRON C. TAYLOR

THOMAS K. FINLETTER

JOHN H. WILLIAMS

HENRY M. WRISTON

*Copyright, 1946, by Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
Printed in the United States of America*

Stacks
127.17

AS THE foreign responsibilities of the United States increase, the participation of its citizens in influencing its foreign policies should increase also. Without such participation there are bound to be violent fluctuations in public opinion (as happened, for example, in the years 1918-1920), with consequent abrupt reversals of foreign policy. The channels of communication between people and government should be open in both directions and they should be used as fully and frequently as practicable.

Recognizing this, alert policy-making officials of government will always be on the lookout for analyses and judgments of private citizens and agencies known to have special competence and believed to be acting from disinterested motives. This will be true particularly in times of crisis, when they are overwhelmed with the work of day-by-day decision and action. But while independent private agencies should be free to undertake studies and to report their findings without fear or favor, government officials must remain free to accept or disregard them; for it is they who are charged with responsibility for action and are held accountable to the public for mistakes. Thus the linkage between government and outside agencies should be informal and loose, each retaining full independence.

The wartime activities of the Council on Foreign Relations offer an unusual instance of collaboration between government agencies and a private institution. Since it is difficult, even in a democracy, for

private citizens to participate in the formulation of foreign policy, the Council's experience may be considered of interest not merely to Council members but of general interest in relationship to a broad problem of government.

The wartime work of the Council necessarily was confidential; and the management is glad now to be able to report on it to the Council membership. It originated in a visit which Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and Walter H. Mallory, Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, paid to the Department of State on September 12, 1939, to offer such aid on the part of the Council as might be useful and appropriate in view of the outbreak of the war in Europe. There was no doubt that even if the United States avoided being drawn into the war, its interests would become profoundly engaged as the conflict progressed; and certainly they would be directly affected by the eventual peace settlements. The Department already was greatly overworked as a result of the crisis, and adequate government funds for increased staff were not immediately available. The Council representatives suggested that, particularly pending the time when the Department itself was able to assemble a staff and begin research and analysis on the proper scale, the Council might undertake work in certain specific fields, without, of course, any formal assignment of responsibility on the one side or restriction of independent action on the other. Specifically, they proposed that the Council form groups of experts to proceed with research un-

der four general heads—Security and Armaments Problems, Economic and Financial Problems, Political Problems, and Territorial Problems. In this way the Council's long experience in assembling and conducting such groups would be put to use and the Department would be provided with a cross-section of expert opinion to supplement its own official information and opinion.

The Department officers welcomed the Council's suggestion and encouraged the Council management to proceed with the formulation of a more detailed plan. This was done in consultation with Department officials. The Rockefeller Foundation was then approached for a grant of funds to put the plan into operation. When assurances had been received that the funds were available, the personnel of the groups was selected and on December 8, 1939, an organization meeting was held in Washington, at the home of Assistant Secretary of State George S. Messersmith.

General responsibility for the War and Peace Studies rested with the Council's Committee on Studies, but actual direction was in the hands of a Steering Committee, composed at the start as follows:

NORMAN H. DAVIS, *Chairman*
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, *Vice Chairman*
WALTER H. MALLORY, *Secretary*
PAUL F. JONES, *Administrative Secretary*
ISAIAH BOWMAN
ALLEN W. DULLES
ALVIN H. HANSEN
WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON
JACOB VINER

Individual group members were chosen because of special experience and competence to deal with particular subjects. Each group was headed by a Rapporteur and had the assistance of a Research Secretary. Subjects were assigned for special investigation to individual group members, and occasionally to outside experts. After a draft statement had been prepared, it was brought before the group, discussed thoroughly, sometimes at several successive meetings, and then put into final form for transmission to Washington for use by the appropriate officials in the Department. Accompanying it was a digest of the discussion.

The Rapporteurs received a nominal honorarium and the Research Secretaries were compensated for the time they spent on this work according to usual academic schedules of pay. The members of the groups served without remuneration. All of them, it should be added, understood that the nature of their work precluded them from receiving any public recognition or reward.

A complete list of the persons who participated in the work of the groups appears in Appendix A. The original Rapporteurs and Research Secretaries were as follows: *Security and Armaments Group*, Rapporteur Allen W. Dulles, Research Secretary William M. Franklin; *Economic and Financial Group*, Rapporteurs Alvin H. Hansen and Jacob Viner, Research Secretaries Arthur R. Upgren and William Diebold, Jr.; *Political Group*, Rapporteur Whitney H. Shepardson, Research Secretary Walter Langsam; *Terri-*

torial Group, Rapporteur Isaiah Bowman, Research Secretary Philip E. Mosely.

As the work progressed, the original structure of the project was changed in only one major respect. In 1941, it appeared desirable to investigate the claims of different European nations, the relationship between the individual national claims, and their bearing both on the current foreign policy of the United States and on the eventual postwar settlement. Accordingly, in May of that year the Council organized a fifth group, independently of the other groups, aided by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The procedure of this group was different from that of the others. At each meeting competent political and economic representatives of a particular nation or group of nations presented their aims and aspirations. The Rapporteur and Research Secretary had worked out a careful agenda with them beforehand. Full records were kept of the discussion, and these were sent to the State Department, together with written memoranda submitted by dissident spokesmen on the same or related topics. The work of this group was particularly commended by the State Department, and in 1942 it therefore was integrated into the War and Peace Studies project as the Peace Aims Group. A full list of all members of this group appears in Appendix A. The Rapporteur was Hamilton Fish Armstrong, and Philip E. Mosely was the first Research Secretary.

In February of 1941 the relationship between the Council and the Department of State was modified.

The Department, as had been foreseen, established a Division of Special Research, which organized its work along lines similar to that of the Council, *i.e.* it was divided into Economic, Political, Territorial and Security sections. Leo Pasvolsky was appointed Director of Research. All of the Research Secretaries serving with the Council groups were subsequently engaged by the Department to participate in its new Division. The Council was glad to release them for this purpose, on the proviso that they be permitted to continue serving part-time as Research Secretaries of their respective Council groups. The arrangement made it easier for the Council to select the problems particularly in need of study and to fix a timetable for dealing with them to the best advantage.

The coöperative relationship between the Department and the Council was further strengthened in 1942, when the Department organized an Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policies, with Secretary Cordell Hull as Chairman and Under Secretary Sumner Welles as Vice-Chairman.* Dr. Pasvolsky was appointed its Executive Officer. Several experts from outside the Department were brought in as members of this Committee, among them Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Isaiah Bowman, Benjamin V. Cohen, Norman H. Davis, and James T. Shotwell, all of whom had been participating in the Council's work for the Department. The Advisory Committee was divided into several subcommittees. Mr.

**Cf.* "Report to the President on the Results of the San Francisco Conference," Introduction, pp. 20-31 (Department of State, Publication 2345, June 26, 1945).

Davis, who served as chairman of the Steering Committee of the Council project from its inauguration in 1940 till his death on July 2, 1944, presided over the Subcommittee on Security Problems. Mr. Cohen, of the Council's Economic and Financial Group, was a member of the Subcommittee on Economic Problems, of which Myron C. Taylor was chairman. Dr. Bowman, Rapporteur of the Council's Territorial Group, presided over the Subcommittee on Territorial Problems. Mr. Armstrong, Vice-Chairman of the Council's Steering Committee, was a member of the Subcommittee on Political Problems and of the Subcommittee on Territorial Problems.

Parenthetically, it might be mentioned that the participation of Council members in the work for the Department described above led in many cases to other work related to the organization of peace and the settlement of postwar problems. For example:

Among the Research Secretaries, Philip E. Mosely, Research Secretary of the Territorial Group, was taken by Secretary Hull to Moscow in 1943, when the representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China issued the Moscow Declaration, the text of which had been elaborated previously in the Department's Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policies. Later Mr. Mosely was released from the Research Secretaryship of the Council's Territorial Group to become political adviser to the American member of the European Advisory Commission in London. Walter R. Sharp, Research Secretary of the Political Group, served as Secretary-General of the United Nations Food Conference at Quebec in 1945. Grayson Kirk, Research Secretary of the

Security Group, was an expert at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and was Executive Officer of Commission III at San Francisco. Dwight E. Lee, Research Secretary of the Council's group on Peace Aims, was Assistant Secretary of Committee 1, Commission III, at San Francisco.

Of the Rapporteurs, Dr. Bowman was a member of the U. S. Delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, was named Special Adviser to the Secretary of State, became a member of the Department's Policy Committee and served as Adviser to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference. Mr. Armstrong served as Adviser to the American Ambassador in London in 1944, with the rank of Minister, as Special Adviser to the Secretary of State and as Adviser to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

Of the Group Members, Eugene Staley, of the Economic and Financial Group, was Secretary of Committee 2, Commission II, at San Francisco. David N. Rowe, a member of the Political Group, was Assistant Secretary of Committee 4, Commission III at San Francisco. Arthur Sweetser, Deputy Director of the Office of War Information, a member of the Political Group, was an Adviser to the Preparatory Commission of UNO in London in 1945. Benjamin Cohen, a member of the Economic and Financial Group, became Counsellor of the State Department and accompanied Secretary Byrnes to Potsdam, London, Moscow and Paris. John Foster Dulles, who served for a short time as a member of the Political Group, was an Adviser to the U. S. Delegation at San Francisco and at the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London in 1945. Winfield W. Riefler, a member of the Economic and Financial Group, served as Adviser on Economic Affairs to the American Ambassador in London, with the rank of Min-

ister. Carter Goodrich and Lindsay Rogers, members of the Political Group, became Chairman of the Governing Body of the ILO and Assistant Director of the ILO, respectively, and represented the ILO at San Francisco. Calvin B. Hoover, a member of the Economic and Financial Group, was Chairman of the Economic Advisers to the Allied Control Commission in Germany. Owen Lattimore, a member of the Political Group, served on the Commission on Japanese Reparations in 1945. George N. Shuster, a member of the Peace Aims Group, was a delegate to the International Education Conference of UNO at London. Major-General Frank R. McCoy, retired, a member of the Security Group, served as United States member and Chairman of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission.

This list does not pretend to be complete, nor does it, of course, include the names of the many Council members who served in the armed forces or in other wartime capacities not connected with the formulation of postwar policies. There is no implication, further, that they received official assignments as a result of their Council work; but it may be presumed that they were better prepared to carry out their official duties as a result of having already given long and specialized study to the special problems of the postwar settlement.

The program was financed by annual renewals of the initial grant of funds made by the Rockefeller Foundation late in 1939. These generous grants continued until the end of 1945. In addition, the Carnegie Corporation of New York made the Council an annual grant which contributed to the success of the work.

Quantitative statistics do not establish the importance of an enterprise, but they help to indicate its scope. In all, a total of 362 meetings were held during the operation of the War and Peace Studies, divided as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Organization meeting, December 8, 1939..... | 1 |
| Group meetings: | |
| Security and Armaments Group..... | 51 |
| Economic and Financial Group..... | 64 |
| Political Group | 52 |
| Territorial Group | 48 |
| Peace Aims Group | 34 |
| Joint group meetings | 4 |
| | — 253 |
| Steering Committee meetings | 10 |
| Plenary Sessions | 2 |
| Staff meetings | 96 |
| | — |
| Total..... | 362 |

As a rule, the groups assembled at the Council House in New York at 4:30 or 5:30 P.M.; there was an adjournment of an hour for dinner; the discussion was thereupon resumed and continued until 10:30 or 11:00 o'clock. Occasionally the Steering Committee met with representatives of the State Department at either the Department or at the Cosmos Club in Washington. At most of the group meetings in New York one or more officers of the State Department were present. In the case of the Security and Armaments Group, Secretaries Stimson and Knox appointed regular representatives of the War and Navy Departments to attend the group meetings.

In all, 682 documents were prepared and sent to the State Department. Each document was supplied in sufficient quantity so that it could be distributed to all the appropriate officers and desks. In addition, the documents reached other Departments and agencies of the Government informally, through the group membership of representatives of these Departments or agencies. The total number of documents, divided by groups, was:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Security and Armaments Group | 172 |
| Economic and Financial Group | 161 |
| Political Group | 148 |
| Territorial Group | 128 |
| Peace Aims Group | 65 |
| Steering Committee | 8 |
| | — |
| Total..... | 682 |

The Studies staff also prepared certain other material which became increasingly useful as the United States passed from a state of neutrality to a state of limited and then active participation in the war. For example, a compilation of Selected Documents and Official Statements of United States Policy was undertaken after one member had pointed out the difficulties which he had encountered as a member of the American Commission at Paris in 1919 in finding the necessary texts for consultation. The Council's collection of selected documents was kept up to date, and copies were made available to all group members as well as to the Department of State.

Despite other demands on their time, including in

many cases missions abroad for the Government, the hundred or more men who took part in the work of the various groups attended the meetings with extraordinary faithfulness. It has been estimated that, assuming an average attendance of 15 members at each meeting, individual members attended a total of 5,415 meetings, representing more than 21,000 man-hours of individual study and discussion. This figure of course does not include the time spent by members in preparing memoranda, reading documents, correcting minutes, etc., nor the time of out-of-town members in journeying to and from the meetings in New York. Most of the participants were members of the Council. With the exception of the officially-appointed representatives of the War and Navy Departments, they attended as private citizens. Many of them, however, were actively associated with the Government. The Government agencies, bureaus and offices with which group members had special connections included:

Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
Civil Aeronautics Board
Division of Statistical and Historical Research, Department
of Agriculture
Economic Defense Board
Economic Stabilization Board
Federal Loan Administration
Federal Reserve Bank
Joint Chiefs of Staff
Joint Economic Committee of the United States and Canada
National Power Policy Committee
Office of Production Management

Office of Strategic Services
Office of War Information
War Production Board

Altogether, the personnel brought to their work at the Council House a remarkably wide variety of training, experience and current information as the basis for forming mature judgment.

In proposing to undertake the assignment which has been here described, the Council was fully aware that the proper fulfillment of it would call for all the energy and attainments at the disposal of its members and staff. As the late Norman H. Davis observed in a letter to Raymond Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation: "Never in its history has the Council had the opportunity for service to the country which it enjoys today. Never has its obligation to do its work thoroughly and well been greater."

Any appraisal of the manner in which this obligation was discharged must necessarily go beyond an enumeration of the meetings held, the memoranda prepared, and the personnel called in for service, impressive as that record may be considered to be. The real touchstone is the usefulness of the studies to the Government. This was the criterion which the Steering Committee and the Rapporteurs of the groups had to keep in mind at all times, and especially in reviewing work done and in planning new work for the future.

It was recognized as important, for example, that the groups avoid rigidity of outlook, in order that their work might be of the maximum use in a world

situation which was changing constantly. When the studies were first undertaken, Germany appeared as the besieged fortress. Then the swift German victories brought most of the Continent under German domination and necessitated a re-orientation of the program in view of a possible imminent defeat of Great Britain. The abrupt entrance of the United States into the conflict was followed by other swift military and political turnings. Flexibility was imperative if new situations were to be evaluated rapidly and if future developments were to be foreseen as far as possible. The records disclose that on several occasions and in a number of important respects the groups did foresee the eventual appearance of critical problems and questions.

It was also felt that in order for the groups to be as useful as possible to the Government, they must maintain an entirely independent outlook, in keeping with the Council's character as a non-partisan and private organization. This was achieved without prejudice to cordial relations with the Department of State and without violating the arrangement under which the Council had undertaken the assignment. Indeed, the Department encouraged the Council groups to exercise independent judgment and to make appraisals of situations regardless of previous official positions.

A list of the memoranda prepared by the groups is given in Appendix B to this report. With the exception of a few which for one reason or another must still remain secret, a full set of them has been placed

in the Library of the Council on Foreign Relations and may be consulted there by Council members and others who make use of the Library facilities.

The memoranda fell into five general classifications. In the early stages of the war, the groups frequently offered an analysis of a current situation. A second type of memorandum presented information in expectation of the development of some situation. A somewhat different kind of study dealt with more general problems which, though not acute at the moment, were of such complexity and importance that no amount of advance preparation could be regarded as excessive. "Policy papers" formed a fourth kind of study; they usually contained specific recommendations based on a substantial body of preliminary memoranda and prolonged discussion. Finally, there were memoranda setting forth general principles which might serve as a guide in the formulation of future policy.

One concrete example may be cited as a sample of how group ideas and recommendations were put to use. This is not to say that similar ideas and recommendations might not have originated elsewhere; but the course of actual events shows that the Council work in this sample case entered into the stream of official discussion and action. On March 17, 1940, one of the groups issued a report entitled "The Strategic Importance of Greenland." This pointed out the strategic importance of Greenland for trans-Atlantic aviation and for meteorological observations. (The weather in Europe can be predicted two

weeks in advance by observations taken in Greenland.) It stated: "The possibility must be considered that Denmark might be overrun by Germany. In such case Greenland might be transferred by treaty to German sovereignty." It pointed out the possible danger to the United States in such an eventuality. It mentioned, further, that Greenland lies within the geographical sphere "within which the Monroe Doctrine is presumed to apply."

Shortly after the Greenland memorandum was sent to Washington one of the members of the group which had prepared it was summoned to the White House. President Roosevelt had a copy of the memorandum in his hand and said that he had turned to his visitor for advice because of his part in raising the question of Greenland's strategic importance.

Germany invaded Denmark on April 9, 1940. At his press conference three days later, the President stated that he was satisfied that Greenland belonged to the American continent. After a visit to the White House on the same day, the Danish Minister said that he and the President had agreed on this fact. At the same time the President asked the American Red Cross to investigate the needs of the people of Greenland in case supplies from Denmark should be cut off, and said he thought that the American people would be glad to send relief supplies if needed.

On April 9, 1941, an agreement was signed between the United States and Denmark. In citing the circumstances which had led up to the agreement the State Department announced that the invasion of Denmark

“at once raised the status of Greenland, which has been recognized as being within the area of the Monroe Doctrine. The Government of the United States announces its policy of maintenance of the *status quo* in the Western Hemisphere.” The agreement provided for assistance by the United States to Greenland in the maintenance of its status, and granted to the United States the right to locate and construct airplane landing fields, seaplane facilities and radio and meteorological installations as may be necessary for the defense of Greenland, and for the defense of the American continent. This was eight months before Germany declared war on the United States.

Integration of the work of the Council groups was achieved in a variety of ways. The Steering Committee had over-all direction and maintained liaison with the Department of State. The research staff met regularly, usually once a week, with the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary and the Administrative Secretary of the Steering Committee. From time to time, groups held joint sessions to exchange views on problems of mutual interest. On two occasions—after the defeat of France in 1940 and after the conclusion of the Dumbarton Oaks talks in 1944—plenary sessions were held, attended by the members of all the groups. The 1940 plenary session took place at a time when the most pressing problem for the United States was the organization of its own defense. By 1944 the war had progressed so favorably that members who attended the plenary session could discuss with officials from the Department of State the Dumbarton Oaks pro-

posals for a general international organization of the postwar world.

The termination of the War and Peace Studies Project has left the Council members who participated with mixed feelings. It has been a source of gratification to receive formal expressions of commendation from officials of the Department of State, of which the following contained in a letter from Secretary Hull is typical:

“The excellent memoranda which have resulted from your studies have been very useful to me. I feel sure that they will be of even greater use when the day for reconstruction comes at the end of hostilities. I hope that you will go on with this important work and that you will continue to give us the benefit of the research and thinking done under the Council’s auspices.”

On the other hand, it is clear that few of the great problems were really resolved by the cessation of hostilities, and that diligent work is still required if the fruits of victory are not to be frittered away. In peace as in war, the Council on Foreign Relations must seek to stimulate independent political thinking among its members and must make the results available for whatever use those officially responsible for the conduct of our foreign relations may deem fit.

APPENDIX A

PERSONNEL

(with dates of service)

STEERING COMMITTEE

Officers

- NORMAN H. DAVIS, Chairman, December 1939–July 1944
ISAIAH BOWMAN, December 1939—became Chairman, March 1945
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, Vice-Chairman, December 1939–
September 1945
WALTER H. MALLORY, Secretary, December 1939–September 1945
PAUL F. JONES, Administrative Secretary, January 1940–November 1940
FRANCIS P. MILLER, Administrative Secretary, December 1940–
February 1942
DWIGHT E. LEE, Administrative Secretary, September 1942–September 1943
JULIUS W. PRATT, Administrative Secretary, September 1943–
September 1944
RICHARD C. SNYDER, Administrative Secretary, October 1944–
February 1945
WILLIAM EDWIN DIEZ, Administrative Secretary, March 1945–
September 1945

Members

- HANSON W. BALDWIN, July 1940–September 1945
ISAIAH BOWMAN, December 1939—Chairman, March 1945
ALLEN W. DULLES, December 1939–December 1943
CARTER GOODRICH, August 1942–September 1945
ALVIN H. HANSEN, December 1939–September 1945
WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON, December 1939–June 1942
JACOB VINER, December 1939–September 1945
EDWARD P. WARNER, January 1944–September 1945
HENRY M. WRISTON, June 1942–September 1945

SECURITY AND ARMAMENTS GROUP

Rapporteurs

- ALLEN W. DULLES, Rapporteur, February 1940–June 1940; Joint Rapporteur, July 1940–December 1943.
HANSON W. BALDWIN, Joint Rapporteur, July 1940–September 1945
EDWARD P. WARNER, Joint Rapporteur, January 1944–September 1945

Research Secretaries

- WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN, February 1940–May 1941
GRAYSON KIRK, June 1941–September 1945

Members

- BRIG. GEN. THOMAS J. BETTS, July 1940–December 1943
MAJ. GEN. CLAYTON BISSELL, January 1944–September 1945
REAR ADM. RALPH DAVISON, July 1941–December 1943
EDWARD M. EARLE, March 1945–September 1945
MAJ. GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, February 1941–September 1945
JOSEPH C. GREEN, November 1943–September 1945
BRIG. GEN. HAYWOOD S. HANSELL, July 1941–July 1942
STACY MAY, July 1940–February 1945
MAJ. GEN. FRANK R. MCCOY, RET., April 1940–September 1945
COL. JAMES F. OLIVE, February 1943–February 1944
ADM. WILLIAM V. PRATT, RET., April 1941–February 1945
DAVID N. ROWE, March 1945–September 1945
CAPT. RICHARD W. RUBLE, November 1943–May 1945
HAROLD F. SHEETS, July 1942–September 1945
HAROLD SPROUT, February 1944–September 1945
ADM. WILLIAM H. STANDLEY, RET., February 1940–November 1940
MAJ. GEN. GEORGE V. STRONG, February 1940–November 1940; July 1944–September 1945
EDWARD P. WARNER, February 1940–became Joint Rapporteur, January 1944
BRIG. GEN. JOHN WECKERLING, January 1944–September 1945
HUGH R. WILSON, February 1941–November 1942
THEODORE P. WRIGHT, February 1941–September 1945

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL GROUP

Rapporteurs

ALVIN H. HANSEN, Joint Rapporteur, February 1940–September 1945

JACOB VINER, Joint Rapporteur, February 1940–September 1945

Research Secretaries

ARTHUR R. UPGREN, February 1940–July 1940

WILLIAM DIEBOLD, JR., August 1940–September 1943

ARTHUR D. GAYER, October 1943–September 1945

Members

PERCY W. BIDWELL, February 1940–September 1945

EDWIN F. CHINLUND, November 1943–September 1945

BENJAMIN V. COHEN, September 1941–September 1945

LAUCHLIN CURRIE, February 1943–September 1945

RALPH E. FLANDERS, July 1942–February 1944

HEMAN GREENWOOD, March 1945–September 1945

LEON FRASER, February 1940–November 1940

CALVIN B. HOOVER, January 1944–September 1945

WINFIELD W. RIEFLER, February 1940–March 1942

WILLIAM H. SCHUBART, July 1942–December 1944

HAROLD F. SHEETS, February 1940–May 1942

ALLAN SPROUL, February 1941–December 1943

EUGENE STALEY, February 1940–September 1945

ARTHUR R. UPGREN, July 1940–September 1945

JACOB VINER, February 1940–September 1945

JOHN H. WILLIAMS, February 1940–November 1940

POLITICAL GROUP

Rapporteurs

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON, February 1940–June 1942
HENRY M. WRISTON, Rapporteur, July 1942; Joint Rapporteur,
August 1942–September 1945
CARTER GOODRICH, Joint Rapporteur, August 1942–September
1945

Research Secretaries

WALTER LANGSAM, February 1940–February 1941
WALTER R. SHARP, February 1941–September 1945

Members

FRANK ALTSCHUL, March 1945–September 1945
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, February 1940–September 1945
JAMES P. BAXTER III, November 1943–February 1945
CHARLES W. COLE, March 1945–September 1945
JOHN FOSTER DULLES, February 1940–September 1940
MAJ. GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT, February 1941–September 1945
THOMAS K. FINLETTER, March 1945–September 1945
CARTER GOODRICH, September 1941–became Joint Rapporteur,
August 1942
WILLIAM L. LANGER, March 1945–September 1945
OWEN LATTIMORE, March 1945–September 1945
DWIGHT E. LEE, March 1945–September 1945
FRANCIS P. MILLER, May 1940–May 1943
PHILIP E. MOSELY, September 1942–February 1945
LINDSAY ROGERS, February 1941–September 1945
NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT, March 1944–February 1945
DAVID N. ROWE, November 1943–February 1945
JAMES T. SHOTWELL, February 1940–June 1943
ARTHUR SWEETSER, February 1941–September 1945
PAYSON S. WILD, March 1943–September 1945
HENRY M. WRISTON, May 1940–became Rapporteur, July 1942

TERRITORIAL GROUP

Rapporteur

ISAIAH BOWMAN, February 1940–February 1945

Research Secretaries

PHILIP E. MOSELY, March 1940–September 1941; August 1942–February 1945

WILLIAM P. MADDOX, September 1941–June 1942

Members

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, February 1940–February 1945

H. FOSTER BAIN, February 1944–February 1945

CHARLES H. BEHRE, JR., June 1942–February 1945

CHARLES W. COLE, May 1943–February 1945

JOHN C. COOPER, JR., February 1940–November 1940

RUPERT EMERSON, May 1943–February 1945

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD, September 1941–January 1942

JOHN GUNTHER, March 1941–August 1941

BRUCE C. HOPPER, February 1940–February 1945

OWEN LATTIMORE, April 1940–February 1945

FRANK W. NOTESTEIN, November 1943–February 1945

WALTER H. VOSKUIL, September 1943–February 1945

WILLIAM L. WESTERMANN, February 1940–February 1945

PEACE AIMS GROUP

Chairman

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, June 1941–February 1945

Research Secretaries

PHILIP E. MOSELY, June 1941–September 1941

MOSE L. HARVEY, November 1941–May 1942

DWIGHT E. LEE, September 1942–February 1945

Members

JAY ALLEN, November 1941–September 1942

FRANK ALTSCHUL, June 1941–February 1945

PERCY W. BIDWELL, June 1941–February 1945

CRANE BRINTON, September 1942–December 1942

ALLEN W. DULLES, June 1941–February 1945

FRANK D. GRAHAM, October 1943–February 1945

JOHN GUNTHER, June 1941–November 1941

BRUCE C. HOPPER, June 1941–February 1945

TRACY B. KITTREDGE, June 1941–April 1942

WILLIAM L. LANGER, June 1941–February 1945

JAMES G. McDONALD, June 1941–February 1945

PHILIP E. MOSELY, September 1941–February 1945

WINFIELD W. RIEFLER, June 1941–February 1945

LINDSAY ROGERS, June 1941–February 1945

WHITNEY H. SHEPARDSON, June 1941–June 1942

WILLIAM L. SHIRER, October 1943–February 1945

GEORGE N. SHUSTER, June 1941–February 1945

OSCAR C. STINE, June 1941–February 1945

ARTHUR SWEETSER, September 1942–February 1945

MAX W. THORNBURG, June 1941–November 1941

JACOB VINER, October 1942–March 1943

JOHN K. WRIGHT, November 1942–February 1945

APPENDIX B

LIST OF MEMORANDA

SECURITY AND ARMAMENTS GROUP

- A-B1 Possible Outcomes of the European War in Relation to the Armaments Problem (April 5, 1940)
- A-B2 A Survey of Significant Disarmament Proposals Prior to the World War (May 1, 1940)
- A-B3 Disarmament and Foreign Policy: An Examination of Some Basic Characteristics (May 1, 1940)
- A-B4 Possibilities of Controlling or Limiting Aircraft Suitable for Offense against Ground Objectives (June 28, 1940)
- A-B5 The Problem of Control and Supervision of Arms Limitation Agreements, 1919-34 (June 1, 1940)
- A-B6 Areas of Agreement in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission and the General Disarmament Conference (June 28, 1940)
- A-B7 Western Hemisphere Security (November 25, 1940)
- A-B8 A United States Naval Base at Recife (October 9, 1940)
- A-B9 Joint Defense Commissions with Latin America (October 9, 1940)
- A-B10 Additional Bases for the Defense of the Panama Canal (October 9, 1940)
- A-B11 United States-Canadian Relations (October 10, 1940)
- A-B12 Token Forces for the New United States Bases (October 14, 1940)
- A-B13 South American Airlines (November 15, 1940)
- A-B14 Nationalization of South American Airlines (November 23, 1940)
- A-B15 Airfields Suitable for Military Uses in South America (November 23, 1940)
- A-B16 Financial Assistance to South American Aviation (November 23, 1940)
- A-B17 Australasia: An Estimate of Military and Naval Strength (February 5, 1941)
- A-B18 The Shipping Problem (March 6, 1941)
- A-B19 The Far Eastern Crisis (March 15, 1941)
- A-B20 The Convoy Problem (April 11, 1941)

- A-B21 Suggestions on the Convoy Problem (May 1, 1941)
- A-B22 American Observers in Asiatic Russia (July 16, 1941)
- A-B23 Air Routes to Australasia (July 18, 1941)
- A-B24 A Base at Freetown (July 28, 1941)
- A-B25 An American High Commissioner in Malaysia (August 18, 1941)
- A-B26 American Missions in the Soviet Union (August 18, 1941)
- A-B27 The Repeal of the Neutrality Act (September 4, 1941)
- A-B28 Legal Preparation for a "War Status" (September 10, 1941)
- A-B29 The Recruitment of American Technicians for Service with Governments Receiving Lease-Lend Aid (October 1, 1941)
- A-B30 International Policing: A Survey of Recent Proposals (October 3, 1941)
- A-B31 The Formation of Anti-Axis Foreign Legions (October 22, 1941)
- A-B32 Emergency Policing at the End of the War (October 22, 1941)
- A-B33 The Atlantic Charter and Postwar Security (December 4, 1941)
- A-B34 Postwar Control of German Armament (December 4, 1941)
- A-B35 War Planning (December 15, 1941)
- A-B36 Suggested Negotiations with the Governments of Finland and the Soviet Union (January 12, 1942)
- A-B37 American Naval Forces in the Mediterranean (January 12, 1942)
- A-B38 Russian Military Coöperation in the Pacific War (January 12, 1942)
- A-B39 Secret Treaties (January 16, 1942)
- A-B40 Public Relations Policy in Wartime (January 16, 1942)
- A-B41 Passport and Visa Requirements for Canadian Visitors to the United States (January 16, 1942)
- A-B42 Conservation of American Man Power (January 16, 1942)
- A-B43 A Highway to Alaska (January 16, 1942)
- A-B44 The Strategy of the Indian Ocean (February 12, 1942)

- A-B45 A Military Mission to India (February 11, 1942)
- A-B46 Restriction of Publicity on Location of Armaments Plants (February 12, 1942)
- A-B47 The Warfare of Ideas (February 12, 1942)
- A-B48 Aid to Yugoslav Forces (March 5, 1942)
- A-B49 The Coördination of Intelligence Service Activities (March 5, 1942)
- A-B50 The Armistice Negotiations, 1918 (April 8, 1942)
- A-B51 Future of United States Bases and Facilities in Foreign Territories (April 16, 1942)
- A-B52 Postwar Control of Japanese Aviation (April 16, 1942)
- A-B53 Preparation for the Postwar World (May 14, 1942)
- A-B54 The Armistice Terms, 1918 (preliminary) (May 14, 1942)
- A-B55 Proposed Aircraft Ferry Routes Across the South Pacific (May 14, 1942)
- A-B56 Considerations Relating to Aerial Transportation of Supplies to Theatres of Conflict (May 28, 1942)
- A-B57 Basic Problems of the Security Program (May 26, 1942)
- A-B58 A Measure of Psychological Warfare (June 3, 1942)
- A-B59 Diplomatic Representation to Governments-in-Exile (June 8, 1942)
- A-B60 Freedom of the Air for International Air Commerce (June 2, 1942)
- A-B61 American Political Action in the Present Military Crisis (July 3, 1942)
- A-B62 Problems of International Policing (a preliminary topical outline) (July 15, 1942)
- A-B63 Strategic Air Routes Across the Indian Ocean (July 15, 1942)
- A-B64 Possible American Action in the Indian Political Crisis (July 31, 1942)
- A-B65 Oil as an Instrument in the Disarmament and Policing of Germany (August 10, 1942)
- A-B66 A Proposed Extradition Convention for Purpose of Psychological Warfare (September 11, 1942)
- A-B67 The Use of Historical Parallelism in Psychological Warfare (September 11, 1942)

- A-B68 A Supreme War Council for the United Nations (September 11, 1942)
- A-B69 Postwar Security Arrangements in the Pacific Area (September 11, 1942)
- A-B70 Problems Involved in the Creation of A Supreme War Council for the United Nations (October 28, 1942)
- A-B71 Problems of the Southwest Pacific (November 14, 1942)
- A-B72 Controls over German War Potential (November 14, 1942)
- A-B73 Prospective Needs for Civil Transport Aircraft: A Note on the Problem of Civil Aircraft as Military Potential (December 7, 1942)
- A-B74 Propaganda for the Japanese Army (December 7, 1942)
- A-B75 The Problem of Yugoslavia (December 7, 1942)
- A-B76 Postwar Security and a "Cooling-Off" Period (December 7, 1942)
- A-B77 Problems of International Policing (revised draft) (December 7, 1942)
- A-B78 Security Principles and Some Questions About the Peace Settlement (January 22, 1943)
- A-B79 Selection and Training of Political Officers for Services with the Armed Forces (January 22, 1943)
- A-B80 Strategic Bases for the United Nations (February 12, 1943)
- A-B81 The Disarmament of France (February 12, 1943)
- A-B82 Soviet Interests in Europe Affecting Postwar Security (February 12, 1943)
- A-B83 Various Types of Problems Arising in the Operation of International Policing Arrangements (March 29, 1943)
- A-B84 The Organization of an Airforce for International Policing (March 29, 1943)
- A-B85 Some Thoughts on International Police Forces (March 29, 1943)
- A-B86 Right of Free International Passage for Armed Forces of Nations Associated in a World Policing Plan (May 3, 1943)
- A-B87 Political Problems Involved in the Selection of Bases for Use in International Policing (May 3, 1943)
- A-B88 The Determination of Aggression (May 3, 1943)

- A-B89 Some Political Aspects of the Occupation of Italy (June 21, 1943)
- A-B90 Problems Involved in Regional vs. World-wide Security Organization (June 21, 1943)
- A-B91 Problems of Anglo-American Relations (June 21, 1943)
- A-B92 Relations Between an International Political Organization and an International Police Force (June 21, 1943)
- A-B93 Postwar American Policy in Relation to Civil Air Transport (July 12, 1943)
- A-B94 Security Aspects of American-Philippine Postwar Relations (September 27, 1943)
- A-B95 The Inter-American System as a Criterion for Regional Security Organization (November 2, 1943)
- A-B96 Pacific Security and the Japanese Mandated Islands (November 2, 1943)
- A-B97 Security Policy Vis-à-vis Japan (November 29, 1943)
- A-B98 Soviet Russia, Turkey, and the Straits in Present-Day Strategy (December 31, 1943)
- A-B99 The Disarmament of Germany: The Versailles Experience (February 7, 1944)
- A-B100 The Disposition of the Bonin and Ryukyu Islands (February 7, 1944)
- A-B101 The Disarmament of Germany: General Principles; Aerial Disarmament (February 29, 1944)
- A-B102 Limiting the German Army: The Versailles Experience (February 29, 1944)
- A-B103 The Oil Situation in the Middle East (March 25, 1944)
- A-B104 The Treatment of the Japanese Emperor (April 4, 1944)
- A-B105 Military Aspects of an Anglo-American Political Agreement (May 1, 1944)
- A-B106 The Disarmament of Japan (May 1, 1944)
- A-B107 The Kurile Islands (June 5, 1944)
- A-B108 The Aerial Disarmament of Japan (June 5, 1944)
- A-B109 The Future of Berlin (July 10, 1944)
- A-B110 The Respective Rôles of Land, Sea, and Air Power in International Policing (July 10, 1944)
- A-B111 Russian Sea Power, Present and Future, and Its Bearing on the Security of the United States (July 10, 1944)
- A-B112 The Regional Organization of Security (July 10, 1944)

- A-B113 Bases in a Postwar Security System (July 10, 1944)
- A-B114 The Determination of Maximum and Minimum Limits for the Future Military Power of the Victor States (October 2, 1944)
- A-B115 The Organization and Procedure of International Commissions and Conferences (October 2, 1944)
- A-B116 The Future Military Position of France (November 28, 1944)
- A-B117 The Future Armaments Positions of the Smaller Powers (November 28, 1944)
- A-B118 Some Notes on Public Relations at International Conferences (November 28, 1944)
- A-B119 Problems of Regional Security Organization (November 28, 1944)
- A-B120 The Disposition of the Italian Fleet (March 20, 1945)
- A-B121 The Authority of a Regional Organization (April 16, 1945)
- A-B122 The Proposed Inter-American Security Treaty and the United Nations (July 31, 1945)
- A-B123 The Changing Strategic Position of Britain (July 31, 1945)
- A-B124 The Postwar Treatment of Germany (July 31, 1945)

In addition, Discussion Digests of 53 meetings held between February 14, 1940, and July 31, 1945, were prepared and forwarded to the Department of State.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL GROUP

- E-B1 The Impact of the War upon the Foreign Trade of the United States (March 1, 1940)
- E-B2 The Anglo-French Economic Agreement (March 1, 1940)
- E-B3 Allied Purchasing Policy (March 1, 1940)
- E-B4 Trade Dislocation and Economic Effects (March 1, 1940)
- E-B5 Price-Fixing by Belligerents (April 6, 1940)
- E-B6 Exchange Control: Structure and Mechanism (April 6, 1940) Sup. I Exchange Control: Sterling Exchange (April 15, 1940)
- E-B7 Wartime Exchange Control (March 23, 1940)
- E-B8 Rationing (March 23, 1940)
- E-B9 The Impact of War: Summary and Interpretation (March 23, 1940)
- E-B10 The Postwar Trade Rôle of the United States (April 15, 1940)
- E-B11 Internal Influences on Imports of the United States (April 25, 1940)
- E-B12 A Pan-American Trade Bloc (May 27, 1940)
Sup. I A Study of Bloc Combinations Varying According to Importance of Economic and Defense Problems (July 15, 1940)
Sup. II Position of the Western Hemisphere as a Supplier of European Imports of Specified Commodities (July 26, 1940)
- E-B13 The Balance of Payments Position of the United States (June 3, 1940)
- E-B14 Economic Aspects of United States Interests in the War and the Peace (June 7, 1940)
- E-B15 Geographical Directions of United States Foreign Trade (June 20, 1940)
- E-B16 Alternative Outcomes of the War: American Interests and Re-Orientation (June 20, 1940)
- E-B17 The Resources of Germany and the United States. A Comparison between a German-Dominated Europe Including the Mediterranean Basin and the United States Including the Western Hemisphere: Minerals (June 28, 1940)
- E-B18 The Future Position of Germany and the United States in World Trade: Introductory (August 1, 1940)

- Sup. I Foreign Trade Needs of a German-Dominated Europe (September 6, 1940)
- Sup. II A Western Hemisphere-Pacific Area Economic Bloc (August 15, 1940)
- Sup. III Foreign Trade Position of Europe in Crude Materials and Foodstuffs (October 30, 1940)
- E-B19 The War and United States Foreign Policy: Needs of Future United States Foreign Policy (October 9, 1940)
- Sup. I A Comparison of the Trade Position of a German-Dominated Europe and a Western Hemisphere-British Empire-Far East Trade Bloc (September 16, 1940)
- E-B20 Registration of Foreign Assets in the United States and American Holdings Abroad (October 15, 1940)
- E-B21 Study of the Organization of Trade with Totalitarian Countries (October 15, 1940)
- E-B22 Study of Economic Cooperation of Countries Outside the Totalitarian Area (October 15, 1940)
- E-B23 Future Financial Aid to Great Britain (October 15, 1940)
- E-B24 Japan's Vulnerability to American Sanctions (November 23, 1940)
- Sup. I Japan's Vulnerability to American Sanctions (December 14, 1940)
- E-B25 Canadian-United States Economic Problems (February 11, 1941)
- E-B26 American Far Eastern Policy (January 15, 1941)
- E-B27 Economic Trading Blocs and Their Importance for the United States (February 10, 1941)
- E-B28 American Shipping: the Immediate Need (March 17, 1941)
- Sup. I The American Shipping Problem in Outline (April 10, 1941)
- E-B29 Census of Foreign Holdings in the United States and American Holdings Abroad (March 18, 1941)
- E-B30 Frozen Balances (March 24, 1941)
- E-B31 Problems of Bloc Trading Areas for the United States (March 7, 1941)
- E-B32 Economic War Aims: General Considerations; the Position as of April 1, 1941 (April 17, 1941)

- E-B33 The Economic Organization of Peace in the Far East (June 20, 1941)
- E-B34 Methods of Economic Collaboration: Introductory—the Rôle of the Grand Area in American Economic Policy (July 24, 1941)
Sup. I Methods of Measuring Self-Sufficiency (June 25, 1941)
- E-B35 Note on Canadian Interests in the Carribean (July 11, 1941)
- E-B36 Economic War Aims: Main Lines of Approach, Preliminary Statement (June 22, 1941)
- E-B37 Scope of New Trade Agreements (September 3, 1941)
- E-B38 England's Interests in Continental Europe and the Mediterranean Basin: Trade, Shipping, Investment (August 29, 1941)
- E-B39 An American-British Fair Trade Commission (September 24, 1941)
- E-B40 Methods of Improving Latin American Statistics (October 20, 1941)
- E-B41 The Need for Elucidation of Point Four of the Atlantic Charter (October 17, 1941)
- E-B42 Economic Aspects of Point Eight of the Atlantic Charter (October 20, 1941)
- E-B43 Economic Questions Raised by the Eight Points (October 20, 1941)
- E-B44 International Collaboration to Secure the Coördination of Stabilization Policies and to Stimulate Investment (November 28, 1941)
- E-B45 Tentative Draft of a Joint Economic Declaration by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom (January 3, 1942)
- E-B46 Rationing: With Special Attention to Fats (January 30, 1942)
- E-B47 Preparation for Reconstruction (February 11, 1942)
- E-B48 Economic Expeditionary Forces (February 28, 1942)
- E-B49 Postwar Economic Problems: International Relief, Labor Problems and Social Legislation, International Trade, International Commodity Problems, Monetary Reconstruction, International Long-Term Investment (April 1, 1942)

- E-B50 Raw Material Commitments at Rio (May 20, 1942)
- E-B51 United States Raw Materials Agreements with Latin American Republics (May 19, 1942)
- E-B52 International Coördination of Banking Policies (June 15, 1942)
- E-B53 An American-British Trade Agreement (August 10, 1942)
- E-B54 Prospects for Britain's Postwar Export Position (August 10, 1942)
- E-B55 International Control of Trade Policies (August 10, 1942)
- E-B56 American Interests in the Economic Unification of Europe with Respect to Trade Barriers (September 14, 1942)
- E-B57 Possible Revisions of the Trade Agreements Act (September 14, 1942)
- E-B58 The Streat Plan for Postwar Trade Agreements (October 15, 1942)
- E-B59 World War Debts and the Johnson Act (October 15, 1942)
- E-B60 Action To Be Taken Before the Axis Collapse (November 23, 1942)
- E-B61 The Anachronism of Lend-Lease (December 15, 1942)
- E-B62 Postwar Shipping Problems (February 4, 1943)
- E-B63 Reparations Policy Toward Germany (March 18, 1943)
- E-B64 International Adjustment of Exchange Rates (April 6, 1943)
- E-B65 A Reparations Tax (April 3, 1943)
- E-B66 International Development and Investment Bank (January 8, 1944)
- E-B67 Business Requirements with Respect to Postwar Foreign Trade in Relation to Proposed International Organizations (April 1, 1944)
- E-B68 Lend-Lease: Problems of Settlement (April 1, 1944)
- E-B69 Economic Aspects of the Postwar Treatment of Germany (May 27, 1944)
- E-B70 The Foreign Surplus-Liquidation After World War I (May 27, 1944)
- E-B71 The United States and the "Colonial Problem" (June 24, 1944)
- E-B72 Underdeveloped Countries and Exchange Control (July 29, 1944)

- E-B73 International Cartels and Problems of Monopoly Control (July 29, 1944)
- E-B74 United States Policy Toward International Cartels (July 29, 1944)
- E-B75 World Industrialization and International Trade (November 18, 1944)
- E-A76 Coupling Economic Adaptation with Trade Policy (March 27, 1945)
- E-B77 A Device to Eliminate Non-Protective Trade Barriers in the American Tariff (March 24, 1945)
- E-B78 International Aspects of Removing Wartime Economic Controls (July 26, 1945)
- E-C1 The Economic Organization of Peace (no date)
- E-C2 European Possessions in the Caribbean (November 1940)
- E-C3 Preparedness for Economic Warfare in the Light of the World War Experience of the Allies and the United States (December 17, 1940)
- E-C4 Shipping During the World War (March 11, 1941)
- E-C5 The Proposal for a Western Hemisphere-British Empire Bloc (July 15, 1941)
- E-C6 Response to the Chatham House Critique of the Proposal for a Western Hemisphere-British Empire Bloc (September 4, 1941)
- E-C7 Note on Postwar Foreign Capital Needs (January 24, 1942)
- E-C8 Chatham House Studies of Economic Aspects of the European Settlement (April 20, 1942)
- E-C9 Suggestions Regarding an International Monetary System (November 17, 1942)
- E-C10 United States Cartel Policy: Two Approaches (June 28, 1943)
- E-C11 Postwar Italy: Economic and Political Problems (July 10, 1943)
- E-C12 One of the Major Inconsistencies Between Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy (May 27, 1944)
- E-C13 Disposal of Government-Owned Surplus Assets (May 27, 1944)
- E-C14 The Problem of International Cartels (July 29, 1944)
- E-C15 The Postwar Treatment of Japan (December 16, 1944)

- E-C16 Government Export Guarantees in Postwar Trade (November 18, 1944)
- E-C17 The British Balance of Payments After the War (May 26, 1945)
- E-D1 Alternative Methods of Controlling Germany's Key Industrial Areas (July 8, 1942)

In addition, Discussion Digests of 66 meetings held between February 10, 1940, and August 3, 1945, were prepared and forwarded to the Department of State.

POLITICAL GROUP

- P-B1 Relations with the Neutral States at the Peace Conference of Paris (March 29, 1940)
- P-B2 American and British Press Opinion of an Early Attempt (1931) to Set Up an Economic Bloc in Europe (July 11, 1940)
- P-B3 History of the Campaign to Bring About American Entry into the World Court, as a Possible Object Lesson in Procedure (February 22, 1940)
- P-B4 Experience of, and American Attitudes Towards, the Post-Armistice Blockade of Germany, 1918-19 (April 27, 1940)
- P-B5 American Attitudes Towards the War and the Peace, May, 1940 (May 17, 1940)
- P-B6 Versailles, Past and Future, in the Light of German Historical Opinion (October 12, 1940)
- P-B7 Survey of American Attitudes Towards the War and Its Relation to the United States, September, 1940 (September 12, 1940)
- P-B8 An Examination of Western Hemisphere Affinities (October 5, 1940)
- P-B9 Burma Road (September 27, 1940)
- P-B10 United States Relations with Portugal (September 28, 1940)
- P-B11 Proposed Mission to French West Indies (September 28, 1940)
- P-B12 Suggestions for Acquiring Armed Bases in Latin America (October 6, 1940)
- P-B13 The Political Feasibility of the Proposals Advanced in Memorandum E-B19: Needs of Future United States Foreign Policy (November 10, 1940)
- P-B14 Memorandum on the Creation of Two Democratic Blocs in the Postwar Non-German World (November 24, 1940)
- P-B15 How is Japan Likely to React to Economic Sanctions by the United States? (December 8, 1940)
- P-B16 Secret Treaties (April 11, 1941)
- P-B17 Canadian War Problems and the Rôle of the United States (April 14, 1941)
- P-B18 Note on a Program of Joint Action for the American and British Governments (May 2, 1941)

- P-B19 The Island of Great Britain as a Factor in the Strategy of American Defense (May 16, 1941)
- P-B20 The Political Conditions of American-British Partnership (June 4, 1941)
- P-B21 General Weygand and the Position in French North Africa (June 10, 1941)
- P-B22 American Treaty Rights in Relation to the French Mandated Territories (June 12, 1941)
- P-B23 Basic American Interests: Preliminary Draft (July 10, 1941)
- P-B24 The Politico-Military Situation in West Africa (August 25, 1941)
- P-B25 A Commissioner for the Caribbean (August 26, 1941)
- P-B26 Proposal for an American Press Service in Great Britain (August 26, 1941)
- P-B27 Proposed Warning to the German Government on Abuses in Occupied Countries (September 17, 1941)
- P-B28 Institutional Arrangements for Postwar American-British Coöperation (preliminary draft) (September 17, 1941)
- P-B29 Finland's Position in the War (September 30, 1941)
- P-B30 Approaches to Postwar International Organization (preliminary draft) (September 17, 1941)
- P-B31 Considerations Affecting a Lease-Lend Settlement with Great Britain (November 22, 1941)
- P-B32 A Comparative Analysis of the Wilsonian and Roosevelt-Churchill Peace Programs (December 3, 1941)
- P-B33 Procedural Arrangements for the Postwar Settlement (December 16, 1941)
- P-B34 A Note on Spanish Morocco in Relation to Allied Strategy in the Mediterranean (December 23, 1941)
- P-B35 Re-establishment of Diplomatic Relations with Ethiopia (February 3, 1942)
- P-B36 Public Understanding of Foreign Policy in the Present Crisis (February 3, 1942)
- P-B37 Problems of Postwar International Organization: A Tentative Outline (March 2, 1942)
- P-B38 The Realization of the Social Objectives of the Atlantic Charter (April 2, 1942)
- P-B39 Washington: United Nations Center (April 27, 1942)

- P-B40 The League Experience and the Social Objectives of the Atlantic Charter (April 27, 1942)
- P-B41 The Use of Immigrants in Economic Expeditionary Forces (June 29, 1942)
- P-B42 A Publicity Policy Concerning Enemy Atrocities (July 6, 1942)
- P-B43 United Nations Reprisals Against Enemy Atrocities (July 6, 1942)
- P-B44 An American Commitment on Peace Aims (July 9, 1942)
- P-B45 Dependent Areas in the Postwar World (August 3, 1942)
- P-B46 Possible Advantages of a Preliminary Peace Treaty (August 6, 1942)
- P-B47 Suggestions for Adapting the I.L.O. for Greater Usefulness (August 7, 1942)
- P-B48 National Sovereignty and the International Tasks of the Postwar world (August 31, 1942)
- P-B49 The Japanese Mandated Islands (September 11, 1942)
- P-B50 Reparations and Cooling-Off (September 25, 1942)
- P-B51 Alternative Bases for the Development of Postwar World Organization (October 2, 1942)
- P-B52 A Yardstick for Postwar World Organization (October 5, 1942)
- P-B53 The Political Rôle of the Supreme War Council of World War I (October 30, 1942)
- P-B54 Boundaries and Cooling-Off (December 2, 1942)
- P-B55 Probable Demands of Labor in the Peace Settlement (December 8, 1942)
- P-B56 India and the United Nations (December 14, 1942)
- P-B57 The "Grading" of States (January 4, 1943)
- P-B58 Instrumentalities of United Nations Economic Coöperation: Lessons from the Allied Experience of World War I (February 4, 1943)
- P-B59 The Scope and Provisions of a Preliminary Peace Treaty (March 1, 1943)
- P-B60 The I.L.O. and the United Nations (March 22, 1943)
- P-B61 Should Non-Axis Europe Be Permanently Disarmed After the War? (March 22, 1943)
- P-B62 Ratification of a Treaty Before an Armistice (April 13, 1943)

- P-B63 Regional Collaboration for the Development of Impoverished Areas (May 3, 1943)
- P-B64 American Farmers and the Peace (May 17, 1943)
- P-B65 American Policy Toward Acts of Dispossession in Enemy-Occupied Territories (May 25, 1943)
- P-B66 American Political Commitments to Postwar International Security (May 26, 1943)
- P-B67 American Participation in International Police Activity (June 14, 1943)
- P-B68 The Distinction Between War and International Policing (June 14, 1943)
- P-B69 The Organization of Special Conferences (June 28, 1943)
- P-B70 Diplomatic Facilities and Immunities for Officials of International Agencies (July 31, 1943)
- P-B71 European Regionalism and Postwar World Organization (September 27, 1943)
- P-B72 Revision of the Boundary Between Denmark and Germany (October 25, 1943)
- P-B73 The Separation of the I.L.O. and the League (November 22, 1943)
- P-B74 The Problem of Policy-Making in Regard to the Philippines (November 22, 1943)
- P-B75 Transitional United Nations Controls in Liberated Europe (November 22, 1943)
- P-B76 Next Steps in a United Nations Policy Toward France (December 29, 1943)
- P-B77 Political Considerations Affecting Anglo-American Collaboration in the Postwar World (January 31, 1944)
- P-B78 Functional Relationships in International Organization (February 5, 1944)
- P-B79 The I.L.O. and the New Functional Organizations (March 20, 1944)
- P-B80 Problems Connected with the Evolution from Four Power Control to a General International Organization (April 17, 1944)
- P-B81 The Problem of Constituting an Independent Political Régime in Korea (May 22, 1944)
- P-B82 The Security Functions of a United Nations Political Organization (May 22, 1944)

- P-B83 Nature of Membership in "The General International Organization (July 5, 1944)
- P-B84 The Inter-American System in the Postwar World (July 5, 1944)
- P-B85 The Disposition of the Japanese Mandated Islands (July 5, 1944)
- P-B86 American Public Opinion and Postwar Security Commitments: Results of a Poll of Regional Committees on Foreign Relations, Spring 1944 (July 20, 1944)
- P-B87 The United Nations and an International Court (September 25, 1944)
- P-B88 The Case for Annexation of Micronesia by the United States (September 25, 1944)
- P-B89 The Political Future of Formosa and the Pescadores (September 25, 1944)
- P-B90 Means of Securing Sustained Popular Support for American Participation in Postwar International Organization (November 20, 1944)
- P-B91 American Representation in "The United Nations" (December 29, 1944)
- P-B92 An Approach to the European Problem of Minorities (March 19, 1945)
- P-C1 Report on French Official and Press Opinion Regarding War Aims and Peace Terms, September 1, 1939, to March 15, 1940
- P-C2 The Main Trends of British Opinion on Peace Aims, September 1939-December 1941
- P-C3 Germany's War Aims (February 11, 1941)
- P-D1 Dependent Areas in the Postwar World (preliminary draft) (July 23, 1942)

In addition, Discussion Digests of 53 meetings held between February 26, 1940, and June 18, 1945, were prepared and forwarded to the Department of State.

TERRITORIAL GROUP

- T-B1 Memorandum on Hungarian Claims and Policies in the Reconstruction of Europe (March 17, 1940)
- T-B2 The Near and Middle East at the End of the World War (1919-23) and at the End of the Present War (March 23, 1940)
- T-B3 The Strategic Importance of Greenland (March 17, 1940)
- T-B4 The Strategic Importance of Iceland (April 11, 1940)
- T-B5 Treaty Basis of United States Rights with Respect to Mandated Territories (April 18, 1940)
- T-B6 Tentative Proposal for a Conference of Non-Belligerent Blocs or Countries (April 6, 1940)
- T-B7 The Interests of the United States and the Fate of Small Nation-States in Europe (April 15, 1940)
- T-B8 Political Regions of Eastern Asia (May 13, 1940)
- T-B9 The Legal Situation in the Arctic (May 20, 1940)
- T-B10 Refugee Settlement (May 15, 1940)
- T-B11 Principles of United States Foreign Policy (June 28, 1940)
- T-B12 Bases of Possible American Participation in the War in Europe (June 10, 1940)
- T-B13 Alternatives to Absolute National Sovereignty of the Airspace (June 12, 1940)
- T-B14 Some Problems Concerning the Navigation of the Airspace above the Territorial Waters (July 16, 1940)
- T-B15 Some Prospective Problems of United States-Canadian Relations (July 18, 1940)
- T-B16 General Situation in the Mediterranean Area, May-June, 1940 (July 8, 1940)
- T-B17 Alternatives of United States Policy in the Western Pacific (September 19, 1940)
- T-B18 A Reappraisal of the Stimson Doctrine (November 4, 1940)
- T-B19 A Hemisphere Policy on Air Navigation (October 12, 1940)
- T-B20 Aid to China (October 11, 1940)
- T-B21 Significance for American Policy of the Soviet Technique of Expansion (October 28, 1940)
- T-B22 Alternatives of American Policy toward Russia (December 9, 1940)

- T-B23 Mediterranean Problems as Posed by the Situation of March 1, 1941 (March 1, 1941)
- T-B24 American Interference and Non-Interference in Europe, 1823-1914 (March 6, 1941)
- T-B25 Territories and Boundaries (March 6, 1941)
- T-B26 The Soviet-Japanese Treaty of Neutrality, April 13th, 1941, and World Revolution in the Far East (April 19, 1941)
- T-B27 Possible Effects of an Agreement between Russia and Japan (April 3, 1941)
- T-B28 The Relation of the United States to Greenland (May 16, 1941)
- T-B29 The Chinese Communists, the Comintern, and the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Agreement (May 6, 1941)
- T-B30 Coming American Responsibilities in the Caribbean (April 11, 1941)
- T-B31 The Near East (June 25, 1941)
- T-B32 A Current Balance Sheet of the "Free French" Movement (July 30, 1941)
- T-B33 The Russo-German War, Turkey and Iran (July 31, 1941)
- T-B34 Questions of America's Policy Regarding the Nazi-Bolshevik War (August 22, 1941)
- T-B35 A Program of Support for the Governments-in-Exile (September 18, 1941)
- T-B36 Iran as a Route for American Aid to Russia (September 22, 1941)
- T-B37 Supplementary Note on "A Program of Support for the Governments-in-Exile" (September 25, 1941)
- T-B38 American Representation in Critical Areas (October 20, 1941)
- T-B39 Proposals for America's Policy with Respect to Japan (November 15, 1941)
- T-B40 An American Policy Respecting Turkey—Implications of the Turkish-German Trade Agreement of October 9, 1941 (November 15, 1941)
- T-B41 Need for Immediate American-British Consideration of Postwar Issues (November 17, 1941)

- T-B42 The Free French in American Wartime Strategy (December 19, 1941)
- T-B43 America's Interest in the Question of Former Italian East Africa (December 24, 1941)
- T-B44 Current American Policy Toward European "Free Movements" and Governments-in-Exile (January 19, 1942)
- T-B45 Encouragement of a "Free Italy" Movement (January 19, 1942)
- T-B46 Afghanistan and the War (February 20, 1942)
- T-B47 The United States and the Anglo-Russian War Agreement with Iran (February 20, 1942)
- T-B48 The United States and Syria-Lebanon (April 21, 1942)
- T-B49 Italian Libya: Consideration of Some Alternative Proposals Affecting Its Future Status (April 27, 1942)
- T-B50 Political-Territorial Changes and the Stimson Doctrine (June 11, 1942)
- T-B51 The Future of the Italian Possessions in the Aegean Sea (June 25, 1942)
- T-B52 The Future of Albania (July 7, 1942)
- T-B53 The Consequences of Establishing an Independent Syria (August 19, 1942)
- T-B54 Postwar United States-Philippine Relations (August 31, 1942)
- T-B55 Russia and an East European Federation (October 26, 1942)
- T-B56 Near Eastern Peoples Without a National Future: The Kurds (December 1, 1942)
- T-B57 Mineral Supplies of Muslim and Hindu India, Compared (December 15, 1942)
- T-B58 Current Yugoslav Quarrels: The American Interest (December 18, 1942)
- T-B59 The Future of Cyprus (February 16, 1943)
- T-B60 The German-Belgian Boundary (March 1, 1943)
- T-B61 Near Eastern Peoples Without a National Future: The Assyrians (Nestorian Christians) (March 1, 1943)
- T-B62 Chinese Mineral Resources and the Future of China (April 26, 1943)
- Sup. I Chinese Mineral Resources and the Future of China: Leading Iron Smelting and Steel Operations Companies (revised table) (June 14, 1943)

- T-B63 Mongolia and the Peace Settlement (June 8, 1943)
- T-B64 Near Eastern Peoples Without a National Future: The Armenians (July 25, 1943)
- T-B65 Thailand (August 2, 1943)
- T-B66 Regional Collaboration in the Low Countries (August 4, 1943)
- T-B67 Regionalism in Southeast Asia (September 14, 1943)
- T-B68 The New Zionism and a Policy for the United States (October 19, 1943)
- T-B69 The Future Status of Indo-China as an Example of Post-war Colonial Relationships (November 16, 1943)
- T-B70 Great Britain, Russia, and the United States in Iran (January 18, 1944)
- T-B71 Controls of Competition in International Air Transport (March 14, 1944)
- T-B72 Problems of Policy Toward Areas of Heavy Population Pressure (April 21, 1944)
- T-B73 Mineral Resources and the U.S.S.R. as a World Power (May 25, 1944)
- T-B74 Elements to Be Considered in an Oil Policy for the United States (May 16, 1944)
- T-B75 Limitations of the Plebiscite in the Settlement of Boundary Disputes (June 4, 1944)
- T-B76 Palestine: A Solution of Its Immediate Problem (December 19, 1944)
- T-B77 The Problem of National "Free Access" to Minerals (December 19, 1944)
- T-B78 The German Problem (December 19, 1944)
- T-D1 Control of the Ruhr Area as a Means of Restricting Germany's War Potential (July 8, 1942)
- T-D2 Political, Territorial and Strategic Elements of a Settlement in the Far East (July 22, 1942)

In addition, Discussion Digests of 48 meetings held between February 16, 1940, and December 19, 1944, were prepared and forwarded to the Department of State.

PEACE AIMS GROUP

- A-1 Polish Peace Aims (June 2, 1941)
- A-2 Czechoslovak Peace Aims (June 16, 1941)
- A-3 Norwegian Peace Aims (June 30, 1941)
- A-4 Austria and the Danubian Problem (Legitimist presentation) (July 14, 1941)
- A-5 Yugoslav Peace Aims (August 5, 1941)
- A-6 Rumanian Peace Aims (August 18, 1941)
- A-7 Hungarian Peace Aims (September 4, 1941)
- A-8 Baltic Peace Aims (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) (September 15, 1941)
- A-9 Digest of Preliminary Views Regarding the Peace Aims of Eastern European Nations (December 15, 1941)
- A-10 Italian Peace Aims (December 15, 1941)
- EN-A11 French Peace Aims
& 12 (January 12th and February 2, 1942)
- EN-A13 Netherlands Peace Aims (February 16, 1942)
- EN-A14 Greek Peace Aims (March 16, 1942)
- EN-A15 Danish Peace Aims (April 13, 1942)
- EN-A16 Belgian Peace Aims (May 14, 1942)
- EN-A17 Digest of Preliminary Views Regarding the Peace Aims of European Nations (September 1, 1942)
- EN-A18 British Peace Aims
& 19 (September 16 and October 8, 1942)
- EN-A20 Draft Memorandum on a United Nations Program for Freedom from Want of Food (December 7, 1942)
- EN-A21 Norwegian Peace Aims (January 18, 1943)
- EN-A22 French Peace Aims (Leftist opinion) (February 8, 1943)
- EN-A23 French Peace Aims (third discussion) (March 23, 1943)
- EN-A24 Czechoslovak Peace Aims (second discussion) (April 12, 1943)
- EN-A25 Future of the Jews in Europe with Special Relation to Palestine (May 31, 1943)
- EN-A26 Spain and the Peace Settlement (July 26, 1943)
- EN-A27 Republican Spain and the Peace Settlement (October 4, 1943)
- EN-A28 Swedish Peace Aims (November 1, 1943)
- EN-A29 French Peace Aims (fourth discussion) (December 6, 1943)

- EN-A30 Austria and the Peace Settlement (January 10, 1944)
- EN-A31 Germany and the Peace Settlement (first and second dis-
& 32 cussions) (February 28 and March 27, 1944)
- EN-A33 Germany and the Peace Settlement (third discussion)
(April 24, 1944)

In addition, Discussion Digests of certain of the meetings held between June 2, 1941, and October 4, 1943, were prepared and forwarded to the Department of State. Also, the following special reports were submitted:

- C-1 A Central-Eastern European Economic Bloc and Czechoslovak Interests (August 7, 1941)
- C-2 Austria and the Danubian Problem (Austrian Social-Democratic presentation) (September 12, 1941)
- C-3 Austria and the Danubian Problem (Austrian Center presentation) (October 4, 1941)
- C-4 Macedonia and the Postwar Settlement (November 21, 1941)
- C-5 The Future of Hungary (December 3, 1941)
- EN-C6 Chatham House Studies on the European Settlement (April 21, 1942)
- EN-C7 Political Trends in France and United Nations Policy (January 25, 1943)
- EN-C8 Political Alignments and the Outlook for Democratic Reconstruction in Germany (February 10, 1943)
- EN-C9 Summary of French Peace Aims (February 23, 1943)
- EN-C10 Summary of Belgian Peace Aims (March 1, 1943)
- EN-C11 Summary of Netherlands Peace Aims (March 1, 1943)
- EN-C12 Summary of Danish Peace Aims (March 8, 1943)
- EN-C13 Summary of Norwegian Peace Aims (March 15, 1943)
- EN-C14 Summary of Czechoslovak Peace Aims (May 5, 1943)
- EN-C15 Austrian Peace Aims: Views of Emigré Groups (July 26, 1943)
- EN-C16 Views of Some European Socialists on Peace (November 20, 1943)

STEERING COMMITTEE

- SC-B1 List of Memoranda Issued December 1939–December 1941, with an Analysis of Recommendations (December 31, 1941)
- SC-B2 List of Memoranda Issued in 1942 with Recommendations or Conclusions (dated December 31, 1942, but not listed among documents issued in 1942)
- SC-B3 Index of Memoranda Issued to December 31, 1942 (March 15, 1943)
- SC-B4 List of Memoranda Issued in 1943 with Recommendations or Conclusions (December 31, 1943)
- SC-B5 Index of Memoranda Issued During 1943, Supplement to SC-B3 (March 15, 1944)
- SC-B6 Index of Memoranda Issued During 1944, Supplement to SC-B3 and SC-B5 (March 15, 1945)
- SC-C1 Problems of International Air Transport; Special Meeting (April 5, 1943)
- SC-C2 Special Conference on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, held at Princeton, New Jersey, October 20-22, 1944