

opportunities that are open to us and the means we must deploy towards their attainment.

The United Nations was born of disenchantment -- disenchantment with an order of things which, twice in a single generation, had engulfed us in armed conflict with all the attendant destruction and human suffering. But the United Nations was also born of a determination to build a new and more rational world order based on constructive co-operation in the common interest of the world community as a whole.

It was the assumption and expectation of the framers of the Charter that along this course the United Nations would be sustained by the strength of resources of the great powers acting in concert. As matters developed, this assumption was not fully realized. This has slowed the pace of our progress towards a more rational world order. It has not diminished the impetus which must inevitably lead us in that direction.

Indeed, when we look back over the past two decades, we are bound to be struck by the extent to which we have come, over an increasingly wide area, to organize our activities on a basis of international co-operation. There is scarcely an area of human concern which we have not brought within the focus of one international organization or another. We have joined in concerted attacks on famine, disease and illiteracy. We have co-operated in freeing the flow of trade and capital. We have begun to mobilize the resources of the affluent world in support of the efforts of the developing countries. We have made arrangements for disseminating the achievements of science and technology. We have collaborated in drawing up a Charter of Human Rights. And we have endeavoured to work out ways in which the disputes of nations can be contained and brought within the compass of negotiated solutions. In short, we have recognized that international co-operation, far from being incompatible with our national interests, is in many areas the most effective as well as the most enduring way of securing them.

This is, I think, a creditable record of achievement. It surely demonstrates that the United Nations has not become, as many feared that it might, a mere debating society. But it does not afford us any grounds for complacency. The world in which we live is one of change -- change on a scale, and at a pace, unprecedented in the affairs of men. If the United Nations is to become the dynamic instrument of governments which the late Dag Hammarskjöld envisaged, it must not only be able to meet our present needs but must have the capacity to serve as an instrument of peaceful change.

Already the focus of emphasis in the United Nations has shifted. And it has shifted, in large part, as a result of the emergence to independent nationhood of countries which now constitute more than half of our total membership. These countries are seeking to broaden out the basis and the meaning of their newly-achieved independence. They are seeking to provide improved conditions of life for all segments of their populations. And they are seeking to absorb the impact of the scientific and technical revolution of the twentieth century in conditions of reasonable social and economic stability. These are formidable tasks. They cannot be accomplished by these countries acting in isolation. They can be accomplished only in a co-operative world environment.