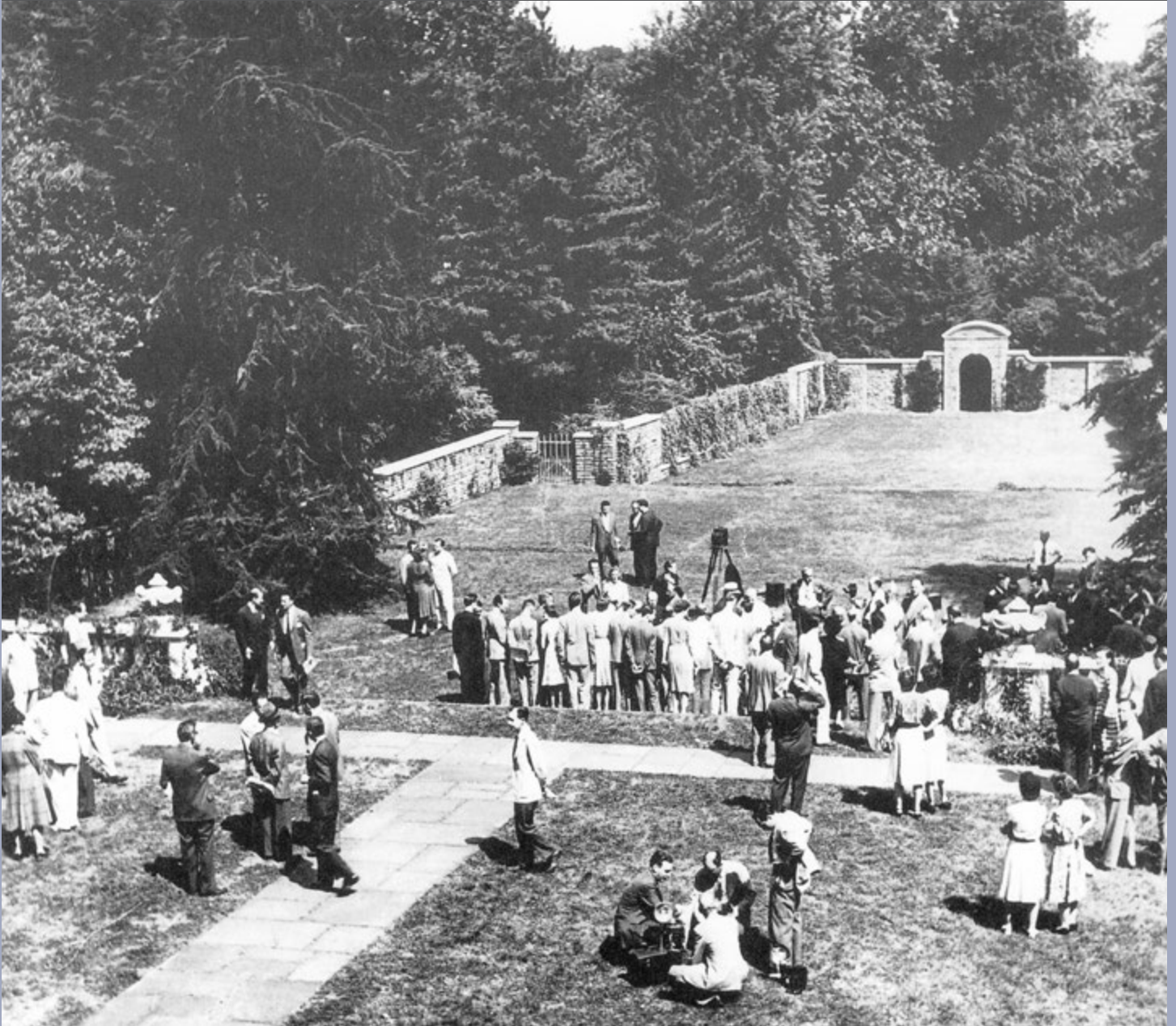


Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, 1944–1994



A Look behind the Scenes

An Exhibition Catalogue

Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn

with a preface by
Angeliki E. Laiou

DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION

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With assistance from Linda Lott

With a preface by Angeliki E. Laiou

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
Washington, D.C.

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(top)

American, British, and Soviet delegates to the first phase of the Conversations posing on the North Vista at Dumbarton Oaks, 21 April 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

(bottom)

Rear view of the delegates as they assemble for a group photograph on the North Vista, 21 April 1944. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)

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PREFACE

When, in the summer and early fall of 1944, with the end of the Second World War in sight, delegates from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and the United Kingdom met at Dumbarton Oaks to discuss the formation of international organizations, the mood was one of optimism. The opening statements are characteristic of the mood. Secretary Hull spoke of creating "the institutional foundations for a just and enduring peace"; Ambassador Gromyko said the freedom-loving peoples of the world "are striving to establish an international organization . . . guaranteeing for the peoples peace, security, and prosperity in the future"; Ambassador Wellington Koo thought the delegates owed it to the freedom-loving peoples "as well as to humanity at large to subordinate all other considerations to the achievement of our common object"; while Sir Alexander Cadogan expressed the hope that "humanity may find the way to a better and nobler life."¹ The optimism was tested in the course of the long and hard negotiations, so that the document emerging from the discussions reflected the compromises necessary for reaching a degree of consensus. However, it is also remarkable for the fact that it raised, although sometimes in rudimentary form, a large number of the issues that remained important in the entire postwar period, including social and economic cooperation, educational and cultural problems, human rights and sexual equality, as well as the all-important issue of the limits of national sovereignty.

The venue chosen for the discussions was Dumbarton Oaks, then, as now, a private institution, which had belonged to Robert and Mildred Bliss, and was conveyed to Harvard University in 1940. It was a research institution, in those days dedicated solely to the study of Byzantium, and subsequently also to the study of the history of Landscape Architecture and of Pre-Columbian culture. As such, it was not an obvious choice for discussions on international organizations, but it was an interesting one. Superficially, the choice was due to chance factors: the heat of the Washington summer, in the days before air conditioning, which lent weight to the belief that this is one of the coolest locations in the city; the relative seclusion of Dumbarton Oaks made it an ideal spot for discussions that were to be held with little publicity and high security; and, quite simply, other alternatives did not seem as suitable or as attractive. At another level, however, the decision to use Dumbarton Oaks reflects the fact that the war brought both scholars and academic institutions into willing service: it was the president of Harvard, James B. Conant, who offered Dumbarton Oaks to the Department of State. In turn, President Conant's action is typical of the philosophy of the times, which posited a close relationship between past, present, and future, between scholarship and politics. When the Blisses gave Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard, in the bleakest days of the war, when "dark nights ha[d] descended over Europe,"² they acted upon an ideological principle, a vision, namely, that the study of the humanities might lead to the salvation of western civilization. Carved on a plaque outside Dumbarton Oaks is their sentiment that the continuity of scholarship in the Byzantine and Medieval humanities would "clarify an everchanging present and . . . inform the future with its wisdom." In a way, the fact that the first official talks regarding postwar international institutions were held at Dumbarton Oaks fulfilled this vision: the world order of the future

¹ *Washington Conversations on International Organization, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1944*, 3 ff.

² Address by Robert Woods Bliss to the Harvard Club of Washington, April 1943.

was being elaborated at an institution dedicated to the study of the past, a past the Blisses had thought could indeed help shape the future.

As the fiftieth anniversary of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations drew near, it seemed that Dumbarton Oaks was once again the appropriate place in which to hold a conference on international institutions and on the urgent problems that affect a world greatly changed since 1944. We live in a time of transition, where there is evident tension between processes of fragmentation on the one hand, and the building of large regional and global units on the other. It is a time of fragile prosperity for some and great suffering for many. Most of the issues raised in 1944 are still with us, but their relative importance has changed, as have circumstances, now demanding answers with an urgency no less than that of half a century ago. Once again there is need for scholars and practitioners to bring their knowledge and experience to bear on these issues. In the intervening fifty years, Dumbarton Oaks has been solely a research institution; it thus has no agenda of its own and can function as neutral ground, a forum where the present and the future can usefully be discussed.

On 5–7 May 1994, an international conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks, to address some of the major issues in international politics and institutions, both retrospectively and in terms of the future. The list of members of the honorary committee and the organizing committee of the conference, as well as the program, is appended below. The papers presented at the meeting will be published, and we hope that they will lead to further discussion and debate.

As part of the conference, the Department of Landscape Architecture presented an exhibition with documents, photographs, and objects from the 1944 Conversations. I should like to thank Dr. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn and Linda Lott for organizing the exhibition, which was an important contribution to the conference. The purpose of this catalogue is also to illuminate the realities behind the “momentous gathering” that took place here in 1944 and in the process to recapture some of the spirit of those times.

Angeliki E. Laiou
Director

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE, 1944–1994

Honorary Committee

Hélène Ahrweiler, President, Université de l'Europe

Anatolii F. Dobrynin, Counselor to the Foreign Ministry of the
Russian Federation, Moscow

James P. Grant, Executive Director, UNICEF; UN Under-Secretary-General

Mahbub ul Haq, Special Adviser to UNDP Administrator

Karl Kaiser, Otto-Wolff-Director of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign
Affairs; Professor of Political Science, University of Bonn

Nancy Landon Kassebaum, United States Senator

Laurence Martin, Director, The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Nobuo Matsunaga, President and Director, The Japan Institute of International Affairs

Jagat Mehta, President, Seva Mandir; Foreign Secretary, India, 1976–1979

Dominique Moisi, Deputy Director, Institut Français des Relations Internationales

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, United States Senator

Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mario Ojeda-Gómez, President, El Colegio de México

Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy

James B. Reston, author; journalist, *The New York Times*

Paul Sarbanes, United States Senator

George P. Shultz, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Secretary of State, 1982–1989

William Royall Tyler, Director of Dumbarton Oaks, 1969–1977

Cyrus Vance, partner, Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett; Secretary of State, 1977–1980

Zi Zhongyun, Senior Fellow, Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE, 1944–1994

Organizing Committee

Honorary Chairman

Neil Rudenstine
President, Harvard University

Organizing Committee

Abram Chayes
Harvard Law School, Harvard University

Bryan Hehir
Harvard Divinity School and Harvard Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Stanley Hoffmann
Center for European Studies, Harvard University

Akira Iriye
Department of History, Harvard University

Angeliki E. Laiou
Director, Dumbarton Oaks
Professor, Department of History, Harvard University

Ernest May
The Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Joseph S. Nye, Jr.
Chairman, National Intelligence Council, CIA

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE, 1944–1994
5–7 MAY 1994

Conference Program

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 5 MAY

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Douglas J. Bennet (Assistant Secretary of State for
International Organization Affairs)

DUMBARTON OAKS, 6 MAY

OPENING REMARKS: Neil Rudenstine (President, Harvard University)
Angeliki E. Laiou (Director, Dumbarton Oaks)

SESSION I: *On the Expectations of 1944–1945*

This panel will focus on the expectations and concepts of the original participating states in laying the groundwork for a postwar international organization dedicated to the maintenance of world peace and security.

Moderator: Shirley Williams (Director, Project Liberty, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University)

Michael Howard (Professor Emeritus, Oxford and Yale Universities)
The United Nations: From War Fighting to Peace Planning

Dorothy V. Jones (Independent Scholar, Newberry Library)
Sober Expectations: The United Nations and a "Sensible Machinery" for Peace

Henry Trofimenko (Senior Research Associate, International Security Council)
Hope That is Gradually Coming True

Zi Zhongyun (Senior Fellow, Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)
Big Power Assurance of Peace Versus the Principle of Equality Among All Nations

SESSION II: *On the Realities of the Postwar Climate*

Discussion will center on the realities of the international postwar climate from the time of the 1945 ratification of the United Nations Charter to the present, addressing which ideas have been realized, and what the overall trends have been in international mediation and development.

Moderator: Akira Iriye (Department of History, Harvard University)

Karl Kaiser (Otto-Wolff-Director, Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs; Professor, University of Bonn)

Lessons of the Postwar Experience in Europe

Walid Khalidi (Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University)

The Peacekeeping Role of the United Nations in the Cold War: A Middle Eastern and Third World Perspective

Nobuo Matsunaga (President and Director, The Japan Institute of International Affairs)

Fifty Years after the Dumbarton Oaks Expectations: A View from Asia

LUNCHEON ADDRESS: *The Developing Role of the Secretary-General*

This talk will address such questions as what powers the office currently holds, what the difficulties are, what the general directional development of the post has been, and how the challenges of the present may affect the role of the Secretary-General.

Brian Urquhart (International Affairs Program, The Ford Foundation)

SESSION III: *International Institutions and International Security*

This panel will address questions of sovereignty and international intervention in the internal affairs of states.

Moderator: Bryan Hehir (Harvard Divinity School and Harvard Center for International Affairs, Harvard University)

Lori F. Damrosch (School of Law, Columbia University)

Collective Economic Sanctions: Nonforcible Responses to Threats to Peace

Stanley Hoffmann (Center for European Studies, Harvard University)
International Institutions and Intervention

Indarjit Rikhye (United States Institute of Peace)
Peacekeeping Operations

SESSION IV: *Issues of Economic Development and the Environment*

This panel will discuss the politics of international organizations (e.g., the IMF, World Bank, and FAO), as well as alternative philosophies and policies of economic development, with respect to local and global environmental concerns.

Moderator: Jessica T. Mathews (Council on Foreign Relations)

Mahbub ul Haq (Special Adviser to UN Development Programme
Administrator)
Humanizing Global Institutions

Michael B. McElroy (Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences,
Harvard University)
Scientific Perspectives on a Changing Environment

Jean Ripert (Adviser to the French Foreign Ministry on Sustainable
Development)
*Changes in Approaches and Policies of Industrial Countries: More Urgent than
Institutional Reform of the United Nations System*

DUMBARTON OAKS, 7 MAY

SESSION V: *International Institutions, the Media, and the College Curriculum*

Discussion will focus on what is being taught about international organizations, what should be taught, why international law and international organizations have disappeared from many college curricula, and what is the relationship between universities, the media, and international institutions.

Moderator and Speaker: Ernest May (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University)

Hélène Ahrweiler (President, Université de l'Europe)
Universities and International Relations

Karen Breslau (State Department Correspondent, *Newsweek*)

Lisa Martin (Department of Government, Harvard University)
International Institutions, the Media, and the College Curriculum: A Political Scientist's Perspective

Jagat Mehta (President, Seva Mandir; Foreign Secretary, India, 1976–1979)
International Institutions, Media, and Communications

Commentators: Ralph Begleiter (Cable News Network Correspondent)
Richard Ullman (Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University)

SESSION VI: *Human Rights and Refugees*

This panel will address the impact of the United Nations and its agencies in the area of human rights, covering such issues as disparities between internationally-defined human rights standards and those specific to particular cultures and states, the growing focus on women's rights, and international responsibilities concerning the fate of refugees.

Moderator: Abram Chayes (Harvard Law School, Harvard University)

Abdullahi An-Na'im (Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Africa Watch)
Beyond the Relativity Universality Debate: Toward a Global Human Rights Culture

Louis Henkin (School of Law, Columbia University)
Human Rights and State Sovereignty: A Half Century after Dumbarton Oaks

Rein Mullerson (London School of Economics and Political Science)
Universal Human Rights in the Multicultural World

Alain Pellet (University of Paris X–Nanterre)
Individual Rights, Minority Rights, and Group Rights

SESSION VII: *The Future: Capabilities and Limitations of International Institutions and Organizations*

Discussion will focus on the capabilities and limitations of international organizations, means of enforcement, the training of international personnel, and the emerging philosophies regarding international relations.

Moderator: Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (Chairman, National Intelligence Council, CIA)

Tom Farer (Washington College of Law, and School of International Service,
The American University)

Managing a Disorderly Global Society: What Role for the United Nations and Regional Organizations?

Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS, United States Senate; Member, Committee on Foreign Relations)

Peter Leuprecht (Deputy Secretary General, Council of Europe)

The Future: Learning the Lessons of the Past. Reflections of a European

Mario Ojeda-Gómez (President, El Colegio de México)

The Developing Countries and the New International Context

Vladimir Petrovsky (UN Under-Secretary-General; Director-General, UN Geneva Office; Secretary-General, Conference on Disarmament)†

Strategic Triad of the New Era

Paul Sarbanes (D-MD, United States Senate; Chair, Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environment)

† Represented by Albrecht G. Muth (Personal Representative of the Director-General)

INTRODUCTION

PROPOSAL 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.

CHAPTER I. PURPOSES

The purposes of the Organization should be:

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

This is the beginning of the proposal agreed upon on 7 October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks by representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States (see no. 46). It was a tentative agreement that was "instrumental in laying the groundwork for the charter of the United Nations that was adopted in San Francisco in 1945."² The Dumbarton Oaks Conference was held in two phases of talks. Discussion among the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States took place between 21 August and 28 September 1944, followed by discussion among representatives of China, the United Kingdom, and the United States from 29 September to 7 October 1944.

The concentrated and systematic preparation of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations started in December 1943. An "Informal Agenda Group" within the Department of State "began on December 9, 1943, its concentration on 'international organization discussions,' as its minutes describe its work from this date forward."³ Since then the group, in June 1944 named "International Organization Group," worked out proposals for the Conversations which were discussed with President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, American politicians, and legal, military, and other experts. A draft of "Tentative Proposals for a General International Organization," dated 18 July 1944, was transmitted to the other three major powers.⁴

¹ *Washington Conversations on International Organization, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1944, 9.*

² C. E. Bohlen, *Witness to History, 1929-1969*, New York, 1973, 159.

³ *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation 1939-1945*, Department of State Publication 3580, General Foreign Policy Series 15, Washington, D.C., 1949, 247.

⁴ cf. *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation 1939-1945*, 276.

The results of the Conversations are assessed by Charles E. Bohlen, who was attached to the American delegation as an advisor on Soviet affairs, in his book, *Witness to History, 1929–1969*, as follows: “Dumbarton Oaks settled all but two issues regarding the organization of the United Nations—the voting procedure in the Security Council and the Soviet pressure for the admission of all sixteen of the Soviet republics to the General Assembly. It took the conference at Yalta, plus further negotiations with Moscow, before these issues were solved.”⁵

The Exhibiton

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, Prof. Angeliki E. Laiou, director of Dumbarton Oaks, and Prof. Neil Rudenstine, president of Harvard University, initiated and organized an international conference to commemorate this event and to address the future role of regional and international organizations to secure peace. This event took place on 5–7 May 1994. A small exhibition was set up to accompany the conference (figs. 1 and 2), which should provide a visual insight into the events of 1944. This catalogue is an outcome of that exhibition. It shows most of the items that were on display at Dumbarton Oaks from May to July 1994. Those objects not included in the catalogue are listed at the end to offer the reader complete information about the exhibition. The order of items in the catalogue is chronological; most of them, such as letters, notes, and photographs, are self-explanatory and do not require further comments. Nevertheless, a few remarks may be helpful for a better understanding of this catalogue. It cannot and shall not discuss the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations comprehensively with regard to their international political significance, nor can it give detailed information about the meetings themselves that took place in the late summer of 1944. Both have been done in other publications, first of all in a book by Robert C. Hilderbrand, *Dumbarton Oaks: The Origins of the United Nations and the Search for Postwar Security* (Chapel Hill and London, 1990). The catalogue shall give a visual impression of and some specific insights into the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. Particularly, it shall touch upon the human dimension of these meetings. The Conversations were initiated, organized, and carried out by people with political visions and ideals who, at the same time, had quite worldly everyday problems and interests, for example, the interest in baseball games that took place in Washington during the time of the conference (see no. 15).

The display of photographs, documents, and publications may offer an insight into some spheres of these events, which may be less well known to scholars and the general public. The reader should consider that the photographs provide an official look at the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. The “rear” view of these events is only occasionally recognizable (see nos. 1 and 2). We had no access to personal photographs, but only to those taken for official use. They reflect clearly how these events were to be perceived by an international audience; they may reflect only inadequately other aspects of the meetings. The following description, taken from *The War Diary of Breckinridge Long*—Long was a member of the American delegation—may elucidate this official character of most of the photographs on display in this exhibition. It is stated in Long’s *Diary*:

⁵ Bohlen, *Witness to History*, 159.



figs. 1 and 2
Cases in front of the Garden Library Rare Book Room with items from the exhibition,
"Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, 1944-1994," on display. (photo: Joe Mills)

"August 21, 1944 The Dumbarton Oaks Conference opened this morning with formalities—Hull, Gromyko and Cadogan read statements. They were all harmonious and it seemed to get off to a good start. The rest of the time was for photographs—inside during the readings of statements—outside in the garden and again inside as if simulating the work of the Conference. The real conversations will begin tomorrow." "Similarly, it was announced in the official program for the opening session on 21 August 1944 that after the opening remarks of Stettinius and responses of Gromyko and Cadogan pictures of the delegations should be taken; it is stated in the program: "After the completion of the pictures on the terrace, members of the three Groups are kindly requested to return to the Assembly Hall to resume their places at the table for motion pictures of the meeting simulating a regular session of the conversations" (see nos. 28, 30, and 31).

The unofficial character of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations is more clearly reflected in documents such as personal diaries, which were not produced for international publication in newspapers and magazines but often were written for internal use only. For example, *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* include rich "insider" knowledge and interesting personal assessments of the Conversations. In Cadogan's *Diaries* it is indicated time and again that the members of the various delegations had sometimes slightly diverging perceptions of the events. This becomes obvious, for example, in Cadogan's description of a meeting with Secretary of State Cordell Hull on 14 August 1944, at which he and the Earl of Halifax introduced the British delegation to Hull. Cadogan wrote down his personal impressions of this meeting as follows: "H. and I took the Delegation to present them to old Hull. He made a rambling speech about democracy and the future of the world. I replied suitably and simply, and shortly—as I didn't think it was up to me to indulge in stump oratory."⁷

A good example of the contrast between official view and "rear" view is the article "Dumbarton Doubts," published in the 6 August 1944 edition of the *Washington Post*, during the time of the preparation of the conference (see no. 11). That this article did not correspond with the official interpretation of events becomes obvious from a Department of State note of the very same day, which refers to the article as follows: "Mr. Stettinius feels that arrangements should be made for some friendly correspondent to prepare a counter article stressing the special qualifications of the American delegations and disposing of the conventions made by the Post."⁸

Some photographs reproduced in this catalogue were taken on excursions organized for the participants of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations to places of historical significance around Washington, such as Monticello and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville (see nos. 38–44). A quotation from Cadogan's *Diaries* about the tour of the British, Chinese, and American delegations may give an impression of a more "British" perception of this event on 10 September 1944. Cadogan's entry for that day runs as follows: "An astonishing day. Lovely sunny weather with cool air. Started off at 10 in a car with Ed. S., Edward, H. H. Kung, and Wellington Koo. Joined 15 other enormous limousines at Arlington Bridge and thence proceeded with police motor bicycle escort and sirens to drive through Virginia. Went through Bull Run and Warrenton and on to 'Sky Line Drive'. Lunched,

⁶ B. Long, *The War Diary of Breckinridge Long; Selections from the Years 1939–1944*, selected and edited by F. L. Israel, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1966, 372 f.

⁷ Sir A. Cadogan, *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, O. M., 1938–1945*, edited by D. Dilks, New York, 1971, 654.

⁸ Department of State, note of 6 August 1944 (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division).

under a boiling sun at 'Big Meadows' on top of the ridge. Lovely views. Lunch well done—iced cocktails, and then each of us had a cardboard box containing an excellent picnic meal. We then drove to Charlottesville, Ed., in his showman manner, getting more and more excited, holding forth on the beauties of the scenery as if he not only owned it but had painted it. . . . Reception at Charlottesville University, built by Jefferson. Very beautiful. We were accompanied everywhere by 8 photographers, and Ed's voice was constantly to be heard, 'Now boys, line up here: they want to take a picture'. Then on to Monticello which is charming but I couldn't see it, as we were made to march and counter march by cinema operators. Then on to Ash Lawn, Monroe's House, where I gave the photographers the slip, but there wasn't very much to see. However, we all got mint juleps. . . . Finally we got away and arrived at Ed's house 'Horseshoe' about 6.30. Charming house, with a negro quartet singing spirituals on the lawn. He rushed us round a part of the place, including his Hereford cattle and his thousand and one turkeys. . . . Got Edward to make a move, and we got back to Washington about 11.30, having covered v. nearly 300 miles."⁹

A special aspect of the conference was that it did not take place in a governmental building but on the premises of a scholarly institution of more private character. Robert Woods Bliss had offered to place the facilities of Dumbarton Oaks at the disposal of Secretary of State Cordell Hull already in June 1942 (see no. 3). This offer was renewed by James B. Conant, the president of Harvard University, in a letter of 30 June 1944 (see no. 5). Research institutions such as Dumbarton Oaks have particular needs and interests that are not necessarily in accordance with those of the organizers and participants of such a political conference. The institution and its director, the then-Lieutenant Commander John S. Thacher, tried to overcome such slightly conflicting interests to make the stay as convenient as possible for all delegates. For example, the organizers wanted to avoid conflicts with the Soviet delegation; therefore, at the request of Charles W. Yost, Executive Secretary of the Policy Committee, the photograph of the Polish composer Paderewski had to be removed from the Music Room because it was considered to be "questionable" (see nos. 13 and 14). Perhaps the well-being of the participants was also a reason why the Soviet delegation was hosted in "the room containing the Slavic books," as was mentioned in a memorandum to the Department of State.¹⁰

However, the thousands of books that were kept systematically ordered in the various rooms of the building were at the same time a specific concern of the institution. This becomes evident from a memorandum by Alger Hiss in which he informs the members of the American delegation about a request from John S. Thacher "that all persons who will be participating in the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks be asked not to remove any books from the shelves, for fear that through inadvertence in replacing such books valuable items may be mislaid or valuable sets of books be broken. . . . This request reflects customary library practice since a book put back on the shelves out of place is frequently almost as hard to find as if it were actually lost."¹¹

A specific dimension of these meetings that tends to have been totally ignored is the fact that the 1940s were still a period of ordained racial segregation. This is reflected in the events that took

⁹ *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan*, 662 f.

¹⁰ Memorandum for Mr. Smith on the use of Dumbarton Oaks by the Department of State for the Washington Conversations on International Organizations (Dumbarton Oaks Archives, n.d.).

¹¹ Alger Hiss, memorandum to all members of the American delegation and to secretaries of sections, 18 July 1944 (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division).

place at Dumbarton Oaks. The conference, with its numerous participants, created substantial additional work for the staff of Dumbarton Oaks. Commander Thacher therefore asked in a letter to Donald B. Eddy of 18 July 1944 if the Department of State could take care of additional help. He wrote: "We would appreciate it if you could have white help, in view of the fact that all of our staff here are white and we have no facilities to take care of colored help."¹² Eddy answered the following day that the Department of State would consider this request (see no. 8).¹³ The photographs taken during the meetings confirm this specific "segregative" character of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations.

The beginning of the conference was postponed several times. The meetings finally started on 21 August, during the summer break at the end of the academic year of Dumbarton Oaks. The smooth resumption of scholarly business, starting with the arrival of the fellows for the academic year 1944/45, was therefore an important concern of Dumbarton Oaks—even at the height of World War II. A note in the files of the Department of State regarding "Reminder of September 15 deadline on our use of Dumbarton Oaks" informed the members of the American delegation that "Harvard has insistently and consistently stated that the premises would not be available for our use after September 15—the beginning of the new academic year" (see no. 12).¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Conversations lasted finally until 7 October.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conversations were a milestone on the way to the foundation of the United Nations. It is a fact that its main purposes as mentioned in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposal of 1944, to maintain international peace and security and develop friendly relations among nations, could only partially be fulfilled and are seriously endangered at present. Today the reflection upon the future international organization of the various nations to guarantee peace, social well-being, and environmental protection is urgently required. Those who met in late summer 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks to help to prepare the establishment of the United Nations cannot be held responsible for the present situation with its many unsolved problems. Shortcomings of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposal should be discussed, but it is also to be acknowledged as a remarkable achievement of its time.

These few remarks may have shed light on some aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, which perhaps were little known until now. Following this introduction the reader will find reproductions of most of the items which were on display at the exhibition and a list of persons involved in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations.

¹² Letter from John S. Thacher to Donald B. Eddy, regarding questions of organization, 18 July 1944 (Harvard University Archives, HUG, (FP) 76.14, Box 6).

¹³ cf. letter from Donald B. Eddy to Commander Thacher, 19 July 1944 (Harvard University Archives, HUG (FP) 76.14, Box 6).

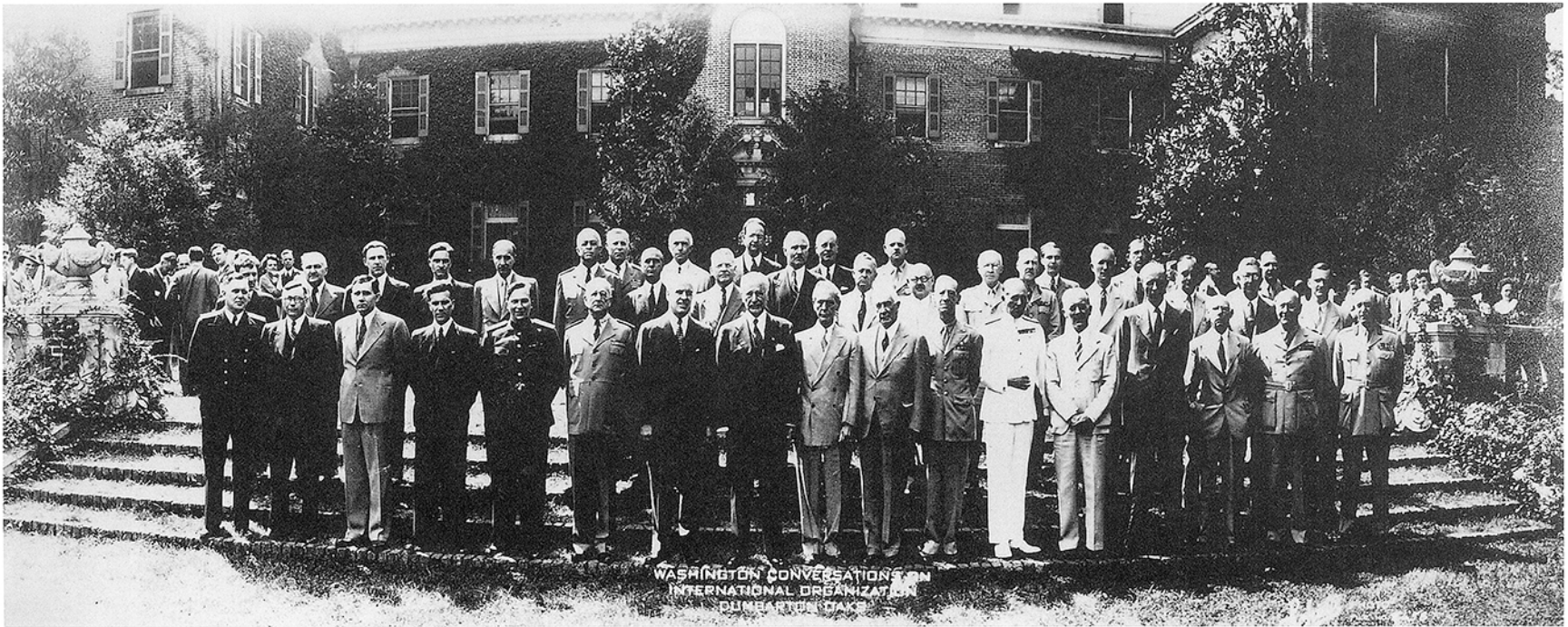
¹⁴ "Reminder of September 15 deadline on our use of Dumbarton Oaks," Department of State, 7 August 1944 (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division).

Acknowledgments

This exhibition catalogue on the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations would not have been possible without the generous support of several institutions, which placed documents, photographs and publications from their holdings at our disposal. We are indebted to Michael J. Kurtz, Acting Assistant Archivist; James Zeender, Registrar; and Sarah Bertalan, Conservator, of the National Archives; the Library of Congress Manuscript Division; Roger Haley, Librarian, Library of the United States Senate; Janet Hall, Librarian, Library of the Department of State; Michael Plunkett, Director of Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Gregory A. Johnson, Senior Public Services Assistant, University of Virginia Library; Harley P. Holden, Curator; Patrice Donoghue, Assistant Curator; and James McCarthy, Curatorial Assistant, Harvard University Archives; and the *Washington Post*.

We want to thank Alger Hiss, who gave permission to reproduce historic documents that were written by him.

The catalogue is also a result of the dedicated work of several Dumbarton Oaks staff members. We want to address a particular word of thanks to the following staff members: Karen McKenzie and Suzanne Mercury for administrative support, Karen McKenzie also for editorial help. We are indebted to Joe Mills for the excellent quality of the many reproductions he made and to Glenn Ruby, Matthew Rieck, and Al Shaw of the Publications Office for their careful and efficient editorial and production work. A particular thank you is owed to Linda Lott, Rare Book Librarian of Studies in Landscape Architecture; a considerable part of the work to set up the exhibition was done by her. Her expertise and creativity helped substantially in the organization of the exhibition, and this catalogue also benefited greatly from her work.



1. American, British, and Soviet delegates to the first phase of the Conversations posing on the North Vista at Dumbarton Oaks, 21 April 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1942

" 8

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I wish to express my sincere thanks for your letter of July sixth. It is exceedingly kind and thoughtful of you and Mrs. Bliss thus to think of me. At the same time I want you, Mr. Thatcher, and the officials of the University to know of my real appreciation for the generous offer to place the facilities of Dumbarton Oaks at my disposal.

Mrs. Hull and I and some of our mutual friends in the Department hope from time to time to avail ourselves of this privilege.

I trust that you and Mrs. Bliss will have a very happy sojourn in California and all of us will be looking forward to seeing you when you return next winter.

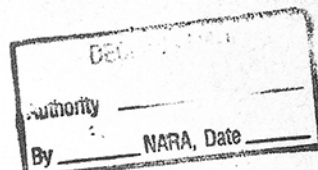
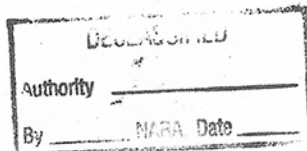
With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cordell Hull". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial "C" and a long, sweeping underline.

The Honorable
Robert Woods Bliss,
3101 R Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

3. Letter from Cordell Hull to Robert Woods Bliss, 8 July 1942. Response to Bliss' letter of 6 July regarding offer to use Dumbarton Oaks. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)



June 25, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

U - Mr. Stettinius:

In accordance with your request I have inspected the facilities at the Bureau of Standards and find that the necessary accommodations are not available. Although they have three rather unattractive rooms which might be used for group meetings, they are in separate buildings. I do not believe they are appropriate for the type of meetings which will be held. No rooms are available which could be used as offices for the respective delegations.

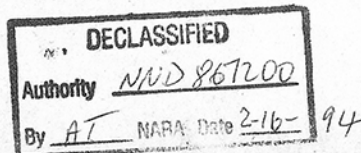
It is my considered opinion that the Bureau of Standards would not be suitable.

I have also, at the suggestion of Mr. Hiss, inspected Dumbarton Oaks. I believe adequate facilities could be made available both for meeting rooms and for offices for the respective delegations. There are two rooms which could comfortably accommodate twenty to thirty people in round-table fashion and one large room in which fifty people could be seated in the same manner.

There are also two smaller rooms on the first floor, seven on the second and a number of small bedrooms on the third floor, originally used by servants which could be used as offices. The bedrooms could be fitted for offices for the clerical help but it would be impossible to furnish them as executive offices.

The environment is ideal and arrangements could be made to serve buffet lunches, if desirable, as well as tea in the afternoon. It would be necessary, of course to furnish guards, office equipment and additional help to care for the building, et cetera. This, however, would not be too difficult.

I believe the necessary accommodations could be made available at the Dumbarton Oaks and I therefore recommend it for serious consideration.



The

4. Report of Warren Kelchner to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., regarding the inspection of the Bureau of Standards and Dumbarton Oaks as possible places for the Conversations, 25 June 1944.
(photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

- 2 -

The other possibilities which occur to me are the Statler or Mayflower Hotels, possibly George Washington or Catholic Universities, or one or more of the Government Buildings.

Warren Kelchner

IG:WK:TV:MCL

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

June 30, 1944

The Honorable Cordell Hull
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hull:

I am writing you as President of Harvard University to offer the use of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington to the Department of State for any international gathering which might take place between now and September 15.

As you undoubtedly know, Dumbarton Oaks has become an important center for study and research in art as part of Harvard University. During the summer there will be no students in residence, however, so there can be no conflict between our needs of various facilities along academic lines and any uses in which the property might be helpful to you and your Department.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that Harvard University would be greatly honored if it should eventuate that an international conference was held on its grounds.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES B. CONANT

5. Letter from James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, offering the premises of Dumbarton Oaks for the conference, 30 June 1944.
(photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

*Copy to Miss Watson, Notter,
Eddy (original file), Casavolsky, Dunn*

July 14, 1944

In reply refer to
IC

My dear Dr. Conant:

With reference to your letter of June 30, to which I made an interim acknowledgment under date of July 7, I am now in a position to be more definite regarding the acceptance of your gracious offer to make Dumbarton Oaks available this summer for use by the Department of State during the period when there will be no students in residence there.

The Department plans to use Dumbarton Oaks for certain informal conversations and exchanges of views regarding the formation of an international security organization. It is hoped that it will be possible to begin these conversations early in August. Meanwhile, during the remainder of this month, it will be extremely helpful if the American group may install itself at Dumbarton Oaks in order that its members may free themselves from their routine duties and engage in preliminary discussions of a preparatory nature.

As you are aware, informal arrangements to the above effect have already been made with your representative at Dumbarton Oaks, Lieutenant Commander John S. Thacher, who has been most helpful. The Department will continue to consult with Commander Thacher regarding any problems which may arise concerning the use of the premises.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

The Honorable
James B. Conant,
President, Harvard University,
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

IC:DBE:MCL

SPA

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110.12/6-3044

6. Letter from Cordell Hull to James B. Conant, 14 July 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

MW 25

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U.S. URGENT

AMEMBASSY
MOSCOW
1691

TELEGRAM SENT

This Department of State
closely paraphrased source
being communicated
to anyone.

Washington,

TO BE TRANSMITTED
SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
RESTRICTED
CLEAR
AIRGRAM
SECRET

NO DISTRIBUTION - NO STENCIL

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 760201
By AT NARA, Date 2-16-04

JUL 14 1944

500.CC/7-1344

SECRET FOR THE AMBASSADOR

Present plans for informal discussions on an international organization are that the two tripartite conversations, namely between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union and between the United States, Great Britain and China, will take place concurrently in Washington early in August.

In order to keep our discussions with the British and the Chinese more or less on a parity with the similar discussions in which the Soviet representatives will participate, our present plans call for holding both sets of conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, which has appropriate facilities for informal conversations of this nature. There is no other suitable location in Washington at which talks of this kind could be held this summer and the fact that the American representatives and presumably the British representatives for the two sets of talks are identical makes it imperative that the two sets of talks

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19_____

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-25293-1

Confidential File

SENT

7. Telegram from the Department of State to the American ambassador in Moscow regarding preparations for the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, 13 July 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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TELEGRAM SENT

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Department of State

Washington,

TO BE TRANSMITTED

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED

CLEAR

AIRGRAM

SECRET

-2-

be held in the same place.

Please convey the foregoing information concerning the proposed arrangements to Molotov for his information and at the same time assure him that although held in the same place the two sets of conversations will be kept entirely separate.

We do not anticipate any objection from the Soviet Government to the proposed arrangements but should Molotov have any doubts on the subject we hope you will find it possible to dispel them since for a number of reasons we consider it most desirable that the contemplated arrangements for the talks be accepted.

500. ce / 7-13-44 c.f.
Your 2557, July 13, 10 p.m. just received. Is answered by our 1680, July 13, 9 a.m. which crossed it.

EE:CEB:LIS

7/13/44

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____ 19____

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 10-25293-1

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1944

Dear Commander Thacher:

I was glad to receive your memorandum of July 18th, and hope that you will find the following replies to your questions to be of some assistance:

1. We still do not have a definite date for the arrival of the foreign groups. However, I should like very much to be able to commence the necessary rearrangement of furniture on the third floor of the Main Building and in the Fellows Building on July 24th. Also, the telephone men have been instructed to complete their installations not later than Thursday, July 27th. We may not actually occupy the space until August 1st, but I plan to have it fully ready for occupancy a few days in advance.

2. To the best of my knowledge, no meeting is scheduled for the second floor Reading Room until Thursday morning, July 20th at 11:00. I will endeavor to get word to Miss Rathbone of subsequent meetings scheduled between now and the first of August, although I cannot always be sure of having advance notice myself, since the room is available to the Army and Navy for use in their discussion. After the foreign groups arrive, on or about August 1st, I suppose that the room will be in practically constant use.

3. We will definitely make arrangements to take care of the cleaning problem, in accordance with the schedule you have indicated. We will certainly plan to provide white help, as you suggest.

4. We will definitely arrange to provide our own supplies in the categories listed. If there are any other items we have overlooked which occur to you later, please let us know.

5. Space requirements being what they are, we should very much like to retain the use of the Russian Room. We shall, of course, be glad to comply with your suggestion that this space be used as a Drafting Room rather than assigned to one of the country groups.

Sincerely yours,

Donald B. Eddy

Donald B. Eddy U.S.



DBE:VJ

8. Letter from Donald B. Eddy to John S. Thacher, 19 July 1944. Response to Thacher's memorandum of 18 July regarding arrangements and schedules. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1944

Dear Commander Thacher:

I was glad to receive your memorandum of July 18th, and hope that you will find the following replies to your questions to be of some assistance:

1. We still do not have a definite date for the arrival of the foreign groups. However, I should like very much to be able to commence the necessary rearrangement of furniture on the third floor of the Main Building and in the Fellows Building on July 24th. Also, the telephone men have been instructed to complete their installations not later than Thursday, July 27th. We may not actually occupy the space until August 1st, but I plan to have it fully ready for occupancy a few days in advance.

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Sincerely yours,

Donald B. Eddy

Donald B. Eddy U. S.



DBE:VJ

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1944.

My dear Commander Thacher:

I am enclosing herewith five copies of the press release relating to Dumbarton Oaks which was issued by the Department yesterday.

Sincerely yours,

Alger Hiss

Enclosures:

Press releases.

Lieutenant Commander John S. Thacher,
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library
and Collection,
3101 R Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.



9. Letter from Alger Hiss to John S. Thacher, dated 20 July 1944, regarding enclosed Department of State press release No. 313, dated 19 July 1944, about Dumbarton Oaks. (photo: Dumbarton Oaks Archives)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

JULY 19, 1944
No. 313

The informal conversations on the general nature of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security, which were the subject of a press statement by the Department of State on July 17, will mainly be held at Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown. The Department of State is gratified that through the courtesy of the trustees for Harvard University, adequate facilities have been made available for these important conversations at Dumbarton Oaks during the period of the summer recess now taking place in the University.

Dumbarton Oaks was conveyed to Harvard University in 1940 by the Honorable and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss and now constitutes a research library and collection of Harvard University. It is regularly used during the academic year by resident Harvard research scholars and fellows engaged in the advance study of byzantine and medieval humanity. Mr. Bliss is a Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and formerly was United States Ambassador to the Republic of Argentina. The Department wishes to express its appreciation to Harvard University and to Mr. and Mrs. Bliss, who associated themselves with Harvard's action, for permitting Dumbarton Oaks to be used in connection with the foreign relations of the United States.

* * *

Washington Post

Dumbarton Doubts

In a recent article in *The Post*, Sumner Welles, former Undersecretary of State, called attention to the fact that while military events are moving with breath-taking speed, planning in the realm of foreign policy continues to proceed at a snail's pace. Nine months after the Moscow conference, a meeting is to be held here in Washington at which details regarding the organization of international security in the postwar world are to be discussed. That meeting, however, is now declared to be only exploratory and preliminary. When it is over, the representatives of the participating powers will report back to their government, and there will then have to be a meeting on the political level. Yet, as Mr. Welles points out: "If ever speed, initiative and determination in the conduct of the foreign policy of this country were urgently required, it is now."

The upshot of this dilatoriness may very well be that when victory comes in Europe, and it may come suddenly, we shall be entirely unprepared for it. Furthermore, the composition of the panel of experts who are to advise Undersecretary Edward L. Stettinius, the chief of the American delegation, is not such as to inspire excessive confidence. It smacks too much of State Department inbreeding, its level is on the whole pedestrian, and it includes functionaries whose record during such critical periods

as the Spanish civil war, the Munich era, and the North Africa occupation, was anything but enlightened or intelligent. Yet, since Mr. Stettinius is himself a tyro in diplomacy in comparison with such old hands as Sir Alexander Cadogan and Maxim Litvinoff, the prospective heads of the British and Russian delegations, a strong American advisory body at the Dumbarton Oaks conference is all the more necessary.

The most disturbing thing about that conference, however, is not the composition of the American delegation, or even that it comes so belatedly, but that it will meet in an atmosphere of complete secrecy. This, to our way of thinking, is a tragic blunder. At Bretton Woods the exemplary manner in which press relations were handled, with the correspondents being kept completely informed, contributed in no small degree to the final success of the conference. What this country needs above all is an education in foreign affairs. The Dumbarton Oaks conference by bringing out the differences of opinion regarding details of world organization that exist among the Americans, the British, the Russians and the Chinese, far from having disturbing consequences, would have a salutary effect by revealing to the people the stages by which final agreement is reached. Secrecy at Dumbarton Oaks will give the rumormongers a field day and is thus likely to defeat the purpose that conference is designed to achieve.

August 6, 1944

11. "Dumbarton Doubts," *The Washington Post*, 6 August 1944. (photo: reproduced from copy in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, © *The Washington Post*)

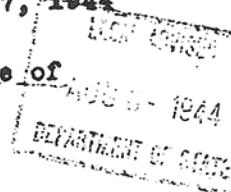
Le - Mr. Hackworth

U - Mr. Stettinius

August 7, 1944

SPA - Mr. Hiss

Reminder of September 15 deadline on our use of
Dumbarton Oaks



The further postponement of the international organization conversations to August 21 makes it important for us to bear in mind the fact that, from the very outset of our discussions with Harvard University about the use of Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard has insistently and consistently stated that the premises would not be available for our use after September 15 - the beginning of the new academic year. Inasmuch as there might be some possibility of injury to Chinese susceptibilities if the talks with the Chinese are not held either at the same place as the Russian talks or at an equally "glamorous site" and in view of the fact that no similar site in Washington has been discovered despite careful search, the postponement makes it all the more desirable that we attempt to conclude the Russian talks as speedily as possible, say by September 7.

CC-Messrs. Grew, Hackworth, Dunn, Pasvolsky,
Rothwell, Notter, Eddy

SPA:AH:DMK

~~UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE~~

OFFICE OF
August 12, 1944
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

AUG 14 1944

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SPA-: Mr. Hiss
PC-: Mr. Yost
EUR-: Mr. Dunn

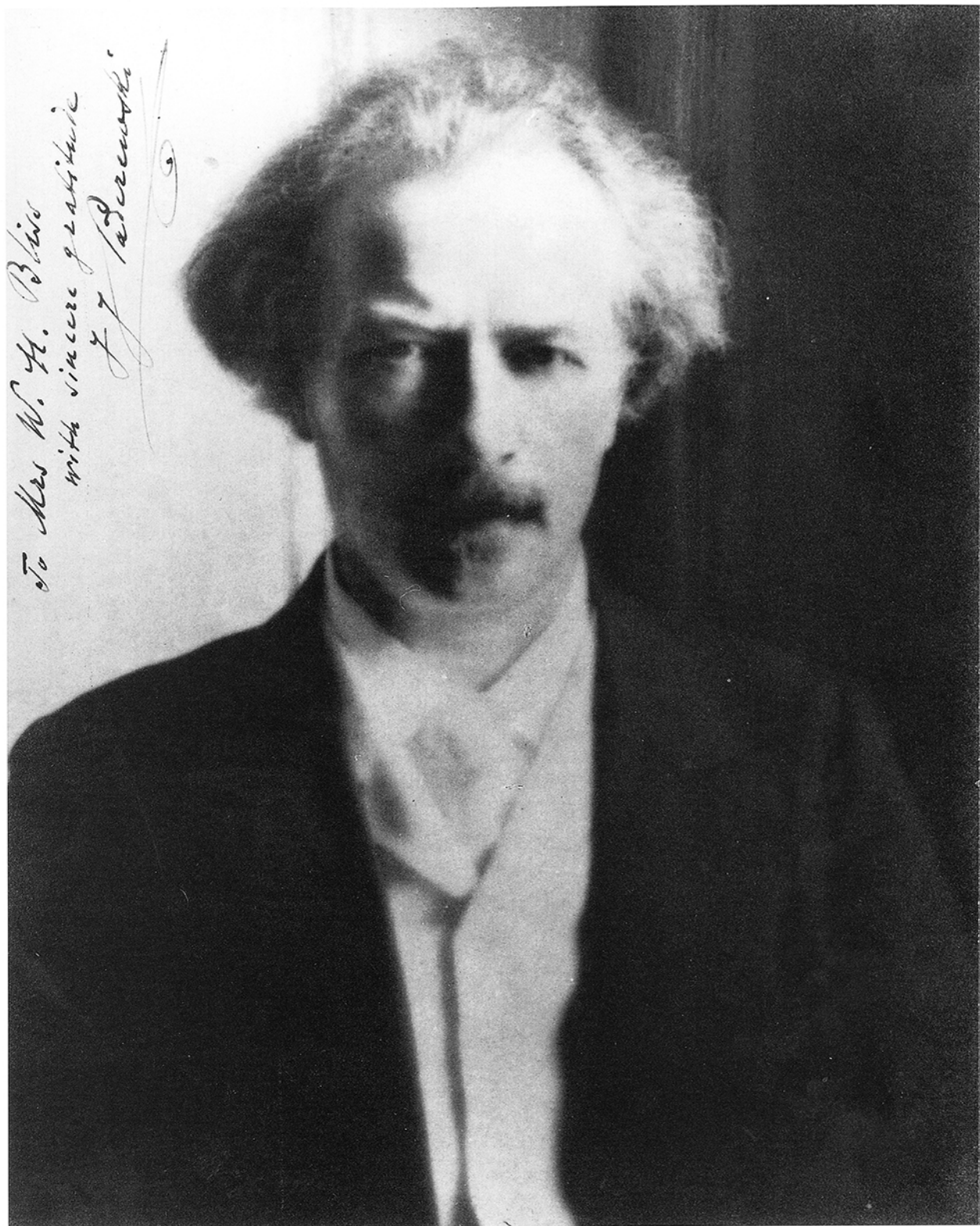
Pursuant to a suggestion made by Mr. Yost, I took up with Miss Carpenter of the Harvard University staff the possibility of removing some or all of the autographed photographs which are placed at various points in the main Assembly Hall.

Without exactly declining to comply, she exhibited considerable reluctance, mentioning that these photographs were the ones in which the Blisses took a considerable personal interest, et cetera, et cetera. We finally agreed that the photograph of Paderewski --- the one particularly mentioned by Mr. Yost --- would be removed, and that Miss Carpenter would be glad, upon specific request, to remove any other photograph which we considered to be in any way questionable.

*Picture removed
EP
Aug 18*

Eddy

13. Memorandum from Donald B. Eddy, Department of State, regarding the removal of photographs, 12 August 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



14. Photograph of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish pianist and composer, was removed from the Music Room for the time of the Conversations. (photo: Dumbarton Oaks House Collection, photographed by Joe Mills).

File

Sir William Malkin

August 26, 1944.

Alger Hiss

Schedule of baseball games to be played in Washington

Dear Sir William:

I have made inquiries about the baseball schedule during the next week or so. I find that, unfortunately, most of the games will be played away from Washington during that period (games were scheduled for this weekend, which of course conflicted with your trip to New York).

On Monday, September 4, there will be a "double header", i.e. two games for the price of one. Because September 4 is an American holiday (Labor Day) these games will be played in the afternoon. I understand that it has not yet been announced whether they will begin at 1:30 p.m. or 3:00 p.m.

Beginning Friday, September 8, games are scheduled for three days. On September 8 and 9 (Friday and Saturday) the games will be played at 8:30 p.m. On September 10 (Sunday) there will be a double header at 1:30 p.m.

The next succeeding games will not be until September 16 (Saturday) and September 17 (Sunday). That scheduled for September 16 will begin at 8:30 p.m. and that scheduled for September 17 will begin either at 1:30 p.m. or 3:00 p.m.

The above schedule is for games played by the Washington American League team, known popularly as the Senators. Their opponents will be the Boston Red Sox and the Philadelphia Athletics. All the games listed will be played at Griffith Stadium which is located at 7th and Florida Avenue.

I have asked Lt. Holdsworth to communicate next week with Mrs. Gibbs at the Embassy in order to learn whether there are any arrangements we can make to facilitate any plans you or others of the British group may wish to make for attending one or more of these games. I assume that Mrs. Gibbs will get in touch with you and other members of the British group to find out what your plans may be in this connection.

CH

AH:FR

15. Copy of a letter and schedule of baseball games to be played in Washington, D.C., at Griffith Stadium, from Alger Hiss to Sir William Malkin, dated 26 August 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

SCHEDULE OF BASEBALL GAMES TO BE PLAYED IN WASHINGTON
AT GRIFFITH STADIUM, 7TH AND FLORIDA AVENUE

<u>Date</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Time</u>
Monday, Sept. 4	Boston (Red Sox) (double header)	1:30 or 3:00 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 8	Philadelphia (Athletics)	8:30 p.m.
Saturday, Sept. 9	Philadelphia (Athletics)	8:30 p.m.
Sunday, Sept. 10	Philadelphia (Athletics) (double header)	1:30 p.m.
Saturday, Sept. 16	Boston (Red Sox)	8:30 p.m.
Sunday, Sept. 17	Boston (Red Sox)	1:30 or 3:00 p.m.



16. Arrival of the Soviet delegation in Washington. Left to right: Valentin M. Berezhkov; Mikhail M. Yunin; Semen K. Zarapkin; Prof. Sergei B. Krylov; Prof. Grigori G. Golbin; Arkadii A. Sobolev; Andrei A. Gromyko; Prof. Sergei A. Golunsky; Major General Nikolai V. Slavin; Rear Admiral Konstantin K. Rodionov. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



17. Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet ambassador to the United States and his wife are welcomed upon their arrival in Washington by the chairmen of the American and British delegations. Left to right: Madame Gromyko; Ambassador Gromyko; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



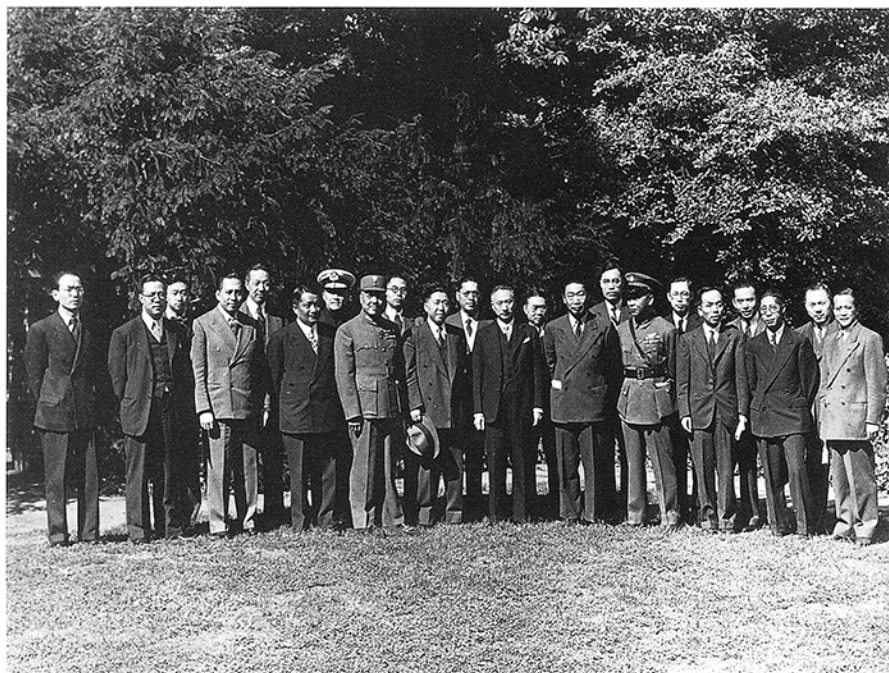
18. The chairmen of the Soviet, American, and British delegations to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. Left to right: Andrei A. Gromyko; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



19. Members of the British delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations arrive by plane in Washington from New York on 12 August 1944. Left to right: Earl of Halifax; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Sir R. I. Campbell. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



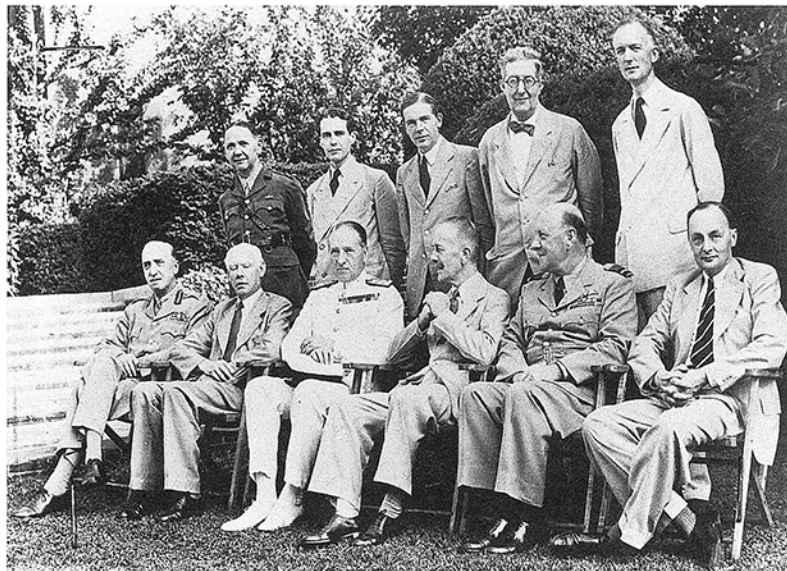
20. Members of the British delegation arrive in Washington for preliminary discussions. Left to right: Peter Loxley; Sir R. I. Campbell; Sir William Malkin; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Earl of Halifax; Gladwynn Jebb; Prof. Charles K. Webster; A. H. Poynton; Colonel Denis Capel-Dunn. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



21. Members of the Chinese delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)



22. Members of the American delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations in front of the Music Room, 19 August 1944. Seated (left to right): Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn; Breckinridge Long; Dr. Isaiah Bowman; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Henry P. Fletcher; Joseph C. Grew; Lieutenant General Stanley D. Embick. Standing (left to right): James Clement Dunn; Leo Pasvolosky; Edwin C. Wilson; Green H. Hackworth; Benjamin V. Cohen; Vice Admiral Russell Willson; Rear Admiral Harold C. Train; Major General George V. Strong; Major General Muir S. Fairchild; Stanley K. Hornbeck. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



23. Members of the British delegation to the first phase of the Conversations in the garden of Dumbarton Oaks. Seated (left to right): Lieutenant General Gordon N. Macready; Sir William Malkin; Admiral Sir Percy Noble; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Air Marshal Sir William L. Welsh; Gladwynn Jebb. Standing (left to right): Colonel Denis Capel-Dunn; Paul Falla; A. H. Poynton; Prof. Charles K. Webster; Peter Loxley. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

✓

DRAFT MEMORANDUM

Pass Procedure for Admittance to Dumbarton Oaks

Numbered passes of white cardboard, embossed with the State Department seal and providing space for the name, nationality, and signature of the bearer, will be issued to all the delegates and their assistants. Separate buff-colored passes have been prepared for the staff of Dumbarton Oaks and for persons rendering special services during the period of the conversations, such as catering, electrical work et cetera. These are being allotted by categories showing on the face of the pass (e.g. Harvard Staff, Library Staff, Household Staff, Watchman, Gardener et cetera) thereby facilitating control of the movements of this personnel by the Military Police, where necessary.

Passes must be shown to the Military Police stationed at the entrance gates to Dumbarton Oaks, and all automobiles will be stopped and the occupants required to show their passes before being allowed to enter. Chauffeurs need not have passes, but they will not be permitted to remain within the grounds with their vehicles. After discharging passengers at the front door, cars must proceed to the street outside the gates where ample parking space will be reserved.

Passes for the various delegations will be reserved according to the following numerical blocks:

No. 1 - 99	-	United States of America
No. 100 - 149	-	United Kingdom
No. 150 - 199	-	U.S.S.R.
No. 200 - 249	-	China

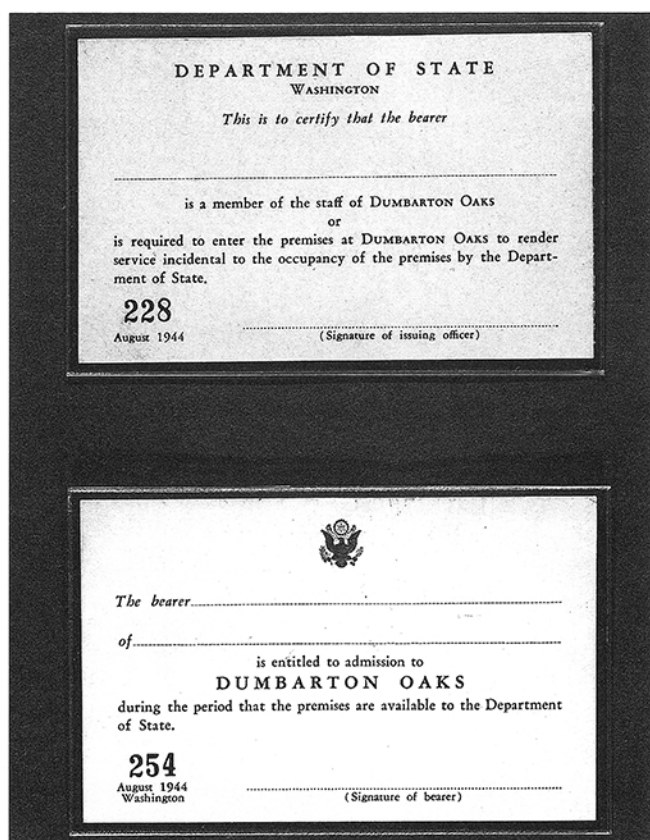
A register containing ledger sheets on which will be listed pass numbers with space along side for the name and signature of the bearer is being prepared, and passes will be issued only from these sheets. It is expected that distribution to the American delegation will take place at Dumbarton Oaks at one of the full meetings prior to the commencement of the conversations. For the foreign delegations ledger sheets with the necessary number of passes will be given to each Embassy. As soon as the conversations begin the issuance of any further passes will be handled from Dumbarton Oaks.

Persons having official business in connection with the conversations who are not so designated at the time passes are distributed can, upon proper identification

and

and authentication by a delegate, obtain at the gate a temporary pass which will be valid until the completion of the official business or a visitor's pass which will be collected upon leaving the premises. Such passes will be plainly stamped to show their temporary nature.

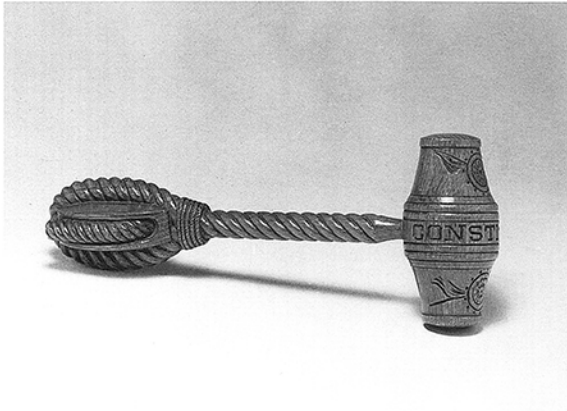
In the event that anyone authorized to attend the conversations should forget his pass he will have to make this known to the Military Police at the gate who will call the central Secretariat from where a representative will be sent to identify and admit him.



25. Admission passes to the premises of Dumbarton Oaks during the Conversations. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

26. Military police guarding the main gate at Dumbarton Oaks during the Conversations. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)





27. Gavel used to open the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on 21 August 1944. The gavel is made of wood from the U.S.S. Constellation, one of the six original frigates authorized by the United States in 1794. The U.S.S. Constellation was the first of the six frigates to go to sea, in June 1798, at the beginning of the undeclared naval war with France. (photo: Dumbarton Oaks House Collection, photographed by Joe Mills)

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THE WASHINGTON CONVERSATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

PROGRAM FOR THE OPENING SESSION

10:30 a.m., August 21, 1944

Opening remarks by the Secretary of State.

Response by Ambassador Gromyko, Chairman of the Russian Group.

Response by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Chairman of the British Group.

Announcements by the Secretary of State.

Adjournment to the terrace for pictures.

Members of the Groups may reach the terrace by going through the glass doors opposite the fireplace and turning to their right. Pictures will be taken of the three Groups separately following a picture of the combined Groups.

Return to the Assembly Hall for pictures of the Groups at work.

After the completion of the pictures on the terrace, members of the three Groups are kindly requested to return to the Assembly Hall to resume their places at the table for motion pictures of a meeting simulating a regular session of the conversations.

28. The Washington Conversations on International Organization, Program for the Opening Session, 21 August 1944. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)



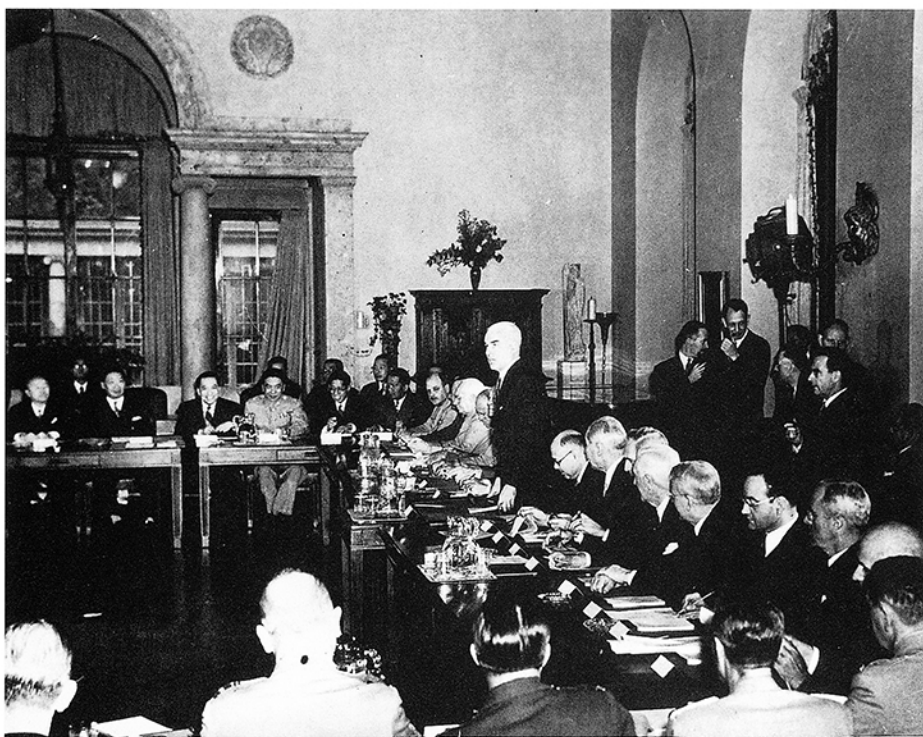
29. Opening session of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. Seated at the center table (left to right): Sir Alexander Cadogan; Earl of Halifax; Cordell Hull; Andrei A. Gromyko; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



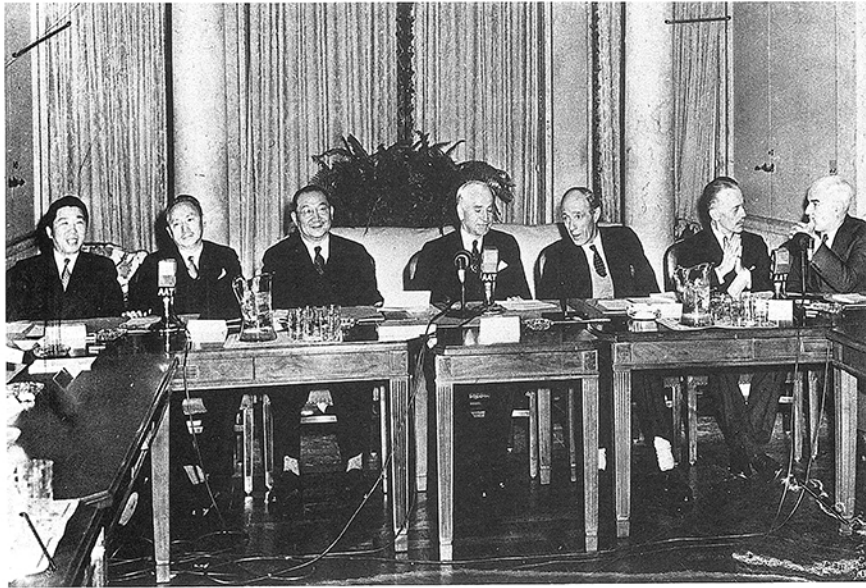
30. Delegation leaders at the opening session of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on 21 August 1944. Left to right: Sir Alexander Cadogan; Earl of Halifax; Cordell Hull; Andrei A. Gromyko; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



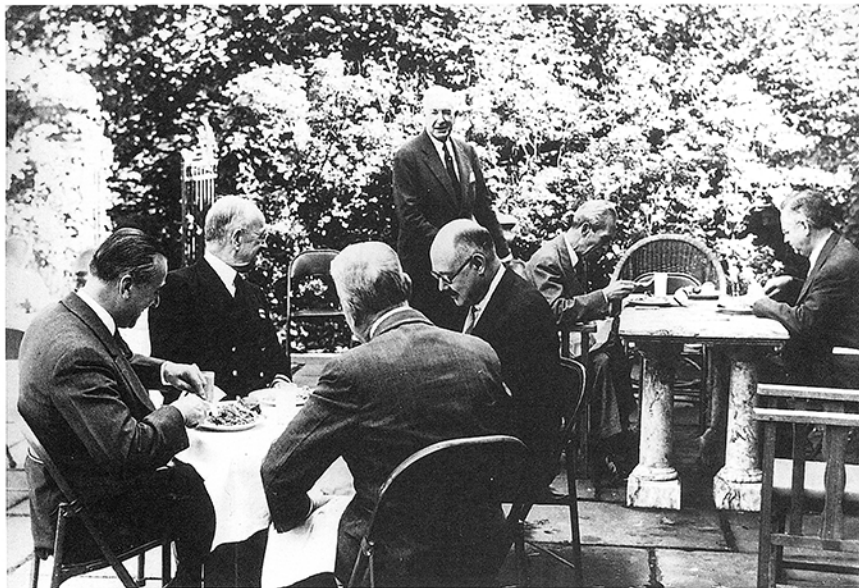
31. Delegates confer during a meeting recess. Left to right: Admiral Sir Percy Noble; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Sir William Malkin; (in background) A. H. Poynton. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)



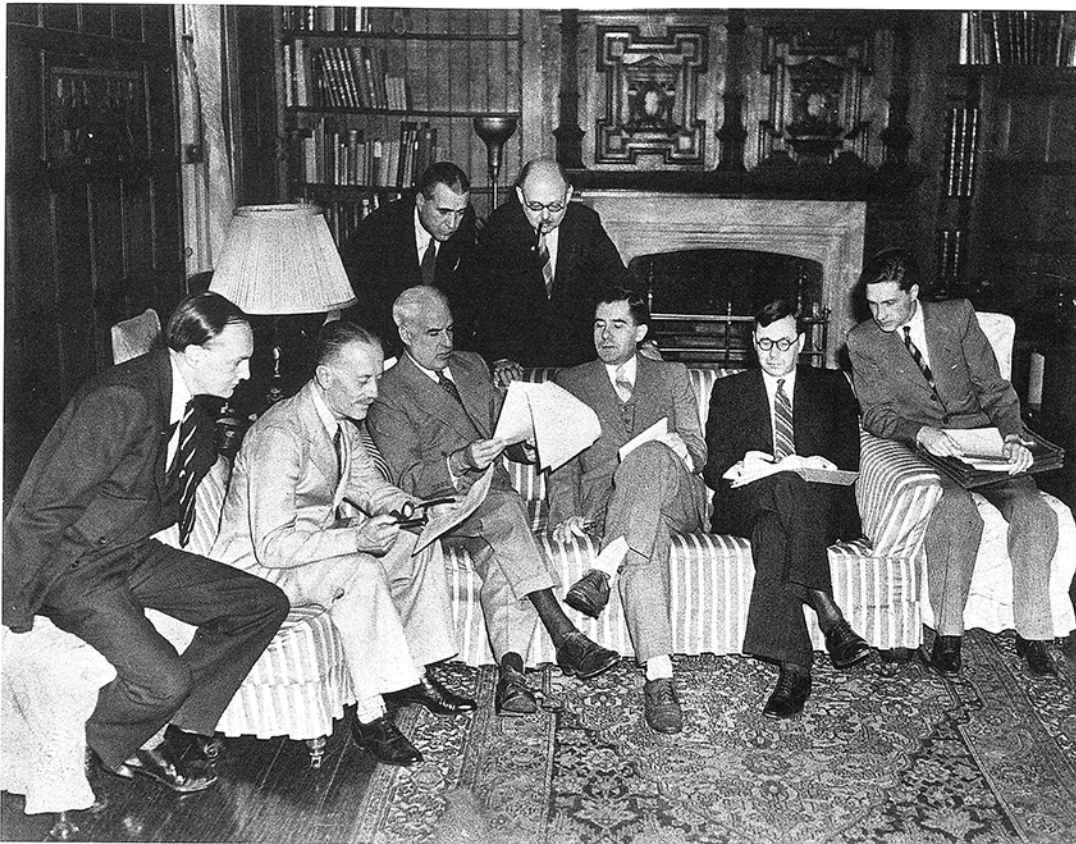
32. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., speaking at a session in the Music Room. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)



33. Leading members of the Chinese delegation at the opening of the second phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, 29 September 1944, together with the American and British delegations. Left to right: Dr. Wei Tao-ming; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; Dr. H. H. Kung; Cordell Hull; Earl of Halifax; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



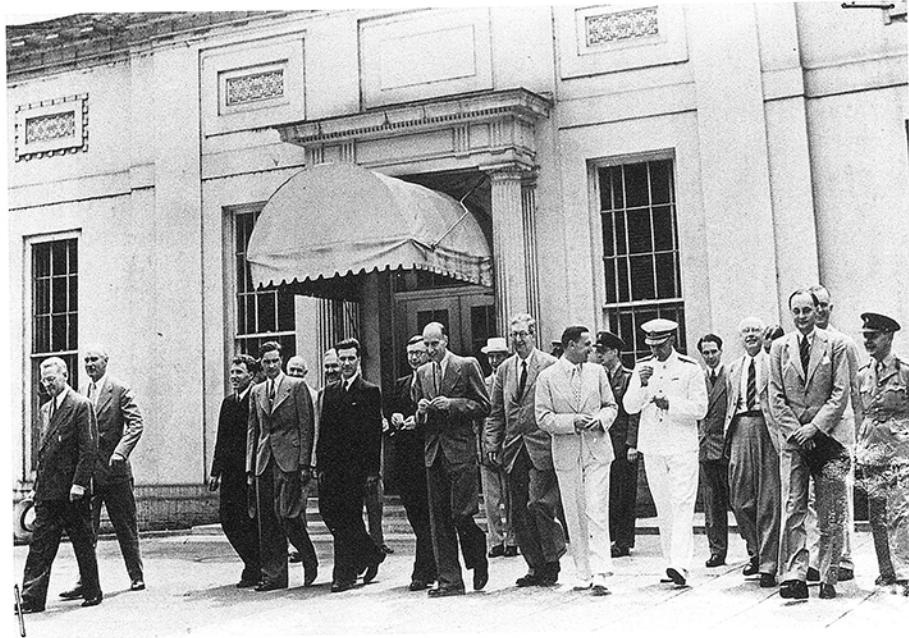
34. Members of the American delegation at luncheon on the terrace at Dumbarton Oaks. In the foreground (left to right): James Clement Dunn; Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn; Dr. Isaiah Bowman; Leo Pasvolsky. In the background (left to right): Henry P. Fletcher; Breckinridge Long; Green H. Hackworth. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)



35. Informal chat at Dumbarton Oaks. Seated (left to right): Peter Loxley; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Andrei A. Gromyko; Arkadii A. Sobolev; Valentin M. Berezhev. Standing (left to right): James Clement Dunn and Leo Pasvolksy. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



36. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (center, standing) informs newspaper reporters about the outcome of the Conversations. Seated at the tables are Andrei A. Gromyko and Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



37. British, Soviet, and American delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations leave the White House after calling on President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 28 August 1944. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



38. Members of the American, British, and Chinese delegations visit the Virginia countryside. Left to right: Joseph C. Grew; Dr. Wei Tao-ming; Sir Alexander Cadogan; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Dr. H. H. Kung; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; Earl of Halifax. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

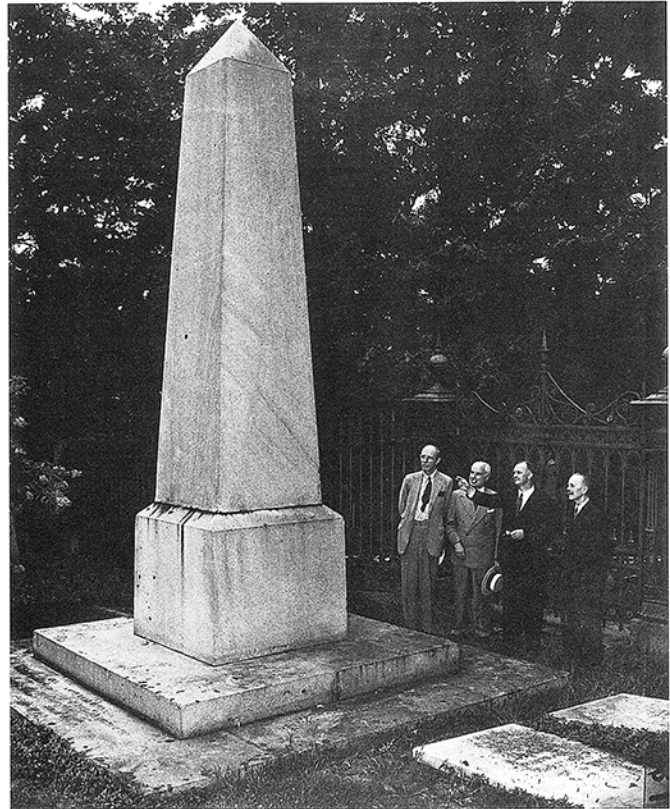


39. At the University of Virginia (left to right): Dr. Wei Tao-ming; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; R. Gray Williams, rector of the University of Virginia; John Newcomb, president of the University of Virginia; Joseph C. Grew; Governor Darden of Virginia; Earl of Halifax; Dr. H. H. Kung; Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



40. At "Horse Shoe," home of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., the guests are shown viewing part of Mr. Stettinius' turkey farm. Left to right: Joey Stettinius; Edward R. Stettinius III; Earl of Halifax; farm manager; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; Wallace Stettinius; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

41. At the grave of Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, Virginia. Left to right: Earl of Halifax; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Governor Colgate of Virginia; Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



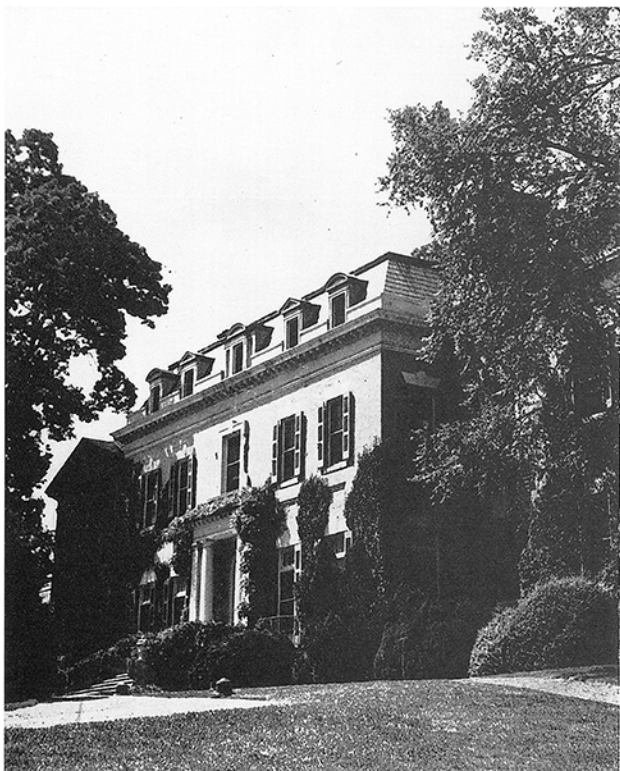
42. At a picnic lunch (left to right): Captain John Creighton, USN; Major General M. F. Grove-White; Major General P. T. Mow. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



43. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., explaining the coat of arms on the coach used by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany at his coronation. To the right: Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo and Sir Alexander Cadogan. (photo: National Archives, Washington, D.C.)



44. After dinner at the home of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (left to right): Sir Alexander Cadogan; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; Earl of Halifax; Mrs. W. J. Wallace, mother of Mr. Stettinius; Joseph C. Grew; Joey and Wallace, twin sons of Mr. Stettinius; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Gladwynn Jebb. (photo: Stettinius Papers [2723], Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library)



WASHINGTON
CONVERSATIONS ON
INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION



DUMBARTON OAKS

1944

45. *Washington Conversations on International Organization, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1944.*
(photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives, photographed by Joe Mills)



The United Nations

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals

for a

General International Organization

To be the subject of

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE at San Francisco, April 25, 1945

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

Chapter I. Purposes

The purposes of the Organization should be:

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

Chapter II. Principles

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I 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. 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 the Charter.

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

4. 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.

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

6. 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.

Chapter III. Membership

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 2297
CONFERENCE SERIES 66

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46. *The United Nations. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a General International Organization.* Department of State Publication 2297, Conference Series 66, Washington, D.C., 1945. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)

Chapter 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.

Chapter V. The General Assembly

SECTION 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.

SECTION B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. 1. 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 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 international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

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

3. 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. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. 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 General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organization and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organization.

6. 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. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the Organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organization.

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

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

SECTION 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.

Chapter VI. The Security Council

SECTION A. COMPOSITION. The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven 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 six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for reelection. 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.

SECTION 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 Chapter VIII.

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 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 Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 9, 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.

[Here follows the text of Section C as proposed at the Crimea Conference:]

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

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of Paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII,

Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.

SECTION 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 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.

Chapter 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 Organization may become parties to the statute of the international court of justice should be deter-



THE UNITED NATIONS

AN ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE



ENCOURAGES NATIONS TO COOPERATE

Seeks solutions to pressing political, economic, and social problems and helps nations to cooperate in solving them.



PROMOTES PROSPERITY

Helps nations work together for post-war reconstruction, increased trade, dependable money, and economic development.



ADVANCES SOCIAL PROGRESS

Helps nations to raise standards of living, health, and education to achieve a richer life for all.



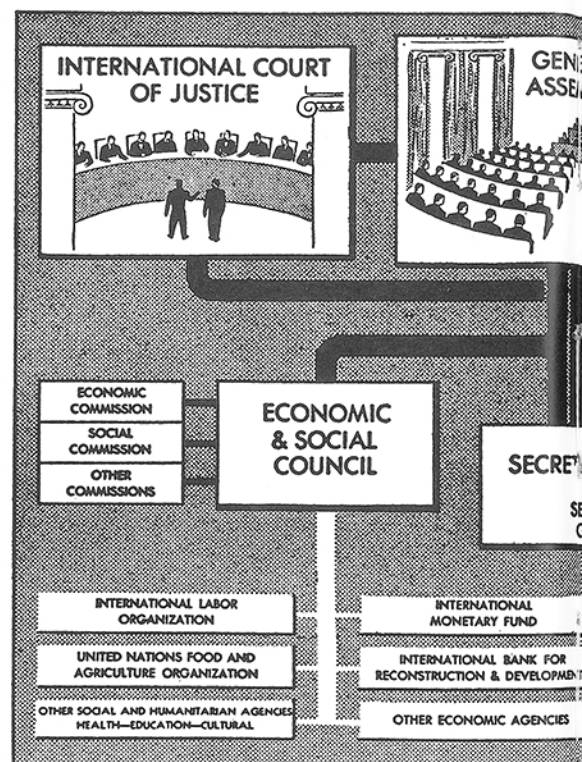
FOSTERS FREEDOMS

Cultivates respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to insure the free flow of knowledge essential to material and spiritual growth.



COORDINATES INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Assures coordination and cooperation among the international organizations working on vital problems.



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION P

The Proposals were recommended to their governments by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, USSR, and



ADMITS NEW MEMBERS TO UNITED NATIONS

Brings in new member nations and, if necessary in the interests of peace, expels members or suspends their rights and privileges.

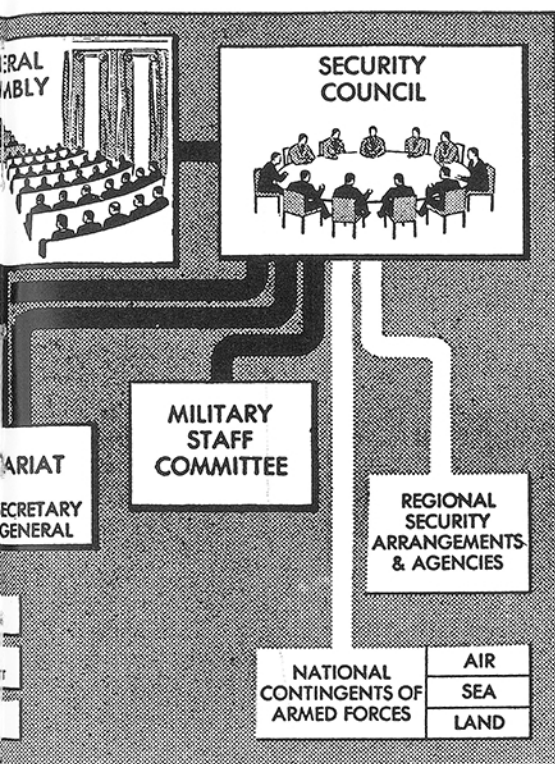


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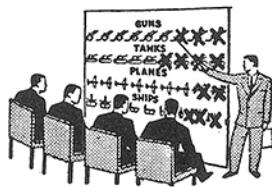


PROPOSED AT DUMBARTON OAKS

China and released on October 9, 1944. They are offered for full discussion by the governments and peoples of the United Nations.



INFORMATION
LIBRARIAN



MAKES PLANS TO CONTROL ARMAMENTS
Elaborates plans for the regulation and limitation of armaments.



INVESTIGATES DISPUTES BETWEEN NATIONS
Finds out about differences or disputes between nations that might lead to international friction or cause a threat to the peace.



SEEKS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS
Urges nations to settle their disputes by peaceful means, including appeal to the International Court of Justice.



DECIDES ON MEASURES TO KEEP THE PEACE
Security Council decides what steps should be taken if a dispute continues and war is threatened.



TAKES POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTION
Cuts off trade, communication and diplomatic relations with nations threatening the peace. Member nations cooperate as requested.



TAKES MILITARY ACTION
As a last resort, uses armed contingents of United Nations to keep or restore the peace. Military Staff Committee advises on best use of forces.

mined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter VIII. Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security Including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression

SECTION 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 obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

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

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, 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. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 6 of Section 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.

SECTION B. DETERMINATION OF THREATS TO THE PEACE OR ACTS OF AGGRESSION 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 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, 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 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, blockade 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. 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.

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 in paragraph 5 above.

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 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 paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established 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 the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. 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 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 a 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.

SECTION C. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. 1. Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for 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.

2. 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.

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

Chapter IX. Arrangements for International Economic and Social Cooperation

SECTION 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 and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

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 by the General Assembly.

SECTION 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.

SECTION 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;

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

SECTION D. ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE. 1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and 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.

Chapter 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.

Chapter 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 by a majority of the other members of the Organization.

Chapter XII. Transitional Arrangements

1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, the states parties to that Declaration 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.

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

Note

In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 7, 1944 [Released October 9, 1944]

NATIONAL POLICY MEMORANDA
NUMBER THIRTY-FOUR

MEMORANDUM
OF THE
WASHINGTON DINNER
ON
THE
DUMBARTON OAKS
PROPOSAL



1944
THE NATIONAL POLICY COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

47. *Memorandum of the Washington Dinner on The Dumbarton Oaks Proposal*, National Policy Memoranda Number 34, The National Policy Committee, Washington, D.C., 1944. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)

"Oaks" Proposals Democratic

CONFERENCE THEME IN PLEA FOR SUPPORT

MANY conferences and other meetings are being held these days for consideration of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Among the largest of these recently was an all-day conference of six major peace and religious organizations in New York on November 10.

The conference was held under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Church Peace Union, the National Peace Conference and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the League of Nations Association, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Active Support Pledged

A resolution adopted pledged "heartly support of these proposals, and at the same time express our determination to go on with our discussion of ways and means by which those matters that were left over for the future conference can be completed. In particular we urge a full recognition of the smaller nations."

It further asked for more emphasis on human rights and ways and means to "influence individual nations to grant justice to their minority groups." The resolution appealed to "all peace-loving people in our country" to join in making the campaign on behalf of the principles of peace a successful reality.

In its resolution the conference pointed out that "it seems important for the nations to give greater attention to the needs of people in dependent and backward areas. We urge that the whole scheme of mandated territories and the continuance of colonial systems be brought under close scrutiny and better control by the international organization."

The establishment of an "International Bureau of Education" was recommended to "serve as a clearing-house for all questions pertaining to education, information and cultural relations. This should include such questions as the use of the radio, freedom of the press, the control of news gathering agencies and other press services. Hope for the success of any kind of world organization will be strengthened by opening channels for the freer flow of accurate information from nation to nation."

The resolution also asked that churches and synagogues assist in gaining the support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, "as the next concrete step toward the establishment of a more perfect system of world organization."

Gerig Address

Benjamin Gerig, assistant chief of the Division of International Security and Organization, said in a major address at the conference:

"I would like to stress the essentially democratic character of the proposed international organization. I realize that there is some discussion that in one major respect the Organization, by reason of the fact that very special and heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security are laid upon the Great Powers, departs from this democratic basis.

"The maintenance of security must inevitably be a

special responsibility of those states which have the capacity and the will to contribute effectively to it. The Security Council, therefore, would be organized in such a way that enforcement action may be taken promptly and effectively.

"The place of the permanent members of the Security Council is not one of *domination* but rather one of *leadership and responsibility* flowing from the position of these powers in the world.

Machinery Well Defined

"I think it will be generally agreed that in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals the security machinery is much more fully developed and laid out in a more detailed and well-defined manner than in any previous plan. Promptness of action is rendered more likely by placing responsibility for action in one organ alone without the possibility of shifting it to another venue, as for example, the General Assembly.

"Furthermore, in developing a Military Staff Committee composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council there is an extension of the experience which has proved, even in a limited way, to be so successful in this war. And finally, by making it possible to utilize regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action taken under the authority of the Security Council there is a further promise that the security objectives of the new Proposals can be more successfully and efficiently carried into effect.

"A third feature of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is the wide scope which is given to machinery and activity for the creation of the conditions which in the longer view will make for greater prosperity and well-being and thus take away the occasion for war. Repressive measures alone would not appeal to the moral conscience or the intelligence of mankind. Positive and constructive forms of international cooperation for the benefit of all have long been regarded by all the principal faiths of the world as essential to an orderly and civilized world.

All Have Full Share

"While responsibility for maintaining peace is equally shared by all states, not all states are in an equal posi-

(Continued on Page 4)

CHANGING WORLD

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J. WILLIAM TERRY, Associate Editor

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VOL. 16 DECEMBER, 1944 No. 11

(Continued from Page 3)

ceeded in the establishment of another agency of the United Nations.

On the last day of the conference an incident took place which may indicate a greater sense of international responsibility and self-abnegation upon the part of nations. India, containing at least one-sixth of the earth's population and of great potential importance, failed to secure enough votes for a place on the council of twenty-one. Norway then offered to yield her place to India. Whereupon Cuba yielded so that Norway and India could both have seats in the council. The Cuban delegate said that his government's interest would be adequately protected by other Latin American countries on the council. Such a spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice for the larger interest of the world community is the most encouraging example for the conduct of nations at future conferences.

In case anyone is inclined to be pessimistic over the fact that the aviation conference could not achieve complete agreement, he should be reminded that in the last war no attempt was made to create agencies of world cooperation until the Peace Conference. The steps that the United Nations have taken when the end of the war is not yet in sight, for the building of the agencies of human welfare for the future is amazing indeed. What is needed now is for the central United Nations body to be created. Every reason dictates the setting up of the United Nations organization outlined at Dumbarton Oaks at the earliest practical moment.

(Continued from Page 2)

tion to discharge this responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. But when it comes to facilitating solutions of economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, particularly in the field of educational and cultural activity, the distinction between large capacity and power and smaller capacity and power tends to disappear.

"I should like to call your attention to a phrase which will deserve your steadfast interest, namely, that the Organization should 'promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.' It has now become apparent to almost everyone that the present conflict is, in a very important degree, the result of a denial of those human rights and fundamental freedoms without which political liberty and the human conscience must ever be stultified. Territorial considerations will have their important place in the eventual peace settlements but who can doubt that such a peace would be ephemeral so long as human beings were denied those rights and freedoms which are necessary to life itself and which we, as Americans, will always regard as the very basis of our national existence?"

"The implementation of this provision will be slow and undoubtedly difficult and it would be impossible to forecast at this time all the ways and means for carrying it into effect. Its implementation must vary according to circumstances and places. States are rightly jealous of their domestic jurisdiction. The experience of the League of Nations with the minorities treaties shows how difficult it is to apply regulations which are not by treaty universally applicable. The American Law Institute in this country has attempted to foreshadow the content of what might be called an international 'Bill of Rights' by which minimum standards might be agreed to by all subscribing nations.

"The determination of the best machinery for the application of this principle is left for the future but just as some of the sentiments in the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States proved to be so far-reaching in our history so it may well be that the doctrine of promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms may emerge as one of the chief cornerstones of the new edifice."

Step Towards World Air Force?

WHILE commentators' statements that the 20th Air Force was indeed a world air force were exaggerations, it is a fact that control of the 20th is rather close to the Allies' Combined Chiefs of Staff.

In a letter to CHANGING WORLD, Major Richard G. Elliott, special assistant, Air Forces Group, wrote:

"The Twentieth Air Force is an instrument of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and, we believe, this fact probably occasioned the reference to 'some sort of international control.' World-wide conduct of the war is, of course, directed by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and the American part of the worldwide effort is directed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Subject to the policies of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Twentieth is directed by its Commanding General, General H. H. Arnold, who also is Commanding General of the Army Air Forces.

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff include Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, and General Arnold.

"Ground and air crews assigned to the B-29 include only personnel of the Army Air Forces."

First Blow at U.S.

Joseph C. Grew, Under Secretary of State, said recently:

"Army and Navy leaders are agreed that if any aggressor again attempts world conquest, this nation will be attacked first of all. We shall be hit suddenly, by surprise, and hard. We can never again expect that other nations will take the first shock and hold off the enemy until we can arm."

Dallas and Salina

Dallas played host to the thirty-fifth in a series of Institutes held in principal cities throughout the country. Sponsored by ten national and forty local organizations, The Texas Institute on World Peace Problems based its program on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Religious leaders, educators, industrialists and two representatives of the State Department, were among the speakers at the meetings on December 12 and 13.

In reporting the meetings, the Dallas Morning News said in part: "As a result of the institute a good many people have a better idea of the problems that confront us in the establishment of a permanent peace and what needs to be done to meet them."

Under the title, "Kansas Council for the United Nations," a statewide organization was formed December 15, following an all-day Institute held at Salina. Dean Francis W. Palmer is Director of the Council, which will work for wholehearted support of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1944

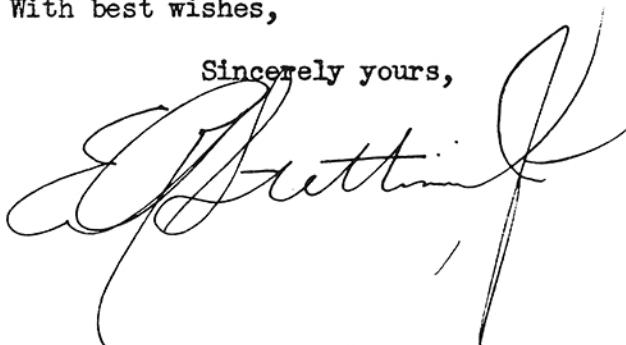
Dear Commander Thacher,

I greatly appreciate your many kindnesses and courtesies extended to the participants and personnel during the world security conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

Everything worked out perfectly, and I want you to have this personal word of thanks for your efforts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. Stettinius, Jr.", with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the signature.

Lieutenant Commander John S. Thacher
Executive Officer
Dumbarton Oaks
Washington, D. C.

49. Thank you letter from Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., to John S. Thacher, 6 October 1944. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1944

" 7

Dear Bob,

You will always be associated in my memory with one of the most thrilling experiences of my life. Although the past few weeks have been ones of pressure and strain, the burden has been made ever so much lighter by the permeating hospitality and charm of Dumbarton Oaks.

You will be able to reflect with pride that the success of the preliminary world security conversations has been due in no small measure to the comfortable and congenial surroundings under which the talks were held.

In appreciation of your unique contribution to permanent world peace, and with kindest regards,

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'E. Stettinius, Jr.', with a large, stylized 'E' and a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

The Honorable
Robert W. Bliss
1537 Twenty-eighth Street
Washington, D. C.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Stettinius:

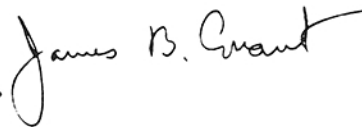
It was very good of you to write me at the conclusion of the conferences held at Dumbarton Oaks. Harvard University is proud and honored to have had the opportunity of making this estate available to the United States Government for such a momentous gathering.

May I take this occasion to congratulate you on the success of these meetings which I am sure will be landmarks in the history of the world.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable E. R. Stettinius, Jr.
The Under Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "James B. Conant". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "J".

51. Letter from James B. Conant to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., 11 October 1944. Response to Stettinius' letter regarding the close of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL
Washington, D. C.

November 1, 1944

To: **Bliss, Robert Woods**

The Secretary of State has approved the following action concerning your employment in the Department of State:

Nature of Action: **Reassignment:**

Effective Date: **October 16, 1944**

	From:	To:
Position	Consultant	Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
Grade & Salary	\$1,00 per annum	\$1.00 per annum
Division	Office of the Secretary of State	Office of the Secretary of State
Section		
Unit		
Headquarters	D.C.	D.C.
Departmental or Field	Departmental	Departmental

Remarks:

Excepted employee.

By direction of the Secretary of State:

Chief, Division of Departmental Personnel

52. Department of State personnel record, 1 November 1944. Reassignment of Robert Woods Bliss as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State at salary of \$1 per annum. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)

REV. F. BLAND TUCKER
3238 O STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

12/13/44

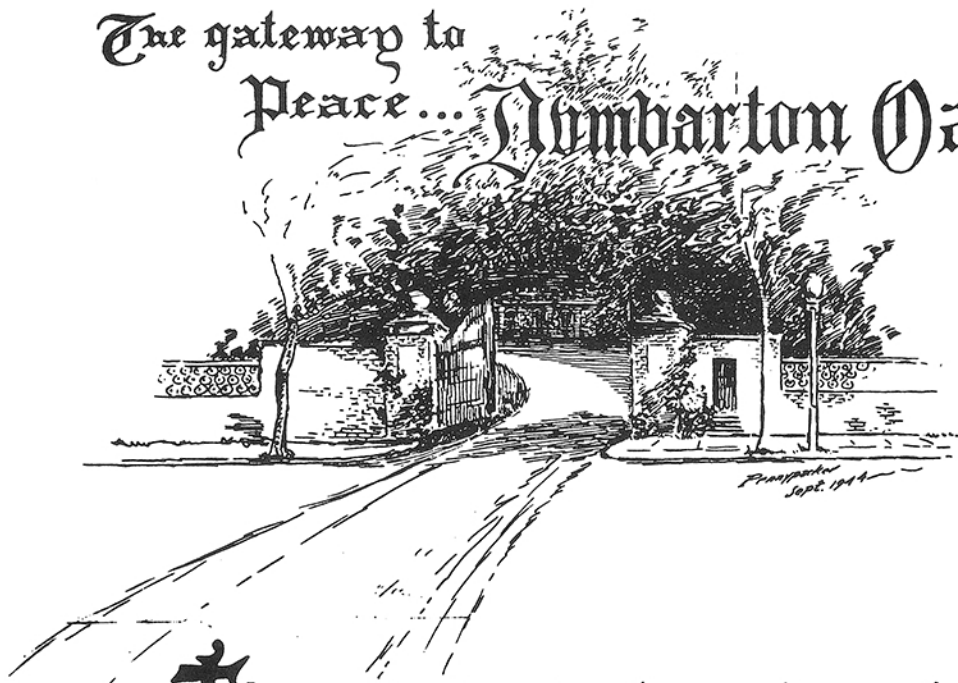
My dear Mrs Bliss.

I hope you will
excuse the way this is sent.
but it was made by someone
who is attending this church
while they are in Washington,
and I thought you would
like to see it. It carries
our best wishes for a
very happy Christmas to
you both.

Cordially yours
Polly Tucker

53. "The Gateway to Peace . . . Dumbarton Oaks," Christmas card, with a note to Mildred Bliss from Mrs. F. Bland Tucker, 13 December 1944. (photo: courtesy of Harvard University Archives)

The gateway to Peace... *Wombarton Oaks*



THAT men from four major nations, comprising more than half the world's population, should confer here, seeking a solution for earth's most serious problem—war—is hopeful. Like the Three Wise Men, these peoples traveled a long journey toward the Star. They sought Peace. And seeking it in all earnestness, they will find it! When Christian fellowship reveals itself in practical world brotherhood, humanity will have reached that Star. In the birthplace of a league for international amity will be discovered the manger in which Peace will be born. God grant that Peace may be born in our hearts this Christmas day. : : : : :

*X'mas
Greetings*



UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION
SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

15th June, 1945.

My dear Mr. Thacher,

Thank you so much for your letter of June 13th.
I will certainly pass to the members of our
Delegation your very kind invitation to pay a visit
to Dumbarton Oaks on their way back to England.
I am quite sure that such a visit would be of
great interest to any of them who have not been
there already.

Yours sincerely,

Halifax

Mr. John S. Thacher,
International Secretariat,
Veterans Building.

54. Letter from the Earl of Halifax to John S. Thacher, 15 June 1945. (photo: Dumbarton Oaks Archives)

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS, 1944

In the following, the most important participants in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations (members of the delegations, advisers, etc.) are listed.

Paul Alling
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Joseph W. Ballantine
Deputy Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (US)

Valentin M. Berezikov
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Charles E. Bohlen
Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs (US)

Dr. Isaiah Bowman
President of Johns Hopkins University, Special Adviser to the Secretary of State (US)

John M. Cabot
Chief of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs (US)

Sir Alexander Cadogan
Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the British delegation,
first phase (UK)

Sir R. I. Campbell (UK)

Colonel Denis Capel-Dunn
Military Assistant to the Secretary of War Cabinet (UK)

F. Y. Chai
Secretary (C)

General Shang Chen
Chief, Military Mission in Washington (C)

Dr. C. Y. Cheng
Adviser (C)

Dr. Liu Chieh
Minister-Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Washington (C)

Dr. Chang Chung-fu
Director, Department of American Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (C)

A. W. Clarke
Adviser (UK)

Benjamin V. Cohen
General Counsel of the Office of War Mobilization (US)

Grigori G. Dolbin
Protocol Section, Foreign Ministry (SU)

James Clement Dunn
Director of the Office of European Affairs (US)

Lieutenant General Stanley D. Embick
Head of the Joint Strategic Survey Committee in the Joint Chiefs of Staff (US)

Major General Muir S. Fairchild
Army Member of the Joint Strategic Survey Committee in the Joint Chiefs of Staff (US)

Paul Falla
Economic and Reconstruction Department, Foreign Office (UK)

Henry P. Fletcher
Special Adviser to the Secretary of State (US)

Berkeley Gage
Adviser (UK)

O. Benjamin Gerig
Assistant Chief of the Division of International Security and Organization (US)

Prof. Sergei A. Golunsky
Soviet Foreign Ministry (SU)

P. H. Gore-Booth
Adviser (UK)

Joseph C. Grew
Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (US)

Andrei A. Gromyko
Ambassador to the United States, Chairman of the Soviet delegation (SU)

Major General M. F. Grove-White
Assistant to Lieutenant General Gordon N. Macready (UK)

Green H. Hackworth
Legal Adviser (US)

Earl of Halifax (Edward F. L. Wood)
Ambassador to the United States, Chairman of the British delegation, second phase (UK)

Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn
Chairman of the General Board, Navy Department (US)

John D. Hickerson
Chief of the Division of British Commonwealth Affairs (US)

Alger Hiss
Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs (US)

Dr. Victor Chi-tsai Hoo
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs (C)

Stanley K. Hornbeck
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State (US)

Dr. C. L. Hsia
Adviser (C)

C. K. Hsieh
Secretary (C)

Poe Hsueh-Feng
Counselor of the Supreme Defense Council (C)

Cordell Hull
Secretary of State (US)

Chen Hung-chen
Adviser (C)

Gladwynn Jebb
Counselor, Foreign Office (UK)

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo
Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Chairman of the Chinese delegation (C)

Prof. Sergei B. Krylov
Professor of International Law, Moscow University (SU)

Dr. H. H. Kung
Vice Premier and Minister of Finance (C)

Dr. Kan Lee
Commercial Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Washington (C)

Dr. Mon Sheng Lin
Secretary (C)

Breckinridge Long
Assistant Secretary of State (US)

Peter Loxley
Private Secretary to Sir Alexander Cadogan (UK)

A. R. K. Mackenzie
Press Officer (UK)

Lieutenant General Gordon N. Macready
Military Mission in Washington (UK)

Sir William Malkin
Legal Adviser, Foreign Office (UK)

Michael McDermott
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State (US)

Major General P. T. Mow
Director of the Washington Office of the Commission on Aeronautical Affairs (C)

Admiral Sir Percy Noble
Military Mission in Washington (UK)

Harley A. Notter
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Fedor T. Orekhov
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Leo Pasvolsky
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A. H. Poynton
Colonial Office (UK)

Hayden Raynor
Special Assistant to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (US)

Rear Admiral Konstantin K. Rodionov
Chief, Administrative Division of Navy Ministry (SU)

C. Easton Rothwell
Executive Secretary of the Post-War Programs Committee (US)

Durward V. Sandifer
Assistant Chief of the Division of International Security and Organization (US)

Sir George Sansom
Adviser (UK)

Major General Chu Shih-ming
Military Attaché of the Chinese Embassy in Washington (C)

Major General Nikolai V. Slavin
Soviet General Staff, Liaison Officer with Allied Military Missions in Moscow (SU)

Arkadii A. Sobolev
Minister-Counselor of Soviet Embassy in London (SU)

T. L. Soong
Delegate, United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference (C)

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Under Secretary of State, Chairman of the American delegation (US)

Major General George V. Strong
Senior Army Member of the Joint Post-War Committee in the Joint Chiefs of Staff (US)

Dr. S. H. Tan
Adviser (C)

Dr. Wei Tao-ming
Ambassador to the United States (C)

Rear Admiral Liu Ten-fu
Naval Attaché of the Chinese Embassy in Washington (C)

Rear Admiral Harold C. Train
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Tswen-ling Tsui
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Mikhail M. Yunin
Secretary (SU)

Semen K. Zarapkin
Head, American Section of Foreign Ministry (SU)

C = China
SU = Soviet Union
UK = United Kingdom
US = United States

