food and agriculture weather, radio and postal communications, health, finance, aviation, cultural exchanges and many other fields are the particular concern of the Specialized Agencies which have made easier important advances in human welfare.

Nor should we forget the extensive studies which have been undertaken in the social and cultural fields. I realize that some of these, such as the Covenants on Human Rights and Freedom of Information, are controversial but never before had such thorough and systematic explorations of these subjects been undertaken. In the course of these studies there has been a most useful confrontation of viewpoints and a greater insight into the approach of various nations and groups on particular issues has been gained. These intellectual surveys represent an important and useful clearing of the ground for future action.

Then there is the question of the non-selfgoverning territories. Here the record of the organization is one of steady pressure towards self-government and ultimate independence.

In most of these social and economic fields, the work of the organization is highly technical, it is developing slowly and can hardly be presented in a simple, graphic way. It is nevertheless expanding and beneficient, and there can be no question that it should be continued. If the outstanding political issues can be brought under control, further and faster progress can certainly be made. But the scope of the organization is so broad that misunderstandings on political and security issues have not prevented some progress already in these other areas.

In short, the flexibility of the Charter and the wide fields of effort of the organization have offset to some extent the political consequences of Big Power disunity.

## 1965

As I look forward and try to visualize the Organization in 1965, I have to discount my personal hopes and preferences. I would naturally favour quick and decisive strides towards full collective security and determined and genuine co-operation by all members in the social and economic fields. But this might be daydreaming.

On the other hand, in trying to picture probable evolution during the next decade, we should not allow our speculations - because they cannot be more than speculations - to be unduly discouraged by past history and memories.

The basic factor in the situation today, and one which may be decisive in shaping the course of events in the immediate future, is the kind of equilibrium, uncertain and unstable as it is, which seems to have been reached between the democracies and the communist bloc; conflict between which has so far dominated United Nations activities.

The prospects of consolidating what progress has been made, of eliminating gradually the specific sources of friction, are greater because of the existence of the