

Text of Speech By

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The United Nations Charter represents man's most determined and promising effort to save humanity from the scourge of war and to establish justice between the nations. In negotiating the Charter terms, the United States was represented by a distinguished bi-partisan delegation, largely drawn from the Congress, and the Charter was ratified by the Senate by almost unanimous vote.

The United Nations, thus launched, carried the ardent hopes of the American people, and indeed the peoples of all the world. The responsible leaders of our nation, without regard to party, have repeatedly said that the Charter represents the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy.

It must in all frankness be recognized that the high hopes born of the San Francisco Conference of 1945 have not been fully realized. This is due to two principal causes.

In the first place, many initial hopes were exaggerated. War is not abolished, and a system of justice inaugurated, merely by strokes of the pen. If that were the case, we would have had international peace and justice long ago. Just and durable peace requires sustained and well directed efforts comparable in dedication to the efforts needed to win victory in war.

However, the written word continues to exert a peculiar fascination and there is a recurrent tendency to treat as done that which, according to a treaty, ought to be done. Hopes which had only this basis were doomed to be disappointed.

In the second place, many provisions of the Charter depended on cooperation by the so-called "great powers" and in fact the members of the Soviet Communist bloc have pursued policies which departed from the spirit, and indeed the language, of the Charter.

Nevertheless, the United Nations has a record of conspicuous accomplishment. Among major political results which flowed from its processes may be mentioned:

The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Iran;

The support of Greece while under Communist attack;

The conclusion of a permanent armistice between Israel and the Arab States;

The establishment of the Republic of Korea;

The disposition of the Italian colonies in Africa and the creation of the State of Libya;

The establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

The organization of effective resistance to the armed aggression in Korea.

While the United States bore most of the United Nations burden in Korea, it should not be forgotten that 15 other members contributed armed forces and 46 nations made some form of contribution, either military or economic.

Thus, the United Nations became the first international organization to organize effective collective resistance to armed aggression.

The United Nations has helped to transform colonialism into self-government. The role played by the United Nations in this matter has been controversial and it is in some respects subject to legitimate criticism. Undoubtedly, however, it has exerted a useful influence in promoting peaceful rather than violent developments.

In addition to political achievements, the United Nations has provided means for economic and social developments which have benefited a large part of the human race.

In addition to its specific accomplishments, the General Assembly has served as a world forum for the presentation of different points of view. It has become a place where world opinion can register and exert a moral authority, which no nation, however powerful or despotic, publicly disdains or wholly disregards.

The greatest weakness of the United Nations - and this was foreseen at San Francisco - is the Security Council's inability to discharge its "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". (Art. 24) It has not proved practicable for the Security Council to organize the armed forces, assistance and facilities which it was contemplated should be put at the disposal of the Security Council (Art. 43) for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.