

and next by our acceptance of membership on the Security Council we have taken upon ourselves responsibilities which normally would not be ours. Your government, through its representative on the Security Council, must give its anxious and earnest deliberation to disputes which seem remote from us, and which were not of our making. We are concerned with Indonesia, with Palestine, with Kashmir, contributing what we can to the solution of ancient problems and of ancient wrongs which antedate by centuries our very existence as a nation. We have no ambitions beyond our own frontiers; our one great aim is to live at peace with all our neighbours and to make our own land a better place for our citizens to live in. But for all our good will, and despite our readiness to help in the right ordering of the world, we are faced with this present situation in which, as I have said, we seem farther from a secure and lasting peace than three years ago, or even than at this time last year; and this is a melancholy thing to say to a gathering of Canadian citizens.

Now why is it that, so far, the United Nations has not been effective? Well, we must remember that it was set up before the end of the war for the purpose of taking over and maintaining peace after peace had been restored to the world; but the making of the peace was to remain the responsibility of those who were providing and who had provided the most effective contribution in the prosecution of the war. The fighting came to an end with the unconditional surrender of all our enemies; but the great powers, who thus retained special responsibilities and who were given special functions under the Charter, have not yet been able to carry into the peace the co-operation which made it possible for them and for us to win the war.

Under the provisions of the Charter, no major decision could be taken without the concurrence of the five great powers or, in other words, any one of the five great powers had the right to prevent effective action by the use of the veto. We had been told that this right of veto would be sparingly used and exercised only when the power resorting to it honestly felt that it was in the interest of the whole organization to prevent a certain course of action. Now, one of the great powers has consistently been using its veto to prevent constructive action of any kind from being adopted. It is a nation in which totalitarian communism prevails and it has, by its veto, attempted to prevent constructive action on our part and at the same time it has sponsored and supported subversive revolutionary communism in many other countries.

I shall not attempt to make anything like a complete survey of what has been going on, but I will point out two or three of the salient features of this terrible situation.

There has been, first of all, the failure to reach any agreement about the German peace settlement. It must be obvious that, without some agreement on the solution, political and economic, of the problem presented by 80 million Germans located in the very heart of Europe; there can be no assurance