

when collective security was betrayed -- we can admit that -- and when states fell one by one before the aggressor. Nor are we going to repeat the mistakes of June 1950 when we were not organized to carry out quickly the collective security obligations we had undertaken when we signed the Charter. The purpose of the first of the three resolutions before the General Assembly is to help us to avoid making these mistakes in the future.

This resolution has been attacked, and very vigorously attacked, as aimed against, for one thing, the unanimity of the great powers. That, as I see it, is nonsense. No one has more to gain from such unanimity than the smaller and middle-sized powers. But what is the use of a unanimity which can be achieved only by doing nothing, which is used as a cloak of obstruction and reaction? That kind of unanimity is meaningless and will get us nowhere.

Resolution "A" has also been attacked as a violation of the Charter. In this Assembly some honest doubts have been expressed about its constitutionality, and, as honest doubts, the sponsors of the resolution respect them. Nevertheless, we feel convinced that the resolution is within the terms of the Charter. We believe that the Assembly has the power to make recommendations on the subjects dealt with in it, although it would not have the power to make decisions which would automatically impose commitments or enforcement obligations on the Members of the United Nations.

There has been a great deal of legal argument in respect to this resolution, but I suspect that nothing that we can do or say on that subject will make any impression on the delegations of the Soviet bloc, who keep on repeating that it is a flagrant violation of the Charter. It should not, however, escape notice that those same delegations, who use such hard language about the legality of this resolution and have constituted themselves as the guardians and guarantors of the purity of our Charter, have at the same time submitted an amendment to resolution "C", which is before us, which would certainly make that resolution completely and entirely a violation of the Charter. Article 23, paragraph 1 of the Charter reads:

"The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America...".

But the amendment to resolution "C", which has been introduced by the Soviet delegation, proposes that the first part of the operative part of the resolution should be redrafted to read as follows:

"Recommends to the permanent members of the Security Council, namely, the People's Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America...".

You will note that in that listing of the permanent members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union delegation has added one little word to the list contained in Article 23