Records of the Council on Foreign Relations, 1921–1951

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Summary: Reproduces source documents and papers from meetings, group discussions, and conferences, led by American and international experts and visiting statesmen from the archives of the Council.
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INTRODUCTION

The Council on Foreign Relations was founded in 1921 by businessmen, bankers, and lawyers determined to keep the United States engaged in the world. Today, the council is composed of men and women from all walks of international life and from all parts of America, dedicated to the belief that the nation’s peace and prosperity are firmly linked to that of the rest of the world. From this flows the council’s mission: to foster America’s understanding of other nations—their peoples, cultures, histories, hopes, quarrels, and ambitions—and thus to serve our nation through study and debate, private and public.

The council is a national membership organization and think tank with headquarters in New York, offices in Washington, D.C., and programs nationwide. Its widely respected and influential research staff—with backgrounds in government and scholarship in most international subjects—regularly meets with council members and other leaders and thinkers. These exclusive sessions, known as study groups or roundtables, form the council’s intellectual core. The aim is to provide insights into international affairs and to develop new ideas for U.S. foreign policy, particularly national security and foreign economic policy. Council Fellows produce books, articles, and op-ed pieces and regularly contribute expert commentary on television and radio.

The council also publishes Foreign Affairs, the leading periodical in the field. This magazine has been host to the most important articles about world affairs in this century.

The council’s 3,600 members are divided almost equally among New York, Washington, D.C., and the rest of the nation. They include nearly all current and former senior U.S. government officials who deal with international matters; renowned scholars; and leaders of business, media, human rights, humanitarian, and other nongovernmental groups. Council members choose new members, who aim to educate themselves and then others. The council is host to the widest possible range of views and advocate of none. It cultivates an atmosphere of nonpartisanship and non-ideological engagement among members and staff. The views expressed in council-sponsored independent task force reports, by members of study groups, or in articles in Foreign Affairs are solely the responsibility of the respective authors or groups.

This tradition of impartiality enables the council to gather contending voices for serious and civil debate and discussion. That special convening power is unique in American society.
Variety is one of the attractions of the archives of the Council on Foreign Relations for the years 1922–1951, but their full range cannot be captured in a few pages. Comprising both detailed and summary accounts, the records taken as a whole are very lengthy and full of material that will be of interest to the public. Readers will differ according to their interests as to which are the gems—but there are many.

Some of these microfiche carry statements by important people at important moments while others, often more interesting, report what people said before they became prominent. In 1931, for example, as a young member of the Canadian Department of External Affairs, Lester Pearson gave a statement of Canadian attitudes toward the United States that would have sounded well years later when he became prime minister. Questions of prominence aside, the archives record the changes—and also the elements of continuity—in the concerns of Americans from business, government, journalism, and academic life, and often foreigners as well. Except for a few public dinners—such as those for Ramsay MacDonald in 1929 and Maxim Litvinov in 1942—the council sessions were private and off the record. Consequently, some people said things they would never have said in public; others remained as open (or reticent) in private as they were when they could be quoted. Naturally, there are also accounts of meetings in which uninteresting people said uninteresting things about uninteresting subjects—but that is the nature of archives.

The archives focus on American foreign policy, from Warren G. Harding to Harry S. Truman. That is a many-sided subject so the records deal with economic, political, military, legal, geographic, and other matters—and sometimes personalities. Government policies of the day are frequently criticized and sometimes supported while new policies are advocated with great freedom and often great learning. Some discussions are very broad-gauged and deal with fundamentals; others dig into the details as study groups try to help scholars break new ground or small groups of specialists argue about emerging issues they expect will become important. (Some do and some do not.) The long-run and the immediate future both come into the picture. There are discussions of how to prevent a war, how to stay out of it, how to win it, and what to do with a victorious peace. As great as the coverage is, there are also maddening gaps. That, too, is inevitable in the archives of an organization that had limited resources and an almost infinite subject to consider.

Almost every part of the world provides a focus at one time or another since the staff and members of the council knew that American policy could only make sense if it was based on an informed judgment of what was happening abroad. One finds high foreign
Officials defending their actions while at other sessions private citizens from the same countries criticize the policies of their governments. Americans add their criticisms, often buttressed by vivid accounts of their experiences, some as businessmen dealing with antagonistic foreign governments, others as journalists coping with censors or visiting battlefields. Military men recount their activities, sometimes behind enemy lines, and diplomats describe their successes and failures. Allen Dulles, for example, tells how he made his way to Switzerland to set up spy headquarters, and Robert Murphy tells of the secret visit he and Mark Clark made to North Africa. At almost all meetings and discussions there were experts whose probing of what is going on below the surface throws interesting light on the knowledge and assumptions that guided governments and public opinion at the time.

Those who wish to pursue specific subjects in the archives can best start by looking through the lists of titles of meetings and groups and names of speakers for the relevant years and then sampling the documents that seem most promising. The only subject index is a separate document concerning the War and Peace Studies. Broad titles sometimes conceal rather specialized discussions and vice versa. Some people will be more interesting than others but, except for speakers, one can only tell who was at which session by looking at the lists of participants included at the beginning of most, but not all, summaries. (Some of the lists are not complete.)

The notes that follow tell about the council and try to give a rough idea of what is to be found in the different categories of documents in the archives. The notes derive from the experience of attending quite a few of the sessions and writing some of the reports.

The Council on Foreign Relations and Its Work

The council was established shortly after the First World War. A key group of its founders were men who had been at the Versailles peace conference. Many of them were not happy with some of the things done there and the limited ability of the United States to bring about better results. They realized that for as far ahead as anyone could see the United States would have to take a major part in many international issues and to do that well would need a better-informed public, more specialists in a wide range of international matters, and better arrangements in the government to make use of improved sources of information and understanding than then existed. To help provide for these needs became the purpose of the council.

The people who came back from Paris joined forces with a group in New York made up largely of businessmen and bankers who had been holding dinner meetings to discuss the position of the United States in the world and to receive distinguished foreigners. Soon they began the three principal activities that have continued to make up the main part of the council’s work. Meetings were organized at which Americans and foreigners gave talks to members of the council and then answered questions and engaged in discussion. To dig more deeply into important subjects the council launched a program of studies—research intended to lead to publications of high quality. To reach a wider public the council established Foreign Affairs, a quarterly journal whose independent editors have presented important articles by well-known and obscure people from all over the world since 1922. A fair number of Foreign Affairs articles had their origin in council meetings and studies, but the work of the quarterly is not included in these archives. The other two activities, however, are well covered by these records of talks by
visitors, discussions in groups that were sometimes but not always linked with publications, and summaries of a number of conferences, domestic and international. The archives also include the work of the War and Peace Studies to which the council devoted a major part of its efforts during the Second World War.

Naturally the council’s membership and its staff were crucial to the work recorded here. From the beginning a serious, and largely successful, effort was made to ensure that the membership (limited to American citizens and, during the period covered by the microfiche, to men) included a good mix of businessmen, academics, government officials and military officers, and journalists. Care was taken to keep the membership bipartisan; it was no accident that there were few extremists of left or right and that the proportion of isolationists was much lower than in many other organizations. The size of most sessions was limited, especially in groups where a sustained exchange of views was needed. Although groups were mostly made up of members, others were added when their help seemed needed, especially when a group was advising an author of a council publication.

The records on these microfiche were closed until 1975 when the council’s board of directors decided to follow the practice of the U.S. government and open the accounts of meetings, groups, and conferences as they became twenty-five years old. Even then a living person could not be quoted or paraphrased without his written permission. American and foreign scholars have already made good use of much of the material. In permitting these early records to be put on microfiche the council has secured the assent of all those known to be alive and whom it could reach. (Since the other council archives which are not open include those of its Committee on Studies, there is no complete public account of why all of the work covered by these microfiche was undertaken, what other proposals were turned down, and why some studies were left unpublished).

These “digests of discussions”—to use the term generally applied to these records by the council—are rarely truly verbatim accounts. They are summaries made by members of the council staff or others. They vary in length and detail and also as to whether they identify individuals whose views are recorded. In some cases the digests were corrected by the participants, but this was not very common. In many cases the language reported is very close to what was actually said, but those using the records will have to judge this matter as best they can. Naturally, the digest writers often edited the proceedings for cogency. Occasionally a participant would ask that one or more statements not be taken down. No doubt there are some errors in these records and a few gaps, but there is sufficient evidence from the use that has been made of them by council staff and visiting scholars to indicate that they are for the most part very reliable.

Meetings

Some of the meetings recorded in the archives were attended by a substantial number of people, others by relatively few. The reports of the larger sessions are usually made up of a summary of the talk—or occasionally the prepared text if the speaker had one—followed by questions. Sometimes members raised challenging and contentious issues or tried to nail down some of the speaker’s generalities or get at subjects he had passed over, but there are also some rather elementary and banal questions. Occasionally smaller dinners following afternoon talks permitted more thorough discussion. The roster of people for whom the council held meetings is long and striking. There are American
statesmen, such as Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Henry L. Stimson, Cordell Hull, Lucius Clay, Nelson Rockefeller, and George Kennan. They are outnumbered by foreign visitors, including Georges Clemenceau, Alexander Kerensky, Eduard Benes, Hjalmar Schacht, Hu Shih, Ernest Bevin, Anthony Eden, Jan Christiaan Smuts, Jan Masaryk, Pierre Laval, Jawaharlal Nehru, Trygve Lie, Robert Schuman, Ernst Reuter, and several crowned heads. Sometimes there were meetings for journalists such as Walter Lippman, John Gunther, James Reston, and Walter Duranty. Throughout the period many of the council’s guests were intellectual leaders of many stripes; one finds such names as Toynbee, Keynes, Laski, Salter, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Stolper, Ohlin, Myrdal, Viner, and Rueff.

At the smaller meetings, the visitors might be less prominent but the discussions often cut deeper. The council members invited usually had specialized knowledge; the subjects were more sharply focused and often related to council studies. Discussion leaders might be scholars or businessmen or, quite often, an American or foreign official at what is called (perhaps invidiously) “the working level” who was closer than his superiors to some complex problem and in private discussion could speak frankly about differences of opinion and other difficulties that had to be passed over in public. These smaller meetings often dealt with current issues but sometimes had broader subjects: “Problems of Capitalism” was both a large and timely subject in 1931.

Occasionally meetings were held in series. The longest, called “The Progress of the War,” began on September 25, 1939, and ended on July 17, 1945. Most of the frequent sessions began with talks by Hanson Baldwin, the military and naval expert of the New York Times. Sometimes he was spelled by another military journalist, George Fielding Eliot, and once by Colonel William J. Donovan before he set up the OSS. Sometimes the people attending these sessions made information contributions; although the archives do not document the occasion, one participant recalls hearing Charles Lindbergh discuss the air war. (Unfortunately there are no digests of the discussions at these sessions). Sometimes a series took shape without initial design. To this day some of the participants recall as some of the best meetings they ever attended the nearly annual sessions during the time of the Marshall Plan with Robert Marjolin, the secretary general of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, a few of his key associates, and some especially knowledgeable Americans.

Not surprisingly, the council archives sometimes record unexpected turns of events. On November 28, 1942, a number of people came together to hear Wendell Willkie talk about his recent trip around the world. He spoke at some length, but what many saw as the high spot of the evening came when a member of the group challenged some of the criticisms Willkie had recently made of the American acceptance of Admiral Darlan’s authority in North Africa and asserted that it had not been a political decision made in Washington but a measure taken by General Eisenhower on military grounds. Although the digest does not name the member of the group, his language and the attendance list make it easy to identify him as John J. McCloy, the assistant secretary of war, who seems to have come to the meetings primarily for this purpose—and elicited an interesting response from Willkie.
Groups

A council study or discussion group usually had one of three purposes: to advise someone who was making a study that the council hoped to publish, to explore an issue that might warrant future study, or simply to give members a chance to pursue their interests in a certain subject or keep up to date about events in some part of the world. The best way to find out which is which is to see what is said at the opening meeting or, if they are present, in the letters of invitation or preliminary memoranda by the council staff. As might be expected, not all original intentions were carried out. Work on one of the most fully documented groups begins in 1948 with some very thoughtful questions about the problems Western Europe will face at the end of the Marshall Plan. Later, efforts to find answers to those questions disappear, but, in the records of two years of sessions under the chairmanship of Dwight D. Eisenhower, some distinguishing and able people carry on interesting arguments about the current and future political, economic, and strategic problems of relations between the United States and Europe. The file also includes an account and documentation of some of the events leading up to General Eisenhower’s departure from Columbia University to become the first commander of NATO forces.

An intriguing example of how these archives record the evolution of American thinking and attitudes can be found in the account of the work of the group that met in 1946 and 1947 on American relations with the Soviet Union. As the discussions proceed, major differences of opinion emerge about Soviet intentions and capabilities and what kinds of American actions are necessary. Not surprisingly, the idea of producing an agreed report had to be abandoned. Had there been a report it would have been an unusual case as council groups generally avoided such efforts. When groups were set up to consider manuscripts they were essentially advisory; the author took responsibility for what he said and the Committee on Studies decided if the resulting book should be published by the council. But those close to the process could usually see that, when it worked well, books gained a dimension from what the author had learned from the group’s discussions. Naturally, present-day users will probably find it hard to form judgments on these matters.

Often manuscripts are not included in the microfiche; some books were written only after the meetings were over. Even in these cases, however, the group’s discussions often tell a good bit about American attitudes and policies at the time. Both broad subjects and quite specialized issues are discussed. Europe, the Far East, and Latin America all receive a good bit of attention; sometimes individual countries provide the focus. In the 20s much was said about disarmament; in the early 30s there was a group on Philippine independence and later some on the rise of dictatorships and the problems of the Depression. In all periods there were many studies and discussions at the council of international trade, finance and investment; businessmen, scholars, and officials agree and disagree in lively fashion. The war aims of various countries and the problem of “winning the peace” were natural topics during the Second World War. Then and later the emergence of the salient features of a new kind of postwar world order can be traced very well. The broadened responsibilities of the United States and the increased interest of Americans in world affairs are reflected in postwar increases in the number of council groups and the widening of the range of subjects.
Conferences

During the period covered by these microfiche, the council had no clear-cut policy about conferences. The term itself was used to cover several quite different kinds of activity.

In the 30s there were several conferences intended to give members of the council time to discuss more fully than in group meetings some current issues, such as Far Eastern policy, the possibilities of national self-sufficiency, and world mineral issues (the subject of two early council books). A series of conferences on neutrality and American foreign economic policy brought to the council for the first time substantial numbers of what it called “university men”—graduate students, instructors, and college seniors. In 1946 a series of conferences in six cities attended largely by members of college faculties was an important part of a major council project concerning the future of teaching and research in international relations. Other subjects were the occasions for conferences in the 40s, including some of the work of the Hoover Commission on the organization of the government and several responding to a State Department request for advice on proposals for what became the Foreign Service Institute.

These archives do not cover the council’s prewar work as the American coordinating committee for the International Studies Conference that was meeting for the last time as the war broke out. Among the meetings and the work of groups covered by the other three sections of these notes there are records of some important wartime sessions that brought together council members and scholars and statesmen from other countries. It was not, however, until 1948 that the council had its first postwar conference with foreign institutes studying international relations. Those meetings, in Holland in 1947 and 1948, were attended by delegates from a number of European countries, Canada, and the United States to discuss postwar Germany. A follow-up in Bruges in 1955 added Germans to the groups for the first time. A conference on American-British relations in 1952 was very thoroughly prepared by two years of exchanges of documents between parallel study groups at the council and Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, with which the council had long had close relations).

The 1952 and 1955 conferences—whose documents are included in the microfiche in spite of their dates—were the first of a number of conferences with one or more foreign institutes that later became an important part of council activities.

The War and Peace Studies

From 1940 to 1945 a large part of the council’s energy and resources went into the War and Peace Studies, a major effort to help prepare the United States to deal with problems of the postwar world better than it had coped with the issues raised at the Versailles conference and the international relations of the 20s and 30s. The extensive records of the work make up an important part of the microfiche of the council archives.

At the outset four groups were set up to consider, respectively, political, territorial, military (called at different times armaments and security), and economic and financial issues. Later a fifth group was created to consider the peace aims of other countries. This last group met with people from the governments-in-exile of occupied countries, opposition groups of various sorts from Germany and other countries, the Free French headed by General de Gaulle, and others. Some of the other groups met occasionally with British and Canadians, especially on economic matters, and there was some
exchange of papers with people doing rather similar work at Chatham House—the
council’s London counterpart. For the most part, however, the War and Peace groups
concentrated on their own discussions and the preparation of papers on a large number of
issues, great and small. Although the primary concern was with the shape of the postwar
world, much discussion and many recommendations concerned wartime measures
because it was clear to the experienced members of the group that current actions could
open or close future opportunities.

The papers prepared by the groups, and the records of the discussions, were sent to
the divisions in the State Department that were dealing with postwar problems.
Sometimes the documents reached other parts of the government as well, either through
State or because members of the groups worked there. Later some of the papers were
revised for a larger, but limited, distribution. After the war sets of almost all of the
papers were deposited in a number of college libraries and so have been widely available
for a long time. This was not true, however, of the records of the discussion in the groups
that were only released in 1975 along with the rest of the council archives included in
these microfiche. Needless to say, these papers, which tell who said what, are especially
interesting. The groups that were quite small and very hard working comprised leading
scholars, thoughtful officials from the White House, and a few businessmen and lawyers.
They often brought to the monthly sessions ideas and questions that were being
considered—sometimes in great confidence—in other places, official and unofficial.

The War and Peace groups were in many ways comparable to other council groups
but met more frequently and kept most of their membership over several years. Each had
its own research secretary, members often wrote papers, sometimes outside studies were
commissioned (which appear in a separate series of documents), and there was a good bit
of cooperation among the groups. There was more emphasis on agreed documents than
in other council work, but care was taken to avoid softening analyses or blunting
recommendations; many papers were sent along because they threw light on a difficult
problem and not because members agreed to them.

The biggest difference of all, however, was in the relations of the War and Peace
work to the government. The State Department had given its blessing to the project at the
outset, before there was any official work of the same sort. It received all the papers
from all the groups. There was close liaison between the War and Peace work and the
State Department officials, and some of the studies were made in response to official
requests. Most of the research secretaries worked part-time for the State Department.
Some of the key people in the War and Peace groups also sat on advisory committees in
Washington or moved into government jobs as the war went on without dropping out of
the council’s project. Both sides, however, drew some lines. No classified material was
given to the council. No government money was involved; the work was financed by the
Rockefeller Foundation. The council retained complete autonomy, which meant that the
groups were entirely independent, not only in the conclusions reached but also in
deciding what work to do.

Such close relations with the government are unique in council history. They seemed
suitable to wartime conditions. It was thought they would help make the work more
useful. It is doubtful if most of the sophisticated people engaged in this effort, who were
well aware of the complex interplay of forces that made policy and determined action,
had many illusions about how much influence their ideas might have. But they were bound to have hopes, and they felt sure that the work was worth undertaking.

That is largely true of the people responsible for the rest of the council’s work over its whole life. Whether the view was sound is not something that can be judged by reading these documents, but that does not make them any less interesting.

March 6, 1991

William Diebold
**SOURCE NOTE**

UPA filmed the documents in this microfilm publication from the holdings of the Council on Foreign Archives.

**EDITORIAL NOTE**

The *Records of the Council on Foreign Relations, 1921–1951* collection comprises four types of records: (1) “Conferences” (C) refers to records associated with one-time sessions with invited experts and Council on Foreign Relations members; (2) “Groups” (G) includes papers, reports, and correspondence from multiple sessions of a committee of the Council on Foreign Relations (outside experts occasionally participated in these group sessions; (3) “Meetings of the Council on Foreign Relations” (M) typically includes remarks of the featured speaker for a particular meeting; and (4) “War and Peace Studies” (W) refers to reports and issue briefs prepared by the Council on Foreign Relations between 1939 and 1945 addressing wartime and postwar issues.
FICHE INDEX

Following is a listing of the items in Records of the Council on Foreign Relations. Entries in this index contain the following information: fiche number, document title, and publication date. Fiche are arranged under the following categories: C [Conferences]; G [Groups]; M [Meetings]; and W [War and Peace Studies].

Conferences (C)

C-1 Conference: Minerals in Their Political and International Relations. Program year: February 6–20, 1933.


C-17 Conference: *America’s Policy as a Neutral*. Program year: March 14–16, 1940.

C-18–19 Conference: *America’s Vital Interests in a World at War* (two sessions). Program year: February 13–15, 1941; February 27 and March 1, 1941.

C-18–19(1) Title: *Final Report on the Conferences for University Men [1940–41]*. Date: July 16, 1941. Conference: *America’s Vital Interests in a World at War*. Program year: February 13–15, 1941; February 27 and March 1, 1941.


C-24 Conference: *Training Program in and for the U.S. Foreign Service*. Program year: October 19, 1945; April 5, 1946.


C-25 Conference: *Teaching and Research in International Relations*. Program year: February–May 1946.


Groups (G)

G-1 Group: Announcement of the formation of study Groups. Program year: 1922.


G-4 Group: The Division between Internal and External Concerns of a State. Program year: 1923.


G-30 Group: Gold (Group Not Formed).


G-75 Group: Foreign Policy and Public Opinion. Program year: 1943/44.


G-97(2) Title: The German Food Problem. Author: Carl Schorske. Subject: Germany. Group: The Problem of Germany. Program year: 1946/47.

G-97(3) Title: The Political Problem. Author: Carl Schorske. Subject: Germany. Group: The Problem of Germany. Program year: 1946/47.


G-100 Subject: USSR. Group: Soviet Foreign Policy. Program year: 1946/47.


G-127(3) Title: Memorandum on the German Refugee Problem. Author: Christopher Emmet. Subject: Germany. Group: The Problem of Germany. Program year: 1949/50.


Meetings (M)

M-1 Title: What Americans Should Know about Germany. Authors: Paul D. Cravath, Richard L. Cary, James G. McDonald. Date: January 11, 1921. Subject: Germany.

M-2 Title: [British, French and Japanese Responses to Naval Limitations.] Authors: P. W. Wilson, De Sanchez, T. Iyenaga. Subjects: Great Britain, France, Japan. Date: February 16, 1921.

M-3 Title: How the Washington Conference Affects Our Foreign Relations. Author: Norman H. Davis. Date: February 17, 1922.

M-4 Title: Japan’s Economic Development: A World Problem. Author: Manzo Koshida, Kadono. Date: November 16, 1921. Subject: Japan.

M-5 Title: How Far Can Europe Reasonably Disarm? Author: Tasker H. Bliss. Date: February 27, 1923. Subject: Europe.


M-6 Title: [no title]. Author: Smith W. Brookhart. Date: January 26, 1923.

M-7 Title: [no title]. Author: Lord Robert Cecil. Date: April 5, 1923.

M-8 Title: [no title]. Author: Georges Clemenceau. Date: November 21, 1922.

M-9 Title: Hungary and the Little Entente. Authors: Count Apponyi, Bedrich Stepanek. Date: November 9, 1923. Subject: Hungary.

M-10 Title: Historical Background of Diplomatic Relations between England, France, and Germany. Authors: Archibald Cary Coolidge, Sidney Fay. Date: March 28, 1924. Subjects: France, Germany, Great Britain.

M-11 Title: [no title]. Author: Norman H. Davis. Date: April 3, 1924.

M-12 Title: Inter-Allied Debt and Reparation. Authors: Alan Goldsmith, James Byrne, Fred I. Kent, Allen A. Young. Date: December 17, 1923.

M-13 Title: Recent Questions and Negotiations. Author: Charles E. Hughes. Date: January 23, 1924.

M-14 Title: [no title]. Author: Moritz Bonn. Date: October 24, 1924.

M-15 Title: Disarmament and Security. Author: Viscount Cecil. Date: December 29, 1924.
M-16 Title: The Political Situation in England. Author: H. A. L. Fisher. Date: October 20, 1924. Subject: Great Britain.

M-17 Title: The Future of China. Authors: J. V. A. MacMurray, Boris A. Bakhmeteff, Yusuke Tsurumi. Date: February 3, 1925. Subject: China.

M-18 Title: American Foreign Policy: A Republican View. Author: Ogden L. Mills. Date: October 28, 1924.


M-19 Title: The Situation in France. Author: Jean Parmentier. Date: May 27, 1925. Subject: France.


M-22 Title: The Situation in Ireland. Author: T. A. Smiddy. Date: February 16, 1925. Subject: Ireland.

M-23 Title: Work and Purposes of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Author: Theodor Adelswaerd. Date: September 29, 1925.

M-24 Title: [no title]. Author: Admiral Mark L. Bristol. Date: December 4, 1925.

M-25 Title: The Pan-Europe Movement. Author: Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi. Date: December 16, 1925. Subject: Europe.

M-26 Title: The Working of the Reparations Program in Germany. Author: S. Parker Gilbert. Date: January 12, 1926. Subject: Germany.

M-27 Title: Some Foreign Policies of the United States. Author: Frank B. Kellogg. Date: December 14, 1925.

M-28 Title: The Economic Crisis in Poland. Authors: E. W. Kemmerer, Jan Ciechanowski. Date: March 12, 1926. Subject: Poland.

M-29 Title: The Industrial and Military Future of the Far East. Author: Charles K. Leith. Date: February 10, 1926.
M-30 Title: Relations Between Government and Business. Author: Robert E. Olds. Date: February 18, 1926.

M-31 Title: Progress of the Reconstruction Program in Hungary. Author: Jeremiah Smith. Date: December 2, 1925. Subject: Hungary.

M-32 Title: [no title]. Author: Sir Josiah Stamp. Date: May 5, 1926.

M-33 Title: Present Issues in the Near East. Author: Arnold J. Toynbee. Date: October 22, 1925.

M-34 Title: [no title]. Author: Joseph Karl Wirth. Date: September 24, 1925.

M-35 Title: The Labour Program for Industry and Trade. Author: E. R. Wise. Date: January 4, 1926.


M-37 Title: Control of the Opium Traffic. Author: Frederic A. Delano. Date: March 24, 1927.

M-38 Title: Fresh Light Thrown on the Origins of the War by the British Documents. Author: G. P. Gooch. Date: March 1, 1927. Subject: Great Britain.

M-39 Title: [no title]. Author: Charles P. Howland. Date: December 2, 1926.


M-41 Title: Events of the Period When He [Kerensky] Was in Power During the Revolution and the Outlook for the Future in Russia. Author: Alexander F. Kerensky. Date: April 12, 1927. Subject: USSR.

M-42 Title: The Future of Central Europe and German Relations with Italy and Russia. Author: Josef Redlich. Date: May 19, 1927. Subjects: Europe, Germany, Italy.

M-43 Title: Italy Under Fascist Rule. Author: Gaetano Salvemini. Date: January 6, 1927. Subject: Italy.


M-45 Title: [no title]. Author: Silas H. Strawn. Date: November 16, 1926.

M-46 Title: India. Author: Sir Frederick Whyte. Date: October 7, 1926. Subject: India.
M-47 Title: The Situation in Russia. Author: H. Parker Willis. Date: September 9, 1926. Subject: USSR.

M-48 Title: Germany’s New Position in Europe. Authors: Alfred E. Zimmerman, Ernst Jaeckh. Date: November 2, 1926. Subjects: Germany, Europe.

M-49 Title: The International Utilization of the River Danube. Authors: Sir Herbert Brown Ames, Aureliu Ion Popescu. Date: April 24, 1928.

M-50 Title: The Economic Restoration of Europe. Author: Gustav Cassel. Date: May 8, 1928. Subject: Europe.

M-51 Title: Disarmament: Obstacles, Results, Prospects. Author: M. De Madariaga. Date: January 10, 1928.

M-52 Title: Present-Day Conditions in Arab Lands. Author: Bayard Dodge. Date: October 27, 1927. Subject: Arabia.

M-53 Title: Reparation Payments and American Loans to Germany. Authors: John Foster Dulles, Leon Fraser. Date: January 11, 1928. Subject: Germany.

M-54 Title: The Pan American Conference at Havana. Author: Henry P. Fletcher. Date: March 8, 1928. Subject: Latin America.

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W-21-A-A21 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-first Meeting. Date: April 8, 1942.

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W-29-A-A29 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-ninth Meeting. Date: November 30, 1942.

W-30-A-A30 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirtieth Meeting. Date: January 4, 1943.

W-31-A-A31 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-first Meeting. Date: February 1, 1943.

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W-36-A-A36 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-sixth Meeting. Date: June 21, 1943.

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W-40-A-A40 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fortieth Meeting. Date: November 29, 1943.
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W-143-A-B90 Title: Problems Involved in Regional vs. World-wide Security Organization. Date: June 21, 1943.

W-144-A-B91 Title: Problems of Anglo-American Relations. Author: Hanson W. Baldwin. Date: June 21, 1943.

W-145-A-B92 Title: Relations Between an International Political Organization and an International Police Force. Date: June 21, 1943.

W-146-A-B93 Title: Postwar American Policy in Relation to Civil Air Transport. Date: July 12, 1943.

W-147-A-B94 Title: Security Aspects of American-Philippine Postwar Relations. Date: September 27, 1943.

W-148-A-B95 Title: The Inter-American System as a Criterion for Regional Security Organization. Author: Grayson Kirk. Date: November 2, 1943.


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W-151-A-B98 Title: Soviet Russia, Turkey, and the Straits in Present-Day Strategy. Date: December 31, 1943.


W-153-A-B100 Title: The Disposition of the Bonin and Ryukyu Islands. Author: Grayson Kirk. Date: February 7, 1944.


W-155-A-B102 Title: Limiting the German Army: The Versailles Experience. Author: Grayson Kirk. Date: February 29, 1944.

W-156-A-B103 Title: The Oil Situation in the Middle East. Author: Harold F. Sheets. Date: March 25, 1944.

W-157-A-B104 Title: The Treatment of the Japanese Emperor. Author: Julius W. Pratt. Date: April 4, 1944.
W-158-A-B105 Title: Military Aspects of an Anglo-American Political Agreement. Author: George Fielding Eliot. Date: May 1, 1944.

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W-160-A-B107 Title: The Kurile Islands. Author: Julius W. Pratt. Date: June 5, 1944.


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W-178-E-A1 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, First Meeting. Date: February 10, 1940.

W-179-E-A2 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Second Meeting. Date: March 9, 1940.

W-180-E-A3 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Third Meeting. Date: April 6, 1940.

W-181-E-A4 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourth Meeting. Date: May 11, 1940.

W-182-E-A5 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifth Meeting. Date: June 7, 1940.

W-183-E-A6 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixth Meeting. Date: June 28, 1940.

W-184-E-A7 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventh Meeting. Date: July 26, 1940.

W-185-E-A8 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighth Meeting. Date: September 6, 1940.

W-186-E-A9 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Ninth Meeting. Date: October 4, 1940.

W-187-E-A10 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Tenth Meeting. Date: October 19, 1940.

W-188-E-A11 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eleventh Meeting. Date: November 23, 1940.

W-189-E-A12 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twelfth Meeting. Date: December 14, 1940.

W-190-E-A13 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirteenth Meeting. Date: February 15, 1941.

W-191-E-A14 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourteenth Meeting. Date: March 15, 1941.

W-192-E-A15 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifteenth Meeting. Date: April 12, 1941.

W-193-E-A16 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixteenth Meeting. Date: May 17, 1941.
W-194-E-A17 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventeenth Meeting. Date: June 14, 1941.

W-195-E-A18 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighteenth Meeting. Date: July 19, 1941.

W-196-E-A19 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Nineteenth Meeting. Date: September 3, 1941.

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W-200-E-A23 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-third Meeting. Date: November 29, 1941.

W-201-E-A24 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-fourth Meeting. Date: January 3, 1942.

W-202-E-A25 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-fifth Meeting. Date: January 24, 1942.

W-203-E-A26 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-sixth Meeting. Date: February 7, 1942.

W-204-E-A27 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-seventh Meeting. Date: February 28, 1942.

W-205-E-A28 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-eighth Meeting. Date: March 22, 1942.

W-206-E-A29 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-ninth Meeting. Date: April 25, 1942.

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W-208-E-A31 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-first Meeting. Date: June 15, 1942.

W-209-E-A32 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-second Meeting. Date: July 13, 1942.

W-210-E-A33 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-third Meeting. Date: August 10, 1942.
W-211-E-A34 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-fourth Meeting. Date: September 14, 1942.

W-212-E-A35 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-fifth Meeting. Date: October 12, 1942.

W-213-E-A36 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-sixth Meeting. Date: October 27, 1942.

W-214-E-A37 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-seventh Meeting. Date: November 9, 1942.

W-215-E-A38 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-eighth Meeting. Date: December 5, 1942.

W-216-E-A39 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-ninth Meeting. Date: January 9, 1943.

W-217-E-A40 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fortieth Meeting. Date: February 6, 1943.

W-218-E-A41 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-first Meeting. Date: March 6, 1943.


W-220-E-A43 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-third Meeting. Date: May 1, 1943.

W-221-E-A44 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-fourth Meeting. Date: May 25, 1943.

W-222-E-A45 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-fifth Meeting. Date: June 5, 1943.

W-223-E-A46 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-sixth Meeting. Date: July 10, 1943.

W-224-E-A47 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-seventh Meeting. Date: September 14, 1943.


W-226-E-A49 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-ninth Meeting. Date: November 13, 1943.

W-227-E-A50 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fiftieth Meeting. Date: December 11, 1943.

W-228-E-A51 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-first Meeting. Date: January 8, 1944.
W-229-E-A52 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-second Meeting. Date: February 5, 1944.

W-230-E-A53 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-third Meeting. Date: March 4, 1944.

W-231-E-A54 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-fourth Meeting. Date: April 1, 1944.

W-232-E-A55 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-fifth Meeting. Date: April 19, 1944.

W-233-E-A56 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-sixth Meeting. Date: May 27, 1944.

W-234-E-A57 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-seventh Meeting. Date: June 24, 1944.

W-235-E-A58 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-eighth Meeting. Date: July 29, 1944.

W-236-E-A59 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-ninth Meeting. Date: September 30, 1944.

W-237-E-A60 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixtieth Meeting. Date: November 18, 1944.

W-238-E-A61 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixty-first Meeting. Date: December 16, 1944.


W-240-E-A63 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixty-third Meeting. Date: April 28, 1945.

W-241-E-A64 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixty-fourth Meeting. Date: May 26, 1945.

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W-312-E-B69 Title: Economic Aspects of the Postwar Treatment of Germany. Author: Percy W. Bidwell. Date: May 27, 1944.

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W-327-E-C6 Title: Response to the Chatham House Critique of the Proposal for a Western Hemisphere–British Empire Bloc. Author: Percy W. Bidwell. Date: September 4, 1941.
W-328-E-C7 Title: Note on Postwar Foreign Capital Needs. Author: A. Loveday. Date: January 24, 1942.

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W-340-P-A1 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, First Meeting. Date: February 26, 1940.

W-341-P-A2 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Second Meeting. Date: May 15, 1940.

W-342-P-A3 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Third Meeting. Date: June 28, 1940.

W-343-P-A4 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourth Meeting. Date: September 27, 1940.

W-344-P-A5 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifth Meeting. Date: February 19, 1941.
W-345-P-A6 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixth Meeting. Date: March 7, 1941.

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W-350-P-A11 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eleventh Meeting. Date: June 9, 1941.

W-351-P-A12 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twelfth Meeting. Date: June 25, 1941.

W-352-P-A13 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirteenth Meeting. Date: August 11, 1941.

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W-355-P-A16 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixteenth Meeting. Date: October 15, 1941.

W-356-P-A17 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventeenth Meeting. Date: November 11, 1941.

W-357-P-A18 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighteenth Meeting. Date: December 9, 1941.

W-358-P-A19 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Nineteenth Meeting. Date: January 6, 1942.

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W-365-P-A26 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-sixth Meeting. Date: July 27, 1942.

W-366-P-A27 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-seventh Meeting. Date: August 24, 1942.

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W-379-P-A40 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fortieth Meeting. Date: October 18, 1943.

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W-381-P-A42 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-second Meeting. Date: December 20, 1943.
W-382-P-A43 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-third Meeting. Date: January 24, 1944.

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W-384-P-A45 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-fifth Meeting. Date: March 20, 1944.

W-385-P-A46 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-sixth Meeting. Date: April 17, 1944.

W-386-P-A47 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-seventh Meeting. Date: May 22, 1944.

W-387-P-A48 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-eighth Meeting. Date: June 26, 1944.

W-388-P-A49 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-ninth Meeting. Date: September 25, 1944.

W-389-P-A50 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fiftieth Meeting. Date: November 20, 1944.

W-390-P-A51 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-first Meeting. Date: December 18, 1944.

W-391-P-A52 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifty-second Meeting. Date: March 26, 1945.

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W-434-P-B42 Title: A Publicity Policy Concerning Enemy Atrocities. Author: George Fielding Eliot. Date: July 6, 1942.

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W-436-P-B44 Title: An American Commitment on Peace Aims. Date: July 9, 1942.

W-437-P-B45 Title: Dependent Areas in the Postwar World. Author: Walter R. Sharp. Date: August 3, 1942.

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W-440-P-B48 Title: National Sovereignty and the International Tasks of the Postwar World. Author: Walter R. Sharp. Date: August 31, 1942.

W-441-P-B49 Title: The Japanese Mandated Islands. Author: Arthur Sweetser. Date: September 11, 1942.

W-442-P-B50 Title: Reparations and Cooling-Off. Author: Henry M. Wriston. Date: September 25, 1942.

W-443-P-B51 Title: Alternative Bases for the Development of Postwar World Organization. Date: October 2, 1942.

W-444-P-B52 Title: A Yardstick for Postwar World Organization. Author: Henry M. Wriston. Date: October 5, 1942.

W-445-P-B53 Title: The Political Role of the Supreme War Council of World War I. Date: October 30, 1942.
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**W-447-P-B55** Title: *Probable Demands of Labor in the Peace Settlement.* Author: Carter Goodrich. Date: December 8, 1942.

**W-448-P-B56** Title: *India and the United Nations.* Author: George Fielding Eliot. Date: December 14, 1942.

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**W-452-P-B60** Title: *The I.L.O. and the United Nations.* Author: Carter Goodrich. Date: March 22, 1943.

**W-453-P-B61** Title: *Should Non-Axis Europe Be Permanently Disarmed After the War?* Date: March 22, 1943.


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**W-456-P-B64** Title: *American Farmers and the Peace.* Author: Dwight E. Lee. Date: May 17, 1943.

**W-457-P-B65** Title: *American Policy Toward Acts of Dispossession in Enemy-Occupied Territories.* Date: May 25, 1943.

**W-458-P-B66** Title: *American Political Commitments to Postwar International Security.* Date: May 26, 1943.

**W-459-P-B67** Title: *American Participation in International Police Activity.* Author: Payson S. Wild. Date: June 14, 1943.

**W-460-P-B68** Title: *The Distinction Between War and International Policing.* Author: Payson S. Wild. Date: June 14, 1943.

**W-461-P-B69** Title: *The Organization of Special Conferences.* Date: June 28, 1943.
W-462-P-B70 Title: Diplomatic Facilities and Immunities for Officials of International Agencies. Author: Arthur Sweetser. Date: July 31, 1943.

W-463-P-B71 Title: European Regionalism and Postwar World Organization. Date: September 27, 1943.

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W-466-P-B74 Title: The Problem of Policy-Making in Regard to the Philippines. Author: Payson S. Wild. Date: November 22, 1943.

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W-468-P-B76 Title: Next Steps in a United Nations Policy Toward France. Date: December 29, 1943.

W-469-P-B77 Title: Political Considerations Affecting Anglo-American Collaboration in the Postwar World. Author: George Fielding Eliot. Date: January 31, 1944.

W-470-P-B78 Title: Functional Relationships in International Organization. Author: Walter R. Sharp. Date: February 5, 1944.


W-472-P-B80 Title: Problems Connected with the Evolution from Four Power Control to a General International Organization. Author: Payson S. Wild. Date: April 17, 1944.

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W-475-P-B83 Title: Nature of Membership in “The General International Organization.” Author: Arthur Sweetser. Date: July 5, 1944.

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W-479-P-B87 Title: The United Nations and an International Court. Author: Payson S. Wild. Date: September 25, 1944.

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W-485-P-C1 [Publisher’s Note: W-485-P-C1 could not be located.].

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W-489-T-A1 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, First Meeting. Date: February 16, 1940.

W-490-T-A2 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Second Meeting. Date: March 23, 1940.

W-491-T-A3 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Third Meeting. Date: April 18, 1940.

W-492-T-A4 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourth Meeting. Date: May 20, 1940.

W-493-T-A5 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifth Meeting. Date: June 28, 1940.

W-494-T-A6 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixth Meeting. Date: August 3, 1940.
W-495-T-A7 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventh Meeting. Date: October 5, 1940.

W-496-T-A8 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighth Meeting. Date: November 2, 1940.

W-497-T-A9 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Ninth Meeting. Date: December 7, 1940.

W-498-T-A10 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Tenth Meeting. Date: February 4, 1941.

W-499-T-A11 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eleventh Meeting. Date: March 17, 1941.

W-500-T-A12 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twelfth Meeting. Date: April 21, 1941.

W-501-T-A13 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirteenth Meeting. Date: May 15, 1941.

W-502-T-A14 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourteenth Meeting. Date: June 17, 1941.

W-503-T-A15 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifteenth Meeting. Date: July 16, 1941.

W-504-T-A16 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixteenth Meeting. Date: August 19, 1941.

W-505-T-A17 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventeenth Meeting. Date: September 18, 1941.

W-506-T-A18 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighteenth Meeting. Date: October 8, 1941.

W-507-T-A19 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Nineteenth Meeting. Date: November 6, 1941.

W-508-T-A20 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twentieth Meeting. Date: December 17, 1941.

W-509-T-A21 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-first Meeting. Date: January 16, 1942.

W-510-T-A22 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-second Meeting. Date: February 18, 1942.

W-511-T-A23 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-third Meeting. Date: March 18, 1942.

W-512-T-A24 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-fourth Meeting. Date: April 15, 1942.

W-513-T-A25 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-fifth Meeting. Date: May 20, 1942.

W-514-T-A26 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-sixth Meeting. Date: June 17, 1942.
W-515-T-A27 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-seventh Meeting. Date: July 6, 1942.

W-516-T-A28 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-eighth Meeting. Date: August 19, 1942.

W-517-T-A29 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-ninth Meeting. Date: September 21, 1942.

W-518-T-A30 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirtieth Meeting. Date: October 20, 1942.

W-519-T-A31 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-first Meeting. Date: November 16, 1942.

W-520-T-A32 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-second Meeting. Date: December 15, 1942.

W-521-T-A33 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-third Meeting. Date: February 16, 1943.

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W-524-T-A36 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-sixth Meeting. Date: May 18, 1943.

W-525-T-A37 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Thirty-seventh Meeting. Date: June 15, 1943.

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W-528-T-A40 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fortieth Meeting. Date: October 19, 1943.

W-529-T-A41 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-first Meeting. Date: November 16, 1943.

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W-531-T-A43 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-third Meeting. Date: January 18, 1944.
W-532-T-A44 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-fourth Meeting. Date: February 15, 1944.

W-533-T-A45 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-fifth Meeting. Date: March 14, 1944.

W-534-T-A46 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-sixth Meeting. Date: May 16, 1944.

W-535-T-A47 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-seventh Meeting. Date: June 20, 1944.

W-536-T-A48 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Forty-eighth Meeting. Date: December 19, 1944.

W-537-T-B1 Title: Memorandum on Hungarian Claims and Policies in the Reconstruction of Europe. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: March 17, 1940.

W-538-T-B2 Title: The Near and Middle East at the End of the World War (1919–23) and at the End of the Present War. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: March 23, 1940.

W-539-T-B3 Title: The Strategic Importance of Greenland. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: March 17, 1940.

W-540-T-B4 Title: The Strategic Importance of Iceland. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: April 11, 1940.

W-541-T-B5 Title: Treaty Basis of United States Rights with Respect to Mandated Territories. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: April 18, 1940.

W-542-T-B6 Title: Tentative Proposal for a Conference of Non-Belligerent Blocs or Countries. Authors: Bruce C. Hopper, William L. Westermann. Date: April 6, 1940.

W-543-T-B7 Title: The Interests of the United States and the Fate of Small Nation-States in Europe. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: April 15, 1940.

W-544-T-B8 Title: Political Regions of Eastern Asia. Author: Owen Lattimore. Date: May 13, 1940.

W-545-T-B9 Title: The Legal Situation in the Arctic. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: May 20, 1940.

W-546-T-B10 Title: Refugee Settlement. Author: Isaiah Bowman. Date: May 15, 1940.

W-547-T-B11 Title: Bases of United States Foreign Policy. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: June 28, 1940.
W-548-T-B12 Title: Bases of Possible American Participation in the War in Europe. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: June 10, 1940.

W-549-T-B13 Title: Alternatives to Absolute National Sovereignty of the Airspace. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: June 12, 1940.

W-550-T-B14 Title: Some Problems Concerning the Navigation of the Airspace above the Territorial Waters. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: July 16, 1940.

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W-553-T-B17 Title: Alternatives of United States Policy in the Western Pacific. Author: Owen Lattimore. Date: September 19, 1940.

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W-556-T-B20 Title: Aid to China. Date: October 11, 1940.

W-557-T-B21 Title: Significance for American Policy of the Soviet Technique of Expansion. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: October 28, 1940.

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W-559-T-B23 Title: Mediterranean Problems as Posed by the Situation of March 1, 1941. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: March 1, 1941.

W-560-T-B24 Title: American Interference and Non-Interference in Europe, 1823–1914. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: March 6, 1941.

W-561-T-B25 Title: Territories and Boundaries. Date: March 6, 1941.


W-563-T-B27 Title: Possible Effects of an Agreement between Russia and Japan. Author: Owen Lattimore. Date: April 3, 1941.
W-564-T-B28 Title: The Relation of the United States to Greenland. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: May 16, 1941.

W-565-T-B29 Title: The Chinese Communists, the Comintern, and the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Agreement. Author: Owen Lattimore. Date: May 6, 1941.

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W-569-T-B33 Title: The Russo-German War, Turkey and Iran. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: July 31, 1941.

W-570-T-B34 Title: Questions of America’s Policy Regarding the Nazi-Bolshevik War. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: August 22, 1941.

W-571-T-B35 Title: A Program of Support for the Governments-in-Exile. Author: Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Date: September 18, 1941.

W-572-T-B36 Title: Iran as a Route for American Aid to Russia. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: September 22, 1941.

W-573-T-B37 Title: Supplementary Note on “A Program of Support for the Governments-in-Exile.” Author: Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Date: September 25, 1941.

W-574-T-B38 Title: American Representation in Critical Areas. Author: Bruce C. Hopper. Date: October 20, 1941.

W-575-T-B39 Title: Proposals for America’s Policy with Respect to Japan. Author: A. Whitney Griswold. Date: November 15, 1941.

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W-577-T-B41 Title: Need for Immediate American-British Consideration of Postwar Issues. Author: William P. Maddox. Date: November 17, 1941.

W-579-T-B43 Title: America’s Interest in the Question of Former Italian East Africa. Author: Robert Gale Woolbert. Date: December 24, 1941.

W-580-T-B44 Title: Current American Policy Toward European “Free Movements” and Governments-in-Exile. Author: Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Date: January 19, 1942.

W-581-T-B45 Title: Encouragement of a “Free Italy” Movement. Author: Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Date: January 19, 1942.

W-582-T-B46 Title: Afghanistan and the War. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: February 20, 1942.

W-583-T-B47 Title: The United States and the Anglo-Russian War Agreement with Iran. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: February 20, 1942.

W-584-T-B48 Title: The United States and Syria-Lebanon. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: April 21, 1942.


W-586-T-B50 Title: Political-Territorial Changes and the Stimson Doctrine. Author: William P. Maddox. Date: June 11, 1942.


W-588-T-B52 Title: The Future of Albania. Author: Philip E. Mosely. Date: July 7, 1942.


W-590-T-B54 Title: Postwar United States–Philippine Relations. Author: Grayson Kirk. Date: August 31, 1942.

W-591-T-B55 Title: Russia and an East European Federation. Date: October 26, 1942.


W-593-T-B57 Title: Mineral Supplies of Muslim and Hindu India, Compared. Author: Charles H. Behre Jr. Date: December 15, 1942.

W-594-T-B58 Title: Current Yugoslav Quarrels: The American Interest. Author: Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Date: December 18, 1942.
W-595-T-B59 Title: The Future of Cyprus. Author: Dwight E. Lee. Date: February 16, 1943.

W-596-T-B60 Title: The German-Belgian Boundary. Author: Dwight E. Lee. Date: March 1, 1943.


W-599-T-B63 Title: Mongolia and the Peace Settlement. Author: Owen Lattimore. Date: June 8, 1943.


W-601-T-B65 Title: Thailand. Date: August 2, 1943.

W-602-T-B66 Title: Regional Collaboration in the Low Countries. Author: Charles Woolsey Cole. Date: August 4, 1943.

W-603-T-B67 Title: Regionalism in Southeast Asia. Author: Rupert Emerson. Date: September 14, 1943.


W-605-T-B69 Title: The Future Status of Indo-China as an Example of Postwar Colonial Relationships. Author: Rupert Emerson. Date: November 16, 1943.

W-606-T-B70 Title: Great Britain, Russia, and the United States in Iran. Author: William L. Westermann. Date: January 18, 1944.

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W-608-T-B72 Title: Problems of Policy Toward Areas of Heavy Population Pressure. Author: Frank W. Notestein. Date: April 21, 1944.

W-609-T-B73 Title: Mineral Resources and the U.S.S.R. as a World Power. Author: Charles H. Behre Jr. Date: May 25, 1944.

W-610-T-B74 Title: Elements to Be Considered in an Oil Policy for the United States. Author: Walter H. Voskuil. Date: May 16, 1944.
W-611-T-B75 Title: Limitations of the Plebiscite in the Settlement of Boundary Disputes. Date: June 4, 1944.

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W-614-T-B78 Title: The German Problem. Author: Charles H. Behre Jr. Date: December 19, 1944.

W-615-T-D1 Title: Control of the Ruhr Area As a Means of Restricting Germany’s War Potential. Author: Charles H. Behre Jr. Date: July 8, 1942.

W-616-T-D2 Title: Political, Territorial and Strategic Elements of a Settlement in the Far East. Date: July 22, 1942.

W-617-EN-A1 Title: Polish Peace Aims. Date: June 2, 1941.

W-618-EN-A2 Title: Czechoslovak Peace Aims. Date: June 16, 1941.

W-619-EN-A3 Title: Norwegian Peace Aims. Date: June 30, 1941.

W-620-EN-A4 Title: Austria and the Danubian Problem (Legitimist Presentation). Date: July 14, 1941.

W-621-EN-A5 Title: Yugoslav Peace Aims. Date: August 5, 1941.

W-622-EN-A6 Title: Rumanian Peace Aims. Date: August 18, 1941.

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W-624-EN-A8 Title: Baltic Peace Aims (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). Date: September 15, 1941.

W-625-EN-A9 Title: Digest of Preliminary Views Regarding the Peace Aims of Eastern European Nations. Date: December 15, 1941.

W-626-EN-A10 Title: Italian Peace Aims. Date: December 15, 1941.


W-628-EN-A13 Title: Netherlands Peace Aims. Date: February 16, 1942.

W-629-EN-A14 Title: Greek Peace Aims. Date: March 16, 1942.
W-630-EN-A15 Title: Danish Peace Aims. Date: April 13, 1942.

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W-632-EN-A17 Title: Digest of Preliminary Views Regarding the Peace Aims of European Nations. Date: September 1, 1942.

W-633-EN-A18 & A19 Title: British Peace Aims. Date: September 16 and October 8, 1942.

W-634-EN-A20 Title: Draft Memorandum on a United Nations Program for Freedom from Want of Food. Date: December 7, 1942.

W-635-EN-A21 Title: Norwegian Peace Aims. Date: January 18, 1943.

W-636-EN-A22 Title: French Peace Aims (Leftist Opinion). Date: February 8, 1943.

W-637-EN-A23 Title: French Peace Aims (Third Discussion). Date: March 23, 1943.

W-638-EN-A24 Title: Czechoslovak Peace Aims (Second Discussion). Date: April 12, 1943.

W-639-EN-A25 Title: Future of the Jews in Europe with Special Relation to Palestine. Date: May 31, 1943.

W-640-EN-A26 Title: Spain and the Peace Settlement. Date: July 26, 1943.

W-641-EN-A27 Title: Republican Spain and the Peace Settlement. Date: October 4, 1943.

W-642-EN-A28 Title: Swedish Peace Aims. Date: November 1, 1943.

W-643-EN-A29 Title: French Peace Aims (Fourth Discussion). Date: December 6, 1943.

W-644-EN-A30 Title: Austria and the Peace Settlement. Date: January 10, 1944.

W-645-EN-A31 & A32 Title: Germany and the Peace Settlement (First and Second Discussions). Date: February 28 and March 27, 1944.

W-646-EN-A33 Title: Germany and the Peace Settlement (Third Discussion). Date: April 24, 1944.

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[Publisher’s Note: Number W-648 was not used.]

W-649-EN-A35 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, First Meeting. Date: June 2, 1941.
W-650-EN-A36 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Second Meeting. Date: June 16, 1941.

W-651-EN-A37 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Third Meeting. Date: June 30, 1941.

W-652-EN-A38 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fourth Meeting. Date: July 14, 1941.

W-653-EN-A39 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Fifth Meeting. Date: August 5, 1941.

W-654-EN-A40 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Sixth Meeting. Date: August 18, 1941.

W-655-EN-A41 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Eighth Meeting. Date: September 15, 1941.

W-656-EN-A42 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Ninth Meeting. Date: November 24, 1941.

W-657-EN-A43 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Seventeenth Meeting. Date: September 1, 1942.

W-658-EN-A44 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twentieth Meeting. Date: November 4, 1942.

W-659-EN-A45 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-first Meeting. Date: December 7, 1942.

W-660-EN-A46 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-second Meeting. Date: January 18, 1943.

W-661-EN-A47 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-seventh Meeting. Date: July 26, 1943.

W-662-EN-A48 Title: Memorandum of Discussions, Twenty-eighth Meeting. Date: October 4, 1943.

W-663-EN-C1 Title: A Central-Eastern European Economic Bloc and Czechoslovak Interests. Author: Antonin Basch. Date: August 7, 1941.

W-664-EN-C2 Title: Austria and the Danubian Problem (Austrian Social-Democratic Presentation). Author: Julius Deutsch. Date: September 12, 1941.

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W-666-EN-C4 Title: Macedonia and the Postwar Settlement. Author: Luben Dimitroff. Date: November 21, 1941.

W-667-EN-C5 Title: The Future of Hungary. Author: Oskar Jaszi. Date: December 3, 1941.
W-668-EN-C6 Title: Chatham House Studies on the European Settlement. Date: April 21, 1942.

W-669-EN-C7 Title: Political Trends in France and United Nations Policy. Date: January 25, 1943.

W-670-EN-C8 Title: Political Alignments and the Outlook for Democratic Reconstruction in Germany. Author: George N. Shuster. Date: February 10, 1943.


W-672-EN-C10 Title: Summary of Belgian Peace Aims. Date: March 1, 1943.

W-673-EN-C11 Title: Summary of Netherlands Peace Aims. Date: March 1, 1943.

W-674-EN-C12 Title: Summary of Danish Peace Aims. Date: March 8, 1943.

W-675-EN-C13 Title: Summary of Norwegian Peace Aims. Date: March 15, 1943.

W-676-EN-C14 Title: Summary of Czechoslovak Peace Aims. Date: May 5, 1943.

W-677-EN-C15 Title: Austrian Peace Aims: Views of Emigré Groups. Author: Louis A. Wiesner. Date: July 26, 1943.

W-678-EN-C16 Title: Views of Some European Socialists on Peace. Author: Louis A. Wiesner. Date: November 20, 1943.

W-679-SC-B1 Title: List of Memoranda Issued December 1939–December 1941., with an Analysis of Recommendations. Date: December 31, 1941.

W-680-SC-B2 Title: List of Memoranda Issued in 1942. with Recommendations or Conclusions. Date: December 31, 1942.

W-681-SC-B3 Title: Index of Memoranda Issued to December 31, 1942. Date: March 15, 1943.

W-682-SC-B4 Title: List of Memoranda Issued in 1943. with Recommendations or Conclusions. Date: December 31, 1943.

W-683-SC-B5 Title: Index of Memoranda Issued During 1943., Supplement to SC-B3. Date: March 15, 1944.

W-684-SC-B6 Title: Index of Memoranda Issued During 1944., Supplement to SC-B3 and SC-B5. Date: March 15, 1945.
W-685-SC-C1 Title: Problems of International Air Transport (Special Meeting). Date: April 5, 1943.


W-688 Title: Postwar Agreements on Commercial Policy. Author: Percy W. Bidwell. Date: January 1944.

W-689 Title: Postwar Controls of the German Economy. Author: Percy W. Bidwell. Date: July 1944.

W-690 Title: The Liquidation of War Surpluses. Authors: Arthur R. Burns, Arthur D. Gayer. Date: November 1944.

W-691 Title: American Merchant Marine Policy After the War. Author: William Diebold Jr. Date: June 1944.


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W-709 Title: Topical Index to the War and Peace Studies.
The following index is a guide to the major subjects in this microform publication. The abbreviations and numbers after each entry refer to the document category and fiche number at which a particular document containing information on the subject begins. Fiche are arranged under the following categories: C [Conferences]; G [Groups]; M [Meetings]; and W [War and Peace Studies]. By referring to the Fiche Index, which constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher will find the fiche number, document title, and year of publication.

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