WHITE HOUSE. President Roosevelt made following statement:

"I wish to take this opportunity to refer to the work of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations between the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China, on the plans for an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. The conversations were completed Saturday, October 7, 1944, and proposals were submitted to the four governments for their consideration. These proposals have been made public to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all-important subject. Although I have not yet been able to make a thorough study of these proposals, my first impression is one of extreme satisfaction, and even surprise, that so much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so short a time. This achievement was largely due to the long and thorough preparations which were made by the governments represented, and in our case, was the result of the untiring devotion and care which the Secretary of State has personally given to this work for more than two and a half years -- indeed for many years. The projected international organization has for its primary purpose the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of the conditions that make for peace. We now know the need for such an organization of the peace-loving peoples and the spirit of unity which will be required to maintain it. Aggressors like Hitler and the Japanese war lords organize for years for the day when they can launch their evil strength against weaker nations devoted to their peaceful pursuits. This time we have been determined first to defeat the enemy, assure that he shall never again be in position to plunge the world into war and then to so organize the peace-loving nations that they may through unity of desire, unity of will, and unity of strength be in position to assure that no other would-be aggressor or conqueror shall even get started. That is why from the very beginning of the war, and paralleling our military plans, we have begun to lay the foundations for the general organization for the maintenance of peace and security. It represents, therefore, a major objective for which this war is being fought, and as such, it inspires the highest hopes of the millions of fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters are engaged in the terrible struggle and suffering of war. The projected general organization may be regarded as the keystone of the arch and will include within its framework a number of specialized economic and social agencies now existing or to be established. The task of planning the great design of security and peace has been well begun. It now remains for the nations to complete the structure in a spirit of constructive purpose and mutual confidence."

Following statement was made by the President on death of Wendell Willkie yesterday from coronary thrombosis at Lenox Hospital, New York: "The nation will long remember Wendell Willkie as a forthright American. Earnest, honest, wholesouled, he also had tremendous courage. This courage -- which was his dominating trait -- prompted him more than once to stand alone and to challenge the wisdom of counsels taken by powerful interests within his own party. In this hour of grave crisis the country loses a great citizen through his untimely passing."

STATE DEPARTMENT. Secretary Hull made following statement: "The proposals for an international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security, upon which the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China have agreed during the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, have been submitted to the four governments and are today being made generally available to the people of this nation and of the world. All of us have every reason to be immensely gratified by the
results achieved at these conversations. To be sure, the proposals in their present form are neither complete nor final. Much work still remains to be done before a set of completed proposals can be placed before the peace-loving nations of the world as a basis of discussion at a formal conference to draft a charter of the projected organization for submission to the governments. But the document which has been prepared by the able representatives of the four participating nations and has been agreed to by them as their recommendation to their respective governments is sufficiently detailed to indicate the kind of an international organization which, in their judgment, will meet the imperative need of providing for the maintenance of international peace and security. These proposals are now being studied by the four governments which were represented at the Washington conversations, and which will give their urgent attention to the next steps which will be necessary to reach the goal of achieving the establishment of an effective international organization. These proposals are now available for full study and discussion by the peoples of all countries. We in this country have spent many months in careful planning and wide consultation in preparation for the conversations which have just been concluded. Those who represented the Government of the United States in these discussions were armed with the ideas and with the results of thinking contributed by numerous leaders of our national thought and opinion, without regard to political or other affiliations. It is my earnest hope that, during the time which must elapse before the convocation of a full United Nations conference, discussions in the United States on this all-important subject will continue to be carried on in the same non-partisan spirit of devotion to our paramount national interest in peace and security which has characterized our previous consultations. I am certain that all of us will be constantly mindful of the high responsibility for us and for all peace-loving nations, which attaches to this effort to make permanent a victory purchased at so heavy a cost on blood, in tragic suffering and in treasure. We must be constantly mindful of the price which all of us will pay if we fail to measure up to this unprecedented responsibility. It is, of course, inevitable that when many governments and peoples attempt to agree on a single plan, the result will be in terms of the highest common denominator rather than of the plan of any one nation.... The organization to be created must reflect the ideas and hopes of all the peace-loving nations which participate in its creation. The spirit of cooperation must manifest itself in mutual striving to attain the high goal by common agreement. The road to the establishment of an international organization capable of effectively maintaining international peace and security will be long. At times, it will be difficult. But we cannot hope to attain so great an objective without constant effort and unfailing determination that the sacrifices of this war shall not be in vain."

Following report was submitted to the Secretary by Edward R Stettinius, chairman of United States delegation to Washington Conversations on international security: "I take great pleasure in submitting to you the results of the exploratory conversations on international organization held in Washington between representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China. The first phase of the conversations, between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, took place from August 21 to September 23; the second phase, between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and China was held from September 29 to October 7. The results of the work accomplished in both phases are embodied in the attached proposals which each of the four delegations is transmitting to its respective governments as the unanimously agreed recommendations of the four delegations. I am happy to report that the conversations throughout were characterized by a spirit of complete cooperation and great cordiality among all participants, the proof of which is evident in the wide area of agreement covered in the proposals. The few questions which remain for further consideration, though important, are not in
by sense insuperable, and I recommend that the necessary steps for obtaining agreement on these points be taken as soon as possible. It is proper to emphasize, at the conclusion of these preliminary conversations, that the proposals as they are now submitted to the four governments comprise substantial contributions from each of the delegations. It is my own view, which I believe is shared by all the participants, that the agreed proposals constitute an advance over the tentative and preliminary proposals presented by each delegation. This has resulted from a single-minded effort of all the delegations at Dumbarton Oaks to reach a common understanding as to the most effective international organization capable of fulfilling the hopes of all peoples everywhere. I wish to take this opportunity to express my grateful recognition of the contributions to the successful outcome of these conversations made by the members of the American delegation and to commend the advisers and the staff for their most helpful assistance. Above all, I wish to express my profound appreciation to the President and to you, Mr Secretary, for the constant advice and guidance, without which our work could not have been accomplished with such constructive and satisfactory results."

Following are proposals for the establishment of a general international organization:

There should be established an international organization under the title of the United Nations, the charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

Chapter 1. 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 2. Principles in pursuit of the purposes mentioned in chapter 1. 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 undertaken 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 3. Membership. 1. Membership of the organization should be open to all peace-loving states.

Chapter 4. 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 5. The general assembly section (****). 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.

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 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 should 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 economic and social council provided for in chapter (***). It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the security council, the secretary general of the organization, 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 budget 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 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 func-
Chapter 6: 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 re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the general assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

Section 6. 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 VII.

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.

Section C. Voting. Note -- The question of voting procedure in the security council is still under consideration.

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 3 (***)

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 determined 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. (***)

Section 6. 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.

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Note: This bulletin is incomplete/Opr.