

Let us consider, for example, the situation in regard to the discussion in the Security Council of a problem such as Kashmir. One way of dealing with that problem would have been to suggest that the United Nations take over responsibility for the administration of the territory during the period necessary to hold a plebiscite. This action, however, apart from its merits, had the disadvantage that it would have committed the Security Council to a very great undertaking involving many risks. A great power might have proposed such a course of action, knowing that, if the arrangements eventually did not seem to be working out in a satisfactory manner, it could protect itself by the use of the veto. A small power might have proposed it knowing that, whether the arrangements worked successfully or not, it would not be seriously involved. A middle power, however, proposing strong action of this nature, might subsequently find that, because of Big Power disagreement or for some other reasons, the plan was going through in a manner that could not possibly be effective and yet, because of its own initiative, it would be under heavy obligation to make resources available for the undertaking. It is not surprising, therefore, that a power of middle rank should act with considerable caution in taking any initiative in the Security Council which involves the use of force.

The difficulty to which I have just referred is of course in itself a symptom of the political tension which at the present moment handicaps the work of the United Nations. The original conception of the Security Council was that it should be a group of responsible people supported by a group of responsible nations, who should pool their knowledge and their wisdom in attempting to resolve international disputes and threats to the peace. So far, however, except on one or two occasions, the Security Council has not risen above the level of a group of representatives of states, approaching each problem in terms of the interests of the states they represent. In these circumstances, the great powers should not expect that states in a less privileged position in the United Nations, which share their responsibility in world affairs, should place themselves in exposed positions.

So far I have been talking almost exclusively about the disadvantages and difficulties which the middle powers encounter in the United Nations. In the end, however, I come back to the point at which I began and reiterate what seems to be the paramount importance of the United Nations to powers of middle rank - an importance which, as I suggested, may be even greater than in the case of either large or small powers. For this reason one should expect a contribution to the work of international organization commensurate with the stake which they have in the experiment. In conclusion, therefore, I should like to suggest very briefly the particular contribution which the middle powers can make to the United Nations.

If the experiment works out, and if over a period of a decade or more, a genuine and effective security organization has been established through the operation of the United Nations, the organization can be certain of the firm and consistent support of the middle powers, by reason of the compelling motive that I have suggested, that these powers have so great a stake in its success. This support will be made effective by the resources which the middle powers can place at the disposal of the organization, resources which, added to those that the great powers in any area could place at the disposal of the organization, might well tip the balance between success or failure in resolving a threat of war. So great is the interest which the middle powers have in a successful security organization, that I think it is possible to count on their support also in any plans which are made for effective security arrangements within the Charter of the United Nations under Article 51. In Canada, for example, there have in recent weeks been a number of outspoken official statements to the effect that the Canadian Government would view with favour any arrangements which, within the structure of the United Nations, would consol-