

power and influence in the world when the Security Council itself has fallen so far short of the objects for which it was established? In the presence of the German problem, does it matter whether or not votes in the Security Council require the concurrence of all the permanent members? It is, however, simply because our difficulties in the United Nations are symptoms of the conflict between East and West, and can therefore be made soluble once it has become possible to restore some kind of equilibrium to the world, that I think we must continue to scrutinize them and to consider ways of dealing with them. It is with this in mind that I think we might now look at some of the practical difficulties which arise for states of middle power in the operations of the United Nations.

In regard to the election of non-permanent members to the Security Council, I reminded you that the functional principle had been written into the Charter in the first order of importance. It has become quite clear, however, that in the operations of the United Nations this principle is not always followed. The old idea of geographical representation, and of the representation of groups, is all too frequently the primary basis of selection. Let us make sure, it is argued, that each area of the world is represented. Let us try to make certain that no group is left out. Sometimes the argument is carried one step further. Let us, it is said, accept the choice of any particular group for the vacancy that is to be filled. This tendency was most apparent during the last session of the General Assembly, when for many weeks the Assembly could not make up its mind whether to elect India or the Ukraine to the final vacancy on the Security Council. The arguments advanced again and again were those of regionalism. The place on the Security Council which Mr. Vishinsky demanded with great insistence for the Ukraine was claimed on the basis of regional distribution. It occurred to me at the time that Mr. Vishinsky could have made a very good claim for the Ukraine solely on the basis of the functional principle, since that constituent state of the Soviet Union which has been admitted to the United Nations played a very important role in the conflict against Germany and is certainly an area from which great resources could be made available in any system of collective security. The same kind of claim could have been advanced for India, but again it was the necessity of representing a region which was advanced as the main argument. This is not a satisfactory basis for allocating responsibility in the United Nations, and sooner or later, it seems to me, it will be necessary to come back to the functional principle of choosing members for United Nations organs, because of their ability to do the job they are chosen for, and because of their stake in the result.

If the middle powers are sometimes concerned over being given too little place in United Nations affairs, they are also worried on occasion at finding themselves too much in the limelight. This problem was very well expressed recently in a statement in the Canadian House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

"The position of a power of the middle rank on the Security Council is under any circumstances a difficult one. A small power is in a sense by its very smallness relieved from much of the responsibility which participation in decisions involves, and which the implementations of such decisions requires. At the other extreme the great powers can protect their positions with the veto. A "middle country" such as Canada, however, is in a different position.....
.....The judgments which the Canadian Government express on United Nations matters must therefore be made with care and a sense of responsibility, especially since Canada is a country the views of which are taken seriously and which has the reputation of conscientiously carrying out the commitments into which it has entered."

People are not popular who talk a lot about a problem without thereafter being willing to lay something on the line towards its solution. It is uncomfortable, however, to go too far ahead of the general line of march.