

in accordance with its provisions: for instance measures for self-defence are to be taken only until such time as the Security Council can effectively intervene.

I am convinced that these regional security arrangements which have been possible under the Charter have been useful deterrents to aggression. Largely because of them would-be aggressors have had to recognize that further gains could not profitably or easily be made by force. They have prepared the way for negotiations. The easing of tension and the greater prospects of a rapprochement which are now before us may be due in large part to these alternative security measures which have been taken within the framework of the Charter.

For a long time we have been obsessed by the clash between the two world blocs, so we may not have given sufficient notice to the emergence in the world, and its reflection in the United Nations, of a third group of nations who are trying to follow a neutral course in the East-West conflict. My purpose is not to appraise the policy of these countries but merely to point out that their attitude in the United Nations is likely to have a restraining effect on the behaviour of the Soviet bloc - or any other bloc - and this in turn may not be without significance in the role of the organization in promoting the cause of peace.

On the whole, therefore, as I see the organization today, though it is not now the strong agency for general collective security we all visualized in 1945, it has become a useful and potentially effective instrument for that purpose. Both directly and indirectly it has served the purposes for which it was originally set up, though it has fallen short of the initial objectives we had in mind. Handicapped as it was by the failure of the basic assumption, on which we acted at San Francisco - great power co-operation - it has nevertheless facilitated the development of security arrangements which make the prospects of aggression increasingly less inviting.

So far, I have discussed the contribution of the United Nations in only one field, that of security. To give a fair and more accurate picture of its accomplishments, however, it is necessary to refer, even if only briefly, to its other activities which may have been less spectacular but which have undoubtedly been most useful. In many respects, in these other areas of operation, the United Nations has been more successful in living up to earlier expectations.

First, there is the whole range of relief and rehabilitation operations, where the record of the organization is one of substantial achievement.

I should mention also the whole array of co-operative undertakings sponsored by the Economic and Social Council directly or through the Specialized Agencies. In this field, the work and the influence of the organization are often indirect, but they reach almost every field of government and they are expanding continually. In many respects the organization provides indispensable liaison between governments and is almost a part of national administrative machinery. Labour,