

1. 5 + 10 yrs - ~~prop~~ $\frac{2}{3}$ ✓

2. $\frac{2}{3}$ ~~instead~~ $\frac{3}{4}$ all agreed

3. Ratification - 5 must ratify ✓

4. majority + 5
 $\frac{2}{3}$ nil + 5

5. Withdrawal / Approved Committee / Committee **E**

6. Expulsion $\frac{2}{3}$ D. Ochs

Included in
Closing memo
a note to
special list

3 P.M.

John Johnston

Do you think the Latins
would go along on a ~~four~~ ⁵
point program

1. Withdrawal clause in [✓] Charter
2. Expulsion clause [✓]
3. Amendment as in 4 power
proposal but with [✓]
 $\frac{3}{4}$ vote of assembly and
Any 7 vote of Security Council
to call a convention.
Amendments to be ratified
by the 5
4. Plus call of meeting [✓]
on The Agenda
of The assembly
The 10th year

Not a perfect charter
A good charter

Time has come
to defend +
advocate

Best hope

Critical - 8 weeks

Not frozen
Dead hand

Heck

New facts

When are small nations
in danger
when superpowers
fall out - take
Unilateral action

Do not divide

Overcrowded institution

Cynics

5 weeks in N.

Force

Social + Economic
Commit

Differences

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

June 9, 1945

Participants: The Secretary of State; Commander Stassen;
Mr. Gerig.

Subject: The Proposals of the Soviet Delegation
Concerning Trusteeship.

Commander Stassen told the Secretary that he and Mr. Gerig had just had a conversation with Ambassador Gromyko and Mr. Novikov of the Soviet Delegation, in which the latter said that they could support the trusteeship document provided two conditions were met. First, that an additional sentence be added to Paragraph B 5, to be worded as follows:

"This paragraph should not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of the agreements for placing mandated and other territories, as provided for in paragraph 3, under the trusteeship system."

Second, that it should be understood between the United States and Soviet Governments that in case the Soviet Government should be proposed as the administering authority of some suitable trust territory--though he had no specific territory in mind--the United States Government would support the Soviet Government as eligible for such a post.

Secretary Stettinius said he thought both these points were entirely reasonable and that we could accede to their request. He said the additional sentence to Paragraph 5 was merely a clarification of the implied intent of that paragraph, to which Commander Stassen and Mr. Gerig agreed. Commander Stassen went on to say that in the Soviet view it counterbalanced what the Soviets regarded as too much emphasis in that paragraph on maintenance of the status quo eternally. The Soviet Delegation wanted to make certain that the subsequent agreements for placing territories under the system would not be unduly delayed.

Mr. Stettinius

Mr. Stettinius suggested that the second Soviet proposal--Soviet eligibility as a potential administering authority--might be discussed with Mr. Dunn, and Commander Stassen said he would try to see him as soon as possible. When the matter was explained to Mr. Dunn, there seemed to be no objection to meeting the Soviet request on this point.

BGerig:mce

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

That speech makes me value
even more than I did. What you
said about my son.

Perfect in thought & feeling - &
most moving. It had great
effect.

H

(Halifax)
(June 12, 1945)
(after we're spent)

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Misunderstanding
~~Wish~~ —

Veto Investigation

Legalize Aggression

Above Law

world; that the presence of American soldiers and sailors and airmen ~~is~~ is not feared, but respected and welcomed; that the world wants us to contribute to its own stability and we must follow through. In the process, we must also be quick to correct any economic or social abuses committed by our citizens, ^{abroad} and we must insist on fair dealings and we must oppose monopolistic practices by our own citizens as well as by others. We should also make it clear that the cry of the future should not be simply the plaintive plea "Give us Peace", ~~but~~ ^{but} the slogan of the ~~future~~ ^{future} must be "Give us a Just Peace"/or "Give us War".

Over and over again at San Francisco, what seemed ~~to~~ first to be an unreasonable position by some countries, it became understandable upon careful, friendly inquiry, ~~and~~ into the background for this position, into the experience of the state concerned, into the aspirations of its people, or even at times, into the manner in which the particular wording was translated into another language. Conclusions - May this nation, under God, have a new vision of its responsibilities to mankind, and of its opportunities for mankind.

Even as there are qualities in life, more precious than life itself, so there are qualities in nationhood, more precious than peace itself. And I am convinced that that slogan in fact represents the best road to lasting peace, ^{and} to a full, satisfying, ^{war} happy life for a nation. Perhaps at some future time representation and voting in the organization will be adjusted ~~through~~ ^{through} an addition

of a second house to the ^{number of} assembly, a second house in which the votes bear some relationship to the numbers of population, of literacy, of industrial strength, ^{and} ~~as a stage of development of the people~~. Then the question of vetoes and of powers to make rules for world conduct will gradually be worked out.

We must no longer wait to see what other nations are going to do. We must think through our policy and talk it through with our people. ^{the statement that} The counterpart of every man must be interested in and concerned with the world is that the world has an interest in what happens to John Doe, whatever may be his color and wherever he may be found.

Any nation that seeks to dominate the world will fail. Man was not meant to be dominated. ~~He was meant to be free and to be cooperated with.~~ He was meant to be free and to be cooperative. The wisest leaders, political, economic, social and military, are those who recognize these basic fact and shape their policies accordingly.

^{Of course} Of course it must not be an irresponsible freedom, but a cooperating freedom, for the fullness of the enjoyment of the freedom increases with the degree of the cooperation. That is why the cooperation ~~takes the form at its best~~ ^{includes a set of limits of conduct} of definite rules that all can understand and abide by. In order that we may be strong domestically, we must think through the methods by which the exercise of the rights of ownership and management and the rights of organizing and bargaining do not result in conflict and stagnation of production. This requires an

adjustment by both to the responsibilities that go with the rights.

Thinking through our economic policy in relation to other countries,

we should frankly inquire what we can best give to ~~the world and to~~

the major ~~economic~~ centers of population of the world and what we

can best take from the world in repayment. ~~Major items immediately~~

~~appear and~~ ^Praw materials can be one of those major items of repayment.

Conservation of our raw materials in the country after the abnormal

expenditure of them during the war would be a wise, long range policy

and would fit in best with the world economy. This will mean the

readjustment of our domestic taxation policies so that these raw

materials within our country can be preserved without confiscation

by taxation. We can also take a large measure of repayment in the

~~form of food and services delivered to our ~~tax~~ people who tour these~~

^{of food and services}various countries. We should also contemplate increased investment in

these other countries and ⁱⁿtheir resources on a continuing basis.

Likewise, in our domestic policy we must be very careful of

inflation in the post-war period. The controls of our prices in the

war must be maintained until production reaches the point where it

can approximate the demand. These policies could be worked out in

consultations with the alert leadership of business and the forward-

looking and responsible leadership of labor, and the progressive

men of finance. Taxation policies will also need to be adjusted and

all must carry a portion of the burden if we are to be as successful in

peace as we have been in war.

As one part of our foreign policy, we should make it clear
that we do not intend to sponsor or finance ~~or maintain a liason to~~
any organization ^{other} within these countries which are disloyal to their
government, and we do not intend to permit any of ^{the nation} ~~them~~ to sponsor or
finance ~~or maintain a liason to~~ any organization in this country ~~or~~
~~any other United Nations~~ disloyal to ~~the~~ government, In appraising
the Charter, it should be recognized that the final result was in a
large measure assisted by the preliminary work that had been done at
Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta, and also that our final result was ~~a~~
in some respects restricted by the ^{agreements} ~~work~~ that had been ^{reached} ~~done~~ at Dumbarton
Oaks and at Yalta.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

we should make it clear

B Friendships to each and everyone of
the United Nations does not ~~mean that we initiate~~
friendships ^{attitude} toward any of our own citizens who
demonstrate a greater loyalty to some other
country than they do to our own. A deep

concern in the future conditions of the
people of the world does not mean any
lack of concern in the future conditions of the
people of the United States of America.

we should ^{also} make it very clear that the
promotion of friendly relations and understanding
between the United States and other nations
must not include following the policies of any
other nation to the exclusion of our own.

The advocacy of a worldwide policy for
America must be a form of loyalty ^{to the world}, and
not a form of disloyalty to America.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

We should analyze the economic,
social, and political basis on which we
A. can expect to maintain continuing good relationships
to each of the other United Nations and discuss
these principles plainly with the other Nations
concerned, inviting at the same time their
views of the basis for such long range friendships.

~~Cooperation & mutual understanding will be found
in a two way street - each must meet the other
half way~~

We should make it equally clear
that those of our citizens who deliberately
or carelessly repeat halftruths and
distortions which are calculated to injure
our relations with any one of the United Nations
are not serving the best interests of America.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Peace loving nations do not
fear us. Aggressors do. So must
it ever be.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The Convention Chairmanship

The Two United Republics Philippines - India
Argentina
Poland

Discussion & Hearing in the Security Council

Approval for Morocco

Trusteeship - Colonial Administration - U K
France

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Except for some natural delays caused by the necessity of translating into different languages and checking with home governments, the process of working out the agreements at San Francisco was not any more difficult and was not marked by any greater disagreements or compromises than the process of reaching agreements in the session of the average legislature or Congress within the United States.

W- 8

~~RESTRICTED~~

UNCIO V STATE NR 11/13TH JUNE 3 33 PM EWT URGENT GR 68 BT

TO COMMANDER STASSEN, UNCIO
FROM ABE FORTAS, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

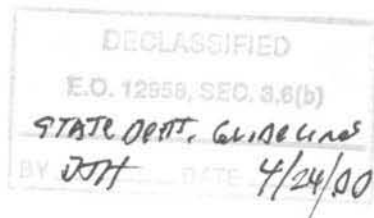
11 JUNE 13TH

SECRETARY ICKES AUTHORIZES ME TO SAY THAT HE HAS NO OBJECTION TO
PROCEEDING ON THE BASIS OF THE DRAFT OF THE GENERAL POLICY SECTION
OF THE TRUSTEESHIP CHAPTER TRANSMITTED TO ME BY YOUR MESSAGE OF JUNE
13. I SHOULD LIKE PERSONALLY TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR PROPOSED
RESOLUTION OF A DIFFICULT AND CONTROVERSIAL MATTER.

SENT NR 11/13TH JUNE 3:50PM EWT STATE NLG

RECD NR 11/13TH JUNE 12:50PM PWT UNCIO PT

~~RESTRICTED~~



Hon Harold Ickes
Secretary of the Interior
Washington DC

Confidential Your telegram regarding the
Trusteeship Chapter of the United Nations
Charter has been referred to me as this
Chapter has been acted upon by ^{one of} the Committees
of the Conference to which I am assigned &
May I respectfully state that your
telegram indicates that you are not fully
informed of the situation here. The United
States Delegation has already sponsored
as early as the 9th of May an outstandingly
liberal declaration of general policy as to
all dependent territories. It has been ~~also~~
~~accepted by the approved by the~~
supported by the other sponsoring powers
and adopted by the committee only two weeks
ago.

NOTICE

The meeting of the delegation this morning,
Saturday, June 9, will be at the regular time,
9:00 a.m., room 562.

Your telegram raises only one additional
point and that is your urging that independence
should be the objective of all dependant territories.
May I point out on the first instance
that we are not writing a unilateral
declaration of United States policy
but are endeavoring to ~~write~~ a charter
agreed to by all members and the language
you refer to would be interpreted as a direct
attack upon the United Kingdom, France,
and the Netherlands. In addition it might
be interpreted by some within our country
as advocating Independence for ^{territories such as} Pearl Harbor
and Guam which are essential to security in
the Pacific and such interpretation would prejudice

1000
The ratification of the entire
Charter in the United States Senate &
May I add that your implied
support in this telegram, which
has become public, of other
Phillippine delegates' speech on
this subject, as Secretary of the Interior,
has embarrassed the conduct of our
Foreign policy at the conference,
and if continued might cause serious
difficulties ^{with the other sponsoring powers} in the conclusion of our
work of drafting the charter & I respectfully
urge you to desist and will forward to
you a copy of the very liberal charter
on Thursday which has been adopted,
by the committee. I also recognize that
the absence of any portion of our national policy
in this document does not mean its abandonment,
as this document ^{is} and must be representative ^{only} of the
area of agreement with the other powers. Consolidated

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco

June 23, 1945

Dear Governor,

You will recall that last night I accepted as "Custodian of the American Delegation" the beautiful silver plates presented by the Delegations of the American Republics.

I am having one of the plates engraved with your name on it as being presented by the Latin American Delegations in testimony of their friendship and good will.

The engraving will take a little time but Gumps will have the plate engraved very promptly and forwarded to you at your home address.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco

June 23, 1945

Dear Governor,

Before we leave San Francisco I want to tell you how much your membership on the United States Delegation at the United Nations Conference has meant to our country and to me personally. No chairman could have enjoyed more wholehearted cooperation from his associates.

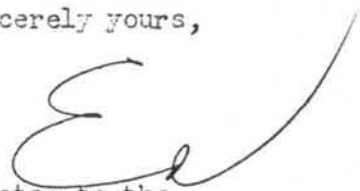
I feel that the provisions for a trusteeship system in the new Charter represent an important advance toward the ultimate goal which we all seek. Your contribution to the definement and establishment of this system has been invaluable. I should also like to tell you of the personal gratification which your presence on the American Delegation has brought to me. It has given me great satisfaction that one of the members of our Delegation has not only been a public servant of a great State but has also more recently been on extended active duty with the heroic men of the United States Armed Forces.

Let me take this opportunity to wish you success and good fortune for the future.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Harold E. Stassen
Delegate from the United States to the
United Nations Conference on
International Organization
Fairmont Hotel



~~SECRET~~

June 26, 1945

AGENDA FOR SIGNING OF CHARTER BY UNITED STATES DELEGATES

(1) The members of the United States Delegation, other than Mr. Stettinius, will leave the Fairmont Hotel at 2:30 and assemble in Room 115, Veterans Building, at 2:45 p.m. on June 26, 1945. They will have arrived in Room 115 in accordance with the "Agenda for Signing of Charter".

(2) In Room 115 they will receive their instructions in connection with signing the Charter.

(3) At 3 p.m. they will be ushered across the hall to the backstage area of the Auditorium where they will await the arrival of President Truman and Mr. Stettinius.

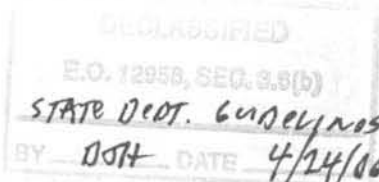
(4) The President and Mr. Stettinius will leave the Fairmont Hotel at 2:45 p.m. and drive to the rear entrance of the Veterans Building opposite the Opera House. The route from the Fairmont Hotel will be California Street to Van Ness Avenue, to Grove Street, to Franklin Street, and to the courtyard entrance of the Veterans Building.

(5) The President's party will enter the Veterans Building and proceed into the backstage area of the Auditorium via the side entrance on the south hall.

(6) In the backstage area of the Auditorium they will be met by the six other United States Delegates. The group will then proceed to the signing table. It is suggested that the President enter onto the stage accompanied by Mr. Stettinius, followed by the other Delegates.

(7) The President will take a position to the right of the chair for the signing delegate. Mr. Stettinius will take his seat at the table where he will proceed to sign the Charter and Interim Arrangements Agreement. When Mr. Stettinius has signed the documents he will arise from the chair, turn to his right and be congratulated by the President. Mr. Stettinius will then take a position to the left of the President. While the President is congratulating Mr. Stettinius the next signing delegate will take his seat at the table. When he has signed he will talk over and be congratulated, first by the Secretary and then by the President. He will then move to the back of the line of Delegates waiting to sign.

(8) There



(8) There will be countersunk microphones on the table. Whether anything will be said over the radio is to be decided by Mr. Stettinius.

(9) It is estimated that the signing will take approximately fifteen to twenty minutes. Five minutes will be allowed for the party to proceed to the Opera House.

(10) The President and Mr. Stettinius will cross the court to the Opera House and enter through the north side entrance. The other Delegates will leave the Veterans Building by the front entrance, walk down Van Ness Avenue and enter the Opera House through the front entrance.



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