

# BERICHTE UND URKUNDEN

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## VÖLKERRECHT

### Dokumente über die gegnerischen Kriegsziele

#### I. Gemeinsame Erklärung des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und des britischen Premierministers vom 12. August 1941 <sup>1)</sup>

“The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea.

“They have been accompanied by officials of their two Governments, including high-ranking officers of their Military, Naval, and Air Services.

“The whole problem of the supply of munitions of war, as provided by the Lease-Lend Act, for the armed forces of the United States and for those countries actively engaged in resisting aggression has been further examined.

“Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Supply of the British Government, has joined in these conferences. He is going to proceed to Washington to discuss further details with appropriate officials of the United States Government. These conferences will also cover the supply problems of the Soviet Union.

“The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the stress which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

“They have agreed upon the following joint declaration:

“Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

“First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

“Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

“Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

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<sup>1)</sup> The Department of State Bulletin Vol. V, Nr. 112, p. 125—126. — Die Erklärung ist am 14. August 1941 durch das Weiße Haus und durch den Lordsigelbewahrer und Stellvertretenden Premierminister Mr. Attlee im britischen Rundfunk (Times vom 15. 8. 1941) bekanntgegeben worden.

“Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

“Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

“Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

“Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

“Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT  
WINSTON S CHURCHILL”

## **2. Bemerkungen des Staatssekretärs der Vereinigten Staaten in der Pressekonferenz vom 14. August 1941 zu der Gemeinsamen Erklärung des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und des britischen Premierministers <sup>1)</sup>**

“It is a statement of basic principles and fundamental ideas and policies that are universal in their practical application. They have heretofore been generally accepted by all civilized nations and were being strongly supported until certain countries decided to launch a universal movement to destroy the whole structure of civilized relations between nations and to establish a system of rule over peoples who would be conquered, based, as I said some days ago, largely on barbarism and savagery. That interruption is still going on.

“As I said, they are the basic doctrines and policies that have received the support of all civilized nations and should continue to receive their support until they are completely restored throughout the world.”

## **3. Botschaft des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten an den Kongreß vom 20. August 1941 <sup>2)</sup>**

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Over a week ago I held several important conferences at sea with the British Prime Minister. Because of the factor of safety to British, Canadian, and American ships and their personnel, no prior announcement of these meetings could properly be made.

At the close, a public statement by the Prime Minister and the President was made. I quote it for the information of the Congress and for the record: . . .

<sup>1)</sup> The Department of State Bulletin Vol. V, Nr. 112, p. 126.

<sup>2)</sup> The Department of State Bulletin Vol. V, Nr. 113, p. 147.

The Congress and the President having heretofore determined through the Lend Lease Act on the national policy of American aid to the democracies which East and West are waging war against dictatorships, the military and naval conversations at these meetings made clear gains in furthering the effectiveness of this aid.

Furthermore, the Prime Minister and I are arranging for conferences with the Soviet Union to aid it in its defense against the attack made by the principal aggressor of the modern world—Germany.

Finally, the declaration of principles at this time presents a goal which is worth while for our type of civilization to seek. It is so clear cut that it is difficult to oppose in any major particular without automatically admitting a willingness to accept compromise with Nazism; or to agree to a world peace which would give to Nazism domination over large numbers of conquered nations. Inevitably such a peace would be a gift to Nazism to take breath—armed breath—for a second war to extend the control over Europe and Asia to the American Hemisphere itself.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to call attention once more to the utter lack of validity of the spoken or written word of the Nazi government.

It is also unnecessary for me to point out that the declaration of principles includes of necessity the world need for freedom of religion and freedom of information. No society of the world organized under the announced principles could survive without these freedoms which are a part of the whole freedom for which we strive.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

The WHITE HOUSE,  
August 2, 1941.

#### 4. Rede des britischen Premierministers im Unterhaus vom 9. September 1941 <sup>1)</sup>

(Auszug)

I have as the House knows, hitherto consistently deprecated the formulation of peace aims or war aims, however you put it, by his Majesty's Government at this stage. I deprecate it at this time when the end of the war is not in sight, when the conflict sways to and fro with alternating fortunes and when conditions and associations at the end of the war are unforeseeable. But a joint declaration by Great Britain and the United States is an event of a totally different nature. (Hear, hear.) Although the principles in the declaration, and much of the language, have long been familiar to the British and American democracies, the fact that it is a united declaration sets up a milestone or a monument which needs only the stroke of victory to become a permanent part of the history of human progress.

The purpose of the joint declaration signed by President Roosevelt and myself on August 12 is stated in the preamble to be:—

To make known certain common principles in the national policies of our respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

No words are needed to emphasize the future promise held out to the world by such a joint declaration by the United States and Great Britain. I need only draw attention, for instance, to the phrase in paragraph 6—"after

<sup>1)</sup> Times vom 10. 9. 1941, S. 9.

the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" — to show the profound and vital character of the solemn agreement into which we have jointly entered.

Questions have been asked and will no doubt be asked as to exactly what is implied by this or that point and explanations have been invited. It is a wise rule that when two parties have agreed to a statement one of them shall not thereafter without consultation with the other seek to put special strained interpretations upon this or that passage. I propose therefore to speak to-day only in an exclusive sense.

First, the joint declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case which will have to be dealt with when the war comes to an end. It would not be wise for us at this moment to be drawn into laborious discussions on how it is to fit all the manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war.

Secondly, the joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of obligations arising from our long connexion with India and our responsibilities to its many free races and interests. Burma is also covered by our considered policy of establishing Burmese selfgovernment and by the measures already in progress.

At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind primarily restoration of the sovereignty, selfgovernment, and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles which would govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of the countries which might have to be made. So that is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity, and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration.

##### **5. Erklärung des Premierministers von Nordirland im Parlament von Nordirland vom 9. September 1941 zu der Gemeinsamen Erklärung des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und des britischen Premierministers <sup>1)</sup>**

Mr. J. Beattie (Labour) asked the Prime Minister (Mr. Andrews) whether he would make a statement on the attitude of the Government to the declaration, which included the sovereign rights of small nations, and whether this clause would be acceptable to the Government in all its bearings.

The Prime Minister. — The views of this Government are in complete accord with the eight-point declaration of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, and in particular when it is laid down definitely that they desire to see no territorial changes which do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned and their rights to choose the form of Government under which they will live.

<sup>1)</sup> Times vom 10. 9. 1941, S. 2.

Mr. Beattie. — Is it not clear, and without any misunderstanding, what clause 3 really means, and that is the sovereign rights of small nations? I am glad the Prime Minister agrees with it. I hope that after the war, the north, south, east, and west of Ireland will live happily together.

The Prime Minister. — I entirely disagree with your interpretation of clause 3.

#### 6. Resolutionen der Londoner Interalliierten Konferenz vom 24. September 1941

a) Resolution zur Billigung der in der Gemeinsamen Erklärung des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und des britischen Premierministers niedergelegten Grundsätze<sup>1)</sup>

“The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia, and the representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of free Frenchmen,

Having taken note of the Declaration recently drawn up by the President of the United States and by the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom,

Now make known their adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in that Declaration and their intention to co-operate to the best of their ability in giving effect to them.”

<sup>1)</sup> Inter-Allied Meeting Held in London at St. James's Palace on September 24, 1941. Report of Proceedings. Miscellaneous No. 3 (1941) [Cmd. 6315], p. 6—7.

Der Annahme der durch den britischen Staatssekretär für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten Mr. Eden eingebrachten Resolution ist eine Aussprache vorausgegangen, in der die Vertreter aller Unterzeichner das Wort ergriffen haben.

Die nach Eröffnung der Sitzung von dem sowjetischen Botschafter Maisky abgegebene Erklärung lautet (a. a. O. S. 4 ff.):

»The present conference has assembled in London at a time when Hitlerite Germany, after having enslaved and ravaged several European countries, is conducting with particular force and unprecedented brutality her predatory war against the Soviet Union.

Three months have elapsed since that day when the Panzer hordes of Nazi Germany treacherously attacked my country and invaded its territory.

For three months the Soviet people and their beloved Red Army, Navy and Air Force have been waging a heroic battle against the perfidious enemy, bearing upon their shoulders the main burden of the fight against a bloodthirsty aggressor, who threatens the social and political institutions and achievements of freedom-loving nations, who endangers the very foundations of culture and civilisation.

In this war, imposed by Hitlerite fascism upon the democratic countries, the destiny of Europe and the destiny of humanity itself for many decades to come is being decided.

It cannot be tolerated that peaceful and freedom-loving peoples should be menaced by the Nazi yoke, and that a gang of Hitlerite marauders, armed to the teeth, pretending and proclaiming itself to be a “Herrenvolk”, a master race, should continue to demolish towns and villages, to convert flourishing lands into deserts, to exterminate thousands and hundreds of thousands of peaceful people, with the delirious idea that the Hitlerite murderers must dominate the world

The first task of all nations and all States compelled to wage war against Hitlerite Germany and her allies is to bring about the speediest and most decisive defeat of the aggressor. For the full accomplishment of that task they must assemble and devote all their strength and resources, and determine the most effective ways and means of reaching their goal. It is the task which at the present time unites all the Governments which have sent their representatives to this conference.

Our countries face also the most important problem of laying the basis for the organisation of international relations, and of constituting the post-war world in such a way as to spare our peoples and our future generations the monstrous crimes of Nazism, incompatible with human culture. The U.S.S.R. is firmly convinced that this task will be successfully accomplished, and that as a result of complete and final victory over Hitlerism there will be laid the true foundations of international co-operation and friendship, corresponding to the aspirations and ideals of freedom-loving peoples.

That is what all the peoples of my country are striving for. That is what inspires the Soviet Government in all its activities and in its foreign policy. The Soviet Union has applied, and will apply, in its foreign policy the high principle of respect for the sovereign rights of peoples.

The Soviet Union was, and is, guided in its foreign policy by the principle of self-determination of nations. It is guided by the same principle which, in fact, embodies recognition of the sovereignty and the equality of nations in its dealings with various nationalities embraced within the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Indeed, this principle forms one of the pillars on which the political structure of the U. S. S. R. is built.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union defends the right of every nation to independence and territorial integrity of its country, and its right to establish such a social order and to choose such a form of government as it deems opportune and necessary for the better promotion of its economic and cultural prosperity.

The Soviet Union, which followed that principle in all its policy and in all its relations with other nations, has consistently and with full force denounced all violations of sovereign rights of peoples, all aggression and aggressors, all and any attempts of aggressive States to impose their will upon other peoples and to involve them in war. The Soviet Union has untiringly and resolutely advocated, and advocates to-day, the necessity of collective action against aggressors, as one of the most effective means of bringing about the triumph of those principles, and advancing the peace and security of nations.

Striving for a radical solution of the problem of safeguarding freedom-loving peoples against all the dangers they encounter from aggressors, the Soviet Union has at the same time fought for complete and general disarmament. The Soviet Union is ready to give a fitting answer to any blow from the aggressor. At the same time it has been, and still is, building its foreign policy upon the desire to maintain peaceful and neighbourly relations with all countries which respect the integrity and inviolability of its borders. The Soviet Union was, and is, willing to render all possible assistance to peoples becoming victims of aggression and fighting for the independence of their native land.

In accordance with a policy inspired by these principles, which have been unswervingly applied by the Soviet Union, a policy which, moreover, has been expressed in numerous Acts and documents, the Soviet Government proclaims its agreement with the fundamental principles of the declaration of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and of Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain—principles which are so important in the present international circumstances.

Considering that the practical application of these principles will necessarily adapt itself to the circumstances, needs and historic peculiarities of particular countries, the Soviet Government can state that a consistent application of these principles will secure the most energetic support on the part of the Government and peoples of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the Soviet Government considers it imperative to declare with particular emphasis that all peoples which have recognised the necessity of smashing Hitlerite aggression and annihilating the yoke of Nazism today have one main task—to mobilise all the economic and military resources of freedom-loving peoples, in order to attain a full and speedy emancipation of the nations groaning under the oppression of the Hitlerite hordes.

Attributing great importance to the equitable use of all material resources and food-stuffs in the post-war period, the Soviet Government believes that the most imperative and most pressing task of to-day is the correct allocation of all the economic resources and war supplies with a view to an early liberation of all the European peoples now oppressed by Hitlerite slavery.«

Die Erklärung des britischen Staatssekretärs bei Einbringung der Resolution hat folgenden Wortlaut (a. a. O. S. 7):

»The text of the draft resolution concerning the Declaration made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill at the Atlantic meeting has already been circulated to you, and I now wish to propose it formally for adoption.

The preamble of this resolution makes no mention of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, or of His Majesty's Governments in Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, for the reason that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is a party to the original Declaration, and that the Dominion Governments are already associated with it.

This Declaration, which expresses the general aims for which the British Commonwealth and the Allies are now fighting, has already been welcomed by free men everywhere. Mr. Winston Churchill, in his broadcast speech of the 24th August to the British people, and in the House of Commons on the 9th September, has explained the significance which His Majesty's Government attach to this Declaration. I do not myself wish to add anything here to what the Prime Minister has said, except to express my conviction that approval of the Declaration by the Allied countries will add greatly to its influence and encourage the world-wide forces now gathered to defeat Germany.«

Die von dem Außenminister der emigrierten niederländischen Regierung Dr. van Kleffens abgegebene Erklärung (a. a. O. S. 12f.) lautet:

»On behalf of the Netherlands Government I am happy to express adhesion to the Declaration of Principles which seems destined to be known in history as the Atlantic Charter.

We give our adhesion because it is our conviction that the principles underlying the Charter, if properly applied, will go far to advance that better international order which is to bring to all countries international and national security and prosperity. We thank the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for having taken this auspicious initiative.

I should like to add a statement, asking that it be put on record, on one specific point: the fourth of the joint British-American Declaration, which says that the United States and the United Kingdom "will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

The words "with due respect for their existing obligations" appear to be in the nature of a reservation, and in their strictly legal sense these words seem natural enough. But it seems to us equally natural that, if the object expressed in this fourth point of the Declaration is to be achieved, such existing obligations should not be perpetuated, even

as exceptions, when it is clear that their continued operation would seriously impair or diminish the beneficial effect which is to accrue to all from the application of the general rule. In our present world, which is only the morrow of yesterday's world with its nefarious autarchic tendencies—the very opposite of the spirit expressed in the Atlantic Charter—we shall all have to do away, to some considerable extent, with measures designed to protect existing economic units. This will mean sacrifices for all, though these sacrifices will be worth the price if, as we confidently anticipate, greater national and international stability, and greater prosperity is the result. Since in the economic field protection engenders protection, there should not be left in being, in our opinion, important exceptions to the general rule of free access to trade and raw materials on the basis of equal opportunities for all. Otherwise this fine principle, to which the Netherlands who have always stood for freedom of commerce profess full adhesion, would degenerate into a fine phrase. It does not seem to us out of place to state this explicitly: at the end of the last war, the same principle found solemn expression in almost identical terms, and we all know what became of it when the snowball of protection was set rolling until it became so large that it was a serious obstacle in the path of international trade.

My Government therefore takes the reservation in point 4 to mean that, just as no existing obligation is invalidated by that point *ipso facto*, so no such obligation is thereby to be perpetuated. Further, I should like to place on record the view of my Government that the highly important aims enunciated in point 4 of the Declaration cannot be attained if considerable exceptions thereto are left in being. For that reason we express the earnest hope that, desirous as we are to see trade barriers removed and discriminatory treatment in international commerce abolished, a serious common effort be made to that end for the ultimate benefit of all.\*

Die von dem emigrierten tschecho-slowakischen Außenminister Masaryk verlesene polnisch-tschechoslowakische Deklaration hat folgenden Wortlaut (a. a. O. S. 16f.):

»The Polish and the Czechoslovak Governments, animated by the spirit of solidarity which inspired their joint declaration of the 11th November, 1940, on the necessity of establishing after the war a confederation between the two countries, make the following joint declaration before the Conference of the Allies:—

“The Governments of the Republic of Poland and of the Republic of Czechoslovakia declare that they are determined to assist in the spirit of close and friendly collaboration in the realisation of the principal aims of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration, namely, the security against a third war and the economic prosperity of the world. Moreover, remembering the experience of the Polish and Czechoslovak nations, which have suffered so much from the insatiable aggressiveness of Germany, both Governments are of the opinion that safeguards against a third German war must be sought not only in the complete preventive destruction of the means which Germany might use in the future in another attempt at the realisation of her aggressive plans, but also in furnishing effective political and material guarantees, and in offering the necessary economic assistance for the reconstruction of the despoiled economies of these nations, which were and may again become, the object of the initial aggressive acts on the part of Germany.

“The two Governments are convinced that the carrying out of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration in the spirit of justice, which does not admit the uniformity of treatment of those guilty of provoking world-wars and of the victims of these wars will lay the foundations of a new order in Europe, based upon a permanent system of general security, on general prosperity and on social justice. The achievement of this aim will convince the nations of the Continent that their sufferings during the world-war of 1914—18 and during the present war were neither unavailing nor fruitless.”\*



b) Resolution über Maßnahmen zur Versorgung Europas<sup>1)</sup>

“The Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia, and the representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen, agree: —

(1) That it is their common aim to secure that supplies of food, raw materials and articles of prime necessity should be made available for the post-war needs of the countries liberated from Nazi oppression.

(2) That, while each of the Allied Governments and authorities will be primarily responsible for making provision for the economic needs of its own peoples, their respective plans should be co-ordinated, in a spirit of inter-allied collaboration, for the successful achievement of the common aim.

(3) That they welcome the preparatory measures which have already been undertaken for this purpose and express their readiness to collaborate to the fullest extent of their power in pursuing the action required.

(4) That, accordingly, each of the Allied Governments and authorities should prepare estimates of the kinds and amounts of foodstuffs, raw materials and articles of prime necessity required, and indicate the order of priority in which it would desire supplies to be delivered.

(5) That the re-provisioning of Europe will require the most efficient employment after the war of the shipping resources controlled by each Government and of Allied resources as a whole, as well as of those belonging to other European countries, and that plans to this end should be worked out as soon as possible between the Allied Governments and authorities, in consultation as and when appropriate with other Governments concerned.

(6) That, as a first step, a bureau should be established by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, with which the Allied Governments and authorities would collaborate in framing estimates of their requirements, and which, after collating and co-ordinating these estimates, would present proposals to a Committee of Allied representatives under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross.”

<sup>1)</sup> A. a. O., S. 17—18.

Bei Einbringung der Resolution hat der britische Staatssekretär für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten u. a. erklärt (a. a. O., S. 19 ff.):

„The second resolution which I have to put before you to-day deals with the practical steps which must be taken in order to provide for the supply of necessities to the occupied territories as soon as the German oppressors have been removed.

...Our concern to-day is to agree to the first necessary steps to ensure that the initiatives severally taken shall so far as possible be brought into accord with a common plan for the general good. How shall we set about it? What practical programme of action are we to devise? There are four principal features of such a programme.

At the outset a comprehensive survey must be made of probable requirements in the order of their urgency, and data must be collected regarding potentially available supplies. A broad scheme of long-distance transport must be planned well in advance. Gradually reserve stocks must be organised in the most convenient places. In due course the administration and finance of their transfer to Europe and of their further distribution must be arranged.

... It is proposed that we shall start with first things first, namely an agreed declaration on shipping policy, the establishment of a Bureau to survey requirements, and of

an inter-Allied Committee to deal with the proposals of the Bureau. By this means effective collaboration amongst ourselves will be assured.

Such collaboration alone, however, will not be enough. It is obvious that the satisfaction of the post-war needs of Europe will also depend upon the co-operation of the great primary producing countries overseas.

We have, therefore, already approached the Governments of the Dominions and of the United States of America and informed them of our immediate plans and of our hopes. The presence here to-day of the Dominion representatives, and the association of the Dominion Governments with the Resolution is substantial proof that we can count upon the invaluable help of these Governments.

As regards the United States of America, I am sure that all those present will share my great satisfaction at the encouragement we have already received at this stage from the United States Government, who through their Ambassador have authorised me to make the following statement at the Meeting on their behalf:—

“The Government of the United States has been advised of the purpose of this Meeting and acquainted with the terms of the Draft Resolution which is to be presented for consideration. It has requested the United Kingdom Government to state to this Meeting its opinion that the undertaking is of great prospective usefulness. It understands that the present discussions will be of an exploratory nature, and states that it stands ready at the appropriate time to consider in what respects it can co-operate in accomplishing the ends in view.

“It has pointed out that any plans that may be worked out are of great potential interest to the United States for various reasons. They might affect the current American defence effort. According to their substance, form and method they might also affect commercial policies and relationships and even broader post-war arrangements. For these reasons it makes the request that it be kept fully advised regarding the course of these exploratory discussions, and that it be consulted regarding any plans which might emanate therefrom.”

I have, of course, been very happy to give the United States Ambassador an assurance that the United States Government will be kept fully informed of the discussions at and arising out of this Meeting and of the work accomplished by the Bureau and the inter-Allied Committee, and that they will be consulted before any concrete plans are decided upon.

We have also previously had some contact with the United States Government in regard to the treatment of surplus production, and we know that they are deeply interested in planning for the co-ordination of stocks and marketing of some of the most important commodities — especially wheat and cotton.

The statement which they have authorised me to make on their behalf shows that they will not be unwilling at the right time to join in framing the plans for the supply of Europe's needs on a basis of co-operation. It is clear that some joint marketing arrangements will be required both from the point of view of producers and consumers. Wasteful and costly competition in acquiring stocks and the violent price movements which would result from such competition should be avoided; and nothing must be allowed to prevent a fair allocation of supplies reaching the countries which may most need them but be least able to compete for them.◊

In der Aussprache haben die Vertreter der emigrierten Regierungen von Belgien, der Tschecho-Slowakei, Griechenlands, Luxemburgs, Norwegens, Polens und Jugoslawiens und der Vertreter des Generals de Gaulle ihr volles Einverständnis mit der vorgeschlagenen Resolution zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Die Erklärung des Außenministers der emigrierten niederländischen Regierung Dr. van Kleffens lautet (a. a. O., S. 26):

»The Netherlands Government gladly adopt the resolution on the understanding

that nothing therein will be deemed to preclude them from carrying out, under their own responsibility, the arrangements made by them for provisional relief of the Netherlands at the end of hostilities.»

Die von dem sowjetischen Botschafter Maisky abgegebene Erklärung (a. a. O., S. 29) hat folgenden Wortlaut:

»The Soviet Government has no objections to, and is prepared to accept the first five paragraphs of, the draft resolution under discussion. With regard, however, to paragraph (6), I have to make the following statement:—

The Soviet Government has no objection to the principle dealt with in paragraph (6), but it considers it very important that the Central Bureau which is envisaged there should have an inter-Allied character, and for this purpose should be built on the basis of equal representation of all the Governments concerned. The Soviet Government, with this aim in view, also believes that the best way to proceed in this matter would be to submit all the questions concerning the structure, scope of activities, forms and methods of work, &c., of this Bureau for preliminary consideration to the Allied Governments so that a final decision on this point can be approved of at the next inter-Allied Conference.

As a consequence the Soviet Government is not able to accept paragraph (6) in its present form and reserves its right to put forward, at a later date, certain proposals in this connection.»

Die Schlußansprache des britischen Staatssekretärs für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten lautet (a. a. O., S. 30f.):

»I am glad to note general agreement on this proposal. I have also been happy to hear the many useful observations which have been put forward this afternoon.

This is, in fact, the first attempt by the Allied Governments, working together, to lay the foundations for the reconstruction of Europe after the war.

It is their answer to Hitler's New Order and to the measures he has taken to deprive the peoples of Europe of their means of existence. Here, working together in London, we are setting up an organisation which, far from depriving any peoples of the means of livelihood, is designed to supply them with the necessities of life when they have been freed from German domination. I regard this as a step of the greatest importance and am very grateful for the reception it has received.

One or two points have been raised which I should like to deal with:—

First, the Netherlands representative has made the point that his Government understand this resolution not to exclude action by individual Governments to help their own peoples. I entirely agree, and I wish to make it clear that our idea is that responsibility rests, in the first place, with the individual Governments to help their own people. But we shall also do our best to help one another.

Secondly, the Soviet representative has made certain reservations regarding Article 6 of the resolution. I think that the point he raised can be fully met.

Under Article 6 it is proposed not only to set up a Bureau, but also a Committee of Inter-Allied representatives. It is not intended that there should be anything sacrosanct about the Bureau.

We thought that the time had come, particularly in view of the helpful statement made by the United States Government, to get down to practical work, and this would be the first task of the Bureau.

But there is no reason why exchanges should not take place after this meeting between the Allied Governments concerning the composition of the Bureau or the modification and extension of its functions if these are desired. His Majesty's Government's main wish is that both the Bureau and the Inter-Allied Committee shall enable the views of the Allied Governments to be fully represented, and any proposals for alteration in the machinery can readily be discussed.

I can only repeat that it is my belief that this work, much of the burden of which

**7. Erklärung des britischen Staatssekretärs für Indien im Unterhaus vom 9. Oktober 1941 über die Bedeutung der Gemeinsamen Erklärung des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten und des britischen Premierministers für Indien <sup>1)</sup>**

Mr. Sorensen (Leyton, W., Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan, the Punjab Premier, had publicly expressed his concern and embarrassment at the recent Government statement respecting the relationship of the Atlantic Charter to the future government of India; whether the Punjab Premier had communicated with him on the matter; and whether he had any statement to make respecting this.

Mr. Amery (Birmingham, Sparkbrook, U.) — I have seen a report of the statement referred to. I can only repeat, in order to remove any possible ground for misunderstanding, that the Prime Minister's statement of September 9 with reference to the Atlantic Charter expressly made it clear that the Government's previous declarations with regard to the goal of India's attainment to free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth, and with regard to our desire to see that goal attained with the least possible delay after the war, under a Constitution framed by agreement among Indians themselves, hold good and are in no way qualified. The answer to the remainder of the question is in the negative.

**Dokumente betreffend  
das sowjetrussisch-polnische Abkommen vom 30. Juli 1941**

**I. Abkommen zwischen der Regierung der UdSSR.  
und der polnischen Regierung <sup>2)</sup>**

1. Die Regierung der UdSSR. erkennt an, daß die sowjetisch-deutschen Verträge vom Jahre 1939 betreffend die territorialen Änderungen in Polen außer Kraft getreten sind. Die polnische Regierung erklärt, daß Polen durch kein gegen die Sowjetunion gerichtetes Abkommen mit irgendeinem dritten Lande gebunden ist.

2. Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Regierungen werden nach der Unterzeichnung des gegenwärtigen Abkommens wieder aufgenommen, und es wird unverzüglich ein Austausch von Botschaftern vorgenommen.

3. Die beiden Regierungen verpflichten sich, sich gegenseitig Hilfe und Unterstützung jeder Art im gegenwärtigen Krieg gegen das Deutschland Hitlers zu gewähren.

4. Die Regierung der UdSSR. erklärt ihr Einverständnis zur Bildung einer polnischen Armee auf dem Gebiet der UdSSR. unter einem von der polnischen Regierung mit Einverständnis der Sowjetregierung ernannten

will fall upon Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, will be an important first step towards post-war reconstruction. This first meeting for this purpose will be followed by other meetings as and when necessary, and meanwhile a body will be set up to work for a better Europe after the war.\*

<sup>1)</sup> Times vom 10. 10. 1941, S. 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Izvestija vom 31. 7. 1941, Nr. 179. Übersetzung des Instituts. — Das Abkommen ist in London von dem dortigen sowjetischen Botschafter Maisky und dem Premierminister der emigrierten polnischen Regierung Sikorski unterzeichnet.