

Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat. It should also have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

All members of the organisations should be members of the General Assembly, with one vote each. The General Assembly would be a forum for the discussion of the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including disarmament and the regulation of armaments; but it should refer any such questions on which action is necessary to the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members and to suspend or expel offending members, on the recommendation of the Security Council. It should elect non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council, and (upon the recommendation of the Security Council) the Secretary-General. It should supervise the finances of the organisation and initiate studies and make recommendations in the international economic and social field.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members. Representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China and, in due course, France should have permanent seats. The remaining six seats should be filled by other States elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. Primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security should be conferred upon the Security Council, and all other member States should be obliged to accept and carry out its decisions. Provision should be made for non-members of the Security Council to participate in the discussion of matters in which they are themselves involved.

The International Court of Justice should be constituted and function in accordance with a Statute which should be part of the Charter of the organisation. The Statute should be either the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, suitably amended; or a new Statute based on it.

The proposed arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security are set out in some detail. Various methods of peaceful settlement of disputes are indicated. Provision is also made for determining threats to the peace and acts of aggression, and for taking effective action to deal with them. Diplomatic, economic and other measures short of the use of armed force are indicated. In case such measures prove inadequate various forms of military action are specified. Members of the organisation should undertake to give (in accordance with a special agreement or agreements made among themselves) various forms of military assistance. In order to enable urgent military action to be taken, members should hold national air force contingents immediately available for "combined international enforcement action." Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be to advise the council on all military questions and to direct any forces placed at the council's disposal. The Military Staff Committee should consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Provision is made for regional arrangements.

With a view to creating conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly international relations, it is suggested that the organisation should "facilitate solutions of international economic and social problems," and to this end an Economic and Social Council should be set up under the authority of the General Assembly. The various international economic and social bodies should be brought into relationship with the organisation through the Economic and Social Council, which should be composed of representatives of eighteen States members of the organisation.

That provisional agreement should have been reached on so many matters is gratifying, but it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the main point of difference which is outstanding. Agreement has yet to be reached on voting rights and procedure in the Security Council. The Soviet Government remain unshaken in their view that, as agreement between the Great Powers is a *sine qua non* in an organisation of this kind, decisions of the Security Council should require the assent of all the permanent members even when a permanent member is directly involved in a particular dispute.