

some means may be provided by which a country like Canada or a country like Belgium may be afforded the opportunity of having its interests protected.

This method of functional representation can be exemplified by citing the instance of Norway. Norway could hardly expect to hold on the security council the same position, in terms of the employment of military and economic force, as a country like Canada. But Norway would certainly want to have an important place in any body that dealt with shipping. I think this is a good example of the application of functional representation on the security council which might be applied to the middle powers.

There is another suggestion that might be made. Some arrangements might be made for temporary membership in a given instance covering matters which would involve the ultimate use by a country like Canada of its resources, both economic and human.

Then a point that I think we must keep in mind is this: We must recognize the fact that we have to reconcile membership in this international organization with the means by which it is to be made effective. The position of the assembly being merely that of a place to exchange views, being merely a decorative body, would I think be psychologically disturbing, not only to the smaller and the middle nations but to the people of the world.

While one would not suggest weakening the power of the security council as a security agency in terms of punitive and restraining action, in terms of sanctions, it surely should be possible to extend the scope of the assembly, as has just been suggested by the previous speaker.

The proposal is now made that in the case of the council, where it is recognized that there will sometimes be the necessity of quick or almost automatic action, members of the united nations or of the world security organization, who are not members of the council, either in a permanent or in a non-permanent capacity, should be given an opportunity to express by a two-thirds vote approval or disapproval of the action taken by the security council. In the event of a two-thirds vote being recorded the matter would become binding on all members of the assembly.

We must recognize the inevitable. We are living in a disturbed world, a world of unbelievably difficult problems. It is not a world as easy as the world that faced Wilson and Smuts in 1918 and 1919. The fact is, as President Roosevelt said in his message to congress in January of this year:

[Mr. Martin.]

We can deny that power is a factor . . . but in a democratic world, as in a democratic nation, power must be linked with responsibility and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good.

I recognize the weakness of the league of nations. I recognize the anaemic character of responsibility without power, but I must say that power without responsibility is just as mischievous. What we have to do is to try to reconcile these two facts in our efforts to set up an organization that not only will work but that will prove acceptable to those powers without whom it cannot work.

The fact is that if we are going to justify the tremendous sacrifices made by our fighting men we have to take steps this time to see that Germany and Japan are never allowed again to raise their heads in aggression. If that is to be done, the only way it can be done is by recognizing where power lies. That power for the moment lies in three great nations, or possibly in another nation, which I include for certain fairly obvious reasons.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

### After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MARTIN: Before the adjournment I concluded by saying that one had to recognize that if the world security organization now under discussion was to be operative, we must realize also that power without responsibility, which characterized the failure of the league, would also characterize the failure of this organization; that what we had to have was not only responsibility but the power to enforce decisions arising out of that responsibility. Senator Ball of the United States, who has given this matter a good deal of thought, and has been outspoken in his views, supporting however the general thesis, has given expression to what I think we all really have in our minds. We are faced with the inevitable obligation of making sure that the sixty nations of the world which it is hoped will ultimately come into this world security organization, will not be thwarted, but will have an opportunity of playing their full part in the developing character of the organization. While we recognize that the great powers on the security council must have powers without which the full force of their military and economic strength could not be enlisted, we shall all want to make sure that that does not mean an unwarranted use of power or an arbitrary use of power, because that would be contrary to the fundamental political beliefs