

interdependent and shrinking world, no man and no nation can "go it alone".

Despite these achievements, there have been criticisms of the United Nations in this country and in others, some of them very severe - and some of them, I believe, not justified. Let us examine them and see whether they will stand up to our questions.

There are three principal charges that we hear made against the United Nations. They are mutually incompatible; but that does not prevent them from sometimes being held all three by the same people.

First and most serious is the charge that the United Nations has not brought us security. The counts in this indictment you have all heard - that the United Nations does nothing, that it is a talking shop, and that it did not prevent the loss of thousands of lives (many of them American) in Korea. The second charge, which as I said is hardly compatible with the first, is that the United Nations is a super-government, and that it imperils the tradition of the sovereign right of any nation to protect its independence and guide its own destiny. Third and noisiest is the charge that the United Nations with its membership including states from the Communist world, in some way threatens the safety and independence of the United States - that it is being used as a cloak for Soviet expansionism.

To deal with the third count first: I am sure that those who believe it have never had any first-hand experience of the United Nations. If there is one thing that can be said about those meetings, it is that they are not a cloak for anything. In fact, I personally have felt, and sometimes said, that they are too much the other way, that when those of us who have the same fundamental objectives want in a friendly way to iron out our minor differences of opinion as to ways and means, the glare of publicity sometimes makes it hard to maintain the flexibility and the give and take which are essential to any successful negotiation.

You, as representatives of one of the major labour unions of the United States, know very well that negotiation is just that; it is a means to arrive at a solution acceptable to both parties in which each both gives and gets. But to return to the United Nations, so far as our relations with the communist bloc countries are concerned, this rigid and public nature of the proceedings has its advantages for us, because it pitilessly exposes the nature of communist policy and propaganda and gives all the world an opportunity to see and to form its own judgment.

Anyone who has followed the voting at the United Nations and has counted how often the five countries of the Soviet bloc have stood alone will realize again the truth of Abe Lincoln's famous remark about how many people you can fool how much of the time. If there is one place where you have to lay it on the line it is the United Nations, and so far the communist countries have not shown up very well. This is not to say the principal use of the United Nations is to serve as an anti-communist