

The Prime Minister said:

The conference at San Francisco is not the peace conference. The purpose is to provide for the maintenance of peace, once peace has been secured—

And that is very far away.

What exactly is the Dumbarton Oaks agreement? I will try to make it clear by summarizing Mr. Stettinius' article. He said:

We can only prevent—

He should have said "postpone".

—the next war by planning and developing, in cooperation with the other peace-loving peoples of the world, an organized peace that will really work.

The powers represented at Dumbarton Oaks were the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and afterwards France was added as a permanent member of the security council.

What is the other corner of the Dumbarton Oaks agreement mentioned by Mr. Stettinius:

There are four corners to the plan proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. The first is this: peace can be maintained only if the peace-loving nations of the world band together for that purpose.

Then there is "sovereign equality". I quote again from the article by Mr. Stettinius:

The phrase "sovereign equality" is enshrined in Principle Number One of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

So that the countries represented there will have to be sovereign. "National sovereignty remains unimpaired." I quote again:

Each such state, irrespective of size, is an international individuality. Each, therefore, has both a right to a voice in the affairs of the family of nations and a responsibility to share in the task of creating a peaceful world order.

All member states will be represented on an equal footing in the general assembly, the duty of which will be the creation of the international political, economic and social conditions favourable to peace. The proposals also provide for a smaller body of eleven members—the security council—of which the five most prominent nations will be permanent members.

The primary responsibility of the security council is two-fold: (1) prevention, and (2), suppression of war. It will comprise eleven members, five permanent members, representing the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France, and six non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by a two-thirds vote of the general assembly.

The supreme duty of the security council is "to take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and

principles" set down in the charter of the new international organization: (1) measures to prevent wars; (2) measures to suppress wars. Local differences can be settled by regional arrangements without reference to the security council. If those means fail, then the nations are obligated to come to the security council, which has the power, on its own initiative (1) to investigate any dispute, and (2) to recommend methods of adjustment.

Then they recommend an international court of justice, which will be very much like the permanent court of international justice, as Mr. Stettinius says, with minor modifications. There will be no change there.

The security council may call upon the general assembly to apply pressure to any offending state by non-military means. If that is not enough, the security council is empowered to take military action.

Here is what Mr. Stettinius has said about it:

The members of the new international organization would agree, in the charter itself, that throughout these efforts the security council would be acting "on their behalf". They would also agree to assume the obligation to make "armed forces" and "facilities" and "assistance" available to the security council "on its call" and in accordance with special agreements previously concluded. To ensure effective employment of these forces the security council is to be provided with a military staff committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent member nations of the council or their representatives.

If we are to have lasting peace, says Mr. Stettinius, in explaining Dumbarton Oaks, we have to build peace. How will we build it? The economic and social council to be created under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals will consist of eighteen states elected by the general assembly, and holding their posts for three-year terms. This is bureaucracy at its worst. It is still worse than the bureaucracy of the defunct league of nations.

There will also be according to Mr. Stettinius (1) commissions in all fields; (2) technical experts; (3) a secretariat; (4) a research staff for all projects. Then there will also be coordination of (1) the international labour organization; (2) the proposed united nations food and agriculture organization; (3) the proposed international monetary fund or the gold standard; (4) the proposed international bank for reconstruction and development; (5) new international "specialized" organizations in (a) aviation; (b) cartel control; (c) health; (d) education; (e) wire and wireless communications; (f) foreign trade; (g) many agricultural and industrial commodities. They call it an "Advisory economic general staff of the world." Then we would have the fourth cornerstone, progressive reduction of arma-