

trial and error found ways to keep fighting from breaking out in several parts of the world. Also, the United Nations, by serving as a place for discussion and an agency for the peaceful settlement of disputes, has itself helped a good deal to improve relations between East and West.

The lesson to be drawn from this is that it will take many years to make the United Nations into a really effective world organization. We shall have to find new ways of getting along with other countries. Every country will have to give up something of its own interests, in the interest of a better world.

Two of the most important challenges facing the United Nations are peace keeping and the problem of under-development. The overwhelming majority of United Nations member states are under-developed countries. So long as this condition persists, there cannot be any expectation of lasting peace and stability. We must help these countries to develop their economies. In so doing, we are making it easier for the United Nations to achieve peace in the world.

#### PEACE KEEPING AND FINANCING

Of course, peace keeping has been a special preoccupation of Canada's since the United Nations was founded.

All nations agree that the United Nations should improve its ability to keep the peace. The basic purpose of the organization is, after all, the maintenance of peace and security. In this field the effectiveness of the United Nations depends on the means it has available for action. Unfortunately, to date, peace-keeping operations have been organized without much advance planning. It has been impossible to reach agreement as to the ways in which these operations should, in general, be authorized, controlled and financed.

The Charter must, of course, be our starting point. However, part of the trouble is that the United Nations has been called upon to deal with situations that were not clearly set forth in the Charter. Also, the idea of collective security in the Charter has undergone significant changes. The changes have been gradual; each has been made for a good reason at the time. We can see how this has happened. The enforcement provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter have, in practice, been abandoned in favour of recommendations. The General Assembly, and not just the Security Council, can start peace-keeping action in certain circumstances. The smaller and middle powers have been asked to help by using their armed forces....

We in Canada regret that, in recent years, fewer states have accepted the principle of collective financial responsibility for the costs of peace-keeping operations. Nevertheless, in the dispute over this issue in the last couple of years, there was really no reasonable alternative for the United Nations but to come to terms with the strongly-held views of the Soviet Union and France. Moreover, I would hope that in the future, for basically the same reasons, differences of opinion that may develop over issues of principle will not be pushed to the point where any important member or group of members might feel impelled to leave the Organization.

#### CANADIAN APPROACH

*First*, we believe that the maximum possible sharing of the cost, preferably by collective assessment, is the fairest method of financing peace keeping. It should be the first method to be considered. Where it is decided to split up the costs of an operation among all members, this should be done according to a special scale which, among other things, takes account of the ability to pay, of the developing countries.

*Second*, the functions and powers of the Security Council and of the General Assembly should be regarded as complementary. Either one can have a role to play. If the Security Council is unable to act because of disagreement amongst the great powers, then the General Assembly must be allowed to consider the matter and to recommend to governments what they should do if they so desire. It can be expected that the Assembly, before reaching any decision, will take into account views expressed in the Security Council.

*Third*, the United Nations must have the technical and military ability to act when required. This accounts for the Canadian interest in advance planning and the provision of stand-by forces for United Nations service.

There are many more things that must be looked into. For example, in the future the United Nations will have to pay much more attention to developing its ability as a conciliator in seeking solutions to the underlying political disputes which have led to conflict. In the past, United Nations intervention has too often tended to freeze a situation.

In the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the organization, U Thant pointed out that United Nations peace-keeping operations "have often seemed to possess the limitations of their own success, namely, that they have helped over long periods to contain and isolate explosive situations without really affecting the basic causes of conflict". He went on to suggest that the very fact that operations such as the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) have become an accepted and semi-permanent part of the way of life in these areas, has created problems. It has tended to reduce the sense of urgency which might otherwise stimulate the parties concerned to search for a basic solution of their differences. This is no reflection on the conduct of these operations but, as the Secretary-General says, it is, nonetheless, a dilemma which all countries ought to study carefully in relation to both existing and future peace-keeping operations.

#### CHALLENGE OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT

...The problem is so great that it is not easy to understand. The statistics reveal the shocking reality. Two-thirds of the world's population live in under-developed countries which together command only one-sixth of the world's income. In this "Model General Assembly", then, the overwhelming majority of student delegates will be representing countries with a per capita income of less than \$250, compared to the United States' per capita income of about \$3,000. There is a vast gap between the majority of states which are poor or very poor, and a small group of industrially-developed, high-income countries....