

we find ways to compose our political differences, or hold them in abeyance, while a common effort goes forward to do away with human misery, subjugation and the wrath provoked by injustice? If this can be done, then peace is no empty dream. The United Nations, we have become convinced, is the way by which this requirement of learning to live together and work together is most likely to be achieved.

It is not the military clauses in the U.N. Charter to which we look for a shield. It is to the stipulation that in disputes between nations there must first be "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." Part of our hope for the future usefulness of the U.N. grows out of the fact, plain to anyone who has watched the way the U.N. has developed so far, that its Security Council, where the big powers were supposed to flourish a big stick, has been losing in importance while its General Assembly, where all the nations meet in counsel, has as steadily been gaining.

Moreover, we believe it a fact of promise that the agencies of the U.N. which have nothing to do with armed forces and staff plans--the Economic and Social Council, with all its humanitarian and specialized agencies; the Trusteeship Council; the International Court of Justice--are constantly increasing their ability to help ease the tensions of mankind.

There are Americans who say, "Why not have done with all this international nonsense? Why let ourselves get tied up with all these other nations, most of which are out to bleed us or gyp us? Why not face this rough, tough, brutal, envious world as it is, not as dreamers wish it were? We are powerful and nearly self-sufficient--more powerful and more nearly self-sufficient than any other nation in history. Then why don't we go it alone?"

One answer is that we can't. Not in the kind of world this really is. Fifty years ago, perhaps only 25 years ago, we could--or we could try. Not in today's jet-propelled world! The greatest protection we can have is to sit in a common council where we and the other nations are constantly face to face, and where we bring our differences into the open and discuss them in the presence of the whole family of nations.

This may be a noisy process at times, and at times an aggravating one, as a British delegate termed it not long ago. But it is the safest way to handle issues of conflicting national policies so far known to man. Surely it is safer than hurling ultimatums back and forth, threatening to follow them with atomic and hydrogen bombs!

There's another thing these "go-it-alone" Americans never seem to consider. When a big nation gets too big, and seems to enjoy ordering others around at its own sweet will, in the course of time it builds up such an accumulation of envy and hatred against itself that a day will come when almost certainly some of the others will unite to pull it down. Edmund Burke, the English statesman, saw that 160 years ago. In a passage which Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau quotes in his Politics among Nations, and Justin Wroe Nixon picked up to quote again in his fine booklet, The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage, Burke warned his countrymen: