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
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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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-
The editorial 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.

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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.

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 Secretarieship 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. Riesler, 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
  .................................................... 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
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

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
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
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

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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. Chinalund, 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. Nettestein, 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. Thronburg, June 1941–November 1941
Jacob Viner, October 1942–March 1943
John K. Wright, November 1942–February 1945

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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)

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A-B123 The Changing Strategic Position of Britain (July 31, 1945)
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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)
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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)

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TERRITORIAL GROUP

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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)

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EN-A30 Austria and the Peace Settlement (January 10, 1944)
EN-A31 Germany and the Peace Settlement (first and second discussions) (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)

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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