

secondly, because the Organization was already known throughout the world by that title and no good object could be served in altering it. The first of these considerations was the predominant one, and the motion to adopt the term "United Nations" was finally carried by the Committee unanimously, all standing in homage to President Roosevelt.

Preamble

It could not be suggested that the drafting of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was characterized by that dignity and solemnity of language worthy of the high and noble enterprise it was intended to establish, and during the preliminary British Commonwealth discussions at London it was strongly felt that some attempt should be made in a Preamble to indicate in appropriate words the nobility of intention of its founders. Field Marshal Smuts, who had been responsible for part of the drafting of the Covenant of the League of Nations, undertook to prepare a draft Preamble, and did so. This was subjected to considerable alteration in London, which, if it added to the scope and content of the draft, did not, it was commonly felt, conduce to the main object of the Preamble, dignity of thought and language, and directness of appeal. This draft as finally adopted in London, was presented to the Conference in San Francisco by Field Marshal Smuts, and at one of the first meetings of the Committee was unanimously adopted in principle. It was then referred to a sub-committee, and was finally returned for the Committee's approval in language which, though again considerably changed, was nevertheless recognized by the South African representative as sufficiently like the Field Marshal's draft to enable him to acknowledge it as such.

One striking alteration was made—namely, the elimination of the phrase "The high contracting parties," which usually serves as the opening of an international treaty, and the substitution of the phrase "We the peoples of the United Nations." This alteration was adopted on the example of the Constitution of the United States in order to emphasize the point that the Organization is not solely the creation of Governments, but is, in fact, the reflection of the wishes and the embodiment of the determination of all peoples.

It would seem proper to doubt whether any delegate on the Committee was really satisfied with the Preamble as finally drafted, and, because of such doubts, there were a number of abstentions from the final unanimous vote. In view of the difficulty of harmonizing differing views in a committee of fifty persons, it was felt to be impossible to approach nearer to a perfect draft, but it was the general feeling of the Committee that in the final shaping of the document some improvement might still be made.

Purposes

Throughout the discussions in the Committee and its sub-committees doubts were apparent as to whether the title of Chapter I of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, "Purposes," and the title of the succeeding Chapter, "Principles," sufficiently indicated or distinguished the object of the two Chapters, but in the event the titles were retained by the Committee, "Purposes" being interpreted to include the broad aims of the Organization, and "Principles" the general means by which these aims were to be achieved. The two Chapters were subsequently fused by the Co-ordination Committee and appear in the Charter as "Chapter I, Purposes and Principles." In view of the very large number and complexity of amendments that had been proposed, both to Chapter I and Chapter II, their consideration was referred to a sub-committee consisting of the Chairman (Ukraine), the Rapporteur (Syria), one member from each of the delegations of the four sponsoring Governments, and delegates from Belgium, Chile, France,