

GENERAL

The United Nations
Dumbarton Oaks Proposals
for a
General International Organization

(For the Use of the Delegates)

There should be established an international organization under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

CHAPTER I. PURPOSES

The purposes of the Organization should be:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

1 CHAPTER II. PRINCIPLES

2 In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the
3 Organization and its members should act in accordance with
4 the following principles:

5 1. The Organization is based on the principle of the
6 sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.

7 2. All members of the Organization undertake, in order
8 to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from
9 membership in the Organization, to fulfill the obligations
10 assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

11 3. All members of the Organization shall settle their dis-
12 putes by peaceful means in such a manner that international
13 peace and security are not endangered.

14 4. All members of the Organization shall refrain in their
15 international relations from the threat or use of force in any
16 manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization.

17 5. All members of the Organization shall give every
18 assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by
19 it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

20 6. All members of the Organization shall refrain from
21 giving assistance to any state against which preventive or
22 enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organization.

23 The Organization should ensure that states not members

1 of the Organization act in accordance with these principles
2 so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of inter-
3 national peace and security.

4 CHAPTER III. MEMBERSHIP

5 1. Membership of the Organization should be open to all
6 peace-loving states.

7 Chapter IV. Principal Organs

8 1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:

9 a. A General Assembly;

10 b. A Security Council;

11 c. An international court of justice; and

12 d. A Secretariat

13 2. The Organization should have such subsidiary agen-
14 cies as may be found necessary.

15 CHAPTER V. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

16 SECTION A. COMPOSITION. All members of the Or-
17 ganization should be members of the General Assembly and
18 should have a number of representatives to be specified in
19 the Charter.

20 SECTION B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. 1. The Gen-
21 eral Assembly should have the right to consider the general
22 principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international
23 peace and security, including the principles governing dis-

1 armament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any
2 questions relating to the maintenance of international peace
3 and security brought before it by any member or members
4 of the Organization or by the Security Council; and to make
5 recommendations with regard to any such principles or
6 questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary
7 should be referred to the Security Council by the General
8 Assembly either before or after discussion. The General
9 Assembly should not on its own initiative make recom-
10 mendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of
11 international peace and security which is being dealt with
12 by the Security Council.

13 2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit
14 new members to the Organization upon recommendation of the
15 the Security Council.

16 3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation
17 of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from
18 the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any
19 member of the Organization against which preventive or
20 enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security
21 Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus
22 suspended may be restored by decision of the Security
23 Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon

1 recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the
2 Organization any member of the Organization which per-
3 sistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4 4. The General Assembly should elect the non-perma-
5 nent members of the Security Council and the members of
6 the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter
7 IX. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation
8 of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Or-
9 ganization. It should perform such functions in relation
10 to the election of the judges of the international court of
11 justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the
12 court.

13 5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses
14 among the members of the Organization and should be
15 empowered to approve the budgets of the Organization.

16 6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and
17 make recommendations for the purpose of promoting inter-
18 national cooperation in political, economic and social fields
19 and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general
20 welfare.

21 7. The General Assembly should make recommenda-
22 tions for the coordination of the policies of international
23 economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into

1 relation with the Organization in accordance with agree-
2 ments between such agencies and the Organization.

3 8. The General Assembly should receive and consider
4 annual and special reports from the Security Council and
5 reports from other bodies of the Organization.

6 SECTION C. VOTING. 1. Each member of the Organ-
7 ization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

8 2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, in-
9 cluding recommendations with respect to the maintenance
10 of international peace and security; election of members of
11 the Security Council; election of members of the Economic
12 and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of
13 the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and
14 expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be
15 made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.
16 On other questions, including the determination of additional
17 categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds ma-
18 jority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made
19 by a simple majority vote.

20 SECTION D. PROCEDURE. 1. The General Assembly
21 should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special
22 sessions as occasion may require.

1 2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of
2 procedure and elect its President for each session.

3 3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set
4 up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the
5 performance of its functions.

6 CHAPTER VI. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

7 SECTION A. COMPOSITION. The Security Council should
8 consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the
9 Organization. Representatives of the United States of
10 America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and
11 Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-
12 publics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France,
13 should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should
14 elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six
15 states should be elected for a term of two years, three retir-
16 ing each year. They should not be immediately eligible for
17 reelection. In the first election of the non-permanent mem-
18 bers three should be chosen by the General Assembly for
19 one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

20 SECTION B. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. 1. In
21 order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organi-
22 zation, members of the Organization should by the Charter
23 confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for

1 the maintenance of international peace and security and
2 should agree that in carrying out these duties under this re-
3 sponsibility it should act on their behalf.

4 2. In discharging these duties the Security Council
5 should act in accordance with the purposes and principles
6 of the Organization.

7 3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Coun-
8 cil in order to carry out these duties are laid down in
9 Chapter VIII.

10 4. All members of the Organization should obligate
11 themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council
12 and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions
13 of the Charter.

14 5. In order to promote the establishment and mainte-
15 nance of international peace and security with the least di-
16 version of the world's human and economic resources for
17 armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the
18 Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII,
19 Section B, paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for
20 formulating plans for the establishment of a system of
21 regulation of armaments for submission to the members of
22 the Organization.

1 (Here follows the text of Section C as proposed at
2 the Crimea Conference:)

3 SECTION C. VOTING. 1. Each member of the Security
4 Council should have one vote.

5 2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural mat-
6 ters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

7 3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters
8 should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members
9 including the concurring votes of the permanent members;
10 provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A,
11 and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter
12 VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from
13 voting.

14 SECTION D. PROCEDURE. 1. The Security Council
15 should be so organized as to be able to function continuously
16 and each state member of the Security Council should be
17 permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organiza-
18 tion. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its
19 judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be
20 periodic meetings at which each state member of the Security
21 Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of
22 the government or some other special representative.

1 2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up
2 such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the
3 performance of its functions including regional subcommittees
4 of the Military Staff Committee.

5 3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of
6 procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

7 4. Any member of the Organization should participate in
8 the discussion of any question brought before the Security
9 Council whenever the Security Council considers that the
10 interests of that member of the Organization are specially
11 affected.

12 5. Any member of the Organization not having a seat
13 on the Security Council and any state not a member of the
14 Organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration
15 by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in
16 the discussion relating to the dispute.

17 CHAPTER VII. AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

18 1. There should be an international court of justice which
19 should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organ-
20 ization.

21 2. The court should be constituted and should function
22 in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and
23 be a part of the Charter of the Organization.

1 3. The statute of the court of international justice should
2 be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of Inter-
3 national Justice, continued in force with such modifications
4 as may be desirable or (b) a new statute in the preparation
5 of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International
6 Justice should be used as a basis.

7 4. All members of the Organization should ipso facto
8 be parties to the statute of the international court of justice.

9 5. Conditions under which states not members of the
10 Organization may become parties to the statute of the inter-
11 national court of justice should be determined in each case
12 by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the
13 Security Council.

14 CHAPTER VIII. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTER-
15 NATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY INCLUDING PREVENTION AND
16 SUPPRESSION OF AGGRESSION

17 SECTION A. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

18 1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate
19 any dispute, or any situation which may lead to inter-
20 national friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to deter-
21 mine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the
22 maintenance of international peace and security.

23 2. Any state, whether member of the Organization or

1 not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention
2 of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3 3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which
4 is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace
5 and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek
6 a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration
7 or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own
8 choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties
9 to settle their dispute by such means.

10 4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature
11 referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the
12 means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate
13 themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Se-
14 curity Council should in each case decide whether or not
15 the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely
16 to endanger the maintenance of international peace and
17 security, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council
18 should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should
19 take action under paragraph 5.

20 5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any
21 stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph
22 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods
23 of adjustment.

1 6. Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to
2 the international court of justice. The Security Council
3 should be empowered to refer to the court, for advice, legal
4 questions connected with other disputes.

5 7. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section A
6 should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of
7 matters which by international law are solely within the
8 domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.

9 SECTION B. DETERMINATION OF THREATS TO THE
10 PEACE OR ACTS OF AGGRESSION AND ACTION WITH
11 RESPECT THERETO. 1. Should the Security Council deem
12 that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with proce-
13 dures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance
14 with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Sec-
15 tion A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of inter-
16 national peace and security, it should take any measures
17 necessary for the maintenance of international peace and
18 security in accordance with the purposes and principles of
19 the Organization.

20 2. In general the Security Council should determine the
21 existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or
22 act of aggression and should make recommendations or

1 decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore
2 peace and security.

3 3. The Security Council should be empowered to de-
4 termine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not
5 involving the use of armed force should be employed to give
6 effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the
7 Organization to apply such measures. Such measures may
8 include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air,
9 postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication
10 and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

11 4. Should the Security Council consider such measures
12 to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action
13 by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to main-
14 tain or restore international peace and security. Such ac-
15 tion may include demonstrations, blockade and other
16 operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the
17 Organization.

18 5. In order that all members of the Organization should
19 contribute to the maintenance of international peace and
20 security, they should undertake to make available to the
21 Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special
22 agreement or agreements concluded among themselves,
23 armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the pur-

1 pose of maintaining international peace and security. Such
2 agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and
3 types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance
4 to be provided. The special agreement or agreements
5 should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each
6 case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to
7 ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their
8 constitutional processes.

9 6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be
10 taken by the Organization there should be held immediately
11 available by the members of the Organization national air
12 force contingents for combined international enforcement
13 action. The strength and degree of readiness of these con-
14 tingents and plans for their combined action should be deter-
15 mined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Mili-
16 tary Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the
17 special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph 5
18 above.

19 7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the
20 Security Council for the maintenance of international peace
21 and security should be taken by all the members of the Organ-
22 ization in cooperation or by some of them as the Security
23 Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried

1 out by the members of the Organization by their own action
2 and through action of the appropriate specialized organiza-
3 tions and agencies of which they are members.

4 8. Plans for the application of armed force should be
5 made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Mili-
6 tary Staff Committee referred to in paragraph 9 below.

7 9. There should be established a Military Staff Commit-
8 tee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the
9 Security Council on all questions relating to the Security
10 Council's military requirements for the maintenance of inter-
11 national peace and security, to the employment and command
12 of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments
13 and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under
14 the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed
15 forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The
16 Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the
17 permanent members of the Security Council or their repre-
18 sentatives. Any member of the Organization not perma-
19 nently represented on the Committee should be invited by
20 the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient dis-
21 charge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a
22 state should participate in its work. Questions of command
23 of forces should be worked out subsequently.

1 10. The members of the Organization should join in
2 affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures
3 decided upon by the Security Council.

4 11. Any state, whether a member of the Organiza-
5 tion or not, which finds itself confronted with special eco-
6 nomic problems arising from the carrying out of measures
7 which have been decided upon by the Security Council
8 should have the right to consult the Security Council in
9 regard to a solution of those problems.

10 SECTION C. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. 1. Nothing
11 in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional
12 arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters
13 relating to the maintenance of international peace and
14 security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such
15 arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent
16 with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The
17 Security Council should encourage settlement of local dis-
18 putes through such regional arrangements or by such re-
19 gional agencies, either on the initiative of the states
20 concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

21 2. The Security Council should, where appropriate,
22 utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action

1 under its authority, but no enforcement action should be
2 taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies
3 without the authorization of the Security Council.

4 3. The Security Council should at all times be kept
5 fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation
6 under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for
7 the maintenance of international peace and security.

8 CHAPTER IX. ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND
9 SOCIAL COOPERATION

10 SECTION A. PURPOSE AND RELATIONSHIPS. 1. With
11 a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being
12 which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among
13 nations, the Organization should facilitate solutions of inter-
14 national economic, social and other humanitarian problems
15 and promote respect for human rights and fundamental free-
16 doms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should
17 be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority
18 of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

19 2. The various specialized economic, social and other
20 organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their
21 respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such or-
22 ganization or agency should be brought into relationship with
23 the Organization on terms to be determined by agreement

1 between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate
2 authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject
3 to approval by the General Assembly.

4 SECTION B. COMPOSITION AND VOTING. The Economic
5 and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen
6 members of the Organization. The states to be represented
7 for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly
8 for terms of three years. Each such state should have one
9 representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the
10 Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple
11 majority vote of those present and voting.

12 SECTION C. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE ECO-
13 NOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. 1. The Economic and
14 Social Council should be empowered:

15 a. to carry out, within the scope of its functions,
16 recommendations of the General Assembly;

17 b. to make recommendations, on its own initiative,
18 with respect to international economic, social and other
19 humanitarian matters;

20 c. to receive and consider reports from the eco-
21 nomic, social and other organizations or agencies brought
22 into relationship with the Organization, and to co-

1 ordinate their activities through consultations with, and
2 recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;

3 d. to examine the administrative budgets of such
4 specialized organizations or agencies with a view to
5 making recommendations to the organizations or agen-
6 cies concerned;

7 e. to enable the Secretary-General to provide in-
8 formation to the Security Council;

9 f. to assist the Security Council upon its request;
10 and

11 g. to perform such other functions within the gen-
12 eral scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by
13 the General Assembly.

14 SECTION D. ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE. 1. The
15 Economic and Social Council should set up an economic
16 commission, a social commission, and such other commis-
17 sions as may be required. These commissions should con-
18 sist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which
19 should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organ-
20 ization.

21 2. The Economic and Social Council should make suit-
22 able arrangements for representatives of the specialized
23 organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its

1 deliberations and in those of the commissions established
2 by it.

3 3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its
4 own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its
5 President.

6 CHAPTER X. THE SECRETARIAT

7 1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a Secre-
8 tary-General and such staff as may be required. The
9 Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer
10 of the Organization. He should be elected by the General
11 Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council,
12 for such term and under such conditions as are specified in
13 the Charter.

14 2. The Secretary-General should act in that capacity
15 in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security
16 Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should
17 make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work
18 of the Organization.

19 3. The Secretary-General should have the right to bring
20 to the attention of the Security Council any matter which
21 in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

22 CHAPTER XI. AMENDMENTS

23 Amendments should come into force for all members of

1 the Organization, when they have been adopted by a vote
2 of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and
3 ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional
4 processes by the members of the Organization having per-
5 manent membership on the Security Council and by a
6 majority of the other members of the Organization.

7 CHAPTER XII. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

8 1. Pending the coming into force of the special agree-
9 ment or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B,
10 paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of para-
11 graph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow,
12 October 30, 1943, the states parties to that Declaration
13 should consult with one another and as occasion arises with
14 other members of the Organization with a view to such joint
15 action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for
16 the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

17 2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action
18 taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of
19 the present war by the Governments having responsibility for
20 such action.



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