

now frankly admit that we cannot make an international organization in which the U.S.S.R. as it is at present constituted and directed, a member. Should we either attempt to reorganize the United Nations without the Russians or seek some other form of organization which includes them? My own answer to this question is most definitely that we should maintain at all costs the universal character of the organization, recognizing the limitations of a universal organization in a divided world. We are now fully aware of the difficulties and limitations which the organization encounters because the U.S.S.R. has objectives different from ours, and because they have methods of operation with which we are not familiar and which at times tempt us to despair. In spite of these handicaps, however, I am myself satisfied that we must persevere in the experiment, because an international organization like the United Nations represents the application of the principle which all nations must recognize as valid in international affairs, that no nation can live in peace and attain its own national security save in collective action to maintain international peace and security. The alternative would take us back to the position which existed before 1939. During those earlier years an attempt was made to establish an international organization which did not include all the great centres of material strength and military power in the world. We found that it was no use trying to make important decisions in the absence of the United States and -- for most of the period -- of the U.S.S.R. Decisions which depend on the co-operation or at least the acquiescence of all the great powers, if they are taken in an organization in which those powers are not all present, will inevitably be unreal and impractical. It is better therefore to do whatever is possible within the limits of the existing organization. For this reason, I feel we are committed to carrying out and carry on the experiment, however much it may cost in time and effort and patience -- and in the weariness that comes from long negotiation, often for small results.

Perhaps we are now in a better position to persevere with the experiment because we have, during recent months, frankly admitted that the United Nations does not, in present circumstances, fulfil its primary purpose -- that is to guarantee the security of its members. We not only have we admitted this fact, but we have set about providing against the present deficiencies of the United Nations. We have done this through the North Atlantic Treaty, which was recently signed in Washington and which is now in the course of being ratified by the States which signed it. I am glad to say that Canada has already ratified it, the first amongst the signatories to do so. In this respect we have, I think, given to the nations of the western world the means by which they can gain that kind of safety which comes from a pooling of resources amongst like-minded people. We have also given a greater measure of stability to the international scene. The events which are now taking place in Germany are, I am confident, a direct result of the determination which the Western Powers have shown to maintain with firmness their essential interests, and are an evidence of this new stability.

Because we have now admitted the existence of a divided world, it is a good deal easier for us to devise practical means of coming to terms with it. One of the first results of this admission is that we have realized that the division may not be as easy to maintain as the Soviet Union which forced it upon us seemed to think. There is an imperative quality about the conception of one world which in the long run will make it prevail. We are operating on the assumption that we can bring about that unity by agreement and without major conflict. This will obviously not be accomplished as easily as quickly as we had hoped in 1945 and 1946. One encouraging sign, however, is the mounting evidence that the iron curtain casts its darkest shadow on those who built it and put it in place. The economic ills of Europe alone are demonstrating how desperate and unnatural a