

everywhere in the world. The Alliance seemed to be the guarantee of a more secure and better life.

This great power solidarity was, it is important to remember, not only the basis upon which the new world organization was to function, but it was the vital condition which made possible the elaboration and the signing of the Charter. The Dumbarton Oaks proposal, which were submitted to the San Francisco Conference, represented the degree of agreement which could be reached between the major powers. While at San Francisco the other powers were able, in some respects, to introduce improvements in the original scheme, the basic principles and structure were not really altered. In essential respects, the United Nations Charter as it stands today is the result of the initiative and the agreement reached before the Conference by the leading and most powerful members of the United Nations.

True, there was a vigorous and much publicized assault on the part of the middle and smaller powers against the voting arrangements in the Security Council, but it was largely unsuccessful for the understanding between the Big Four could not be shaken. They agreed to exercise their rights with moderation but they firmly refused to abandon them. And the other Nations realizing that the problem was basically one of continued co-operation between the Great Powers, both within and without the Organization, accepted the arrangement as the best which it seemed could be obtained under the circumstances. If the Big Four could continue to work together and to support the organization, the other Powers felt that some inequalities within the Charter was not too high a price to pay for the kind of organization which they were prepared to accept.

In addition, and this is the second point I should like to stress, with all its imperfections the organization, as it was defined in the Charter, represented a considerable improvement upon the League of Nations Covenant.

Under the old League, membership did not include many of the most powerful nations; notably the United States and, at first, the U.S.S.R. When the Charter of the United Nations came into effect, all the major Allies were committed to its support. In terms of numerical and geographical effectiveness, the United Nations started with a very considerable advantage over the League of Nations.

The Charter was also clearly superior to the Covenant in that it recognized more clearly that such things as denial of rights, material inequality and racial discrimination contributed to international tension; and therefore it made provision for removing these deeper and more complex causes of war. The Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the provisions concerning human rights stem largely from these considerations. There is no doubt that the approach at San Francisco to the problem of peace and security was much broader and deeper than had been found possible at the end of the first world war.