



CHATHAM HOUSE

---

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE: A Short Summary of the Proceedings

Source: *Chronology of International Events and Documents*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 19–July 9, 1945), pp. 17–19

Published by: [Royal Institute of International Affairs](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40544820>

Accessed: 28/03/2011 13:02

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=riia>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



Royal Institute of International Affairs is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Chronology of International Events and Documents*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

own constitution. They must also set up an agency for constant and thorough interchange of thought and ideas between nations. Fascism and Hitlerism were not yet dead, and the forces of tyranny all over the world were still trying to divide the United Nations, but, the President said, "the United Nations will remain united". Their duty now was to transform the written Charter into action.

## THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

### A Short Summary of the Proceedings

*June 19.*—The three technical committees completed their work, two meetings of the public commission were held, and the Big Five met again to discuss the extent of the General Assembly's powers to discuss international affairs.

A resolution moved by the Mexican delegate, Señor Luis Quintanilla, prohibiting all States "whose régimes have been established with the help of enemy military forces" from becoming members of the new world organization was adopted by acclamation in committee, after supporting speeches by delegates from France, Belgium, Australia, White Russia, the Ukraine, Uruguay, and the U.S.A. Señor Quintanilla made an impassioned attack against Franco Spain. He declared that republican Spain was one of the first victims of international Fascism, and described it as "our first fighting ally". He quoted messages from Gen. Franco to Hitler and Mussolini sent at a time when Nazism and Fascism were at their zenith, and maintained that such a voice must never be heard in the councils of either the Security Council or the Assembly.

Earlier in the day a declaration approved by the Big Five was made public denying membership of the new organization to the Axis Powers. It was introduced to the conference by the Greek delegation. The committee considering it voted by 17 to 5 against its incorporation in the Charter, but unanimously for its adoption and inclusion in the Conference records.

The trusteeship committee completed its work by drafting a plan for a separate trusteeship council of the world organization to establish social and political principles for the administration of dependent and mandated territories. Arrangements for Great Britain, the U.S.A., Russia, and France to act collectively to maintain peace until the establishment of the world organization also passed the committee stage.

*June 20.*—A satisfactory settlement was reached between the Big Five and Dr. Evatt concerning the powers of discussion and recommendation belonging to the General Assembly. It was agreed that "the General Assembly has the right to discuss any questions or matters within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the Charter and (except as provided elsewhere) to make recommendations to members of the United Nations or to the Security Council, or both, on any such questions or matters".

The Assembly, however, would not have the right to make recommendations on a dispute under consideration by the Security Council.

The Commission approved the organizational plans for the Security Council, the voting procedure, and the chapter concerning trusteeship.

*June 21.*—The conference co-ordinating committee finished its work on the text of the Charter. Opening the discussion on the Charter, Gen. Smuts said that this scheme differed very much in scope from that of the League Covenant. The principle of trusteeship now applied to all dependent territories. Under the new system there were quite serious obligations, and if these were carried out, colonial administration would be levelled up all over the world. The trusteeship council would see that the obligations assumed by countries towards dependent territories were carried out.

*June 22.*—At a meeting of the steering committee, the Russian delegate suggested that the interim commission charged with winding up the affairs of the League of Nations and with making arrangements for the first meeting of the General Assembly of the new organization should sit in London. The proposal was adopted.

A resolution opening assembly meetings to press and public, except in exceptional circumstances, was unanimously adopted by one of the commissions.

*June 23.*—The text of the charter was completed by the co-ordinating committee.

*June 25.*—President Truman arrived in San Francisco. Senator Vandenburg said in a statement that the Charter was the world's only hope of maintaining collective security, and that he would make every effort to secure its ratification in the Senate "with reasonable speed".

The tenth plenary session of the conference unanimously approved the World Charter of Security together with the statute of the Court of International Justice and the establishment of the Preparatory Commission. The vote was taken by the leaders of the various delegations standing in their places.

*June 26.*—The delegates affixed their signatures to the Charter, and the last plenary session of the Conference was held during which speeches were made by the principal delegates and President Truman.

Lord Halifax said that the Charter was a notable advance on the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The future would no doubt acknowledge the part of all the United Nations, not least that of the different members of the British Commonwealth, in framing it. They could not claim either that the work done was perfect or that an unbreakable guarantee of peace had been created; but they had forged the means whereby peace could be attained, if men were ready to make sacrifices. The Conference was only the beginning of a "long challenging endeavour". Time alone would show whether the foundations were solid. Mr. Stettinius said that every nation represented at the Conference had taken a part in framing the Charter. They had spoken freely with each other, and had often disagreed. When they disagreed, they tried again, until the differences were reconciled. "This is the way of friendship and of peace", said Mr. Stettinius. "This is the way that nations of

free men can make a Charter for peace and the only way that they can live at peace with one another.”

Mr. Gromyko, the leader of the Soviet delegation, said that the Charter proved the Conference to have been a success. Without co-operation the allied Powers would not have carried out so successfully the task of defeating Germany. Such co-operation was equally necessary to preserve peace. He was confident that their efforts would benefit all peace-loving peoples. M. Paul-Boncour, leader of the French delegation, said that the obligation of all member-States to help in suppressing aggression was clearly established in the Charter. The international organization would no longer be unarmed against violence.

Dr. Wellington Koo welcomed the incorporation in the Charter of new features absent from the Dumbarton Oaks draft. Gen. Smuts said that, although the Charter was not perfect, it was a very real advance on all previous plans for security against war. It provided for a peace with teeth, for the unity of peace-loving peoples against future aggressors, for unity among the greatest Powers, backed by the forces of the smaller Powers. It also provided for regional and local security schemes.

## CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

### FULL TEXT OF DOCUMENT SIGNED AT SAN FRANCISCO

THE full text of the Charter is as follows:

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and by the accepting of principles and the institution of methods to insure that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and by the employment of international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.