

There have been encouraging developments in this sense recently. Even in the brief space of time since we last met, relationships between the great powers have undergone a remarkable transformation. Earlier this year in Moscow, the two nuclear super-powers signed a Declaration on Basic Principles governing their relations, an agreement limiting anti-ballistic missile systems, and an interim agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. Furthermore, the Soviet Union and the United States have reaffirmed the undertaking in the Non-Proliferation Treaty to pursue their negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and bring about actual measures of nuclear disarmament. The nuclear sponsors of the Non-Proliferation Treaty have a particular responsibility to adopt measures to curtail the nuclear arms race and thereby prevent further nuclear proliferation. One such measure would be a ban on all nuclear testing. Surely it is time for the two super-powers to end underground tests, for the two states which continue to test in the atmosphere to cease their testing and for a complete test ban to be concluded.

The international community has a right to expect that the agreements concluded in Moscow will open the way to more far-reaching nuclear arms control and disarmament measures. But it by no means underestimates the historic significance of what has already been accomplished. Surely this amounts to a recognition that the search for a one-sided strategic advantage has become self-defeating and illusory, and that the way ahead lies through a stabilized nuclear balance to nuclear disarmament itself.

In this same brief space of time, to Canada's great satisfaction, the People's Republic of China has taken its rightful place in the United Nations. Relations between China and the United States, and between China and Japan, have witnessed a dramatic improvement. In Europe, breeding-ground of two world wars, the most significant steps in this generation have been taken to reconstruct relations between the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Soviet Union on the other. The first general negotiations on co-operation and security in Europe since before the Second World War will soon begin, as well as negotiations to bring about a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe.

Caution says that all these developments are only beginnings. But they could mark the greatest change in the international order since the United Nations was founded. If we are right to say that the United Nations reflects the international order on which it is based, can we be wrong to hope that these beginnings will sooner or later transform the United Nations as well? There are other hopeful developments also. Dialogues have now begun between the two halves of Germany and Korea. These face enormous difficulties. But we can expect that in the not too distant future, the universality of the United Nations will be strengthened through the extension of membership to the peoples of the divided countries. It will be strengthened also as self-determination brings the era of colonial empires to its final end, especially in Africa where the most intractable problems of securing human dignity and freedom are posed.

Although the recent proceedings of the Security Council give little support to the view, surely also it is no longer visionary to conceive of situations in which the Council will function as was originally intended, by consensus of the permanent members of the United Nations as a whole, through co-operation rather than confrontation.