Conference Report. The following is the letter of transmittal to the President from Edward R. Stettinius Jr., chairman of the United States delegation, summarizing the report to the President on the results of the San Francisco conference:

"The United Nations conference on international organization met in San Francisco on the 25th day of April 1945. At that time the war in Europe had lasted for more than five years; the war in the Pacific for more than three; the war in China for almost eight. Casualties of a million men, dead, wounded, captured, and missing has been suffered by the United States alone. The total military casualties of the nations which had fought the European war were estimated at some fourteen millions dead and forty-five millions wounded or captured without count of the civilian dead and maimed and missing - a multitude of men, women, and children greater than the whole number of inhabitants of many populous countries. The destruction among them all of houses and the furniture of houses, of factories, schools, shops, cities, churches, libraries, works of art, monuments of the past, reached inexpressible values. Of the destruction of other and less tangible things, it is not possible to speak in terms of cost - families scattered by the war, minds and spirits broken, work interrupted, years lost from the lives of a generation.

Thirty years before the San Francisco conference was called, many of the nations represented there had fought another war of which the cost in destruction had been less only than that of the present conflict. Total military casualties in the war of 1914-1918 were estimated at thirty-seven million men. Counting enemy dead with the dead among the Allies, and civilian losses with military losses, over thirteen million human beings, together with a great part of the work they had accomplished and the possessions they owned, had been destroyed. Many of the nations represented at San Francisco had fought the second war still weakened by the wounds they suffered in the first. Many had lost the best of two succeeding generations of young men.

It was to prevent a third recurrence of this great disaster that the conference of the United Nations was called in San Francisco according to the plans which Mr. Cordell Hull as secretary of state has nurtured to fruition. The conference had one purpose and one purpose only: to draft the charter of an international organization through which the nations of the world might work together in their common hope for peace. It was not a new or an untried endeavour. Again and again in the course of history men who have suffered war have tried to make an end of war. Twenty-six years before the San Francisco conference met, the conference at Paris, under the inspired and courageous leadership of Woodrow Wilson, wrote the covenant of a league of nations which many believed would serve to keep the peace. That labor did not gain the wide support it needed to succeed.

But the conference at San Francisco, though it was called upon to undertake a task which no previous international conference or meeting had accomplished, met nevertheless with high hope for the work it had to do. It did not expect -- certainly no member of the American delegation expected -- that a final and definite solution of the problem of war would be evolved. Members of the conference realized, from the first day, that an evil which had killed some forty million human beings, armed and unarmed, within the period of thirty years, and which, before that, had ravaged the world again and again from the beginning of history, would not be eradicated by the mere act of writing a charter, however well designed.

Nevertheless, the conference at San Francisco had behind it the demonstrated capacity of its members to work together to a degree rarely if ever before attained by sovereign nations. Not only in
The prosecution of war fought on four continents and the waters and islands of every ocean under conditions of the greatest danger and difficulty, but in the preparation for the termination of the war and, more particularly, in the preparation of the organization of the post-war world to keep the peace, the principal allies had established a working and workable collaboration without precedent in the history of warfare. At Moscow in 1943, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union and China had made a pledge which still endures, to continue their united action "for the organization and maintenance of peace and security". At Dumbarton Oaks, the four allies had reached agreement upon proposals for a world security organization and later at Yalta, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union had further extended the area of their common understanding to which China gave her full adherence. These proposals, immediately published for the criticisms and comments of the people of all the United Nations, became the basis of the work at San Francisco.

Furthermore, there was reason, in the nature of the San Francisco conference itself, to hope that more could be accomplished there than had been possible at earlier meetings. The conference called at San Francisco was not a peace-time conference summoned to debate the theory of international cooperation, or a post-war conference convened to agree upon a treaty. It was a war-time conference. Every nation represented at San Francisco was in a state of war when the conference began. Many were engaged throughout the weeks of its deliberations in bitter and costly fighting. Not only the peoples of the United Nations but the more than sixty million men and women enlisted still in the armed forces of those nations regarded the conference, and had a right to regard it, as a meeting of their representatives engaged upon a labor of immediate importance and concern to them. It was a people's conference and a soldier's conference in the sense that it met under the eyes of the soldiers who fought this war and the peoples who endured it, as no previous conference to deal with peace and war had ever met. It was a conference, also, which met in a world which knew of its own knowledge that another war would be fought, if there were another war, with weapons capable of reaching every part of the earth - that similar weapons had indeed been brought to the point of use in the present conflict.

These facts exerted a compelling influence not only on the work of the conference but on the charter it evolved. It was the common and equal determination of all those who participated in its labors that the conference must reach agreement: that a charter must be written. The possibility of failure was never at any time admitted. It was the determination of the delegations, also, that the charter which the conference produced should be a charter which would attempt...
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The charter drafted by the conference at San Francisco is such a charter. Its outstanding characteristics and the key to its construction is its dual quality as declaration and as constitution. As declaration it constitutes a binding agreement by the signatory nations to work together for peaceful ends and to adhere to certain standards of international morality. As constitution it creates four overall instruments by which these ends may be achieved in practice and these standards actually maintained. The first function of the charter is moral and idealistic: the second, realist and practical. Men and women who have lived through war are not ashamed, as other generations sometimes are, to declare the depth and the idealism of their attachment to the cause of peace. But neither are they ashamed to recognize the realities of force and power which war has forced them to see and to endure.

As declaration the charter commits the United Nations to the maintenance of "international peace and security" to the development of 'friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples' and to the
achievement of 'international cooperation in solving international problems', together with the promotion and encouragement of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all." More precisely, the United Nations agree to promote 'higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.'

Further, in its capacity as declaration, the charter states the principles which its members accept as binding. 'Sovereign equality' of the member states is declared to be the foundation of their association with each other. Fulfilment in good faith of the obligations of the member states is pledged 'in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership' in the organization. Members are to settle their international disputes 'by peaceful means' and in such manner as not to endanger international peace and security, and justice. Members are to 'refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.' At the same time members bind themselves to give the organization 'every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.'

Finally, the charter as declaration binds those of its members having responsibilities for administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained the full measure of self-government, to recognize the principle 'that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount' and to accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote their well-being to the utmost.

These declarations of purposes and principles are notable in themselves. They state, without condition or qualification, a first and overriding purpose "to maintain international peace and security". International peace and security are the essential conditions of the world increasingly free from fear and free from want which President Roosevelt conceived as the great goal and final objective of the United Nations in this war and for the realization of which he and Cordell Hull worked unceasingly through twelve of the most decisive years of history.

But neither these declarations, nor those others which assert the intention of the United Nations to bring about the economic and social conditions essential to an enduring peace, and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, would suffice, in and of themselves, to meet the evil of war and the fear of war which the conference at San Francisco was called to consider. What was
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and of themselves, to meet the evil of war and the fear of war which
the conference at San Francisco was called to consider. What was
needed, as the charter itself declares, was machinery to give effect
to the purpose to maintain the peace --'effective collective measures
for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace'. What was
needed, if the United Nations were really determined to have peace,
was the means to peace --'to bring about by peaceful means ... adjust-
ment or settlement of international disputes.'

These means the charter in its capacity as constitution under-
takes to establish. It creates, in addition to its secretariat and
the trusteeship council with its specialized but vital functions,
four principal overall instruments to arm its purposes and to accom-
plish its ends: an enforcement agency; a forum for discussion and
debate; a social and economic institute through which the learning
and the knowledge of the world may be brought to bear upon its common
problems; and international court in which justifiable cases may be
heard. The first is called the security council; the second, the
general assembly; the third, the economic and social council; the
fourth, the international court of justice. Their functions are
the functions appropriate to their names.

It will be the duty of the security council, supported by the
pledged participation, and backed by military contingents to be made
available by the member states, to use its great prestige to bring
about by peaceful means the adjustment or the settlement of international disputes. Should these means fail, it is its duty, as it has the power, to take whatever measures are necessary, including measures of force to suppress acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. It will be the duty of the security council, in other words to make good the commitment of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, turning that lofty purpose into practice. To that end the council will be given the use and the support of diplomatic, economic and military tools and weapons in the control of the United Nations.

It will be the responsibility of the general assembly to discuss debate, reveal, expose, lay open - to perform, that is to say, the healthful and ventilating functions of a free deliberative body, without the right or duty to enact or legislate. The general assembly may take up any matter within the scope of the charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided in the charter. It may discuss the maintenance of peace and security and make recommendations on that subject to the security council calling its attention to situations likely to endanger peace. It may initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security. It is charged with the duty of assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms and encouraging the development and codification of international law. It may debate any situation, regardless of origin, which it thinks likely to impair the general welfare, and recommend measures for its peaceful adjustment. It may receive and consider reports from the various organs of the United Nations, including the security council.

Stated in terms of the purposes and principles of the charter, in other words, it is the function of the general assembly, with its free discussion and its equal votes, to realize in fact the 'sovereign equality' of the member states to which the United Nations are committed and to develop in practice the 'friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples' which the charter on purposes names as its second objective. Furthermore, it is the function of the assembly to realize in its own deliberations the 'international cooperation in the solution of international problems' which the charter recites as one of its principal aims, and to employ the weapon of its public debates, and the prestige of its recommendations, to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms.'

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The relation of the economic and social council to the stated purposes of the United Nations is similarly direct and functional. The attainment of the ends which the United Nations lists among its purposes in economic, social, health and other related fields, requires expert knowledge and careful study and the development of collaborative programs of action. The instrument devised by the charter to that end is a council in the economic and social field acting under the general responsibility of the assembly and consisting of representatives of eighteen states.

The economic and social council is empowered to make and initiate studies in its field, to frame reports and to make recommendations on its own initiative not only to the general assembly, but to the members of the organisation and to the specialized agencies in the fields of economics, health, culture, labor, trade, finance, human rights, and the like, which will be associated with the United Nations under the council's coordination. Furthermore, the council is authorized to call international conferences 'on matters falling within its competence'; to prepare, for submission to the general assembly, 'draft conventions' in this field; 'to perform services at the request of members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies'; and to obtain reports from the member states and from the specialized agencies on steps taken to give effect to its recommendations and those of the general assembly. In a field of interest which concerns the peoples of the world as directly as the field of social and cultural and economic improvement, the power to study
report and recommend - the power to call conferences, prepare draft conventions and require reports of progress - is a power which can be counted on to go a long way toward translating humanitarian aspirations into human gains.

The role of the international court of justice in the realization of the objectives of the charter is obvious from the general nature of the court. The purposes of the charter include the adjustment or settlement of international disputes 'in conformity with the principles of justice and international law'. The international court of justice is the instrument of the United Nations to effect this purpose in the case of justifiable disputes referred to the court by the parties. Where disputes are referred to the court, or where member states accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court in certain categories of cases, its decisions are, of course, binding upon the parties. Moreover, under the charter, all members of the United Nations undertake to comply with the decisions of the court. Where a party to a case decided by the court fails to comply with its decision, the matter may be brought to the attention of the security council for appropriate action.

These four overall instruments of international action constitute the principal means by which the charter proposes to translate the world's hope for peace and security into the beginning of a world practice of peace and security. There are other instruments, adapted to other and more special ends. There is the trusteeship council, which will have the heavy responsibility of attaining in nonstrategic areas the objectives of the trusteeship system established by the charter. There is the secretariat which, as an international civil service responsible to the organization alone, will constitute its staff. The security council, the general assembly, the economic and social council and the court are, however, the principal tools through which, and by which, the general aims and purposes of the charter would be carried out.

They are instruments admittedly of limited powers. The jurisdiction of the court is not compulsory unless accepted as such by member states. The assembly cannot legislate but merely discuss and recommend. The security council is obliged, when force is used, to act through military contingents supplied by the member states. Measured against the magnitude of the task to which the United Nations have committed themselves and considered in the light of the long history of previous failures in this undertaking, such limited instruments may seem inadequate to the labor to be done. They have nevertheless, characteristics which justify a greater hope for their success than the extent of the powers delegated to them would imply. They have behind them the history of humanity's long effort to suppress, in other areas of life, disorder and anarchy and the rule of violence. These four instruments are, in effect, the four principal agencies through which mankind has achieved the establishment of order and security as between individuals and families and communities.