

would no doubt go far in making the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace.

To conclude my remarks on the defects of the United Nations, I summarize them:

The organization suffers from the basic conflict in the world today which it did not create, though which, on the other hand, it has been able to do little to resolve. It also lacks the power to enforce, the power to coerce members to observe the rules of the organization and its decisions and the power to suppress aggressors. These are important defects, defects which if not corrected in time may prove fatal to the organization.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Coercion, however, as I have emphasized throughout my remarks, is not a substitute for voluntary co-operation between nations. It is recognized in the United Nations that it is the development of more voluntary co-operation which is required if wars are to be avoided. If agreements can be reached by free discussion and negotiation, they are more likely to be durable than acquiescence to decisions in the face of force.

It is in the efforts of the United Nations to substitute pacific solutions for war in the settlement of international disputes that I believe we should look for the principal accomplishments of the organization. Let me cite some of the more important examples:- (1) the Security Council, without the use of force, induced the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Iran; (2) British and French troops were withdrawn from Syria and Lebanon, also without the use of force; (3) In the case of Indonesia, the Security Council was able not only to bring about a Truce after serious fighting had broken out between the Netherland's forces and the Indonesians, but also to obtain agreement to a set of important principles upon which further negotiations have been proceeding, leading to a general political settlement in Indonesia. Here is a case where the efforts of the Council have served to keep the peace affecting 70,000,000 people; (4) India and Pakistan brought their serious dispute over Kashmir to the Security Council. Both parties indicated that there was danger of imminent war which would have involved 400,000,000 inhabitants of that great sub-continent. After a period of prolonged difficult negotiations in which every effort was made to have the parties themselves agree to terms of settlement, the Council recommended terms of settlement to both parties and established a commission to assist them in reaching a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The four cases I have cited as examples of the United Nations all had this in common; they illustrated the effect of the persuasive influence of public opinion brought to bear upon governments through the Security Council. To this audience, most of whom I understand are professionally engaged in teaching, it would be presumptuous for me to stress the importance of public opinion, particularly as a moral influence in democratic countries.

• Through the United Nations this influence, if employed with obvious good-will and embodied in a fair and just recommendation consistent with the principles of the Charter, is bound to have a most determining effect upon a democratic government.

Public opinion not only has a strong influence upon the United Nations. It is in turn shaped and molded by the public debates on international affairs which go on at the United Nations day by day. In this way the public is promptly informed of what is really going on in the world, and a new community of interest and a sense of common purpose is built up between the people of various countries, especially those who are possessed of the same good-will, and a desire for peace and constructive work for common ends.