

It is clear that both as a forum where world public opinion can be expressed and brought to bear on particular issues and as an agency capable of coping with certain issues arising outside the immediate sphere of interest of the two main blocs, the United Nations has served, and continues to serve a very useful purpose in spite of all obstacles. I am fully and regretfully aware that this is far from the full loaf we had hoped for in 1945. But, half a loaf should not be despised, particularly as this is not the full extent of the United Nations contribution in the political and security sphere.

The record shows that on one special occasion, the United Nations has indeed been able to mobilize more than moral force. The story of United Nations action in Korea is disappointing in many respects. The aggressor was not defeated as decisively as many would have liked. Many nations which supported strongly the principle of collective United Nations action have been weak in performance and their contributions have sometimes been belated and inadequate to the point where it appeared that the burden of resistance was to be left to a few nations and particularly to one. Nevertheless, to me, the Korean record, in spite of its shortcomings, shows clearly that on certain issues, the conscience of the world can be roused and policies adopted in the knowledge that they will have moral and material support from a majority of nations. This is important for domestic and international purposes alike and international aggressors are not likely to overlook it in planning their moves. In this respect also, I consider that the United Nations has contributed to the preservation of peace and security.

What is also significant and increases in my view the actual and potential usefulness of the organization is that as a result of the Korean incident, the Organization has developed new machinery which could be put to quick use, not only to deter but also to defeat aggression. The Assembly, where no veto operates, can be called together on short notice and take the security measures which are required. Next time, if there has to be a next time, the uncertainties, the fumbings which accompanied the decisions on Korea need not be repeated. And this knowledge and experience is not limited to procedural matters; it extends to such practical and highly important matters as unified command, strategic direction, reconstruction and rehabilitation schemes as well as logistic support. In the future, the United Nations through the Assembly should be able to enforce its convictions with greater speed and efficiency and with broader participation.

There is another chapter in this story of collective security. As the Security Council was unable to provide for such security and as East-West tension increased, nations everywhere realized that there was mortal peril in isolation and they sought protection in more limited association for defence with like-minded nations. As a result, there developed regional agreements such as the Brussels Pact, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the North Atlantic Treaty. Due to the flexibility which had been written into the Charter, these security arrangements could be developed as alternative to the broader arrangements which had been foreseen initially. These Treaties expressly recognize the principles of the United Nations Charter and provide for action