

led to the same kind of Soviet attack which had brought down Trygve Lie. However, the U.S.S.R.'s efforts to cripple executive action by the Secretary-General through the establishment of the "troika" were rejected by the vast majority of United Nations members, who agreed, by and large, with Hammarskjold's concept of "preventive diplomacy"—the need for the United Nations to localize conflicts and to step into "power vacuums" between competing interests, especially when the Great Powers threatened to become involved.

By the end of 1965, there were 117 members in the United Nations, more than double the membership in 1945. Sixty-one members were from Africa and Asia, compared to 11 in 1945. The tempo of private consultation and negotiation, often at the foreign minister level, was greatly stimulated by this dramatic increase. Most of the new members were also newly sovereign states. They found in the United Nations a convenient meeting-place to discuss their common problems or to negotiate differences, and they tended, more than the older states, to take advantage of United Nations procedures for the safeguarding of peace. At the rostrum of the General Assembly, the new members could define their particular interests and state their views on an equal basis with all other member states. These newer members were inclined to look to the Secretary-General as an executor of United Nations decisions in whom they had confidence. Both Dag Hammarskjold and his successor, U Thant, have fully justified this confidence.

As the United Nations enters its third decade its character and procedures are therefore different from those of 1945. Great power disunity has meant new roles for the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. The middle and smaller powers have taken on greater responsibilities. Economic and social items crowd the agenda. And yet, at the same time, the United Nations scene is not unfamiliar to those who knew it in the early years. The Security Council held more meetings in 1964-65 than at any time since 1947-8. It continued to give its attention to some of the same issues—Kashmir and Arab-Israel tensions for example—or to the same kinds of problems, caused, for example, by the withdrawal of European rule from parts of the Afro-Asian world. Its peace-keeping record in the early sixties, as in the late forties,