

Second: Even with the benefit of nearly a quarter-century of experience, we don't seem to have learned the lesson that confrontation between nations is no substitute for negotiation. During the past few years there has been mounting evidence that the great powers have recognized the sterility of cold-war policies, but we have yet to see this realization translated into effective action. There is also the practice, which has become so common that it is taken for granted, of forcing the Assembly to vote on resolutions that attempt to translate moral judgments into calls for action which the organization manifestly has not the capacity, or, in some cases, the legal authority, to carry out. Resolutions of this kind only hurt the cause they purport to serve.

Third: The programs and activities carried out by the UN family of organizations have multiplied during the last ten years. During that period, the total of the assessed budgets has more than doubled and, if the present growth-rate were to continue, would reach half a billion dollars by 1974. The absence of effective control of budget expansion has meant that priorities have become blurred. Programs have been carried on long after they have ceased to be relevant to needs. Personnel with inadequate qualifications or capacities have been recruited and kept on rather than weeded out, and as a result the quality of the work of the organization has deteriorated.

The cure for this illness is a period of consolidation of existing activities before striking out in too many new directions. Action of this kind will enable us to take best advantage of the useful advice that will be forthcoming in the report of the Enlarged Committee on Program and Co-ordination and in Sir Robert Jackson's study on the capacity of UN agencies to administer development assistance programs.

I feel that I must express in the strongest terms my conviction that continued failure to deal effectively with these institutional problems has already begun to erode the foundations of the United Nations as a cathedral of hope for the aspirations of mankind. Powerful and wealthy nations may be able to contemplate this process with only a modicum of concern. For most member nations represented here, however, such a prospect is intolerable.

Madame President, you are known to all of us for your personal devotion to the United Nations as well as for being the distinguished representative of a charter member which has contributed much to the organization. What I have just said shows that we share the views, expressed so cogently in your speech, about the future of this institution and what member states must do about it. For these reasons, may I express the hope that in fulfilling your high office as President of this Assembly, you, and the officers elected to assist you, will accept as a challenge to your leadership the urgent need to launch a vigorous program of renewal? The new shoe of restraint and self-discipline will be bound to pinch for a time, but the resources saved can be used for constructive purposes. I am sure I speak for many delegations as well as my own when I pledge to do everything possible to assist you in this task.