

failing to act, the General Assembly, to an increasing extent will have recourse to investigatory procedures in order to determine the validity of charges of various kinds of aggression brought before it. It seems to me that, in this age when we are more likely to be confronted with types of indirect aggression, it becomes less important to measure the United Nations' peace-keeping capacities in terms of armed forces at its disposal.

I believe, too, that, in the infinite variety of United Nations activities for the prevention of conflict, we are witnessing something bigger than the more erratic and ad hoc efforts by the United Nations to act as a fire brigade in temporary emergencies. Perhaps what we are in reality passing through is a stage in history in which the international organization, like the nation states before it, is groping its way uncertainly and slowly towards a more rational society in which the relations between states will be regulated through the orderly processes of the United Nations. Each time an initiative of the kind I have just been describing is launched and is successful, we add in a small way to the creation of a climate of confidence which will lead nations closer to accepting the benevolent and objective authority of the United Nations to act as the guardian of the independence and integrity of nations as provided for in the Charter. The divisions and tensions which have characterized the international scene since the United Nations was founded have seriously impeded progress towards that goal -- but they have not arrested it entirely. They have, it is true, introduced new caution into the consideration of permanent stand-by force arrangements to be at the disposal of the United Nations in future emergencies. But by the same token, they have resulted in the expansion beyond all anticipation of the role of the United Nations as a forum for negotiation, and in the successful development of a wide diversity of United Nations machinery to help maintain the peace while political solutions are being sought.

Meanwhile the other activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, their work in the economic, social and cultural fields and in the encouragement of respect for human rights, go on. This work, while not directly related to the grave political and security problems, cannot but be in the long run a significant factor in the amelioration of the conditions which give rise to international conflict.

In all of these fields, the United Nations has had its successes: despite its limitations and occasional failures, its prestige has remained high, and I think we can look forward with some confidence to a further increase in the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Your activities here can make their contribution towards that end, and I wish you all great success in your proceedings of the next few days.