

PSF

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE

Form 2  
Sept. 1944

PSF Dumbarton Oaks  
Box ● Conference

145

Subject File "J"

PSF: Dumbarton Oaks

~~TOP SECRET~~  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Sixteenth Day

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

The Joint Steering Committee met at 10:00 o'clock this morning and had before it a draft of the entire proposed document in eleven chapters. We gave special attention to the "open items". Points of interest were brought out as follows:

(a) Economic and Social Council

The Soviet representatives maintained their reservation as to this point. However, it is significant that they have participated fully in the drafting of the provisions covering this point so that only the matter of inclusion or exclusion of these provisions remains open.

(b) Initial Membership

The Soviet representatives maintained their position that the initial members should be only the United Nations. When we pointed out that such a proposal is not consistent with the participation, already agreed to by the Soviet Government, of other nations in UNRRA, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Monetary Fund, Ambassador Gromyko said that

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perhaps the other nations could be admitted to membership "immediately after" the United Nations.

(c) Suspension and Expulsion

The Soviet representatives agreed to the elimination of their proposal for the express provision of expulsion powers. Interestingly enough Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that he had been prepared to agree to the inclusion of the expulsion agreements.

(d) Amendment Process

The Soviet representatives proposed their own formula, namely that amendments should be proposed by a simple majority of the assembly and should become effective when ratified by a simple majority. We suggested a new approach, i.e., that procedural amendments should require only a simple majority and that substantive amendments should require something more than a mere majority.

(e) Should the Council Normally Vote by 2/3 or by Simple Majority?

The British representatives maintained their position in favor of a 2/3 majority. Here also we proposed a new approach and suggested that an affirmative vote require approval of seven of the eleven members.

(f) Voting by a Great Power Involved in a Dispute

No progress was made on this point, the Soviet representatives maintaining without discussion their

reservation to the British and American proposals that a great power involved in a dispute should not be entitled to vote.

(g) Soviet Proposal that Small Powers grant Sites for Bases

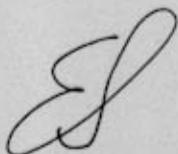
Discussion of this point was inconclusive. However, there appeared to be some possibility that agreement can be reached on this question.

(h) International Air Force

The British proposed, as a compromise, that after the creation of the organization member states should undertake to examine the practicability of organizing international air forces.

(i) Regionalism

This subject, which the British have urged us to consider on several prior occasions, was discussed in general terms. The British stated that they did not favor regional groups having political functions but that they did think that regional groups might prove very helpful to the council in carrying out military action decided upon by the council.



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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1944

*Urgent*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Additional Principle in the  
Charter of the International  
Organization

Yesterday Ben Cohen suggested, and the American group approved, our attempting to write the following provision on nonintervention and the obligation of all participating member states to respect human rights into the principles of the international organization:

"The international organization should refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of any state, it being the responsibility of each state to see that conditions prevailing within its jurisdiction do not endanger international peace and security and, to this end, to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all its people and to govern in accordance with the dictates of humanity and justice."

*EJ*

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72  
By R. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

*PSE: Dumbarton Oaks*  
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Seventeenth Day

On the initiative of Ambassador Gromyko, he, Sir Alexander Cadogan, and I met this morning for the express purpose of eliminating so far as possible points as to which we had as yet been unable to reach agreement. Thereupon we reached agreement on the following items:

(a) Economic and Social Council

It was agreed that provision for an Economic and Social Council, along the lines of the American proposals, will be included in the joint recommendations. All that remains is perfecting the drafting.

(b) Suspension and Expulsion

Sir Alexander and I agreed to reinstate the expulsion provisions, in order to facilitate agreement. It is, therefore, now agreed that powers both of suspension and of expulsion will be expressly stated in the joint recommendations.

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(c) Voting in the Council

I stated that the American group is prepared, though with reluctance, to agree that the normal vote of the Council shall be by majority vote, if the adoption of such a provision proves to be necessary in order to reach agreement on the joint recommendations as a whole. Sir Alexander reserved his position for consultation with his Government.

(d) Continuous Session of the Council

Agreement was reached on the provisions stipulating that the Council should be in continuous session.

(e) Specific Reference to Disarmament

Sir Alexander and I agreed that in addition to empowering the organization to consider the regulation of armaments there should be an express provision for the power to consider also the question of disarmament. The phrasing of the provisions relating to regulation of armaments and to disarmament remains under discussion.

Points Still Open

As a result of the decisions recorded above there now remain unsettled only the following items of significance:

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- (a) Whether the initial members should include, in addition to the United Nations, the associated nations. We do not anticipate difficulty on this point.
- (b) The vital question of whether parties to a dispute should be prohibited from voting. You are aware of the special efforts being made to achieve agreement on this point so that further reference to the matter in this memorandum is unnecessary.
- (c) Sites for bases. This topic appears to have somewhat diminished in importance in the opinion of the Soviet group. However, the matter has not been finally disposed of, as yet, in a manner agreeable to all concerned.
- (d) International air force. Here also the prospect for agreement seems brighter although final agreement has not yet been reached.
- (e) Assistance to states suffering loss as a result of carrying out decisions of the council. The Soviet group still maintains, though without rigidity, its reservation to this point.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Eighteenth Day ← file

Meetings of the Formulation Groups and the Joint Steering Committee

The formulation groups (which had worked late the night before) produced by early afternoon a draft of the entire joint recommendations for consideration by the Joint Steering Committee.

The latter Committee met at 3:00 p.m. and, with an interruption for dinner, continued until after midnight.

Points of particular interest include the following:

(a) New Proposal on the Subject of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

I suggested at the meeting of the Joint Steering Committee the addition of a new paragraph on this subject for insertion in the chapter entitled "Principles". The new proposal, a copy of which is attached to this report, had been approved by the American group earlier in the day with the strong recommendation that it be brought to the attention of the other groups. Sir Alexander Cadogan expressed opposition to the reference to human rights and fundamental freedoms, saying that he thought such a provision would give rise to the possibility that the organization might

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WASHINGTON  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**  

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**THE UNDER SECRETARY**

This is a corrected page 2 of the summary  
memorandum dated September 9 which has been  
sent you.

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Orke*

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engage in criticism of the internal organization of member states. Ambassador Gromyko said that it was his personal opinion that the reference to human rights and basic freedom is not germane to the main tasks of an international security organization. They will both consult their Governments.

(b) Name of the Organization

Ambassador Gromyko continued to maintain the Soviet reservation as to our proposal that the organization be known as the United Nations. He suggested tentatively the title World Union. Sir Alexander Cadogan, somewhat to our surprise, said for the first time that he did not believe that the British Government is particularly "keen" about the title "United Nations". He added that the British Government had at one time thought of proposing adoption of a title making use of the word "Union".

(c) British Proposal for Special Qualifications for Non-Permanent Members of the Council

The British suggested modification of their proposal so as to eliminate special reference to military contribution.

(d) Regional Arrangements

Sir Alexander Cadogan pointed out that the provision that no enforcement action should be taken by regional agencies without the authorization of the council might raise difficulties in connection with the enforcement of the German surrender terms.

REF ID: A66887

engage in criticism of the internal organization of member states. Ambassador Gromyko said that it was his personal opinion that the reference to human rights and basic freedom is not germane to the main tasks of an international security organization. They will both consult their Governments.

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(c) British Proposal for Special Qualifications for Non-Permanent Members of the Council

The British suggestion of a modification of this proposal has been made the subject of a separate memorandum to you.

(d) Regional Arrangements

Sir Alexander Cadogan pointed out that the provision that no enforcement action should be taken by regional agencies without the authorization of the council might raise difficulties in connection with the enforcement of the German surrender terms.

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(e) Responsibility for Control of the Axis States

Partly as a result of Sir Alexander's comment referred to in the preceding paragraph, it was agreed to include tentatively in the draft document a provision that the council be empowered to take such responsibility for insuring the execution of continuing measures of control over the Axis states as might be assigned to it by the powers concerned.

(f) Interim Arrangements

In a further attempt to meet Sir Alexander's point it was also agreed to insert tentatively a provision to the effect that pending conclusion of agreements for the provision of forces and facilities, the four powers and other states in a position to do so should provide such forces and facilities as may be needed for the maintenance of peace and security.

Other Points of Importance which Still Remain Open:

(1) Voting in the Council. You are familiar with special steps being taken in this connection.

(2) Sites for Bases and (3) An International Air Force.

It was not possible to reach final agreement on these questions although it still seems unlikely that they will prevent final agreement.

(4) Assistance to States Carrying out Measures Decided upon by the Council. We continue to feel that some form of agreement on this point should not be too difficult.

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ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH SUGGESTED BY  
MR. BEN COHEN FOR INCLUSION IN  
SECTION II, PRINCIPLES, OF THE  
DRAFT PROPOSALS

The International Organization should refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of any state, it being the responsibility of each state to see that conditions prevailing within its jurisdiction do not endanger international peace and security and, to this end, to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all its people and to govern in accordance with the principles of humanity and justice.

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PSF: Dumbarton Oaks

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Nineteenth Day *file*

Meeting of the American Group

The only meeting held today was the regularly scheduled meeting of the American group. This meeting was continued in the afternoon in order to complete consideration of the revisions made in the draft proposals at the meeting on Saturday of the Joint Steering Committee.

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

The Joint Steering Committee did not meet owing to the fact that the Soviet group had not yet received instructions from its Government which would permit further consideration of the bracketed sections of the draft proposals. A meeting of the Joint Steering Committee has been scheduled for Tuesday, at 11:15 a.m.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT.

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twentieth Day ✓ file

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

We met this morning on my call. Some progress was made with respect to reaching agreement on various provisions. Ambassador Gromyko, however, raised one unexpected and disturbing point which is described in the immediately following paragraph.

(a) Soviet Refusal to Sign Joint Agreement with the Chinese

At the outset of our meeting this morning I said that I felt that it would be necessary to make some further joint statement within a few days. I said also that the delay in reaching agreement is placing us in a very embarrassing position vis-à-vis the Chinese. At this point Ambassador Gromyko said that he had conveyed to his Government the suggestion which we had made late Saturday night for a four-power communication to the other United Nations of the agreed recommendations. He said that the suggestion is not acceptable to his Government which prefers a three-power declaration.

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Sir Alexander Cadogan and I stated forcefully that this represented a change in the entire basis upon which we had been working. We both said we were authorized only to participate in joint four-power recommendations.

The only hopeful aspect of the matter was that the Soviet representatives said that they were referring to the joint recommendations and not to the question of the United Nations conference. It may be that the Soviet representatives will not object to simultaneous publication in the four capitols of identic memoranda of recommendations which would form the basis for the United Nations conference.

(b) Soviet Acceptance of our Nomenclature

Ambassador Gromyko accepted the term "the United Nations" as the name of the organization. In addition he accepted with but slight reservation all our other proposals with respect to the titles of the organs and officials of the organization.

(c) Sites for Bases

Ambassador Gromyko withdrew the Soviet proposal that states having insufficient armed forces should make available territory for the establishment of bases.

(d) International Air Force

Ambassador Gromyko also withdrew the Soviet proposal for a provision establishing an international air corps. In so doing he said that the Soviet purpose in making this proposal had merely been to ensure the effectiveness of the organization. He said that the Soviet Government had no greater interest in this matter than did the other two Governments and that in view of the attitude of the other two Governments toward the proposal he was now withdrawing it.

(e) Responsibility of Military Staff Committee

Ambassador Gromyko also withdrew the Soviet opposition to our proposal that the military staff committee should be responsible under the council for the strategic direction of armed forces placed at the disposal of the council.

Meeting of the Joint Formulation Group

The joint formulation group met this afternoon at 3:00 to try to formulate satisfactory provisions relating to regional organizations and to the problem of interim arrangements in the field of security pending the effective operation of the organization.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
FOREIGN PRESS SUMMARY

No. 300

September 12, 1944

Dumbarton Oaks *BSF*

ENGLAND--Daily Herald editorial, September 9, reads: "Military security, with all the suppressions and censorship which it implies, is a disagreeable necessity. 'Political security' involving similar suppressions and censorship is a disagreeable superfluity. We must be on our guard to ensure that the two do not merge together. The latest example comes from Dumbarton Oaks where the Great Powers have been devising plans for the peace. 'There is an American plan before Dumbarton Oaks', says the American broadcaster Mr. Raymond Gram Swing. 'It has never been textually published. The committee of the Senate knows what it is, and has been able to have a part in shaping it. Presumably the Republican leaders at the Chicago Convention knew what it was when they drafted their foreign affairs plank for the Republican Party'. No complaint can be made on this score. Mr. Cordell Hull, the head of the American State Department, obviously desires to avoid the perils of a repudiation of his policy by the Senate or the Republican leaders. Yet should not the British House of Commons or even the British House of Lords have equal rights with the American Senate? Is it necessary to withhold from the British public what is revealed to the Republican leaders?"

War Criminals

ENGLAND--Press has in last few days carried a number of news dispatches from various points abroad discussing possible attitude of Sweden, Argentina, Spain and Portugal toward receiving war criminals. First local comment appears in Yorkshire Post, September 7, which states: "Since Germany has succeeded in uniting against herself virtually the entire world, even including some of the countries formerly associated with her, there are few places left where the war criminals, whether Germans or Quislings can hope now to find safety. The United Nations are pledged to ensure that, if any of them do reach neutral territory, they will promptly be surrendered to the United Nations to be judged before competent courts. It is very greatly to be hoped that the few remaining neutral countries which have not yet defined their attitude will follow Sweden's lead. There must be no refuge for Hitler in the Argentine or anywhere else."

Polish Situation

ENGLAND--Press mentions Polish cabinet meeting September 7, which diplomatic correspondent of Daily Telegraph, September 8, says was "to consider steps to resolve the crisis caused by the German attack on Warsaw and the accusation by General Sosnkowski that the Allies failed to help the city". News Chronicle columnist, A.J. Cummings, makes strong attack on General Sosnkowski, in course of which he states: "...that Mr. Churchill takes a serious view of Sosnkowski's intransigence and is just indignant at the reckless levity of his attacks on the British efforts to assist the Warsaw insurgents. In Washington the reaction to Sosnkowski is highly unfavorable; and the Russians are naturally furious. The retention of Sosnkowski will be a menace not only to the very existence of the Polish Government in London but also to the future relations of the Poles with their principal Allies and to the place of Poland in the new Europe. Unless President Raczkiwicz overcomes his reactionary personal and political predilections and at once gets rid of this mischief-making soldier he may soon discover that his own office is no longer a political reality".

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-First Day

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

In addition to the important matter of voting in the council, on which a special telegram will be sent to you tomorrow, points of interest which were considered by the Joint Steering Committee at its 10:30 a.m. meeting today were as follows:

(a) Elimination of References to "Technical" Problems

This is a matter to which the American group attached very great importance and to which they have devoted several days of thorough discussion. At the 9:30 a.m. regular meeting of the American group this morning we agreed that we should accept a compromise provision making it one of the purposes of the organization "to achieve international cooperation in the solution of international, social and other humanitarian problems". At the Joint Steering Committee meeting I succeeded in obtaining the assent to this formula of Sir Alexander Cadogan and of Ambassador Gromyko, both of whom had previously rather strongly urged the inclusion of the word "technical".

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(b) Initial Membership of the Organization

Pursuant to a recommendation made by the American group this morning, I proposed that the provision relating to initial membership (Chapter III, paragraph 2) should read as follows: "The initial members of the organization should be signatories to the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942 and such other states as those nations may invite", provided the four powers could now agree as to the other states to be so invited. The discussion was inconclusive and it is likely that the Soviet and British representatives do not yet thoroughly understand what we have in mind.

(c) Separate Protocol as to Interim Arrangements

I also suggested that section D Interim Arrangements (p. 27) be omitted from the document and be made the subject of a separate protocol. Sir Alexander Cadogan agreed that this is a "transitory" provision and he therefore saw no objection to its being made into a separate document. However, he also apparently saw no objection to inclusion of this matter in the document itself. His assistant, Mr. Jebb, suggested that the reference in the document to this subject might say that it is intended to exclude such a provision from the charter itself in view of the provision's transitory nature. Ambassador Gromyko said that he thought it would be appropriate to mention the subject in the document itself. We said that we would consider whether some

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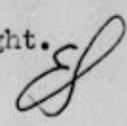
reference to the subject might appropriately be included in the document and would give our answer subsequently.

(d) Provision Designed to Permit Women to Serve as Members of the Organization

The American group at its meeting this morning recommended that some provision be inserted in the document especially authorizing the organization to include women among its personnel. They approved the following provision designed to accomplish that purpose as well as other desirable purposes: "All positions under the organization should be open on the basis of pertinent qualifications without regard to race, nationality, creed, or sex." I presented this provision at the meeting of the Joint Steering Committee and asked the British and Soviet groups to think about it and to give us their reactions later on. Their initial reaction seemed to be rather negative.

Afternoon Meeting of the American Group

At my request the American group met throughout the afternoon in an attempt to devise possible alternative formulae on the question of voting by the council in the event of disputes involving a permanent member. I explained that this is an important subject, that we had received no indication of any inclination on the part of the Soviet group to recede from the principle of unanimity of the great powers and that in view of the time element this is a matter to which the American group should proceed to give careful thought.



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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Second Day

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Meeting of the Joint Formulation Group

The joint formulation group met this afternoon and made a number of refinements in and additions to the draft proposals as follows:

(a) Introductory Statement

An introductory statement was added to the effect that an international organization should be created under the title of the United Nations and that its charter should contain provisions to give effect to the proposals.

(b) Voting Procedure in the Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council

The provisions on voting in the assembly and in the Economic and Social Council were amended to read that in either case the vote should be by a majority of those states present and voting. This would apply in the assembly in the case of either a 2/3 majority or a simple majority.

(c) Representatives in the Assembly

It was agreed to add to the provision concerning the composition of the assembly a statement to the effect that

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the states members should have "a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter".

(d) Disarmament

The British insisted that the word "disarmament" should be placed in brackets wherever it occurs in the draft proposals to indicate that they have not as yet agreed to its use of the document.

(e) Availability of Air Force Contingents

Agreement has not as yet been reached to accept either our alternative or the British alternative concerning national air force contingents. However, the British and Russian representatives agreed to our proposal to eliminate an inner bracket in the American alternative and to alter the statement to read that "the strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to above".

(f) Transitional Arrangements

It was agreed that the present section of Chapter VIII relating to Interim Arrangements should become a new Chapter XII to be designated Transitional Arrangements but should for the time being remain in brackets.

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(g) Non-Intervention in Domestic Matters

With reference to the present bracketed paragraph of the chapter on Principles which states that the organization should refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of any state, the British proposed the addition of a new paragraph to the section on Pacific Settlement to the effect that the present provisions of this section should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned. Both the Soviet and the American representatives regarded this addition favorably but reserved their positions on it pending consideration.

Meeting of the American Group

The American group, at its regular 9:30 meeting, considered the tentative proposal on voting in the council formulated on Wednesday. Suggested modifications by individual members will be considered on Monday.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Third Day

Because Sir Alexander Cadogan was called to Quebec to confer with Prime Minister Churchill (on matters other than the Dumbarton Oaks conversations), no official meetings were held today.

Various members of the American group took advantage of the suspension of meetings to confer with one another and examine latest drafts of various documents.

Members of the secretariat took advantage of the delay to catch up with preparation of minutes and other papers. The latest draft of the document, based upon changes agreed to be the joint formulation group at its meeting yesterday afternoon, was copied and distributed to participants in the conversations.

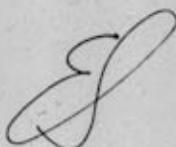
We received today a copy of Marshal Stalin's reply to your message on voting procedure. There has been separately sent to you by telegram an exact text of the formula now under study.

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Messrs. Long, Hackworth, Pasvolsky and I met with Secretary Hull at 4:00 this afternoon for a full discussion of all matters on which agreement has not yet been reached.

A handwritten signature, possibly initials, consisting of a large, stylized 'E' or 'J' shape.

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PSF: Dumbarton Oaks  
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Fourth Day

Because of Sir Alexander Cadogan's continued absence in Quebec (he did not return until late this afternoon) no official meetings were held today.

However, there were a number of conferences both this morning and this afternoon in Secretary Hull's office at the Department and in my office at Dumbarton Oaks, in which various members of the American group participated, on the latest developments relating to the important question of voting procedure in cases of disputes involving a great power. After receiving your wire on the voting question problem we had a long conversation with Secretary Hull on that entire situation.

In addition, I met with Sir Alexander Cadogan and Lord Halifax at the British Embassy just after Sir Alexander's plane arrived late this afternoon. Sir Alexander confirmed the British position on the compromise being unacceptable to them and told me that he was under definite instructions to so advise me and Ambassador Gromyko. He met with Ambassador Gromyko for that purpose around ten o'clock in the evening, at which time the

Ambassador

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Ambassador told him that the possible compromise was likewise unacceptable to the Soviets. He did not, however, make it clear to Sir Alexander whether or not he had received final official instructions from his Government on the matter.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1944

PSF  
*Dumbarton Oaks*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations—Twenty-Fifth Day

In the morning I checked with Ambassador Gromyko to ascertain whether he had received official instructions from his Government indicating that the possible compromise voting formula was unacceptable. He confirmed that he had received such instructions.

A little before noon, as I have told you on the telephone, a small American group had a long discussion with Secretary Hull. Following that I called you on the telephone, at which time we agreed on a proposal for closing down the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks with the Soviets as soon as possible, holding conversations with the British and Chinese immediately thereafter, hoping to limit them to three or four days, and then to issue simultaneously in the four capitals releases indicating the progress made and explaining that there were certain open points which the Governments would have to study in more detail. The release would then explain that the delegations were going home

home

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home to report to their Governments and that representatives of the three Governments would meet again not later than November 15 to prepare complete proposals which could serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations conference.

I attach a copy of the outline of this proposal which I made to Sir Alexander Cadogan and Ambassador Gromyko at a meeting at 4:00 p.m. They seemed to receive it favorably and agreed to wire home for instructions on it. The group then drafted two possible communique—one intended for issuance at the end of the British-Soviet talks and the other at the end of the British-Chinese talks—inasmuch as Ambassador Gromyko stated that he would have to tell his Government exactly what would be said publicly under this proposal. These are the communique which I read to you in our telephone conversation around 9:00 p.m. Copies are attached.

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DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

Conversations between the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union delegations in Washington regarding the establishment of a World Security Organization have now been completed. The three delegations are making reports to their respective Governments who will consider these reports and will in due course issue a simultaneous statement on the subject.

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The Government of \_\_\_\_\_ has now received the report of its Delegation to the conversations held in Washington between August 21--September \_\_ with the Delegations of \_\_\_\_\_ on the subject of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

There is annexed hereto a statement of the tentative proposals which have resulted from the conversations, indicating in detail the wide range of subjects on which agreement has been reached.

The Governments which were represented in the discussions in Washington have agreed that after further study of these proposals, and not later than November 15, they will take the necessary steps with a view to the preparation of complete proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference.

Meanwhile the \_\_\_\_\_ Governments, which are already directly and jointly engaged in the suppression of the forces that have disturbed the peace of the world, are resolved to work together for the future enforcement of the terms of surrender to be imposed on the common enemy.

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POSSIBLE PROCEDURE

1. Suspend the Soviet phase of the conversations.
2. Begin discussions with the Chinese.
3. At the conclusion of the Chinese discussions an identical communique would be issued by each government to the effect that:
  - (a) Agreement has been reached on a wide range of subjects. The discussions at Dumbarton Oaks have been another instance of cooperation among the principal allies in this war, and a step forward in reaching agreement for the post-war period.
  - (b) Before complete proposals can be placed before the other United Nations as a basis of discussion at a conference, it is necessary for each of the governments to give further consideration to the subject in all of its phases and implications.
  - (c) In the meantime, in order to provide an opportunity for public study and discussion, there is made public a memorandum setting forth the substance of the document worked out at Dumbarton Oaks, except the section relating to voting in the Council. This document should be described as indicating the area of agreement reached so far.
  - (d) Not later than November 15th, after the governments have completed their further studies and sufficient time has been afforded for public discussion, representatives of the governments now represented at Dumbarton Oaks would meet again to complete the preparation of proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference.

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*P.F. Dumbarton Oaks*  
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 18, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Sixth Day

Meetings with Ambassador Gromyko and Sir Alexander Cadogan

Ambassador Gromyko came to Dumbarton Oaks at my invitation this morning. I emphasized to him, at the request of the Secretary, the very serious consequences, both for the creation of an international organization and for the Soviet Union, which might result from terminating these conversations without having reached agreement on the question of voting procedure in the Council. I asked the Ambassador whether, in the light of these circumstances, his Government would be willing to consider a new formula with respect to voting in the Council. Ambassador Gromyko replied that the position of his Government on this question is final and would not be changed regardless of whether the conversations were prolonged a week or a year. He emphasized that the Soviet Government would never consider joining an organization in which a major power involved in a dispute did not vote.

The Ambassador stated that it was his personal view rather than the official view of his Government that the

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Soviet Union would not agree to the holding of a conference of the United Nations before agreement had been reached among the four powers on the vital question of voting procedure. He stated, however, that he would obtain the formal view of his Government on this question. The Ambassador asked whether I believed the British could be expected to change their position, and I replied that it was my personal opinion that no change was in prospect in the reasonably near future.

I later repeated to Sir Alexander Cadogan my conversation with Ambassador Gromyko. Sir Alexander stated that his Government also could never accept the plan to bring the draft proposals before a United Nations conference prior to agreement on all basic issues by the four powers. He subsequently agreed, however, to take up with his Government my suggestion that the four nations join in inviting other United Nations to a conference, leaving open the issue of voting procedure in the Council.

I stated to Sir Alexander in Ambassador Gromyko's presence that if the proposals were published in their present form the Secretary or President would find it necessary to make a statement clarifying the position of this Government. Sir Alexander said that the same would go for his Government. Presumably, Ambassador Gromyko has reported these statements to Moscow.

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Sir Alexander again asked whether it would be necessary to have an opening ceremony for the Chinese. I replied that we must do so and that it was our intention that the Secretary would be present and would speak. Sir Alexander said that he thought this whole procedure was absurd and that he did not wish to sit with the Chinese for more than three days.

Meeting of the American Group

At the meeting of the American group at 9:30 this morning I reported the developments of Saturday and Sunday and subsequent developments during the morning. The group discussed at length the probable consequences of adjourning the discussions with the Soviet representatives prior to agreement on the question of voting. There was a marked division of opinion which led to the drafting of two memoranda. The first of these expressed the view of Mr. Long and our military representatives that an adjournment of the discussions would have the most serious political and military consequences and proposed alternatives, extending to full acceptance of the Russian position, for the purpose of reaching agreement prior to adjournment. The second, prepared by other members of the American group, weighed the consequences of adjournment prior to agreement and suggested a new course of action.

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PSF: Dumbarton Oaks  
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Seventh Day

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

A meeting of the Joint Steering Committee was held today at Ambassador Gromyko's request to reach agreement on a number of unsettled items.

(a) Voting in the Council

With reference to the section on voting in the Council the Soviet group preferred a general statement rather than an enumeration of the questions requiring unanimous vote. The Soviet group also were agreeable to providing that a permanent member could abstain from voting, but be bound by the decision. The British said emphatically that the voting question was closed at this time and maintained that the matter of voting should be settled as a whole rather than in parts. I suggested the voting question might best be covered by a statement that the matter has been left open.

(b) Regional Arrangements

The Soviet group withdrew their reservation on regional arrangements, but requested that the clause excepting from

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the authority of the Security Council action in relation to enemy states be transferred to the chapter on transitional arrangements.

(c) Respect for Human Rights

The British were reluctant to accept our proposal for a provision obligating states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Soviet group would accept this principle provided it were coupled with a provision that Fascist or fascist-type states could not be members of the organization.

(d) Disarmament and Regulation of Armaments

The British agreed that the general Assembly might consider disarmament, but maintained their view that the military staff committee should not deal with disarmament.

The Soviet group withdrew objection to empowering the Security Council, assisted by the military staff committee, to formulate plans for regulating armaments.

(e) Election of Non-Permanent Council Members

The British agreed to eliminate the qualification that the contribution of members to peace and security be a consideration in filling non-permanent seats.

(f) Settlement of Disputes

The Soviet group suggested that the obligation of parties to refer an unresolved dispute to the Security

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Council state that the Council should in each case decide whether the dispute is a threat to peace and whether the Council should deal with it.

(g) Bases and Transit Facilities

The Soviet group agreed to drop the provision, originally proposed by them, that smaller states should provide transit facilities and sites for bases.

(h) International Air Force Corps

The American formula regarding national air force contingents was accepted and the British alternative was dropped.

(i) Transitional Arrangements

Agreement was reached that until the special agreement or agreements to provide armed forces come into force, the states parties to the Moscow Declaration should consult with one another and, as occasion arises, with other members of the Organization with a view to joint action to maintain peace and security.

Meeting of the American Group with the Secretary

The American group met with the Secretary in his office this afternoon and were informed by him of his favorable impression of the progress of the conversations.

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September 15, 1944.

PROPOSALS  
FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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.

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

## 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.

## II. PRINCIPLES

## II. PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of these purposes the Organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

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

2. The Organization should refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of any state, it being the responsibility of each state to see that conditions prevailing within its jurisdiction do not endanger international peace and security and, to this end, to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all its people and to govern in accordance with the principles of humanity and justice.

3. All members of the Organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organization, to fulfill the obligations assumed by them in accordance with its Charter.

4. All

4. All members of the Organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

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

6. All members of the Organization shall give every assistance to the Organization in any action undertaken by the Organization in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

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

The Organization should ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

### III. MEMBERSHIP

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### III. MEMBERSHIP

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

2. The initial members of the Organization should be the original and subsequent signatories to the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, and the nations associated with them<sup>7</sup>.

3. A state which is not an initial member of the Organization may be admitted after the Charter of the Organization has been adopted and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

### IV. PRINCIPAL

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#### IV. PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:
  - a. A General Assembly;
  - b. A Security Council;
  - c. An international court of justice; and
  - d. A Secretariat.
  
2. The Organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

V. THE

V. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A. COMPOSITION

All members of the Organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

1. Maintenance of International Peace and Security

The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing pacific settlement of disputes, [disarmament] and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance

of

of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

2. Admission of Members

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

3. Suspension and Expulsion

The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the Organization any member of the Organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. Electoral Functions

The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic

Economic and Social Council. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the international court of justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The Budget

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

6. Initiation of Studies and Recommendations

The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. Coordination of Policies of Specialized Agencies

The General Assembly should make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought  
into

into relation with the Organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organization.

8. Receiving Reports

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

C. VOTING

1. Each member of the Organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions

to

to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

D. PROCEDURE

1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

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

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

VI. THE

## VI. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

### A. COMPOSITION

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven states members of the Organization. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect the six states to fill the non-permanent seats, due regard being paid to the contribution of members of the Organization towards the maintenance of international peace and security and towards the other purposes of the Organization.<sup>7</sup> These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

### B. PRINCIPAL

B. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS  
AND POWERS

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organization, members of the Organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

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

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Section VIII below.

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

5. In

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Section VIII, B, 8 below, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organization.<sup>7</sup>

C. VOTING

1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.
2. (What should be the normal vote of the Security Council--majority or two-thirds majority?)
3. (Should the provisions for unanimous vote of the permanent members be enumerated or left in general terms?)
4. (Should provision be made for voluntary abstention?)
5. (Should the vote of a party to a dispute be counted?)

D. PROCEDURE

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D. PROCEDURE

1. The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each state member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each state member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the government or some other special representative.

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

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

4. Any

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

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

VII. AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

1. There should be an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organization.

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

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

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

5. Conditions under which states not members of  
the

the Organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

VIII. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY  
INCLUDING PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION  
OF AGGRESSION OR OF ANY BREACHES OF  
THE PEACE

A. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any state, whether member of the Organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should be obligated, first of all, to seek a settlement by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the  
parties

parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute fail to settle it by the means indicated in paragraph 3 above, they should be obligated to refer it to the Security Council.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

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

7. [In accordance with principle No. \_\_\_\_\_ (paragraph \_\_\_\_\_) the provisions of paragraphs 1 to 6 of Section VIII A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned.]

B. DETERMINATION

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B. DETERMINATION OF THREATS TO THE PEACE, ACTS OF AGGRESSION, OR ANY BREACHES OF THE PEACE AND ACTION WITH RESPECT THERETO

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in paragraph A, 3 above, or in accordance with its recommendations constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization.

2. In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organization to apply such measures.

Such

Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockades and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organization.

5. In order that all members of the Organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. Members of the Organization who are unable  
to

to provide armed forces adequate for the requirements of the Organization should remain nevertheless bound by the undertaking to assist in the maintenance of international peace and security by other means, including the provision of such facilities as bases, sites for bases and transit facilities. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

First Alternative

6. [In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to above.]

Second

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Second Alternative

The agreement or agreements should provide for the most rapid means of making military force available and effective in order to maintain or restore peace and security. To this end it should be one of the first tasks of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph 9 below to examine the practicability of organizing contingents from the air forces of members of the Organization into a combined air force made up of such contingents serving under their national commanders but under the supreme command of a commander appointed by the Security Council and under the Security Council's directions. The composition of such a force would be decided by the Security Council and the size of the contingents to be provided by each member of the Organization would be decided by the agreement or agreements above referred to.<sup>7</sup>

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organization in cooperation or by some of them

them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in the following paragraph.

9. There should be a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, [to disarmament] and to the regulation of armaments. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives.

Any

Any member of the Organization not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a state should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

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

11. Any state, whether member of the Organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

C. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing

dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of action in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war taken or authorized by the governments having responsibility for such action.

The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation

contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.<sup>7</sup>

IX. ARRANGEMENTS

IX. ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND  
SOCIAL COOPERATION

A. PURPOSE AND  
RELATIONSHIPS

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council provided for in the Charter.

2. The various specialized economic, social and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to

approval

approval by the General Assembly.

B. COMPOSITION  
AND VOTING

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the Organization. The states to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such state should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

C. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF  
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL  
COUNCIL

1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

- a. to carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly;
- b. to make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters;

c. to

- c. to receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organization, and to coordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;
- d. to examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organizations or agencies concerned;
- e. to enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council;
- f. to assist the Security Council upon its request; and
- g. to perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

D. ORGANIZATION AND  
PROCEDURE

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and  
such

such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

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

X. THE SECRETARIAT

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

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

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

XI. AMENDMENTS

XI. AMENDMENTS

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organization, when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and of a majority of the other members of the Organization. 7

XII. TRANSITIONAL

XII. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

[P]ending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Section VIII, paragraph 5, and in view of their responsibility for (in) the maintenance of international peace and security, the states parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organization with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.]

— PSF: Dumbarton Oaks

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
THE UNDER SECRETARY

September 20, 1944

*file*  
*Done today*  
*Sept 21/1944*  
*Dumbarton*  
*Oaks.*

Miss Tully,

I will discuss the attached  
with the President when I am with  
him tomorrow morning at 9:30.

E.R.S.

~~TOP SECRET~~

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Military Aspects of  
Dumbarton Oaks Con-  
versations

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have certain strong views on the military aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, which I feel they should be given an opportunity to put before you.

I therefore suggest that you ask their representatives to accompany Secretary Hull and our group when we have our final discussion with you or that you send for them separately to discuss this matter. Lieutenant General Stanley Embick and Vice Admiral Russell Willson are prepared to present their views at any time.

DECLASSIFIED  
State Dept. Letter 1-11-72  
By R. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

PSF: *Dumbarton Oaks*  
~~TOP SECRET~~

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Thirtieth Day

No official meetings were scheduled today. However, members of the secretariat were occupied throughout the day in catching up with their work.

*E*

DECLASSIFIED  
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72  
By R. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

PSF: Dumbarton Oaks  
~~TOP SECRET~~

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Thirty-First Day

No official meetings were scheduled today. However, members of the secretariat were occupied throughout the day in catching up with their work.

Inquiries were made during the day of Sir Alexander Cadogan and Ambassador Gromyko as to whether they had received any instructions from their respective Governments. Sir Alexander had received only a relatively minor suggested change to be made in the charter of the two proposed communiques, i.e., the communique to be issued at the end of the Soviet phase of the conversations. Ambassador Gromyko said that he had received nothing.

~~TOP SECRET~~ *PSF: Dumbarton  
Daks*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1944 *Humberton Oaks  
file*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: International Organization  
Document

You will recall I handed to you at our conference Thursday morning a copy of our final document.

We hope to have replies from Moscow and London not later than Monday, which will enable us to hold the final session of the Soviet-British phase of the conversations. If you feel any changes should be made in the text, I would greatly appreciate it, therefore, if you could give them to me as promptly as convenient.

*E.S.*

State Dept. Doc. 1-11-72

By B. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

PSF. Dumbarton - Oaks

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Twenty-Eighth Day

Meeting of the Joint Steering Committee

The Joint Steering Committee met this afternoon to consider the revised draft of the proposals prepared by the joint formulation group and to take up matters on which agreement had not yet been reached. The Committee completed its consideration of the proposals, which were cabled tonight to Moscow and London. The principal changes agreed upon, other than matters of verbiage, were as follows:

(a) Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

The paragraph under Chapter II. Principles, relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms has been eliminated. We have requested the Soviet and British to send special messages to their Governments expressing our hope that this point can be included briefly somewhere in the document.

(b) Initial Members

Agreement was reached to confine the Chapter on Membership to the single statement that membership in the

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organization would be open to all peace-loving nations. Reference to initial members was eliminated since agreement could not be reached that the nations which are associated with the United Nations but are not actual belligerents should be among the initial members.

(c) Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council

A provision which made the contribution of non-permanent members to peace and security a qualification for election to the Council was omitted upon our insistence.

(d) Voting in the Council

All substantive points relative to voting in the Council were eliminated in view of the proposed agreement to continue consideration of this subject.

(e) Matters Within Domestic Jurisdiction

A bracketed provision excluding from the application of procedures for peaceful settlement matters within domestic jurisdiction was eliminated due to inability to reach agreement.

(f) Sites for Bases

Agreement was reached to eliminate the last remaining reference to the Russian proposal that smaller states should provide sites for bases.

(g) Air Force Contingents

Our provision for the immediate availability of national air force contingents was accepted and the British alternative providing for future study of something akin to an international air force was eliminated.

(h) Amendments

The chapter relating to amendments was eliminated due to inability to reach agreement.

Meeting of the American Group

The American group considered the changes in the draft proposals made by the Joint Steering Committee and the joint formulation group. Most of the group felt that it would be satisfactory to omit reference in the document to non-intervention, but the group as a whole urged that some reference to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms be included in the draft proposals. Most members felt that the Russian proposal concerning Fascist or fascist-type states should not be included. Other changes were regarded as satisfactory.

The group agreed upon a memorandum to the President and the Secretary offering a suggested course of procedure as an alternative to continuing the conversations with the Soviet group in the hope of reaching early agreement on the question of voting.

PSF: Dumbarton Oaks

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Progress Report on Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Thirty-Second Day

Meeting of the American Group

The regular morning meeting of the American group was held at 9:30 a.m. It was reported to them that I had been in touch with Ambassador Gromyko, Sir Alexander Cadogan and Secretary Hull this morning; that Sir Alexander Cadogan had received a suggestion from Mr. Eden that the draft of the brief communiqué to be issued at the conclusion of the Soviet conversations might be improved if there were to be added to it a sentence referring to the large measure of agreement which had been arrived at in the conversations; and that neither Sir Alexander nor Ambassador Gromyko had received their instructions on the proposal that the conversations be terminated with the publication of the draft document so far as agreed upon together with a statement that other matters would receive further consideration among the Governments.

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The American group decided that it would be desirable to have ready for prompt release to the Latin American countries copies of translations of the draft document in French, Portuguese and Spanish, in order to avoid possible mistranslations that might occur if this matter were to be left entirely unprovided for. Other minor matters were also disposed of by the American group before its adjournment.

Receipt by Sir Alexander of Instructions

Through informal conversations with the members of the British group, one of the staff members learned that Sir Alexander had received his final instructions but that he wished to talk to London by telephone in order to clear up one or two points. It was stated that Sir Alexander would be prepared to state the British position tomorrow and that it was hoped, therefore, that a meeting of the Joint Steering Committee might be possible tomorrow.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

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September 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

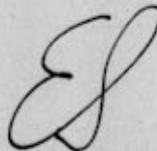
Subject: Progress Report on the Dumbarton Oaks  
Conversations--Thirty-Third Day

Meetings

No official meetings were held today. We communicated with Ambassador Gromyko, who said that he had not yet received instructions from his Government.

Revision of the Joint Communiques

The two joint communiques to be issued at the close of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations were revised to incorporate certain minor changes suggested by Anthony Eden, and to include modifications of language which seemed advisable to us. Copies of revised communiques, with letters of explanation, were then sent to Sir Alexander Cadogan and Ambassador Gromyko for their consideration. Copies were also sent to you and to the Secretary.



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WASHINGTON

September 26, 1944

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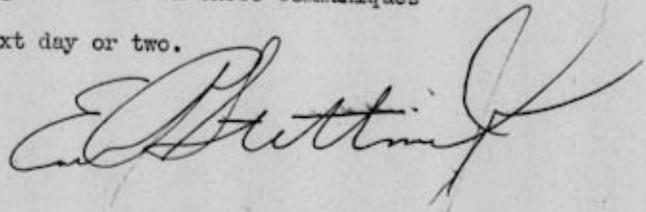
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Joint Communiqué in connection with the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations

You will recall my discussion with you relative to the two communiqués to be issued at the close of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations and your having given me your tentative approval.

Anthony Eden has suggested certain minor revisions which have been incorporated in the attached redrafts. If you could find a moment to glance at them and let me know if they are in order, it will help me to know your prompt reaction.

We hope to have final agreement on the part of all three governments on these communiqués within the next day or two.



Handwritten initials: "Parks" and "OK" with a checkmark.

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By R. H. Parks Date NOV 22 1972

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JOINT STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND  
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Conversations in Washington between the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union regarding the establishment of a world security organization have now been completed. These conversations have been useful and have led to a large measure of agreement on proposals for the general framework of the organization, and in particular for the machinery required to maintain peace and security. The three delegations are making reports to their respective Governments who will consider these reports and will in due course issue simultaneously a statement on the results of the conversations and the next steps to be taken.

DRAFT STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED BY GOVERNMENTS

The Government of \_\_\_\_\_ has now received the report of its Delegation participating in the conversations held in Washington between August 21--September \_\_ with the Delegations of \_\_\_\_\_ on the subject of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

There is annexed hereto a statement of tentative proposals indicating in detail the wide range of subjects on which agreement has been reached at the conversations.

The governments which were represented in the conversations have agreed that, after further study of these proposals and of other matters which still require determination, they will by November 15 or shortly thereafter take the necessary steps for the preparation of complete proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference.

Meanwhile the \_\_\_\_\_ Governments are resolved to work together, and with all other Governments jointly engaged in the suppression of the forces that have disturbed the peace of the world, for the future enforcement of the terms of surrender imposed or to be imposed on the common enemy.