

that such a step would divide the membership, perhaps irrevocably, that it involved the risk of two of the great powers walking out of the United Nations, that, whatever the outcome, the financial position of the organization was unlikely to be repaired in that way. At the same time, the General Assembly was not prepared to condone financial default; it was not prepared to surrender the principle of collective financial responsibility even though it failed explicitly to uphold it. Personally, I regard this as a great tragedy. But having said that, I must also acknowledge the great dilemma with which the General Assembly was faced. Either way, the stakes were incalculably high. And, in these circumstances, there was perhaps something to be said for the view that what was needed was a pause — a pause for negotiation, a pause for reflection, which would give all concerned an opportunity to consider how the position of the United Nations could best be brought into line with the changing requirements and the changing realities of a changing world.

#### UN NOT WORLD GOVERNMENT

Whatever the gravity of the present crisis, we should not, I think, allow it to distort our perspective. This is not the first great crisis the United Nations has faced and it will not be the last. We must recognize that the United Nations is not — and is not likely, in the foreseeable future, to become — an instrument of world government. The late Dag Hammarskjöld rightly envisaged it as “a dynamic instrument”. But he did not lose sight of the fact that it was, in essence, an “instrument of governments”. And, much as we might regret it, most governments are not yet prepared, in this imperfect world of ours, to subordinate national interests, to any significant extent, to the collective interest of the world community where the two appear to diverge.

If that applies to governments in their generality, it applies, I think, with particular force to the governments of the great powers. In a deeply divided world, that is a fact of life we have to accept realistically. It does not mean, of course, that we must abandon the ideal — the vision — of a more rational world order. What it does mean is, as Victor Hugo once put it, that there are limits to the amount of future it is practicable to inject into the present.

#### UN ACHIEVEMENT

I also believe that we must see the present situation as a whole. It is true, of course, that the United Nations has reached a critical juncture in its affairs. It is also true that some phases of the work of the United Nations have had to be put in suspense. But that is only one facet of the situation. The Security Council was able to discharge a heavy agenda of business in 1964. In the same year, the United Nations was instrumental in mounting the largest economic conference to have been held in recorded history. The United Nations is now following up the results of that conference by bringing within a single international focus the problem of economic development in its various ramifications. The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations are continuing to move forward vigorously in their respective fields — in improving

health and education, in augmenting food supplies, in bettering labour standards, in regulating international aviation and communications, in harnessing the atom for peaceful uses. And I need hardly remind you that United Nations forces — including Canadian forces — are still keeping the peace in various quarters of the globe, from Cyprus to Korea.

So what is at stake here, as *The Economist* recently put it, is not just the survival of a debating society. What is at stake is the whole pattern of international co-operation we have been able to evolve over the past 20 years....

#### NO WAY BUT FORWARD

In this situation, our course is clear. We have no alternative but to go forward. We must consolidate the progress we have made. We must invest the United Nations with the influence, the strength and the moral authority to discharge the responsibilities which the Charter has laid upon it. We must build on the past, but we must also open up new perspectives for the future.

How, then, do we go about doing these things?

*First*, we must restore the United Nations to solvency. We must at all costs avoid a recurrence of the present crisis.

*Second*, we must preserve the capacity of the United Nations to play its rightful part in the maintenance of international peace and security... Much as I wish it were otherwise, I believe that the need for peace keeping will continue undiminished in the foreseeable future.

*Third*, we must proceed in these matters on the basis of the broadest possible consensus of the membership of the United Nations....

*Fourth*, we must take serious account of the shift of emphasis that has taken place in the preoccupations of the membership of the United Nations. We must be prepared to give equal weight to the problems of peace and security and to those relating to the betterment of the social and economic conditions in which the vast majority of mankind are constrained to live....

*Fifth*, we must be prepared to go further in accommodating the new nations of the world. We have been inclined to see the United Nations as an instrument for security and stability. They see it as an instrument for peaceful change in the world. There must be a bridging between these two conceptions if we are to give the new nations a firm stake in the United Nations.

*Sixth*, we must recognize — and act on the recognition — that, in the world of today, the United Nations cannot be the property or preserve of any single nation or group of nations....

*Seventh*, we must also recognize that, so long as there are divisions in the world, they are bound to find reflection in the United Nations. If we want to make the United Nations a more effective body, we must work at narrowing the differences that divide us....

*Eighth*, whatever the exigencies of the present situation, we must keep the goal of universal membership firmly before us as a means of strengthening the organization.

*Ninth*, we must be prepared... to take those steps that are necessary to make the United Nations a really effective instrument of world order....