

has been the failure to continue and strengthen the friendly ties which, during the war, united the western democracies and the U.S.S.R. If we had been able to continue that friendly co-operation in the pursuit of peace-time goals of reconstruction, the starvation and distress of the devastated countries would not have been used, as they are now being used, to serve the purposes of aggressive international communism. We feel, I think with justification, that the responsibility lies with the U.S.S.R., but it by no means follows that we should at the present time regard this failure as final or irreparable. As in the economic sphere so in the political, the rebuilding process is slow, and the disappointments, particularly during the last year and a half, have been many. We can no longer blind ourselves to the fact that the United Nations has not been the strong instrument for peace that had been hoped and expected.

Similarly, you have undoubtedly heard opinions to the effect that the two Conferences at Geneva and Havana which have been working towards the establishment of an international trade organization, have revealed more differences than agreement, and that the Charter eventually drawn up contains too many compromises and escape clauses to make it of much immediate value.

I do not believe that the attitude that these organizations are of no use is justified. Such an attitude rests, I suggest, on a mistaken interpretation of what either the United Nations or the International Trade Organization could be expected to do at any early date.

So far as the International Trade Organization is concerned, we must continue to hope for and work towards the ultimate restoration of freely functioning multilateral trade. We must also recognize, however, that at the present time the delicate mechanism of international economic relations has sustained heavy damage and that for some years to come special assistance will be necessary, assistance like that offered in the Economic Recovery Act passed by the United States Congress. But the present exceptional circumstances need not blind us to the desirability of our ultimate goal, nor need they lead us too far from the clear road to that goal. The Charter of the International Trade Organization modified as it is, with the effective dates of some essential provisions postponed for several years, is the signpost along the road, and in the meantime certain countries of major economic importance, Canada among them, are applying many of the basic principles of the Charter and giving one another the full benefits of negotiated tariff concessions by putting the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade into provisional effect.

So too, the United Nations is a signpost along the road to international political co-operation and points the way to our goal of security based upon mutual trust and tolerance. A world divided into two camps - one of them shrouded by a self-produced fog of suspicion and fear - is not a world in which friendly and frank co-operation around the council table can be expected to flourish. No, we must be prepared to endure a great deal at the present time in the United Nations: time-wasting delays and disingenuous evasions, coupled with a deliberate use of the organization as a means of spreading misleading propaganda composed of half-truths or whole lies.

But I do not believe that we should allow this situation to destroy our faith in the United Nations as an organization. The League of Nations was once described as "the sum of public opinion", and it remains true that the United Nations, however well conceived and efficiently organized on paper, cannot do anything that we its members do not fundamentally want it to do. It cannot successfully carry out its political functions unless there is a basic measure of agreement in the world, and a desire and determination on all sides to seek peace by all honourable means. In other words, the United Nations cannot strictly speaking enforce peace, nor can it create peace where no will to peace

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