

shown and until the major issues which now divide the Great Powers have abated. Indeed, even in the best of circumstances, I think it will be only by a very gradual process of evolution in custom and precedent, by the constant exercise of self-restraint on the part of both of those who possess the veto and those who do not possess it, by the working out of techniques for reaching agreement, by experiment and often by trial and error that the veto shall be allowed to fall into disuse. In the meantime, we shall have to make the best of a situation in which it may at any time be used to frustrate action which is proposed in the Security Council.

There are other and even more intangible difficulties which complicate the work of the organization. An attempt is being made to lay down the basis for a world government, but both the principles and practice of government in various parts of the world is so varied that people often have the greatest difficulty in understanding each other's conceptions. I will give you one example although many others could be cited. It was originally thought that the United Nations might make use of groups of experts who would make judgments on international problems, not as representatives of states but as international civil servants. Provision was made for commissions and committees of this nature in the structure of the United Nations but when the time came to establish these commissions, it became clear that the idea of an independent expert, acting without instructions from a government, was completely foreign to officials of the Soviet Union. I listened, on one occasion, to a representative of the Soviet Union discussing this problem. He was genuinely perplexed by the proposal to establish commissions of independent experts. International commissions, he said, should negotiate. How could a member of a commission negotiate unless he were told by his government how far he could go? Experts were to advise the negotiators and to produce the figures which they needed, but in the last analysis the result of any discussion in an international body must represent the compromise between the wishes of all parties. Experts could not make compromises, he said, only the diplomats had the doubtful distinction of being able to engage in this kind of activity. Because of these objections, the conception of the independent technical expert operating without instructions from his government has almost, though not quite, been surrendered, for the time being at least. I do not think this is because of any deliberate effort to undermine the United Nations, but because of a genuine inability to fit this type of activity into the political system of some member states.

In the face of these enormous and complicated difficulties, one may very well ask whether the United Nations is worth the time and effort. This, of course, is a question of high policy and all that I can do is to fill in a few of the things which to me seem at the moment to make it imperative to continue the experiment. In the first place we have at the moment, in a real sense, beginnings of a government organized on a wider scale than has ever before been attempted. It may be that some of the parties will eventually contract out of the agreement, but it is not certain that the experiment will fail for that reason. Interesting comparisons have recently been made with the situation existing in the United States after the American Revolution. The American Constitution, and the