

the U.N. has accomplished as much as it has in these eight years. Eight years is a short time in which to try to straighten out this tough old world!

Nevertheless, the U.N. has not accomplished as much as its founders hoped it would when they formed it back in 1945. It has tried to do some things and failed. Some other things that many would have liked to see it do it has not even attempted, because it knew it could not. And a number of tasks it has tackled have not been carried through to completion; they may end in success or in failure. These are the failures, or partial failures, in the U.N.'s record. In the next section of this study we will list them more fully.

Fairness, however, requires that in appraising these failures one take into account what the U.N. is up against. Let's consider some of these things with which it must contend.

For one thing, it is up against a world that is not at peace. When the United Nations was formed - while the war was still going on in the Pacific and before the first atomic bomb hit Hiroshima - the plan adopted for it was based on an assumption. That assumption was that the major nations which had been fighting the Axis would write peace treaties with their defeated enemies, and then the U.N. would take over the peace thus made and maintain it. But the victor nations did not make those peace treaties. They made one, with Italy. Years later (in 1952) some of them made another, with Japan. But Russia did not sign that treaty. No peace treaty has ever been signed with Germany or Austria.

This may look like a technicality, but for the U.N. it is more than that. It means that there never has been a formal, legal peace, covering the whole area of the Second World War, for the U.N. to preserve. In other words, the premise on which the U.N. was founded has never existed in actuality. Quite a handicap, that!

Instead of a peace to maintain, what kind of world has this been during these years in which the U.N. has been struggling to gain a grip on the international situation? It has been one in which the U.N. itself has been internally divided by the East-West struggle. Russia and the free world have been on the very edge of an open break time and time again. Czechoslovakia and Hungary have been pulled into the Russian orbit. China has been overrun by Red armies. The Republic of Korea has been attacked. The Communist bloc of nations - usually five votes - has been voted down again and again in the various agencies of the U.N., but always it has stayed in there doing all it could to thwart the will of the majority and to throw as many monkey-wrenches into the U.N. machinery for keeping the peace as it could lay hands on. The cold war has been the most omnipresent, as well as the most dangerous, fact in the day-by-day life of the world.

The Communist nations in the United Nations have never shown any intention of leaving the international body. (On a few occasions they have walked out of U.N. agencies. They have lived to regret it, and are today seeking to join certain agencies.) But there never has been a time when they have not seemed to want to do everything possible to reduce the U.N. to futility. Their role has too often been that of a wrecking crew. Some handicap!