

"In the Congo alone, the political confusion, the violence and the outside interference have imposed a staggering burden, which a few years ago might have been regarded as being beyond the capacity of the United Nations. This has been only one of several important activities which have sorely taxed the resources of the organization.

CRISIS IN THE UN

"During the past year or so, the United Nations has been passing through a period of internal crisis. It has been faced with an urgent need for adjustments to meet the pressures of a greatly enlarged membership. It has been threatened by bankruptcy because of the failure of financial support from some important members. It has been under sharp attack from the Soviet Union, which seems bent on destroying or dominating the organization by neutralizing its executive arm.

"Following the admission of many new states from Asia and Africa, majority opinion in the United Nations and consequently voting patterns have radically changed from earlier days. The attitude and influence of the African states, the largest single group in the General Assembly, is a new and sometimes unpredictable factor. The newly emerging nations have brought about a rising tide of sentiment about colonial issues and racial discrimination.

"The sharpest criticism and condemnation on colonial issues has been directed against the Western powers administering territories overseas. Difficult as it is to understand, there has been no complaint about the Soviet Union's ugly domination of subject peoples.

PROBLEM OF FINANCES

"The United Nations is gravely harmed by the substantial shortfall in its finances. Quite clearly, expenses of the organization should be borne collectively by all members. The Charter imposes this obligation in unmistakable terms. And it goes further; Article 19 prescribes that members who are in arrears in the payment of financial contributions shall have no vote in the General Assembly.

"At the sixteenth session, the General Assembly took extraordinary steps to deal with the main problems of financing. Canada took the lead in securing the adoption of a resolution seeking an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the question of the legal obligations of members to contribute to the costs of peace-keeping operations. Canada co-sponsored a second resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to issue bonds in the amount of \$200 million. Canada's attitude on these questions reflects its interest in developing the peace-keeping role of the United Nations and in establishing a sound basis whereby the financial burden will be equitably shared by the whole membership.

"No international organization can hope to survive in the face of increasing demands and responsibilities if it is not assured adequate financial resources. There can be no justification for expecting that some members will carry a disproportionately heavy financial burden while others, with no less

capacity to pay, shall be allowed to contribute only to those enterprises which they happen to like.

RIVALRY OF POWER BLOCS

"A major cause of weakness of the United Nations today is the continuing rivalry among the principal power groupings. These cross-currents of competition are not new. The cold war, the so-called colonial struggle and the contest for leadership in the United Nations have existed from the beginning. Of late, the competition has been intensified because the various power groupings have moved into a position of closer balance.

"These conditions reflect the complex adjustments in a changing world. They could signify the beginning of a new and stronger United Nations but only if the member states continue to recognize the compelling need for international organization in the complicated world of today.

THE CREDIT SIDE

"And even with its limitations, the United Nations has much on the credit side. No member state has left the organization. Instead, the United Nations has gathered in the emerging new states which have made admission to the United Nations a landmark of their attainment of independence. The hope for the future is that when the new nations have found their place in the international community — and membership in the United Nations will undoubtedly help them to do so — they will fully utilize the United Nations for strengthening the foundations of peace and security through collective co-operation.

"The elements exist under the Charter system for the kind of co-operation required to bring about accommodation, compromise and, ultimately, the harmony essential to international order. But there must be a conscious return to the basic purposes and methods of the United Nations — to the ways of mediation, negotiation and conciliation.

"First and foremost, instead of the heavy emphasis on emotional issues, the United Nations must continue to concentrate on the fundamental purpose of preserving peace. It should heed, above all, the stirring declaration of aims which begins with the determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Its main challenge is to place the attainment of its purposes in perspective and to establish priorities for the achievement of its aims.

"Secondly, to do justice to its aims, the United Nations must be morally and materially strong. It must resist any tendency to mobilize maximum opinion behind angry condemnations and empty injunctions. Debate and propaganda must be subordinated to the need for effective action.

"Thirdly, there is importance and urgency in the need to devote the attention and energy of the United Nations to the task of improving its peace-keeping methods. Means must be further developed of rapidly assembling effective machinery which can be put to work in any situation of tension and danger. The peace-keeping experience of the past points the direction in which methods of observation, supervision

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