THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

HES:

Mr. Fran Ollstock, of the govt newsreel office under Mr. Mc Dermott, wants you to make, at your occasional convenience, a series of two-to-three minute newsreels, discussing the current progress, problems and successes & failures of the conference. Facilities are available to do this with the minimum loss of time in Room 207 Veterans' Bldg. Connally and Sttetinius have already made similar reels, but your style of delivery and composition is prefered.

JBT

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THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

HES

Senator Connally proposed the Big Five interpretation of the Yalta Voting Procedure with a plea for sympathetic reaction from the committee.

Evatt initiated the small nations' criticism with the basic criticism that all questions of conciliation and peaceful settlement should be free from the unlimited veto power. To this and other questions Mr Webster (Brit) answered, and rather ambiguously according to the small nations.

Fraser upheld the small nations' point of view, but a semi-friendly address from Egypt and a conciliatory speech from Pearson of Canada tempered the heat of the discussion.

El Salvador raised the question as to whether abstention on the part of a power involved in a discussion should be construed as a negative vote by that power.

The general tone was that the small nations felt the interpretation unsatisfactorily narrow and the answers of the Big Five too vague and wary. The expectation is that discussion on the question may last as long as a week. No vote was reached last night.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Voting Proceeding no ne alone law Pearaful Settlements -Recommendations call upon parties moral force of world If this fails them it is This is an one to preven han It can conduct policing activities There are whotos in setty a moral evel m world-

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THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Memo on Armed Forces Radio Show. HES:

Corporal Beach will be waiting for you in the studio of the American Broadcastic force, Station KSFO, at the bottom of the Wark at eight tomorrow a.m.. I talked with Elmer and we made the changes indicated on the script. I later talked with Beach and we felt that the following two questions should be answered if possible; (1) There are two factors that make it necessary that the Charter should be capable of being amended and changed with the passage of time. In the first place the Charter can not be perfect as it stands and as time reveals its faults, it must be changed if it is to survive. Similarly the great majority of the men that made this Charter possible by assuring victory in the war were not in the country nor in a position to make the force of their ef-their opinion felt. In view of these two factors, what provision has been made for changing and improving the Charter?

2) What is our stake in the new Charter and what can we do about it?

I thought that you might answer this last question by suggesting the two alternatives that present themselves. Either we work out throught the Charter a possible way of living together or the nations return to the power alliances of the past that inevitably set the stage for war. The future of all of us lies in the manner in which we make that choice.

Sandifer thought there was a good possibility of getting the three tickets for the three sergeants. As yet, however he does not have them.

Ch

CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE OF SEPTEMBER 28, 1946

TITLE IV

Diplomatic Treaties

Art. 26. Diplomatic treaties duly ratified and published shall have the force of law even when they are contrary to internal French legislation; they shall require for their application no legislative acts other than those necessary to ensure their ratification.

Art. 27. Treaties relative to international organization, peace treaties, commercial treaties, treaties that involve national finances, treaties relative to the personal status and property rights of French citizens abroad, those that modify French internal legislation, as well as those that involve the cession, exchange, or addition of territories, shall not become final until they have been ratified by an act of the legislature.

No cession, no exchange, and no addition of territory shall be valid without the consent of the populations concerned.

Art. 28. Since diplomatic treaties duly ratified and published have authority superior to that of French internal legislation, their provisions shall not be abrogated, modified, or suspended without previous formal denunciation through diplomatic channels. Whenever a treaty such as those mentioned in Article 27 is concerned, such denunciation must be approved by the National Assembly, except in the case of commercial treaties.

June 18, 1945.

Re-Draft of Working Paper, Section A

(New wording indicated by underlining)

A. DECLARATION

- 1. States members of the United Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of such territories within the system of international peace and security, and to this end:
 - (a) to insure the political, economic. social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned, their just treatment and their protection against abuses;
 - (b) to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples, and their warving stages of advancement;

(d) to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international assences badge

with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this paragraph; and

(e) to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those to which Section B of this Chapter applies.

2. Members also agree that their policy in respect to such territories, no less than in respect to their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of other members of the world community, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

EXCERPT FROM "UNION NOW" by Clarence K. Streit

As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and sub-divided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF WASHINGTON 25

MEMORANDUM

| Date | 20 | February | 1945 |
|------|----|----------|--------------------------------------|
| | | | were no market to the said to the or |

To: Cdr. Stassen

Subject:

Attached hereto are the following:

- 1. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.
- 2. Differences between D.O. and the League of Nations.
- 3. Memo from R.W. to Chairman, Security Committee, State Department.
- 4. War Documents.

As you know, the question of voting in the Security Council (Chapter VI, Section 3) was resolved at the Crimea Conference.

The other important question still to be considered is that of International Trusteeships.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF WASHINGTON 25

MEMORANDUM

| | | Date 20 Feb 1945 |
|----------|------|------------------|
| To: | Cdr. | Stassen |
| Subject: | | |

Admiral Willson will tell you about these tomorrow.

Respectfully,

F. HOLDSWORTH, Jr. Lt., U.S.N.R.

DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

Address delivered by Mr. Leo Pasvolsky at the closing session of the United Nations Institute on Post-War Security, at Cincinnati, Ohio, November 18, 1944

I.

The Dumbarton Oaks meeting stemmed from the Moscow Conference of October 1943, at which Secretary Hull, on behalf of the United States, Foreign Secretary Eden, on behalf of Great Britain, Foreign Commissar Molotov, on behalf of the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Ambassador to Moscow, on behalf of the Republic of China, signed the now famous Four Nation Declaration.

In that historic document the four nations which are bearing the principal brunt of the present war for human freedom pledged themselves to cooperate after the cessation of hestilities in the building of enduring peace, as fully and as whole-heartedly as they have been working together in the conduct of the war. They expressed their joint conviction that the maintenance of international peace and security must be a joint task of all peace-loving nations, large and small, and that, accordingly, there must be created a permanent international organization based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations and open to membership by all such nations. They agreed to take the leadership in the creation of such an organization. They also agreed that pending the establishment of a general system of international security, they

will consult with each other and, as occasion requires, with other nations, with a view to joint action for the maintenance of peace and security.

It was clear that an international organization of the kind envisaged in the Moscow Declaration could not be established without full and free conference and agreement among all peace-loving nations. It was equally clear that the first step in the process had to be further consultation among the four signatories to the Declaration as to the obligations and responsibilities which they would be willing to assume in creating and maintaining a peaceful and secure world order. Because of their size and strength. these four countries can make or break any system of general security that might be established. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that they reach agreement among themselves as to their special responsibilities and obligations, in order that, within the framework of that agreement, it may become possible to bring about a wider and more general understanding as to the responsibilities and obligations which must be assumed by all peace-loving nations, large and small, if enduring peace is to prevail.

With this thought before them, the four governments began, soon after the Moscow Conference, intensive preparation for further and more detailed discussions among themselves. Each of the governments had to think through the far-reaching implications for itself and for the world of

the kind of participation that it would be prepared to assume in a general system of international security.

In our country, the work of preparation was begun even before the Moscow Conference. It was greatly intensified in the months which followed that conference. By direction of the President and under the direct guidance of Secretary Hull, the Department of State made careful studies of the experience of the past. Our experts assembled and analyzed all official and public discussion of the problems involved and all suggestions that have been made in various quarters here and abroad as to the ways of handling these problems. Out of all these studies there emerged a set of basic ideas which were then discussed within the executive branch of the government, with many members of both Houses of Congress, and with numerous leaders of national thought, without regard to political affiliation.

The representatives of our government at Dumbarton
Oaks were armed with the voluminous and enlightening
results of all these preparations. The representatives of
the other three governments, too, came to Washington with
months of preparatory work behind them. This was one
important reason why, as President Roosevelt has said "so
much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject
in so short a time."

There was, of course, another and even more important reason. The representatives of the four governments came

after the experience of the past three decades, it was unthinkable that the nations of the world should now fail to bring about a state of international relations in which the probability of another world war would be eliminated—insofar as human ingenuity, energy, and good sense could do so. It has been my good or bad fortune to have attended many international conferences since the days of Versailles. I have never seen an important international gathering that was more imbued with a spirit of cooperative good will and with a unity of purpose than was the Dumbarton Oaks meeting.

There were, of course, differences of views on specific points. That was only natural considering how much is at stake. Some of those points were vastly important. But, one after another, differences were ironed out through hours and days of frank and patient discussion. All of us who were privileged to take part in those discussions left the scene of our meeting better informed, with a better understanding of each other, and better friends.

II.

You have all, I hope, had an opportunity to examine the results of the Dumbarton Oaks meeting. The proposals which emerged from that meeting were made public immediately after the four delegations had submitted them to their

respective governments as their agreed recommendations. I am sure that you have noted from the text of the proposals that the task of maintaining international peace and security is regarded as being of a two-fold character.

First, it is necessary that the nations of the world assume a solemn obligation to resort to none but peaceful means in the settlement of whatever controversies or disputes that may arise among them, and in the adjustment of any situations and conditions that may lead to friction among them. Accordingly, they must assume an obligation not to use armed force or threat of force for these purposes. Having assumed these obligations, they must then join together in creating arrangements whereby the peaceful settlement of disputes and the adjustment of conditions which may threaten the peace or security of nations may be facilitated and made effective. They must also join together in combined action to remove threats to the peace and to suppress breaches of the peace—by armed force if necessary.

Second, it is necessary that the nations of the world recognize that disputes, controversies and frictions among them are less likely to occur if they work together in creating conditions conducive to stability and well-being within nations and, therefore, essential to the maintenance of stable and peaceful relations among nations. They must join together in creating arrangements for facilitating

the solution of international economic, social, humanitarian and related problems and for cooperative action in promoting the type of international relations which are necessary for the material and cultural progress of individuals and of nations.

These are the two great purposes of the proposed international organization. They define its scope and indicate the kind of institutional structure that is necessary for their attainment.

It is proposed that the organization should be open to membership by all peace-loving states. It is proposed that there should be a General Assembly, in which all member states would be represented on an entirely equal footing. There should also be a Security Council, a smaller body, in part elected periodically by the General Assembly.

The General Assembly would be the focal point for international discussion and action with respect to the second of the two great purposes, which I have just outlined—the creation of conditions of stability and well-being essential to the preservation of a peaceful world order. The Security Council would be the focal point for the attaining of the first great purpose—the peaceful settlement of disputes, the removal of threats to the peace, and the suppression of breaches of the peace.

III.

The General Assembly, which would meet annually or more frequently as special circumstances require, would be charged with the task of reviewing the state of relations among nations and of making recommendations to the nations as regards the advancement of their cooperative effort in the improvement of political, economic, social, humanitarian and other relationships and in the promotion of observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It would be free to consider any questions that concern relations among nations, including those which arise out of problems of peace and security and out of international cooperation in the solution of international problems and in the promotion of human freedom and human progress. It would not be in any sense a legislative body or an agency of a superstate. It would rather be an instrumentality for common and agreed action by a free association of nations.

The General Assembly would be empowered to create any agencies which it may find necessary for the performance of its tasks. The most important of such agencies is provided for in the proposals themselves. It is the Economic and Social Council which would operate under the authority of the Assembly and would perform functions of far-reaching importance. These functions fall into two broad categories: The first may be called coordinative; the second, promotive.

In the vast and complicated field of economic, social and related activities, there is a great and now widely

recognized need for specialized functional agencies to deal effectively and intensively with particular types of activities. For nearly two years now the United Nations and certain other nations associated with them in the prosecution of the war have been making great forward strides in the establishment of such specialized agencies. The conference at Hot Springs in May 1943 resulted in a plan for an international food and agriculture organization. A conference in London in the spring of this year brought forward plans for an eventual creation of an international educational agency. The conference at Bretton Woods in July of this year resulted in projects for the establishment of an international monetary fund and of an international bank for reconstruction and development. There is now in progress in Chicago an international conference for the solution of problems of civil aviation. Discussions are under way also for similar action in the fields of trade, commodities, cartels, other forms of transportation, communication, health, and others. And, of course, there is still in existence the International Labor Organization.

These are great steps toward the creation of a system of organized international relations in those fields in which satisfactory progress is impossible except on the basis of effective international cooperation. But the fact that a number of such specialized agencies is being brought into

existence itself raises a problem. Unless the policies and activities of these agencies are coordinated into a coherent whole from the point of view of the overall picture and of general welfare, their operations may result in overlapping and confusion and, consequently, in impairment of the efficacy of each of them. In order to meet this great need for coordination it is now proposed to place the responsibility for such coordination in the hands of what is proposed to be the highest representative body in the world—the General Assembly—and under it, in the Economic and Social Council.

It is, however, not to be anticipated that by the time the international organization is created there will be a specialized agency in every field in which it will be desirable to have such an agency. There may be many fields in which a specialized agency may not be feasible. Hence, the second great function of the General Assembly and of its Economic and Social Council will be the promotion of cooperation in those fields in which specialized agencies do not already exist, in facilitating the creation of such agencies where they are feasible, and in overall coordination in the whole realm of constructive international cooperation.

It is proposed that the Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen countries, elected every three years by the General Assembly. Neither it nor the Assembly would have any executive functions in the sense

that their decisions would be binding upon either the specialized agencies which it coordinates or upon the member governments. The thought is that in this area the international organization should not go beyond the powers of recommendation and should leave to the member states themselves the carrying out of such recommendations, except in such respects as the members of the organization may request it to assist them more fully.

It is proposed that there be set up under the Economic and Social Council a series of commissions for economic problems, for social problems, for educational problems, etc.

These commissions would consist of experts in each of these fields. In addition, there would be a highly competent secretariat and research staff. It is hoped in this way to create in connection with the world organization a sort of an international economic general staff. And it seems more than likely that recommendations made by the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council on the basis of informed and careful preparation by such a staff would command sufficient attention and respect to provide a very real impetus to effective solution of difficult and complicated, but immensely important, problems of economic and social progress.

IV.

The Security Council, as I said before, would be the focus for international cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security. This function would be placed in the

hands of a smaller body rather than in the hands of the General Seembly because by its very nature it requires quick and decisive action. Hence, it is proposed that the Council should consist of representatives of eleven countries and that it should be in continuous session.

Five nations would be permanently represented on the Council. They are the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and, eventually, France. This is in recognition of the fact that these countries have today, and will continue after the war to have, the bulk of the world's military and industrial power. They will, therefore, after the war, as they do now, occupy a position of special responsibility in matter of peace and security. The other six members of the Council would be elected by the General Assembly for two year terms.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals envisage a series of procedures for the operation of the Security Council. The Council would be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to friction or dispute, in order to determine whether or not the continuation of such a dispute or situation may endanger international peace and security. The responsibility for the settlement or adjustment of international disputes or of situations likely to lead to disputes would be placed, first of all, upon the nations directly involved. It is proposed that all member states should assume the

responsibility of doing everything in their power to settle their disputes peacefully, by means of their own choice. There are many such means open to nations—negotiations, mediation, conciliation, various forms of arbitration and of judicial processes. Some of these may best be handled by groups of nations organized on a regional basis. Such regional arrangements, provided they are consistent with the purposes and principles of the general organization, may provide useful machinery for the settlement of local or regional differences without resort to the world security council.

There would be created an international court of justice to which the nations may have recourse for the settlement of such disputes as can be settled by the application of rules of law.

The purpose of all this would be to keep the Security

Council from being snowed under by all sorts of disputes and

difficulties which can and should be handled without reference

to it. The Council itself would, under the proposals, be con
stantly on the watch and would appeal to the nations to settle

disputes by means of their own choice.

But there would also be an obligation upon the nations to come to the Council in the event that they fail to settle their disputes by means of their own choice. In addition, the Council would have the power to recommend to the nations concerned in a dispute methods and procedures of settlement, either before or after the particular dispute is brought to its attention for action.

All member states and even non-member states, it is proposed, should have the right to bring to the attention of either the Assembly or the Security Council any dispute or situation which in their judgment threatens peace and security. The Assembly, as I said before, would have the right to discuss any such matter, but since the responsibility for action would be vested in the Security Council, the Assembly would be obliged to refer to the Council any matter on which action might be necessary.

The taking of measures to remove threats to the peace or to suppress breaches of the peace would be a solemn responsibility and obligation laid upon the Security Council. Accordingly, if nations fail to settle their disputes by means of their own choice or in accordance with the recommendations of the Security Council, and if the Council determines that such failure constitutes a threat to the peace, it would have full authority to take whatever measures are necessary to maintain or restore peace.

The Security Council would be authorized to take a large variety of measures for this purpose. It would be in a position to act by diplomatic or economic pressure and, if necessary, by means of armed land, sea or air forces.

The armed forces and the facilities necessary for their employment would be placed at the disposal of the Council by the member states. To do so would be an obligation laid upon all member states, but the precise numbers and kinds of forces and facilities would be determined by a special agreement or special agreements concluded among the nations under the auspices of the Security Council.

Since the Security Council would be placed in a position to use armed force in the performance of its duties, it is obviously necessary to give it the most highly qualified expert assistance for this purpose. This would be done through the creation of a military staff committee which would consist of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Council, and of other members of the organization as necessary. The duties of the military staff committee would be to assist and advise the Council in such matters as the use of armed force and the setting up of a system of general and effective regulation of armaments. Preparation for eventual limitation of armaments and for their greatest practicable reduction would be another duty of the Security Council which it would perform with the assistance of its military advisers.

V.

There is thus envisaged a series of three steps in the setting up of a general system of collective security. The first would be the negotiation of an agreement on the charter of the proposed international organization. The charter would set forth the obligations and responsibilities to be assumed by the member states, and would provide the basic machinery of the organization. The second step would be the negotiation of an agreement or a series of agreements for the provision by the member states of armed forces and

facilities for use by the Security Council in the performance of its duties in connection with the maintenance of peace and security. The third step would be the negotiation of international agreements providing for the regulation of armaments and the reduction as far as possible of the burden of armaments. Each of these instruments, it is proposed, would be negotiated subject to approval by each of the nations involved in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Out of all this there would emerge a flexible machinery of organized international relations, fully capable of development and growth to meet the needs of changing conditions. Such machinery would not provide a panacea, a ready and easy cure for all the difficulties that inhere in relations among nations. But to the extent that our nation and other nations are resolved to establish it and to use it, the proposed international organization would represent a tremendous advance toward the realization of man's age-old dream of a warless world and of his continuing search for economic, social, and cultural advancement.

Much still needs to be done before the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are translated into a fully functioning international organization. The proposals themselves will need to be completed through further agreement on a number of points that were left unsettled at the meeting. It is

planned that the full proposals would then be formally submitted to the governments of all of the United Nations and would serve as a basis of discussion at a full conference at which agreement would be sought on the terms of a formal charter of the projected organization. After that the charter would need to be approved through the appropriate constitutional processes of the various countries.

All these remaining steps will undoubtedly be greatly facilitated and hastened by the fact that the basic ideas of the projected organization, embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, have been placed before the world and are being subjected to intensive study and searching examination by our people and by the peoples of other countries. Such study and examination are indispensable to a clear understanding of what is involved and to the formation of informed public opinion on this vital matter which is of surpassing importance to the future of mankind.

In this country, groups like those represented at this gathering have a duty and an opportunity to help our people to such an understanding. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that what I have said in the last half hour has shed some additional light on the vast problem which has been the subject of your deliberations during the past two days.



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