

Other organizations have done that and they have failed. The League of Nations cried foul and then cried wolf. And it collapsed and with that collapse came conflict. And the UN itself, gripped by the Cold War, so often issued declarations, and statements and condemnations -- fine words. But they were words which the world ignored because the world knew those words would not be backed up by action. The United Nations was not created as a seminar or as a soapbox for sermons. It was created as a place where world leaders could talk to avert war and where, if that talk failed, action would be taken. That's what the UN was for. That's what the Charter says. That's what the world was unable to do for decades. That's what it is able to do now.

The United Nations we now see is not the United Nations we had come to expect. We were used to a United Nations which talked and exhorted and condemned. We were used to a United Nations which took action only in other fields -- in the field of development, humanitarian assistance, education, and the exchange of information. That action is important in its own terms, as well as for peace and security. But that action does not reflect the United Nations' security mandate, its agenda to act against aggression.

The United Nations was invented to deter aggression and reverse it if deterrence failed. That is sometimes called peacemaking, the topic of your deliberations today. The debate over the Gulf has seen distinctions made between peacemaking and peacekeeping. It is stated by some that the UN should keep the peace but not make the peace. It is stated that Canada should keep the peace but not make the peace. It is stated that we will not now be able to keep the peace because we are making it now in the Gulf.

I do not accept those statements nor the trade-offs they pretend. Peacekeeping does not even appear on the Charter of the United Nations. Peacekeeping was an invention of the Cold War, an invention of necessity because the UN did not work. It was invented not because of the great powers, but despite them. It was invented to pick up the pieces once conflict had concluded, conflict the UN could neither deter nor counter.

Canadians helped invent peacekeeping. Its architect, Lester Pearson, won the Nobel Prize. And its participants -- 43,000 of whom have been Canadians -- won another Nobel Prize two years ago. Peacekeeping is exploding. Last year saw more peacekeeping missions mounted than in the entire history of the United Nations. And, if the UN remains credible, this activity will expand in the future to the Western Sahara, Cambodia and elsewhere.

Peacekeeping is precious. Its role in separating former combatants allows peace to be built and stability to