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UNITED NATIONS PROPOSALS for

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A Review of the Dumbarton Oaks
Plan, the Basic Consideration
at the San Francisco Conference

THE Federal Cooperative Extension Service of Oregon State College has issued this circular as a contribution to better understanding on the part of rural people of plans now under consideration for world peace. Because of the social and economic implications of this proposed world security organization, farm and rural people should have a thorough understanding of the issues involved. While the main objective of this proposed world organization is to outlaw war, inevitably there will be many other results, economic and social. These include effect on national employment, markets for farm production, and world trade. This is probably the greatest question ever brought before the American people for decision.

It should be kept in mind that the San Francisco meeting will be concerned primarily with the machinery for keeping peace, and therefore not with making the treaty ending the war. It is important to keep this fact in mind. If the work of this conference could end favorably, it might make the work of the treaty of peace much simpler and easier.

This brief circular is intended to stimulate widespread study of the plan, discussion of its major features, and the formation of public opinion about it. It is presented with confidence that the combined thinking of the American people is quite likely to be sound if given a fair opportunity to develop itself.

Federal Cooperative Extension Service
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United Nations Proposals for World Security

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THE meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco beginning April 25, 1945, has as its all-important function making plans to perpetuate peace. It will attempt to organize peace-loving nations into a united group with machinery that proposes to make international outlawry unprofitable, and thereby prevent war. To this end the United Nations will plan, first, ways of promoting peace by cooperative helpfulness to remove the causes of war; and second, ways to prevent war even to the extent of using force against aggressor nations. The nations propose a permanent organization of themselves for these purposes:

1. To make studies of causes that provoke war.
2. To assist each other in economic and social problems.
3. To secure voluntary adjustment of international disputes.
4. To use organized economic and military force to put down aggressors.

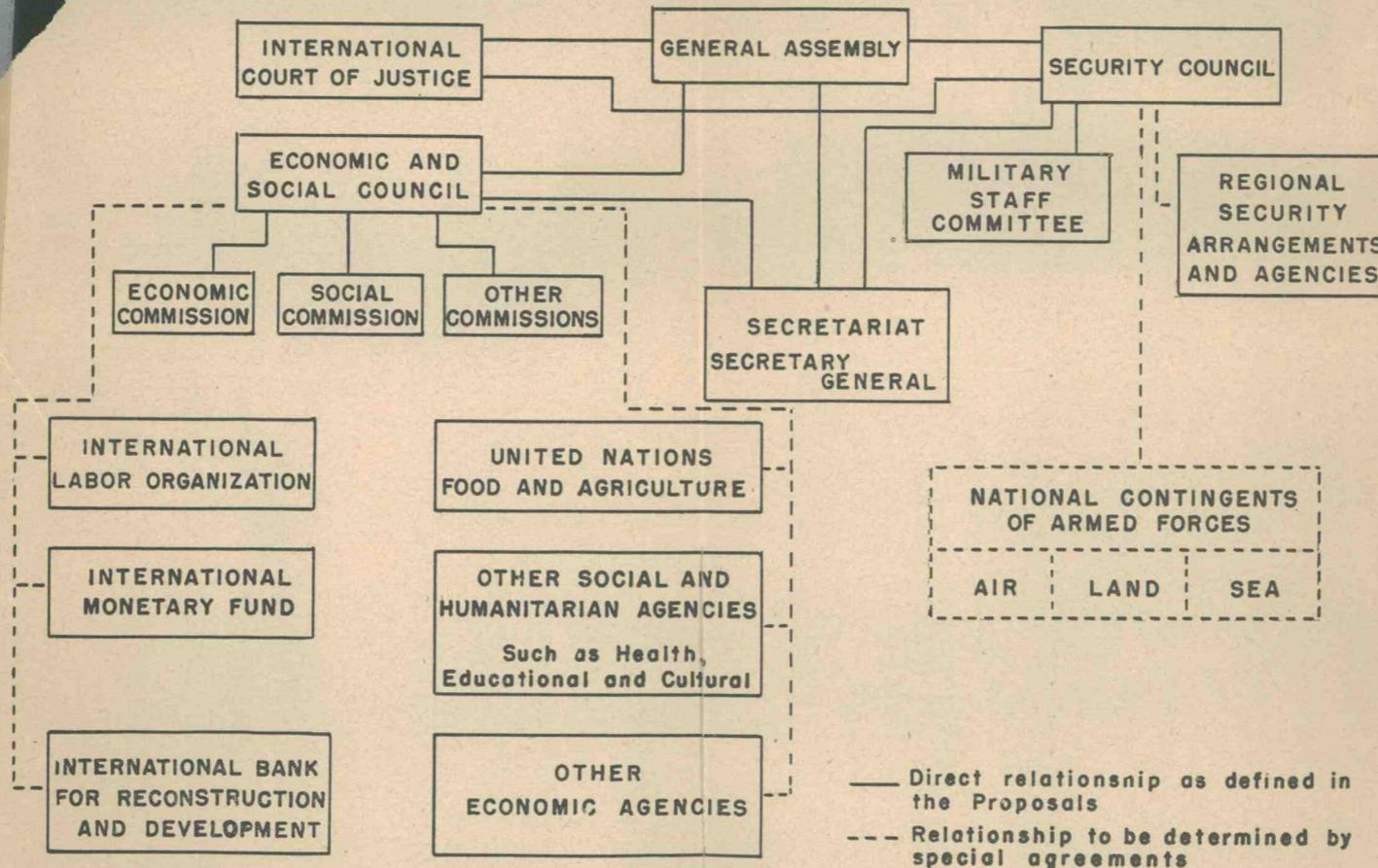
The basic program for the discussions at this historic meeting will be the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D. C., which ended October 7, 1944. This was the meeting of the Big Three—Britain, Russia, and the United States—and later of the United States, Britain, and China. Proposals agreed on at Dumbarton Oaks were preliminary to the final decisions that the United Nations hope to reach at San Francisco. The charter formulated at Dumbarton Oaks offers to the world the hope of a continuing organization to promote and maintain peace. It contemplates genuine joint effort with adequate machinery to educate the cooperating nations on mutual problems causing unrest and leading to international conflict. Finally, it would provide machinery to put down aggressors. The San Francisco meeting includes representatives of the Big Five—United States, Britain, Russia, France, and China—and the other Allied nations. Other nations may be admitted later.

General Assembly Key to Plan

The Dumbarton Oaks plan centers around the General Assembly (see chart), which is in many respects the crucial part of the organization. Every member nation would have a representative and every member nation would have one vote only. Functions of the General Assembly would be:

1. To consider and make recommendations on how nations may cooperate to maintain international peace.
2. To consider and make recommendations for regulating armaments and for their possible gradual reduction.
3. To make recommendations to the Security Council on any matter requiring action.
4. To admit new members, and also to expel old members on recommendation of the Security Council for violation of the principles contained in the charter of the organization.

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5. To elect nonpermanent members of the Security Council, and to elect the Secretary General on recommendation of the Security Council. The General Assembly would also probably help elect the International Court of Justice to be provided by later statute.

6. To elect members of the Economic and Social Council and other commissions acting under and with that Council.

7. To apportion expense among member nations.

8. To initiate studies on various economic, social, and humanitarian questions, and then make recommendations following these studies.

Most of the decisions of the General Assembly would be by two-thirds vote (though minor questions would be passed by simple majority). This body, representative of all member nations in equal voting power, would be in a position to encourage all the other agencies of the organization, and also to stimulate world thinking and opinion.

Security Council Enforcement Body

The Security Council stems partly from the General Assembly. This Council would be made up of eleven members, five being permanent and representative of the Big Five nations (United States, Britain, Russia, China, France). Six would be temporary, elected by the General Assembly from among the other nations for a term of two years, three nations going out each year. These would not be eligible for immediate re-election.

The primary function of the Security Council would be to maintain international peace. If conflict between two or more nations should occur, the Council could:

1. Seek to have the nations settle the trouble themselves by arbitration, mediation, or other processes.
2. Refer cases to the International Court of Justice on subjects of judicial character.
3. Use economic pressure—that is, blockade or other like measures.
4. Cut off the nation by stopping communications contacts, whether by air, sea, or otherwise.
5. Finally, if necessary, use military force.

In order to bring punitive action—that is, use economic or military force—a unanimous vote of the Big Five plus two nonpermanent members would be necessary. To cite a nation for violation of the code—that is, bring its sins to the attention of the world—would require the vote of any seven of the members only; this provision came from the Yalta Conference.

Military Staff

The Military Staff under the Security Council would consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the Big Five. All members of the organization, under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, would join in carrying out military measures. The amount of military aid to be given by each member would be determined in advance and with the approval of the nation involved. In other words, the amount to be available from the United States would be approved by the United States at the time membership in the organization is accepted.

Regional Security Agreements and Agencies

The recent agreement among the American nations made at the Chapultepec Conference at Mexico City illustrates what is contemplated under the term regional security. Under the Chapultepec agreement (which is

for the duration of the war), all the American nations are obliged to assist any one invaded either by another American nation or an outside nation. Any agreement in any other area made to perpetuate peace would not be prohibited by the Dumbarton Oaks Charter unless it interfered with the common plan of defense. The Dumbarton Oaks plan would encourage settling regional disputes through regional agencies, but also provides that regional agencies should not take action until authorized by the Security Council.

Secretariat

The Secretariat would consist of an administrative staff headed by a Secretary General elected by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council. Additional staff as needed would be chosen apparently by the same method. This body would be the permanent administrative office. The Secretary General would be secretary for all of the meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council. The Secretariat would make annual reports to the General Assembly and bring to the attention of the General Assembly and Security Council such matters as need action.

International Court of Justice

The plan contemplates an International Court of Justice, presumably to be set up by the General Assembly and the Security Council. This Court would be in constant session to consider cases coming voluntarily before it or referred to it by the Security Council.

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council would consist of 18 members elected by the General Assembly for a three-year period, each member having one vote. Decisions would be made by a majority vote of those present. Various commissions stem from the Economic and Social Council (see chart). All of the members of the Economic and Social Council as well as the various commissions under this Council would be made up of experts in these technical fields. The major functions of these commissions would be to make studies in their respective fields, which have to do with social and economic problems that naturally lead to unrest, finally ending in international conflict. They would make reports and recommendations on these questions that would go through the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The commissions would logically perform functions at the request of the General Assembly. The Economic and Social Council would, of course, supervise the work and make budgets for the various subordinate agencies.

Will It Work?—Pros and Cons

As in all human institutions there are some fundamental adverse criticisms of this plan that deserve consideration.

1. There is the natural criticism of the over importance of the Big Five. It is said they will dominate. Proponents declare that this seems necessary. The Big Three are furnishing the major funds and forces now to carry on the war, and will necessarily do the same in maintaining peace in the future. If they are compelled to furnish the majority of material and military forces in the future, they naturally would need to have a dominant voice.

The provision agreed to at the Yalta Conference, requiring a two-thirds vote of the Security Council instead of a simple majority before action could be taken against an aggressor, is a marked concession to the smaller powers. It means that the Big Five, even when united, could not commit the world organization to any action without approval of at least two of the Council's little-nation members. At least in theory, six smaller members could join forces with one of the Big Five to override the other four in preliminary decisions.

2. Russia has stood out successfully for veto power of any member of the Big Five in the Security Council when economic or military force is to be used. This means Russia could veto such action when she is involved. Those favoring the present proposals admit that this is a great concession to Russia, but point out that every other member of the Big Five has the same power. At Yalta, President Roosevelt gained the concession from Russia that any seven votes of the Security Council can bring anything to the attention of that Council or to the World, and take action other than economic or military. The pros say that certainly no great nation would enjoy the position of being cited by such a vote of the Council even though military action could not be taken. They add that there is a possibility that some change in this feature of the present plan may be made at the San Francisco meeting.

3. A third criticism, which relates primarily to opinion in the United States, is that this country would be compelled under this plan to furnish armed forces to fight under an international organization. The United States would be obliged to furnish its previously

promised quota. In answering this, it is pointed out that the United States Chief of Staff would be on the Military Staff and would help in the planning and in determining the leadership. Furthermore, the United States representative in the Security Council—the Council that would vote to use military force—would undoubtedly confer with the President before committing the United States to action. Proponents contend the United States is adequately protected in this particular.

4. Another criticism is made that the plan goes too far—that the United States gives up its sovereignty. Advocates of the proposals say there is nothing that indicates this at all. Of course any agreement or treaty to cooperate with others on anything yields a part of one's sovereignty, they explain, if sovereignty is defined as the right to do as one pleases. Senator Vandenberg says in the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 17, 1945, that a nation always is forced to give up some of its sovereignty in order to give and gain good operation.

5. Again, some may say the organization does not go far enough—that a world state is needed. On the contrary, those speaking for the Dumbarton Oaks plan declare that most Americans do not want and will not go further into any combination than they feel is imperative to guarantee peace. The main argument is that this would be a beginning and that there are but two choices. Either the United States can go it alone into isolation and take its chances (that was tried after World War I), or, on the other hand, it can go into an organization with reasonably friendly and cooperative allies committed to preserve peace and prevent international outlawry. If the organization is imperfect, and it will be, it is pointed out, there will be opportunity to change the charter by amendment.