

And here I want to stress that the fundamental cleavage between East and West is a great deal more than a disagreement on economic theory or even on political philosophy. The real danger of what we call Russian Communism is not that it advocates the abolition of private property, or even rule by dictatorship, but that it denies the essential spirituality of man.

In Communism's campaign of imperialist aggression there are two distinct threats to freedom as we know it. First, the free world is faced with imperialist aggression in the purely physical sense of seizing territories by force or by treachery, as the lengthening record of its conquests shows. The second and more subtle threat is the assault on our ethical and spiritual values which it would replace with the hollow hopes of dialectical materialism.

United Nations Record

It is now a little more than eight years since San Francisco's Golden Gate seemed to open for all nations on the splendid vision of a world without war. Since then, the gates to the future have narrowed, the horizons have been darkened by world dissension, but can we honestly say that the United Nations has failed?

It is easy to see the failures, the frustrations, the futilities; it is, unfortunately, just as easy to overlook the successes, the solid achievements, the positive accomplishments of the United Nations. We should never forget that, while this bold adventure in united world action is only eight years old, the massive problems with which the U.N. must come to grips are almost as old as human life.

Setting aside extravagant and unwarranted expectations, there remains a solid core of accomplishment in the present and a real possibility of progress in the future. The organization has not yet fulfilled all of its potentialities and it will be a long time before it does so. But the adaptability it has shown during these difficult years is one of the surest guarantees of its capacity for further development.

In the United Nations we are going through on the international level the same kind of growing pains that accompanied the establishment of the rule of law on the national level. There was a time in the life of communities and nations when the only redress from wrongdoing was in punitive action on the part of the injured party himself. Gradually, as society became more complex and interdependent, formal protection of the group interest was provided through the gradual evolution of a system of law and order.

It would obviously be quite unreasonable to expect that, in the short space of eight years, the United Nations should be able to establish beyond question the supremacy of the law in the complex realm of world relations. And yet, when history looks back on this period, I believe it will be recognized as a turning point in human affairs. What sort of world would we have had today if we had not developed this agency for collective action, imperfect though it was bound to be?