

and soon into disrepair and ultimately into uselessness.

We all, I feel sure, share the concern expressed by our Secretary-General in his introduction to the ninth annual report over the fact that the United Nations, with its unique facilities for negotiation and peaceful settlement, has not always been used for the purposes which it was intended to serve. You will recall that Mr. Hammarskjold said this:

"To fail to use the United Nations machinery on those matters for which governments have given to the organization a special or primary responsibility under the Charter, or to improvise other arrangements without overriding practical and political reasons - to act thus may tend to weaken the position of the organization and to reduce its influence and effectiveness, even when the ultimate purpose which it is intended to serve is a United Nations purpose."

It is important that we recognize this danger.

There are, of course, a number of factors which, in certain instances, have brought about this "by-passing". The Secretary-General reminds us of one when he says, "the organization as it exists today excludes whole states of the world and peoples from its membership". Since 1950 twenty-one states have sought admission to this world forum without success.

So long as the United Nations fails to solve this problem of membership and representation, so long will the tendency grow to seek solutions, especially those which affect these unrepresented areas, outside the organization.

Mr. President, over the nine short years in which the United Nations has existed, it has been threatened from within, and attacked from without. But with all its shortcomings it is impossible to envisage a world without the network of practice and precedent, the institutions and procedures for peace making and peace enforcement which we mean by the phrase "the United Nations". If this United Nations Organization did not exist, we should soon have to find another one.

The fact that the United Nations has lost somewhat in repute and prestige in the last few years is, I think, undeniable. This is due in part to the unrealistic expectations many persons previously held of the power of an agency, composed of sovereign states, to settle all the difficult and complex problems which have faced it; due, also to the deterioration in the international situation following the common victory in 1945; due, finally, and we should not forget this, to certain weaknesses in our organization and to the reluctance of some powers, which was increased by these weaknesses, to use the United Nations as it could and should be used for achieving the objects set out in our Charter.

The present situation is cause for anxiety, but not for despair. It is a challenge to do better, not to