

*San Francisco Conference*

constitute a satisfactory general basis for a discussion of the charter of the proposed international organization;

4. that this house agrees that the representatives of Canada at the conference should use their best endeavours to further the preparation of an acceptable charter for an international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security;

5. That the charter establishing the international organization should, before ratification, be submitted to parliament for approval.

Next to the winning of the war, the supreme end to be achieved is the winning of the peace. Peace can only be made lasting through co-operative action on the part of peace-loving nations. The purpose of the forthcoming conference at San Francisco is the creation of a general international organization to maintain peace and security in the post-war world.

In some quarters there appear to be misconceptions as to what it is intended the San Francisco conference should accomplish. It might be well, were I at the outset to remove one prevalent misconception. The purpose of the conference has been set forth clearly in the communication of March 5 on behalf of the inviting governments which I have just read. The conference at San Francisco is not the peace conference. It will have nothing to do with the preparation of the treaties of peace. It will not discuss the terms which the united nations will impose on Germany and on Japan at some future time. It will deal only with the constitutional framework of the future society of nations. The purpose is to provide for the maintenance of peace, once peace has been secured.

It may be helpful to the house if I proceed at once to give an outline of the negotiations that have led to the calling of the San Francisco conference.

The Moscow conference which ended on November 1, 1943, was the first step by the great powers towards the development of plans for a new international security organization forecast in the Atlantic charter, and endorsed by the united nations' declaration of 1942. In the declaration issued at the conclusion of the Moscow conference the four governments which were later represented at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, declared that they recognized "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

At the prime ministers' meeting in London in May, 1944, there were discussions of proposals framed by the United Kingdom govern-

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

ment. Since that meeting there have been frequent interchanges of opinion between commonwealth governments.

Between late August and early October, 1944, meetings were held at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington. At these meetings discussions took place between officials representing the governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom looking to the establishment of a general international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. At a subsequent stage, meetings were held of officials of the United Kingdom, United States of America and China. At the end of these meetings, there was issued on October 9, 1944, what are known as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Canada was not represented at Dumbarton Oaks, but the Canadian government received day to day reports on the progress of the discussions.

The official delegations at Dumbarton Oaks were unable to reach agreement on some points. The proposals there framed were, consequently, but the first stage in the development of a draft charter for consideration by all the united nations. The proposals were subsequently accepted and supplemented by the initiating governments at the Crimea conference at Yalta held in February of the present year. They were thereafter concurred in by China, and were then submitted to other countries for their consideration.

At Yalta the three greatest world powers achieved unified proposals for a charter of a world security organization. That of itself is a hopeful augury for the future. Without continuing unity among the great powers there would be little hope for enduring peace.

As I have already stated, it was on the 5th of this month, that invitations were extended to Canada and other united nations to attend a conference at San Francisco. The invitations were extended by the United States of America on its behalf and that of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. The invitation suggests that the conference should consider, as affording a basis for the charter of the new organization, the proposals which have been agreed upon between these four governments.

Since the invitation was received, I have had an opportunity for personal conversations with President Roosevelt, in the course of which we discussed the main features of the proposals, and suggestions which the Canadian government believe would make for improvement in the effectiveness of the proposed organization. Early in April, there is to be a meeting of representatives of Commonwealth governments