

A TESTING TIME FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

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Nations was founded. If we are right to say that the United Nations reflects the international order on which it is based, can we be wrong to hope that these beginnings will sooner or later transform the United Nations as well? There are other hopeful developments also. Dialogues have now begun between the two halves of Germany and Korea. These face enormous difficulties. But we can expect that in the not too distant future, the universality of the United Nations will be strengthened through the extension of membership to the peoples of the divided countries. It will be strengthened also as self-determination brings the era of colonial empires to its final end, especially in Africa where the most

deep feelings of relief, gratitude and satisfaction from us all.

NEW FORMS OF VIOLENCE

It would be a bitter irony if the safer, saner world which seems at last a possibility rather than a dream should turn instead into a world in which the stream of violence simply cuts new channels. Time and again, the smaller countries have called for an end to the nuclear arms race, an end to nuclear confrontation. We have sought an international order in which the great powers conceived it neither as their interest nor their obligation to attempt to police the world. Now the great powers, in their own interest and in the interest of us all, are moving in this direction. Is the new security and freedom which will

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intractable problems of securing human dignity and freedom are posed.

Although the recent proceedings of the Security Council give little support to the view, surely also it is no longer visionary to conceive of situations in which the Council will function as was originally intended, by consensus of the permanent members of the United Nations as a whole, through co-operation rather than confrontation.

We founded the United Nations, as the Charter says, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". More has been accomplished in this past year to remove that danger than in any year since this organization was created. Certainly so far as the risk of a general nuclear war is concerned, the hopeful evolution of great power relationships evokes

thereby be available to all countries, large and small, to be dissipated in new forms of violence? Must we admit that only the fear of nuclear escalation has allowed us some limited success in the past generation in controlling recourse to force?

Yet the international community still has no answer to the dilemma of deciding at what point local violence has such wide and obvious international implications that it can no longer be accepted as a purely domestic matter. We struggled with this problem last year in the crisis in Bangladesh. And even where violence is plainly international from the outset, our means of dealing with it are often pitifully weak. There are those in the world who appear to believe that the norms of civilized international life are not for them. They consider that they have a right