

New Zealand, Panama, and the Union of South Africa. This sub-committee, on which New Zealand was represented by Mr. J. V. Wilson, held thirteen meetings, and as a result of very heavy labour and lengthy discussion it succeeded in bringing the multifarious amendments into manageable proportions for the final—unfortunately, rather hurried and cursory—consideration of the Committee. On the whole, Chapter I as proposed at Dumbarton Oaks was not materially altered, though some important additions were made, importing the principles of justice, of international law, of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, language, or sex or religion.

One amendment to this Chapter was proposed by the New Zealand delegation—namely, to specify as one of the intentions “to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of every member of the Organization.” The New Zealand amendment found a considerable measure of support in the sub-committee, but ultimately was dropped in favour of an Australian amendment which called upon members not to *preserve* the territorial integrity and political independence of every member, but merely to *refrain* from the threat or use of force against these rights. The New Zealand amendment, however, was intended primarily to introduce (in the Chapter relating to Purposes) another New Zealand amendment (in the Chapter relating to Principles), with reference to collective resistance to aggression, and this latter amendment, as will be seen below, was pressed with a considerable degree of success.

Principles

Little alteration was made to the Chapter on Principles, despite the very large number of amendments suggested. A great number of these covered largely the same ground. Some—such as the principle of respect for treaties—were included in the Preamble, others were telescoped into other adjustments in the Dumbarton Oaks text already referred to, while a considerable number disappeared altogether. As a result of vigorous chairmanship and a very firm limitation of discussion the Chapter was passed by the Committee in a few hours without alteration of the proposals made by the sub-committee.

Three amendments were proposed by the New Zealand delegation:—

(1) The first proposed a new paragraph after paragraph 1, as follows:—

“1A. All members of the Organization solemnly reaffirm and pledge themselves to the principles of the Atlantic Charter of 14 August, 1941, and the United Nations Declaration of 1 January, 1942.”

This proposal was made in one form or another by many delegations, and was opposed by the Great Powers as unnecessary on the main ground that the Charter should stand alone as a complete whole in itself without reference to other documents. A test of the feeling of the Committee was taken very late one night, and the proposal was rejected on a roll call vote by 21-9, New Zealand voting with the minority.

(2) The New Zealand delegation proposed a new paragraph after paragraph 2:—

“2A. All members of the Organization undertake to preserve, protect, and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in particular the rights of freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech, and freedom of worship.”