

starting United Nations peace-keeping machinery. There has been an unfortunate passing of time during which the actual situation in Cyprus has deteriorated. There is a potential danger of civil war and international conflict. The need for immediate action is clear.

The dilemma which the United Nations faces in Cyprus is a microcosm of the many difficulties which have been hampering the organization for some time -- the great powers are divided on how the situation should be dealt with whether inside the United Nations framework or outside it. The parties directly concerned are widely divided on the kind of solution needed and quite obviously require outside and impartial assistance. In a sense, the situation on the island is a matter of domestic jurisdiction, normally precluding United Nations intervention, even though the international risks are great. Many members of the United Nations are either uninterested or hesitant about becoming involved. Already heavily engaged in the Middle East, the Congo and elsewhere, and beset by a financial crisis of serious proportions, the United Nations is hard pressed to find funds for a new operation. There is the question whether the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Secretary-General should have the main political control. There are issues of human rights at stake, questions of treaty interpretation and implementation, a problem of nation building from elements of diverse ethnic origin and religious belief. There may be a pressing demand for economic and social assistance if Cyprus is to have viable statehood.

These are some of the main elements of the dilemma. They go a long way to explain the delays in putting United Nations machinery to work in Cyprus. Some of them are worth examining more closely in order to illustrate the basic problems of the United Nations at the present time.

Political Factors

On the political front, it seems clear that the powers concerned cannot reach sufficient agreement among themselves to bring about a solution without United Nations assistance. The fact that earlier efforts outside the United Nations led inevitably to Security Council consideration of the problem demonstrated this point. The wisdom of the move was reflected in the fact that the Council adopted a resolution giving the United Nations, and specifically the Secretary-General, authority to act.

Canada believes that the Security Council should exercise its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and that the General Assembly should not try to usurp that responsibility unless the Council has failed to act. The United Nations can no more afford to be dominated by regional majorities than by the great powers or any combination of them. This position has been held by Canada ever since San Francisco and we have consistently sought to have it accepted generally in the United Nations.

Canada believes, too, that the United Nations should be able to resolve effectively in Cyprus as it has in other situations broadly similar in nature. In Lebanon in 1958, it succeeded in quelling an incipient civil war and in helping to bring about national reconciliation. In the Congo in 1960, it assumed a heavy responsibility which it could not shirk for fear that deterioration would lead to wider conflict. The assistance rendered in Yemen during the past year was similarly motivated.