

the present nuclear powers have shown. This points up the need for early progress towards an agreement which would have the effect of arresting the further spread of independent nuclear capabilities. As I have recently suggested, such an agreement will probably have to form part of a wider complex of measures. It may have to include undertakings by the nuclear powers to reduce -- and, in due course, eliminate -- their own stockpiles of nuclear weapons. It may also have to include guarantees to non-nuclear powers in return for their agreement to forego the option of developing an independent nuclear capability.

But I should go on to say that, just as the prospects of security in the present-day world do not lie in a primary reliance on the instruments of military power, so disarmament itself can only go part of the way towards solving the security equation. As I see it, there is a concurrent need not only to develop international machinery for maintaining peace and security but to expand the whole range of positive efforts which are directed at strengthening -- as David Lilienthal put it some years ago -- "the sense of community and commonwealth of interest in the world in which lies the real hope of making weapons less relevant".

This sense of community of interest is another significant feature of the "new world" we are discussing. It is sometimes suggested that it was something that developed logically and sensibly in the wake of two destructive world wars. But it is also, of course, a direct result of changes in the whole configuration of the world in which we live. Whether we look at the facts of security, whether we look at the facts of technology, or whether we look at the facts of social and economic development, we arrive at the same conclusion. And that conclusion is that we are becoming increasingly interdependent.

This interdependence finds expression in a degree of international organization which is surely unprecedented in human history. Over the past 20 years we have co-operated internationally over the whole range of human concerns and we have created the machinery to serve as the focus of that co-operation. We have co-operated to preserve peace and security; we have co-operated to meet the problems of poverty, hunger and disease; we have co-operated to spread the benefits of science and education; we have co-operated to define and defend the rights of man. In short, we have created a whole new dimension in international relations.

The cornerstone of this structure has been and continues to be the United Nations. At this very moment, the United Nations is going through a serious crisis. It is a crisis which has developed over the matter of peace keeping. In essence, however, it is a political and constitutional crisis. Its outcome will be important for the whole future direction of the United Nations.

What concerns me in the present context are the implications of this crisis for international organization as such. I am particularly concerned that we should not draw false conclusions on the basis of false premises.