

which no one has a solution. The attitude of the United States Government to the United Nations after Peking had been admitted provides grounds for the deepest foreboding, and the fact that this issue may be joined at the next session is a major cause of gloom.

12. There is no doubt also that responsible people in the United Nations from all delegations are concerned over the trends of membership. Only the most intransigent still think that we could have avoided the decision on admission of new members some four years ago, but nevertheless the consequences of universality are becoming increasingly worrying. It is taken for granted that the new members will almost automatically join the anti-colonialists. Our hopes that the anti-colonialists would mature gracefully have been shaken by their behaviour in this session. Even such reasonably well-disposed people as the Ghanaians have showed a notable lack of balance, and the unscrupulous zeal with which Guinea was pushed into membership in order to increase the anti-colonialist vote was frightening to behold. It is not surprising, therefore, that the prospect of this situation getting steadily worse has had a particularly unfortunate effect on Western European countries. It takes the form of complete cynicism towards the United Nations and an attitude of uncompromising and bitter resistance which only exacerbates the tensions. As Western Powers see themselves becoming a minority, they display some, at least, of those neurotic tendencies which have characterized other "blocs".

13. One less discouraging factor is that compromise can still be achieved on such issues as the creation of the Special Fund. The strength of the under-developed countries is great and the West has no longer an automatic majority. Nevertheless, it has the money. There are questions which require expenditures or such things as the provision of forces or the status of a dependent territory on which no majority can prevail. The anti-colonialist countries will press very hard and they have a great tendency to exaggerate; nevertheless some of them do recognize the limits of their power. They will make life continually more difficult for the colonial powers and incite trouble, but they cannot force these countries to abandon their colonial territories. As for the Soviet Union, it makes some profit from the propaganda involved, but some of its interests are not entirely different from those of the major Western Powers. As the Communist states themselves contribute more to economic aid projects, they will be even less anxious to allow the under-developed countries to squeeze money out of them. Perhaps one may hope also that increasing Soviet involvement in the Middle East, for example, and the increasing awareness on the part of Arab countries of the dangers of Soviet imperialism, will mean that, although the Western powers will undoubtedly continue to bear the scourge of anti-colonialist fury, the Russians will make less profit out of it.

Policy Proposals

The question arises as to the attitudes and policies which we should adopt in the light of changing circumstances in the United Nations.

We might consider first whether we should revise our attitude to what the United Nations might be expected to accomplish and how it might best do so at the present time. There is no more possibility now of exorcising the United Nations than there was in the past. We may not like certain trends but we cannot by-pass the United Nations or run away from it. The institution is more deeply rooted than ever in the popular mind, and whatever distaste for it may be felt by the older powers, its importance becomes steadily greater in the eyes of the more recently emancipated countries. Whether we like it or not issues will go to the United Nations and we shall have to cope with them there. We can, however, adjust our attitudes on how they are best treated and on the extent to which they should be dealt with in the standard organs of the United Nations or off in the wings.