

The application of the powers of enforcement possessed by the Security Council is naturally reserved for extreme cases, when a threat to the peace or breach of the peace has actually arisen. The Security Council also has wide powers to deal with disputes at an earlier stage, when they are less grave and when there is still good hope of peaceful settlement (Chapter VI). The Security Council is not required to attempt to settle every dispute directly. On the contrary, it must in many cases encourage the parties to settle outside the Council, by peaceful procedures of their own choice. These may include the use of the regional arrangements to which considerable importance is attached in the Charter, and which may also be employed, under the authority of the Security Council and in stated conditions, for enforcement action (Chapter VII).

The *General Assembly*, composed of representatives of all the United Nations, is free to discuss and, with one important limitation, to make recommendations upon any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security; but it does not possess an authority equal to that of the Security Council in this field. So far as the other activities of the United Nations are concerned, the General Assembly is the supreme organ, and has freedom of discussion and recommendation on any questions within the scope of the Charter. It is also the budgetary authority of the United Nations, and apportions the expenses between them. The General Assembly adopts all important decisions by a two-thirds majority. This departure from the rule of unanimity is a major change from the League of Nations Covenant.

Subordinate to the General Assembly, but included in the list of principal organs of the United Nations, are the *Economic and Social Council* (Chapter X) and the *Trusteeship Council* (Chapter XIII). The former is entrusted with the immediate responsibility for the discharge by the Organization of its obligation to promote higher standards of living; full employment; international cultural and educational co-operation; and "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The Trusteeship Council is to assist the General Assembly in the exercise of its functions under the international trusteeship system set up by the Charter, and to supervise the administration of the Mandates when they are eventually transferred.

The two other principal organs of the United Nations are the *International Court of Justice* (Chapter XIV), the Statute of which forms an integral part of the Charter, and the *Secretariat* (Chapter XV).

While the Charter does not measure up to our most earnest hopes, it does exceed our expectations in certain respects and, moreover, it represents a marked improvement over the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which formed the basis of the discussions in San Francisco. It has more life, more breadth and depth, than that somewhat stiff and formal document. It is more flexible, and it is in some respects more democratic. It bears the imprint of many more minds and points of view than did the original.

These improvements reflect the degree of willingness of all the nations, great and small, to travel at least a part of the distance towards the reconciliation of divergent points of view. There were few, if any, delegations which did not find themselves called upon to make some considerable concessions in the interests of the successful conclusion of the Conference. Without that spirit of restraint and co-operation, the Charter would not have been written at all.

The New Zealand delegation, in my opinion, is entitled to look back with a measure of satisfaction on the part it played in the Conference. At the same time, however, I would not presume to claim for it any disproportionate share of the credit for the improvements which were made on the original proposals. Our individual