

support of the great Powers was given although not in the spirit of unanimity presupposed by the Charter.

Each crisis which the United Nations has faced has called for a particular response based on the prevailing political circumstances. Nonetheless, a pattern for peace-keeping has gradually emerged, of immediate significance and value but also of far-reaching importance to the international community and to all nations prepared to abide by the developing rules for international co-operation. Typical of this pattern are the present activities of the United Nations in the Congo. In this instance, following a broad directive from the Security Council, the Secretary General appealed to middle and small powers to provide the required troops. The governments of these countries, many of whom are struggling to develop economically, were able to respond immediately to this request only on the assumption first that they would be reimbursed by the United Nations for additional costs incurred and second that the United Nations and not themselves would meet the day to day costs of the operation.

Following this pattern, many of the responsibilities for peace and security which the Charter sought to place on the Great Powers have been transferred to a growing number of Middle and Small Powers. By agreement, actual armed forces of the Great Powers have been excluded from these United Nations peace-keeping operations although certain Great Powers have provided many of the essential facilities and services. The burden of providing personnel and much of the equipment, has fallen on Middle and Small Powers; nevertheless, the political and financial responsibility for the operations has rested on the United Nations as a whole. Every member state has an interest in the efforts of the United Nations to maintain peace and security and none can evade the United Nations responsibility for pursuing those aims.

What I have been describing is a pattern of international order which the United Nations has been developing during the past decade. I ask members of the Committee to recall how often in that decade we have owed the preservation of peace to the success of that development.

There are those member states who have witnessed this unfolding pattern with hostility. They have seen it as a growing obstacle to the promotion of selfish national interest. They have attempted, and are attempting, to distort the pattern and disrupt the process while it is still developing.