

of a world organization and a world order that would bring peace and security, prosperity and dignity to mankind.

The founding nations at San Francisco in 1945 made a leap of the imagination unique in man's history. In the midst of chaos and misery, they determined that order must prevail, they turned their backs upon darkness and death and struck out towards a future of light and of life. The Charter was a remarkable achievement. It still is.

Within a few years the world found itself divided by what we called the Cold War. This was the first great test for the United Nations. And it survived. In the days of the Cold War the great United Nations family of agencies came into being and embarked upon the supreme task of bettering the conditions of life upon earth, a task they still pursue with energy and dedication.

Even in the most anxious days of the Cold War the nations came together here. If there was little meeting of minds, at least there was contact. If we failed to decide issues, at least we debated them. Out of confrontation came communication.

And we did certain things:

- Local conflicts, which could have escalated into world war, were contained.
- Co-operative financial and trading arrangements, basic to world prosperity now and in the future, were negotiated.
- Arms-control measures, the subject of mounting world concern, were given effect in a series of United Nations treaties.
- As new nations came on the scene, the need for international development assistance was recognized and acted upon.
- Colonialism, identified as incompatible with human dignity, was hastened toward its end, frequently with United Nations assistance.
- The elimination of racial discrimination, clearly recognized as intolerable, became a primary objective.

These are some of the major accomplishments -- tangible, constructive and plainly visible. What about the subtler forms of United Nations achievement? Within these walls we have engaged, as nations, in an ever more sophisticated exchange of views, in ever more fruitful negotiations of issues. Nations met here, as we are meeting today, in a continuing conference. The whole conception of diplomacy went through a profound change. From narrow, formalized negotiations carried on by an élite bureaucracy, we moved to a broad interchange of ideas involving whole nations and their leaders. The right of small nations to be heard even as great powers negotiated has been enshrined in this organization.

Why, then, the dissatisfaction, the sense of shortcoming, the uneasiness about the United Nations? I am suggesting four major factors, the root causes. There are undoubtedly others.