

~~TOP SECRET~~~~TOP SECRET~~COPY NO. 2MEMORANDUM NO. 217 August 1944Box 21
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Item 3
Page 1ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN GROUP,
FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 2FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

1. Since the issue of Memorandum No. 1 on this subject, the Russian "Memorandum on the International Security Organization" has been received by the American Government. There is not a great variation in the basic views between the Russian, American, and British papers. There is some variation in detail, and both the Russian and American papers are more specific in their recommendations in general than is the British document.

2. Among the differences in the Russian presentation as contrasted with British and American views are the following:

a. The Russians propose to divorce from the general international body economic, social, and technical activities. The Russian viewpoint is that the primary purpose of the international organization is to establish and maintain international peace and security and that in the days of the League of Nations that body's concentration upon social and economic matters diverted its attention from the enforcement of international peace and security.

b. The Russian draft assigns to the General Assembly some executive authority which the British and American proposals retain in the Executive Council.

c. The Russian document does not put as much emphasis upon the formation of regional organizations as do the British and American papers, particularly the latter.

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d. The Russian proposals for enforcement of international peace and security are basically similar to the American draft. However, they mention the formation of an "International Air Force Corps." The reference to this Corps is in such vague terms that clarification of the Soviet's ideas on this point must await the arrival of the Russian delegation in Washington.

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3. The meetings to start at Dumbarton Oaks on 21 August will be continued from Monday through Friday of each week. The hours set for the meetings are from 1030 to 1700. Mr. Hull will preside at the first meeting and will explain the general aims of the discussions.

4. Since the issue of Memorandum No. 1, a number of meetings of the entire American Committee, as well as those of technical sub-sections of it, have been held to clarify and unify our own viewpoint on many details of the proposed International Organization.

5. It is expected that the United States document entitled "Tentative Proposals for a General International Organization" will be placed upon the table as a basis for discussion. The British delegation has already agreed to this manner of approach.

6. Attached hereto are Enclosures "A" and "B," containing the names of the Russian and Chinese delegations. The Russian delegation is now expected to arrive in Washington 19 or 20 August.

It is understood that while Dr. H. H. Kung will not be a member of the Chinese delegation he will be available for advice and discussion.

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~~TOP SECRET~~ENCLOSURE "A"SOVIET PARTICIPANTS AT DUMBARTON OAKS

Chairman of the Delegation: Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko

Deputy-Chairman: Arkadi Alexandrovich Sobolev

Members of the Delegation:

Semen Konstantinovich Zarapkin

Maj. General Nikolai Vassilievich Slavin

Rear Admiral Konstantin Konstantinovich Rodionov

Professor Sergei Alexandrovich Golunsky

Professor Sergei Borisovich Krylov

Grigori Georgievich Dolbin

Secretary of the Delegation: Mikhail Mikhailovich Yudin

Secretary-Interpreter: Valentin Mikhailovich Berezhkov

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ENCLOSURE "B"

CHINESE PARTICIPANTS AT DUMBARTON OAKS

Delegates:

Victor Hoo (Administrative Vice Foreign Minister)

Wellington Koo (Ambassador to Great Britain)

Ambassador Wei Tao Ming

General Shang Cheng

Technical Experts:

Major General Mao Pang Chu

Rear Admiral Lin Tien Fu

Major General Ghu Shaiñ Ming

Pu Hsueh Seng (Counsellor of Supreme National Defense
Council)

Chang Cheng Fu (Director of American Department of Foreign
Office)

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Page 6ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN GROUP,
FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 3FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

1. Activities of the participants in these discussions are shown below for successive days:

a. Monday, 21 August - The Conference was opened at 1030 by an address by Secretary Hull. He was followed by Ambassador Gromyko, head of the Soviet Group and by Sir Alexander Cadogan, chief of the British Group. The addresses by the heads of the three Groups were given to the press, whose reporters and photographers occupied the time of the delegates until adjournment at 1200. In the afternoon the heads of the three National Groups met to organize the system of work. It was agreed that English and Russian would be the official languages of the discussions.

b. Tuesday, 22 August - A plenary session began at 1030 and at the request of the senior member of the Soviet and British Groups, Mr. Stettinius was made permanent Chairman for the discussions. It was agreed that if he were absent from any of the meetings the heads of the other two Groups would alternate as Chairman.

During the forenoon the Soviet Ambassador read the Soviet proposals. Opportunity was given for a short discussion of various points raised during the reading. After lunch this same procedure was followed by the British and American representatives in presenting the British and United States proposals.

To facilitate and expedite work, sub-committees with the titles and membership shown below were formed and announced:

~~TOP SECRET~~WASHINGTON CONVERSATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONBox 21
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Page 7Conv. A, Document 1
August 22, 1944SUBCOMMITTEES FOR THE CONVERSATIONS
(AGREED UPON TUESDAY, AUGUST 22)Drafting Subcommittee

British Representative: Sir William Malkin

Soviet Representatives: Mr. Sobolev
Mr. Dolbin

United States
Representatives: Mr. Hackworth, assisted
by other members,
including one military
representative

Legal Subcommittee

Soviet Representatives: Professor Golunsky
Professor Krylov

British Representatives: Sir William Malkin,
assisted by another member

United States
Representatives: Mr. Hackworth
Mr. Cohen
Mr. Hornbeck

Subcommittee on General
Questions of International
*Organization

United States
Representatives: Mr. Stettinius
Mr. Pasvolsky
Mr. Fletcher
Mr. Bowman
Mr. Grew

Soviet Representatives: Ambassador Gromyko
Mr. Sobolev
Mr. Tsarapkin

British Representatives: Sir Alexander Cadogan
Sir William Malkin
Mr. Jebb
Professor Webster

*Subcommittee on Security

Soviet Representatives: Ambassador Gromyko
Mr. Sobolev
Major General Slavin
Rear Admiral Rodionov

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British Representatives: Sir Alexander Cadogan
Admiral Sir Percy Noble
Lt. General McCready
Air Marshal Sir William Welsh
Mr. Jebb
Colonel Capel-Dunn

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United States
Representatives: Mr. Stettinius
Mr. Dunn
Mr. Wilson
Vice Admiral Willson
Major General Strong
Major General Fairchild
Rear Admiral Train

*Admiral Hepburn and General Embick will attend meetings of the organization and Security Sub-committee when they are available.

c. Wednesday, 23 August - A meeting of the Organization Sub-committee was held at 1030. At 1230 all principal members of the three Groups were received by the President at the White House. The Security Sub-committee met in the afternoon at 1500.

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~~TOP SECRET~~COPY NO. 1MEMORANDUM NO. 51 September 1944ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN GROUP,
FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 5FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

Events for the period Monday, 28 August - Thursday, 31 August, 1944.

1. The senior Chinese delegate, Mr. Wellington Koo, accompanied by Mr. Victor Hoo, arrived in Washington on the afternoon of the 28th.

2. The full U.S. group met at 0930 each day to review the progress of the negotiations and to receive the reports of members of the various subcommittees.

3. There were scheduled meetings of the Steering, Organization and Legal Committees and of the Formulation Groups during this period, the function of the last named being to bring together tentatively-agreed-upon viewpoints and to phrase them in a way satisfactory to the members of the committees.

4. The military subcommittee under the chairmanship of Vice Admiral Willson, USN, met on 30 and 31 August to continue discussions on the methods by which armed forces are to be made available to the International Organization. Particular discussion centered about the Soviet proposal of an International Air Force Corps and the membership and functions of a military staff (or military committee) to be attached to the Executive Council.

5. On the afternoon of 31 August the Security Subcommittee met to consider matters connected with the determination of threats to or breaches of the peace and the question of the provision of facilities by member states for the use of forces made available to the Organization.

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J.P.W.C. Memo 67 September 1944JOINT POST-WAR COMMITTEEARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN GROUP,
FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. (6)FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

Events for the period Friday, 1 September - Wednesday, 5 September, 1944, inclusive.

1. The United States Group met each morning prior to the meetings of the various subcommittees, to review progress and to hear reports from committee members. There were regular meetings of the Steering, Legal and Organization Committees and Formulation Groups throughout this period, the latter endeavoring to produce drafts which would be acceptable to the various committee members.

2. There is now in hand a tentative draft of the documents outlining the purposes and principles of the International Organization, the rules of membership, the composition, functions and powers of its principal organs, etc., and the current task is to get this into a text which will be acceptable to the representatives of the three Nations now in conference

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MEMORANDUM NO. 7

12 September 1944

ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN GROUP,
FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

MEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 7

FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

. Events for the period Friday, 8 September - Tuesday, 12 September, inclusive.

1. The entire United States Group met each morning to review the progress of the negotiations and to acquaint the whole group with the status of the work in the various committees.

2. The Joint Steering Committee met as necessary to keep the work properly organized and directed toward bringing to an early conclusion the present United States-British-Soviet conversations so that the United States and British Groups can proceed with discussions with the Chinese.

3. The Formulation Groups, charged with bringing into a commonly-accepted form concepts and phrases on which differences exist, have completed drafts of those points heretofore not fully agreed upon and these are now being discussed by the three heads of the delegations.

4. Forty of the principal members of the United States, British and Chinese Group spent Sunday, the 10th, in a visit to historic points in Virginia, followed by dinner at the home of the Under Secretary of State.

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FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 8FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

Events for the period Tuesday, 12 September to Tuesday, 19 September 1944, inclusive.

1. As previously reported, the heads of the British, Soviet and American Groups at Dumbarton Oaks have had in hand, for final adjustment, drafts of several parts of the intended document on which agreement has not yet been reached.

2. It has been necessary in some cases to refer various proposals, with supporting arguments and points of view, to higher levels in each Government for advice and guidance.

3. The principal point on which the conferees differ is the method of voting in the Security Council, especially when one of the Powers having a permanent seat is a party to a dispute.

4. The conferees are endeavoring to clear up the remaining points of difference so as to bring the Soviet-British-U.S. phase of the conversations to an end and begin meetings with the Chinese.

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FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONSMEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 9FOUR-POWER DISCUSSIONS

Events for the period Tuesday, 19 September to Friday, 29 September 1944, inclusive.

1. The conversations between representatives of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. dealing with the setting up of a world organization to maintain international peace and security were brought to an end at a plenary session on 28 September.

2. Conversations between the American, British and Chinese representatives began the afternoon of the 29th.

3. The conversations with the Soviet representatives resulted in a very considerable degree of agreement on the basic purposes of the organization, the organs which will compose it and their functions. There were some questions on which agreement has not been secured. One of the principal questions in this category is the matter of voting in the Security Council.

4. The next step after the end of the present conversations is that the representatives will report the results achieved and points not yet agreed upon to their home governments. The latter will then endeavor to arrive at a common draft of the basic document agreeable to the American, British, Soviet and Chinese governments to be presented as the basis for discussion at a future conference of all United Nations to set up an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

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