

POLISH AMENDMENTS
to the
DUMBARTON OAKS
PROPOSALS

POLISH GOVERNMENT INFORMATION CENTER
745 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

1945

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After the draft of the General International Organization was made by the four Powers at Dumbarton Oaks, it was sent to all governments of the United Nations with a request to consider it and express their points of view.

The Polish Government with temporary headquarters in London made several amendments to the draft, which are discussed in the present pamphlet.

When making these amendments, the Polish Government stated that they constitute only preliminary remarks. It reserved for itself the right to present further suggestions not reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present phase, or to make additional observations, inspired by suggestions submitted in the meantime by other governments of the United Nations.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been studied by appropriate experts of the Polish Government and their observations have been presented in the form of amendments to the original text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals submitted to the Polish Government. This form was adopted as the most concise and appropriate way of clearly setting forth the Polish suggestions. In the annexed draft the Chapters of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which it was considered unnecessary to amend are not discussed, being regarded as acceptable.

To facilitate the study of the Polish amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the draft has been drawn up so that any suggested amendments and any eliminations proposed from the text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been respectively underlined.

The Polish Government does not believe that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are in every respect an improvement on the Covenant of the League of Nations. Some of the new ideas suggested in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals appear to be highly desirable as, for instance, the organization in advance of collective action against would-be aggressors. On the other hand, the preponderance of the Great Powers in the proposed Organization appears to be a perpetuation of the situation existing during the war and could be justified only by actual warfare. In normal conditions full collaboration of the smaller nations will be necessary even to the Great Powers, especially as the only wish of the smaller States is to maintain international peace and cooperation. They are — by necessity — vitally interested in preventing the outbreak of a new war which would be, like the present war, de-

trimental chiefly to them — the weaker partners in the international community. Therefore the Polish Government would welcome any modifications of the present Dumbarton Oaks text which would improve the situation of the smaller States and assure to them a role corresponding with their rights, interests and place in the world.

Bearing in mind the necessity of assuring to smaller nations their rightful place in the new Organization, an increase in the number of nonpermanent seats on the Security Council to 10, and the adoption of the rule of majority for all decisions of the Council, — is suggested. Furthermore, it appears most desirable to safeguard the rights of members not belonging to the Council, but invited to participate in a discussion especially affecting their interests.

An attempt has also been made in the Polish draft to improve Chapter VIII, without, however, changing the existing system.

It is strongly felt that the Assembly should have the right to discuss any question referred to it by a member or by the Security Council. If the right of the Assembly in this respect were to be curtailed, one may fear it would not be able to play the useful role of an international forum for all States, great and small.

In Chapter VI, Section C, paragraph 2 of the Polish amendments it is suggested that: "A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute." The importance of this amendment is specially stressed as a foremost principle of any legal procedure.

On the basis of past experience it is considered that the ex-

pulsion of a member would not achieve any useful objective. It is therefore suggested that this clause be dropped altogether.

The experts of the Polish Government are uneasy on account of various stipulations which open the door to a post-war propaganda of the vanquished nations in favor of modification of frontiers and revision of future peace treaties. Past experience has amply proved that any clause of the kind of Article 19 of the League Covenant provides the ex-enemy nations with a legal platform for undermining the status quo, established as a consequence of the war. Such propaganda weakens the position of the victorious nations, creates political and economic insecurity and hampers peaceful development of international relations. Furthermore, it provides a kind of alibi for enemy States in the event of their wishing to prepare for war of revenge by throwing the blame on the States which would refuse to yield a part of their territories. It seems reasonable to expect such a modification of the present text which would combine the disappearance of any illusion to the revision (adjustment of international situation) with an explicit mention of the obligation of the World Organization to respect the territorial status of its members. The Polish Government would welcome the incorporation in the text of the expressions of the Atlantic Charter relative to this problem. Generally speaking, it would be necessary more precisely to define the principles of the Organization in order to prevent any future confusion as to the aims which the Organization is called upon to pursue.

According to the Polish draft the Organization should not, in any circumstances, be competent in the question of disarmament of enemy States nor in the question of the armaments of its mem-

bers. Considering the sad experience of the League of Nations control of German armaments, it would appear to be more practical to keep the question outside the new Organization, as one reserved for competent organs of the victorious Nations. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether it would serve any purpose to revive the question of limitation of armaments of the members of the Organization; the prospects of success are very doubtful and any such work of the World Organization may only help the enemy States in their propaganda, protesting against their unilateral disarmament.

The Polish draft of suggested amendments has been kept strictly within the limits of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The present informal suggestions should be regarded as preliminary. In the further development of discussions on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Polish Government reserves the right to present suggestions and proposals which will go further than the present preliminary observations. The Polish Government may then put forward some additional suggestions which are not reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present phase. The Polish Government may also want to make additional observations inspired by suggestions submitted in the meantime by Governments of other United Nations.

Washington, D. C., February, 1945.

D R A F T
FOR AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Dumbarton Oaks Statement

Polish Draft

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 purpose 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;

1. To maintain international peace and security *affording to all nations the means of dwelling within their own boundaries in freedom from fear and want*; 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 *further* by peaceful means the 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. The Organization shall respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all its members.

3. The Organization and its members shall scrupulously respect all treaty obligations.

4. All members undertake to seek no aggrandizement territorial or other, and to respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live.

5. All members undertake to refrain from any use of force and from any threat to use force in their relations with other States except on behalf of the

Organization and with its authority or in order to oppose an authorized use of force made against them by another State subject to immediate reference to the Organization.

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

6. Same as paragraph 2 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

7. Same as paragraph 3 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

8. All members of the Organization shall give to the Organization every assistance *compatible with their political 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.

dependence and economic resources in any action undertaken by the Organization in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

9. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

The Organization should ensure that States not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles of international peace and security *and treaty obligations*.

CHAPTER III MEMBERSHIP

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

CHAPTER IV PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:

- a. A General Assembly;
- b. A Security Council;

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- b. A Security Council;

- c. An International Court of Justice; and
- d. A Secretariat.

- c. An International Court of Justice;
- d. *An Economic and Social Council*; and
- e. 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

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security; 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

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

Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred by the General Assembly, after discussion, to the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organization upon the recommendation of the Security Council *provided that the State applying for admission gives effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its treaty obligations and has thus become a peace-loving State.*

3. The General Assembly should, on the recommenda-

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.*

tions 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 the decision of *the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.*

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.*

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields.

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

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.

Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension or restoration of the rights and privileges 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 the non-permanent members *three* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *three* for two year terms.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of *fifteen* 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 France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect *ten* States to fill the non-permanent seats. These *ten* States should be elected for a term of two years, *five* retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for reelection. In the first election of non-permanent members *five* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *five* 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.

Section C

VOTING

(Note — The question of voting procedure 1. *The decisions of the Security Council are made by*

in the Security Council is still under consideration).

majority vote including the majority of the States permanently represented in the Security Council.

2. A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute.

3. A State should not have a vote when its failure to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter is 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 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.*

4. *Any member of the Organization not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member.*

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

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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.

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute *at the request of any party to such a dispute whether a member or not*, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*.

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

2. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security or the *respect of treaty obligations* 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.

3. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 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

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

continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 4.

4. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 to recommend appropriate procedures of methods of *settlement*.

5. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

6. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 5 of Section A should not apply to disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction

jurisdiction of the State concerned.

of the State concerned *or which concern the territorial status of the members of the Organization.*

7. *If one of the parties fails to abide by the terms of a settlement reached with the assistance of the Council as referred to in paragraph 3 or by the award resulting from an arbitration or by a judgment of the International Court of Justice the other party may ask that Council to give effect to such a settlement, award or judgment.*

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 peace and security, it should

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dspute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 2 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 4 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of *international* peace and security,

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.

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 decide upon measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

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.

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, *compatible with their political independence and economic resources*. 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

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.

command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments. 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 *and of the Chiefs of Staff of such other members of the Organization whose permanent collaboration on the Military Staff Committee is deemed necessary by the Security Council*. 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.*

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.

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 re-

gional 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.



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1946 62 1815



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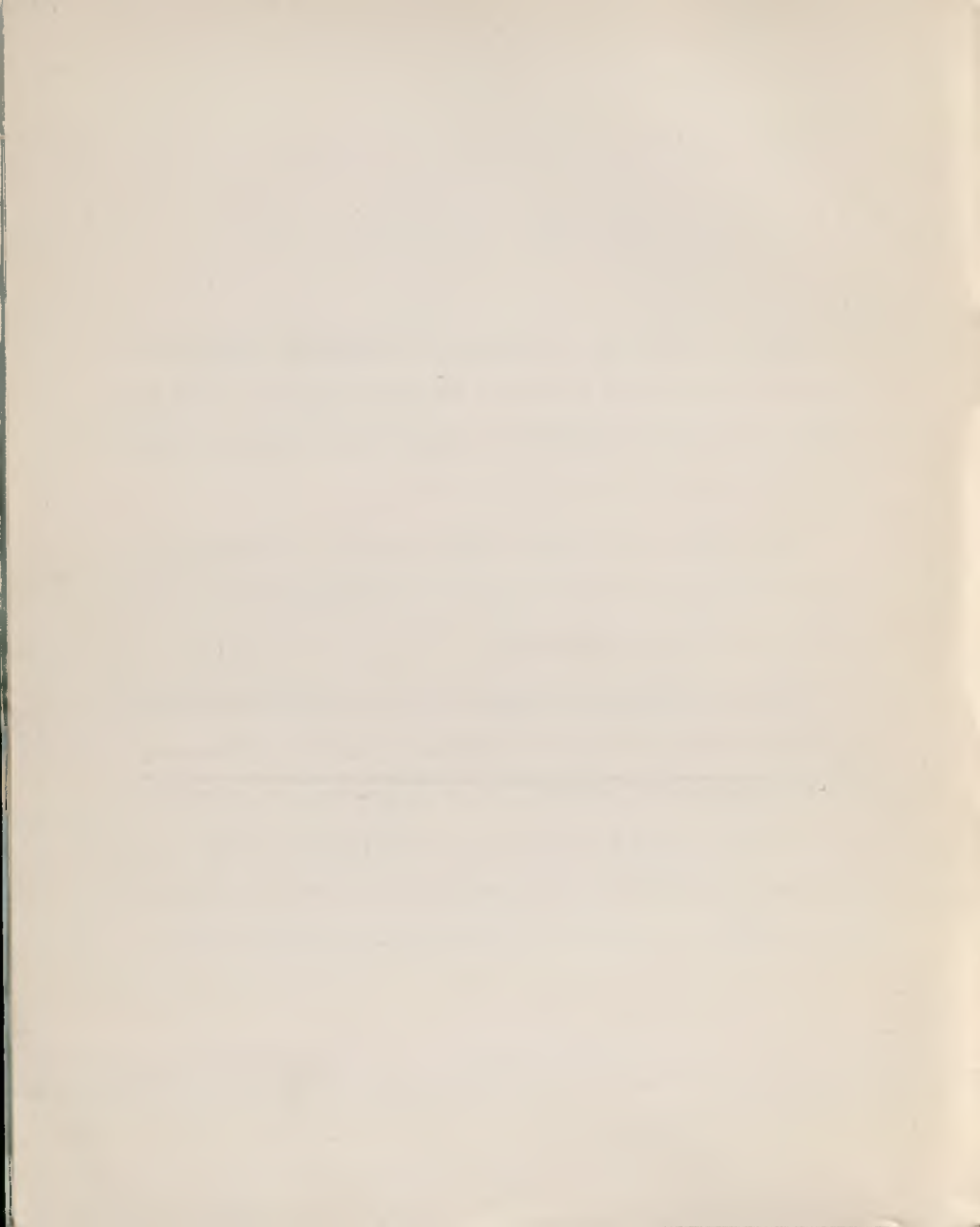
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Bearing in mind the necessity of assuring to smaller nations their rightful place in the new Organization, an increase in the number of non-permanent seats on the Security Council to 10, and the adoption of the rule of majority for all decisions of the Council, — is suggested. Furthermore, it appears most desirable to safeguard the rights of members not belonging to the Council, but invited to participate in a discussion especially affecting their interests.

An attempt has also been made in the Polish draft to improve Chapter VIII, without, however, changing the existing system.

It is strongly felt that the Assembly should have the right to discuss any question referred to it by a member or by the Security Council. If the right of the Assembly in this respect were to be curtailed, one may fear it would not be able to play the useful role of an international forum for all States, great and small.

In Chapter VI, Section C, paragraph 2 of the Polish amendments it is suggested that: "A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute." The importance of this amendment is specially stressed as a foremost principle of any legal procedure.

On the basis of past experience it is considered that the ex-

pulsion of a member would not achieve any useful objective. It is therefore suggested that this clause be dropped altogether.

The experts of the Polish Government are uneasy on account of various stipulations which open the door to a post-war propaganda of the vanquished nations in favor of modification of frontiers and revision of future peace treaties. Past experience has amply proved that any clause of the kind of Article 19 of the League Covenant provides the ex-enemy nations with a legal platform for undermining the status quo, established as a consequence of the war. Such propaganda weakens the position of the victorious nations, creates political and economic insecurity and hampers peaceful development of international relations. Furthermore, it provides a kind of alibi for enemy States in the event of their wishing to prepare for war of revenge by throwing the blame on the States which would refuse to yield a part of their territories. It seems reasonable to expect such a modification of the present text which would combine the disappearance of any illusion to the revision (adjustment of international situation) with an explicit mention of the obligation of the World Organization to respect the territorial status of its members. The Polish Government would welcome the incorporation in the text of the expressions of the Atlantic Charter relative to this problem. Generally speaking, it would be necessary more precisely to define the principles of the Organization in order to prevent any future confusion as to the aims which the Organization is called upon to pursue.

According to the Polish draft the Organization should not, in any circumstances, be competent in the question of disarmament of enemy States nor in the question of the armaments of its mem-

bers. Considering the sad experience of the League of Nations control of German armaments, it would appear to be more practical to keep the question outside the new Organization, as one reserved for competent organs of the victorious Nations. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether it would serve any purpose to revive the question of limitation of armaments of the members of the Organization; the prospects of success are very doubtful and any such work of the World Organization may only help the enemy States in their propaganda, protesting against their unilateral disarmament.

The Polish draft of suggested amendments has been kept strictly within the limits of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The present informal suggestions should be regarded as preliminary. In the further development of discussions on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Polish Government reserves the right to present suggestions and proposals which will go further than the present preliminary observations. The Polish Government may then put forward some additional suggestions which are not reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present phase. The Polish Government may also want to make additional observations inspired by suggestions submitted in the meantime by Governments of other United Nations.

Washington, D. C., February, 1945.

DRAFT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Dumbarton Oaks Statement

Polish Draft

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 purpose 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;

1. To maintain international peace and security *affording to all nations the means of dwelling within their own boundaries in freedom from fear and want*; 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 *further* by peaceful means the 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. *The Organization shall respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all its members.*

3. *The Organization and its members shall scrupulously respect all treaty obligations.*

4. *All members undertake to seek no aggrandizement territorial or other, and to respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live.*

5. *All members undertake to refrain from any use of force and from any threat to use force in their relations with other States except on behalf of the*

Organization and with its authority or in order to oppose an authorized use of force made against them by another State subject to immediate reference to the Organization.

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

6. Same as paragraph 2 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

7. Same as paragraph 3 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

8. All members of the Organization shall give to the Organization every assistance *compatible with their political 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.

dependence and economic resources in any action undertaken by the Organization in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

9. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

The Organization should ensure that States not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles of international peace and security *and treaty obligations*.

CHAPTER III MEMBERSHIP

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

CHAPTER IV PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:
 - a. A General Assembly;
 - b. A Security Council;
 - a. A General Assembly;
 - b. A Security Council;

- c. An International Court of Justice; and
- d. A Secretariat.

- c. An International Court of Justice;
- d. *An Economic and Social Council*; and
- e. 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

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security; 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

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

Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred by the General Assembly, after discussion, to the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organization upon the recommendation of the Security Council *provided that the State applying for admission gives effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its treaty obligations and has thus become a peace-loving State.*

3. The General Assembly should, on the recommenda-

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.*

tions 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 the decision of the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

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.*

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields.

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

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.

Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension or restoration of the rights and privileges 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 the non-permanent members *three* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *three* for two year terms.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of *fifteen* 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 France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect *ten* States to fill the non-permanent seats. These *ten* States should be elected for a term of two years, *five* retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for reelection. In the first election of non-permanent members *five* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *five* 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.

Section C

VOTING

(Note — The question of voting procedure 1. *The decisions of the Security Council are made by*

in the Security Council is still under consideration).

majority vote including the majority of the States permanently represented in the Security Council.

2. A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute.

3. A State should not have a vote when its failure to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter is 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 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.

4. *Any member of the Organization not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member.*

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

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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.

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute *at the request of any party to such a dispute whether a member or not*, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*.

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

2. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security or the *respect of treaty obligations* 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.

3. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 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

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

continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 4.

4. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 to recommend appropriate procedures of methods of *settlement*.

5. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

6. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 5 of Section A should not apply to disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction

jurisdiction of the State concerned.

of the State concerned or which concern the territorial status of the members of the Organization.

7. If one of the parties fails to abide by the terms of a settlement reached with the assistance of the Council as referred to in paragraph 3 or by the award resulting from an arbitration or by a judgment of the International Court of Justice the other party may ask that Council to give effect to such a settlement, award or judgment.

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 peace and security, it should

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 2 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 4 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security,

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.

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 decide upon measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

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

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, *compatible with their political independence and economic resources*. 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.

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

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.

command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments. 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 *and of the Chiefs of Staff of such other members of the Organization whose permanent collaboration on the Military Staff Committee is deemed necessary by the Security Council.* 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.*

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.

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 re-

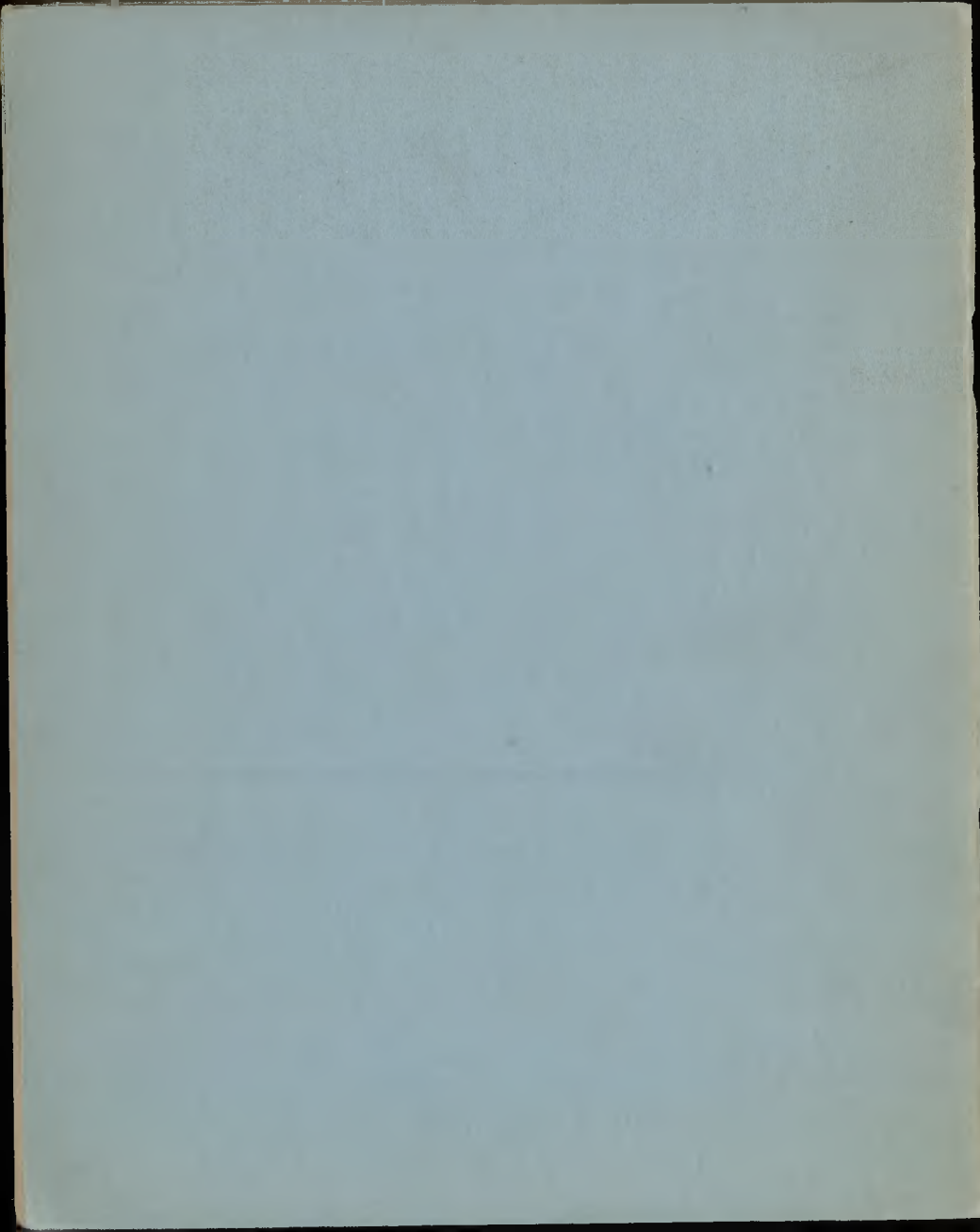
gional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

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.



Printed in U.S.A.





POLISH AMENDMENTS
to the
DUMBARTON OAKS
PROPOSALS

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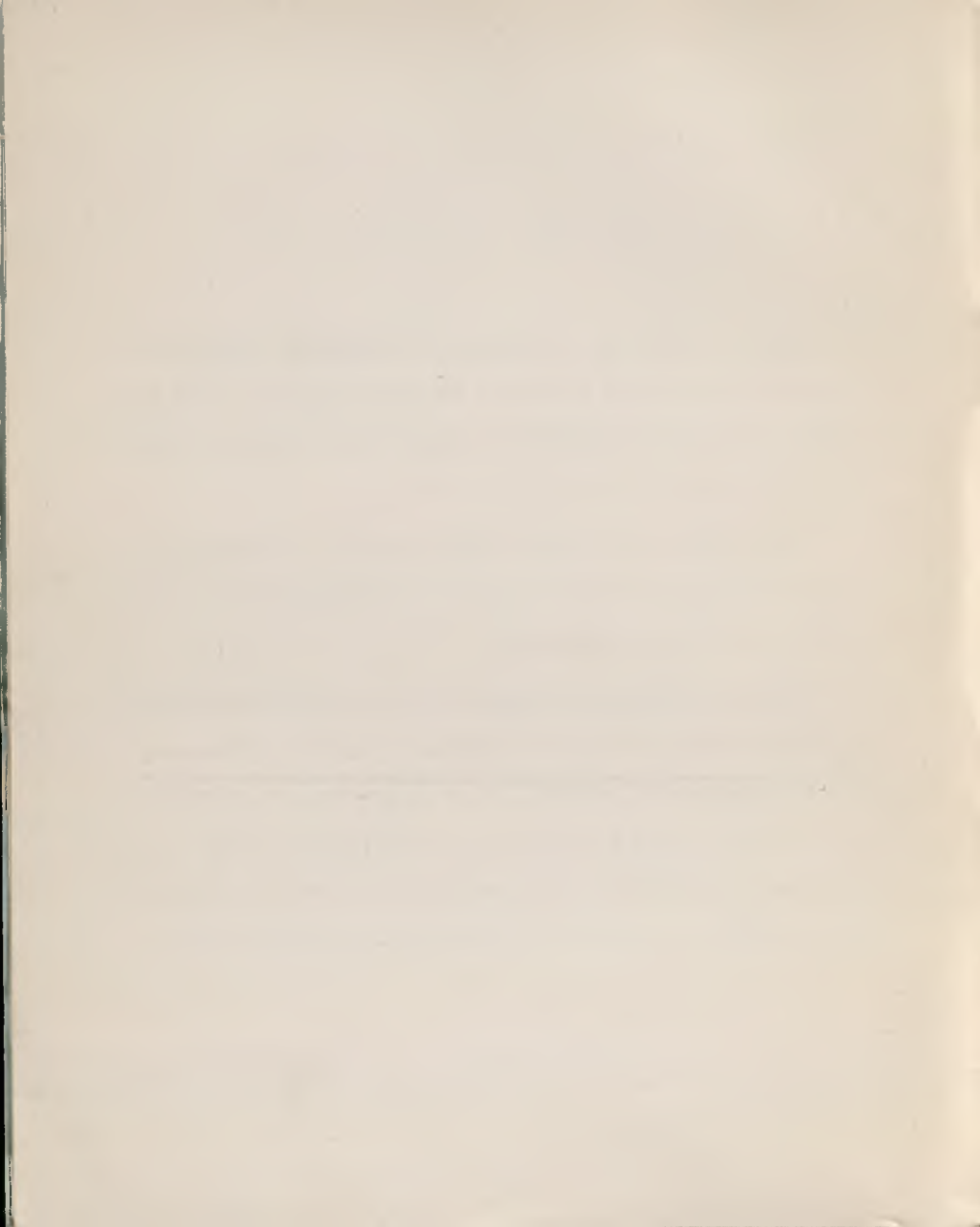
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After the draft of the General International Organization was made by the four Powers at Dumbarton Oaks, it was sent to all governments of the United Nations with a request to consider it and express their points of view.

The Polish Government with temporary headquarters in London made several amendments to the draft, which are discussed in the present pamphlet.

When making these amendments, the Polish Government stated that they constitute only preliminary remarks. It reserved for itself the right to present further suggestions not reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present phase, or to make additional observations, inspired by suggestions submitted in the meantime by other governments of the United Nations.



EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been studied by appropriate experts of the Polish Government and their observations have been presented in the form of amendments to the original text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals submitted to the Polish Government. This form was adopted as the most concise and appropriate way of clearly setting forth the Polish suggestions. In the annexed draft the Chapters of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which it was considered unnecessary to amend are not discussed, being regarded as acceptable.

To facilitate the study of the Polish amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the draft has been drawn up so that any suggested amendments and any eliminations proposed from the text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been respectively underlined.

The Polish Government does not believe that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are in every respect an improvement on the Covenant of the League of Nations. Some of the new ideas suggested in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals appear to be highly desirable as, for instance, the organization in advance of collective action against would-be aggressors. On the other hand, the preponderance of the Great Powers in the proposed Organization appears to be a perpetuation of the situation existing during the war and could be justified only by actual warfare. In normal conditions full collaboration of the smaller nations will be necessary even to the Great Powers, especially as the only wish of the smaller States is to maintain international peace and cooperation. They are — by necessity — vitally interested in preventing the outbreak of a new war which would be, like the present war, de-

trimental chiefly to them — the weaker partners in the international community. Therefore the Polish Government would welcome any modifications of the present Dumbarton Oaks text which would improve the situation of the smaller States and assure to them a role corresponding with their rights, interests and place in the world.

Bearing in mind the necessity of assuring to smaller nations their rightful place in the new Organization, an increase in the number of non-permanent seats on the Security Council to 10, and the adoption of the rule of majority for all decisions of the Council, — is suggested. Furthermore, it appears most desirable to safeguard the rights of members not belonging to the Council, but invited to participate in a discussion especially affecting their interests.

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It is strongly felt that the Assembly should have the right to discuss any question referred to it by a member or by the Security Council. If the right of the Assembly in this respect were to be curtailed, one may fear it would not be able to play the useful role of an international forum for all States, great and small.

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On the basis of past experience it is considered that the ex-

pulsion of a member would not achieve any useful objective. It is therefore suggested that this clause be dropped altogether.

The experts of the Polish Government are uneasy on account of various stipulations which open the door to a post-war propaganda of the vanquished nations in favor of modification of frontiers and revision of future peace treaties. Past experience has amply proved that any clause of the kind of Article 19 of the League Covenant provides the ex-enemy nations with a legal platform for undermining the status quo, established as a consequence of the war. Such propaganda weakens the position of the victorious nations, creates political and economic insecurity and hampers peaceful development of international relations. Furthermore, it provides a kind of alibi for enemy States in the event of their wishing to prepare for war of revenge by throwing the blame on the States which would refuse to yield a part of their territories. It seems reasonable to expect such a modification of the present text which would combine the disappearance of any illusion to the revision (adjustment of international situation) with an explicit mention of the obligation of the World Organization to respect the territorial status of its members. The Polish Government would welcome the incorporation in the text of the expressions of the Atlantic Charter relative to this problem. Generally speaking, it would be necessary more precisely to define the principles of the Organization in order to prevent any future confusion as to the aims which the Organization is called upon to pursue.

According to the Polish draft the Organization should not, in any circumstances, be competent in the question of disarmament of enemy States nor in the question of the armaments of its mem-

bers. Considering the sad experience of the League of Nations control of German armaments, it would appear to be more practical to keep the question outside the new Organization, as one reserved for competent organs of the victorious Nations. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether it would serve any purpose to revive the question of limitation of armaments of the members of the Organization; the prospects of success are very doubtful and any such work of the World Organization may only help the enemy States in their propaganda, protesting against their unilateral disarmament.

The Polish draft of suggested amendments has been kept strictly within the limits of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The present informal suggestions should be regarded as preliminary. In the further development of discussions on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Polish Government reserves the right to present suggestions and proposals which will go further than the present preliminary observations. The Polish Government may then put forward some additional suggestions which are not reflected in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present phase. The Polish Government may also want to make additional observations inspired by suggestions submitted in the meantime by Governments of other United Nations.

Washington, D. C., February, 1945.

DRAFT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Dumbarton Oaks Statement

Polish Draft

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 purpose 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;

1. To maintain international peace and security *affording to all nations the means of dwelling within their own boundaries in freedom from fear and want*; 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 *further* by peaceful means the 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. *The Organization shall respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all its members.*

3. *The Organization and its members shall scrupulously respect all treaty obligations.*

4. *All members undertake to seek no aggrandizement territorial or other, and to respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live.*

5. *All members undertake to refrain from any use of force and from any threat to use force in their relations with other States except on behalf of the*

Organization and with its authority or in order to oppose an authorized use of force made against them by another State subject to immediate reference to the Organization.

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

6. Same as paragraph 2 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

7. Same as paragraph 3 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

8. All members of the Organization shall give to the Organization every assistance *compatible with their political 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.

dependence and economic resources in any action undertaken by the Organization in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

9. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

The Organization should ensure that States not members of the Organization act in accordance with these principles of international peace and security *and treaty obligations*.

CHAPTER III MEMBERSHIP

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

CHAPTER IV PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The Organization should have as its principal organs:
 - a. A General Assembly;
 - b. A Security Council;
 - a. A General Assembly;
 - b. A Security Council;

- c. An International Court of Justice; and
- d. A Secretariat.

- c. An International Court of Justice;
- d. *An Economic and Social Council*; and
- e. 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

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security; 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

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

Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred by the General Assembly, after discussion, to the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the Organization upon the recommendation of the Security Council *provided that the State applying for admission gives effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its treaty obligations and has thus become a peace-loving State.*

3. The General Assembly should, on the recommenda-

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.*

tions 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 the decision of *the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.*

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.*

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic and social fields.

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

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.

Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension or restoration of the rights and privileges 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 the non-permanent members *three* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *three* for two year terms.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of *fifteen* 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 France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect *ten* States to fill the non-permanent seats. These *ten* States should be elected for a term of two years, *five* retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for reelection. In the first election of non-permanent members *five* should be chosen by the General Assembly for one year terms and *five* 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.

Section C

VOTING

(Note — The question of voting procedure 1. *The decisions of the Security Council are made by*

in the Security Council is still under consideration).

majority vote including the majority of the States permanently represented in the Security Council.

2. A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute.

3. A State should not have a vote when its failure to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter is 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 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.*

4. *Any member of the Organization not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member.*

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

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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.

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute *at the request of any party to such a dispute whether a member or not*, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*.

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

2. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security or the *respect of treaty obligations* 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.

3. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 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

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

continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security *or the respect of treaty obligations*, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 4.

4. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 2 to recommend appropriate procedures of methods of *settlement*.

5. Same as paragraph 6 of the Dumbarton Oaks Statement.

6. The provisions of paragraph 1 to 5 of Section A should not apply to disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction

jurisdiction of the State concerned.

of the State concerned or which concern the territorial status of the members of the Organization.

7. If one of the parties fails to abide by the terms of a settlement reached with the assistance of the Council as referred to in paragraph 3 or by the award resulting from an arbitration or by a judgment of the International Court of Justice the other party may ask that Council to give effect to such a settlement, award or judgment.

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 peace and security, it should

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 2 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 4 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security,

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.

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 decide upon measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

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

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, *compatible with their political independence and economic resources*. 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.

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

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.

command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments. 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 *and of the Chiefs of Staff of such other members of the Organization whose permanent collaboration on the Military Staff Committee is deemed necessary by the Security Council.* 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.*

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.

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 re-

gional 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.



Printed in U.S.A.



