

venture it is to attempt to divide the world into two watertight compartments.

We are beginning to realize, also, that this division is not so formidable as it seems. One of the greatest successes of Soviet propaganda since the war has been to spread abroad the idea that the world is divided into two parts of relatively equal strength and power, and integrity. Far too many people have been willing to think that there are the Russians and their satellites on the one side, and all the rest of us on the other, and that these two opposing political forces were approximately equal in moral and political strength. If we assess the real strength of these two parts of the world, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that this assumption is quite fantastic. We can make one computation on a purely physical basis and come to that result. Better still, however, we can take into account the total strength of our two communities, in terms not only of physical resources but of training, experience, technical skill, ingenuity, the ability of the public to understand and support the policies of their governments, the freedom of scholars to push out new frontiers of knowledge -- all the incalculable elements which go together to make up the physical force and moral strength of any community.

If, as a result of these observations, we reaffirm our belief in the integrity of the experiment of the United Nations as we originally conceived it, we must ask ourselves an additional question. Is the United Nations also a useful and practical instrument to us now, in immediate circumstances, for the prevention or settlement of international disputes?

Again I think the answer is positive, provided we understand clearly the limits within which it is possible for the organization to operate. During the past three years it has been demonstrated that there are certain types of situation in which the United Nations can operate with great effect. Techniques and procedures have also been worked out which enable the United Nations, through the exercise of its influence, to perform certain important tasks of maintaining peace which have been assigned to it, even though at present it lacks the power to impose its decisions.

The capabilities which the United Nations possesses have, for instance, already been demonstrated in the circumstances which have arisen in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir. In all three places, situations have developed which could not be handled by any single state without the threat of a major conflict. In all three cases, an appeal has been made to the United Nations. In all three cases, whether it wished to do so or not, the United Nations could not avoid accepting the responsibility which was given it, and doing its best to assist in working out a peaceful settlement.

The "best" which the United Nations has been able to do perhaps not been very dramatic or spectacular. In all three cases, however, a major conflict has been avoided. Procedures for peaceful settlement of these bitter and dangerous disputes have been undertaken under United Nations auspices, and the chance of their success is good. Direct intervention on a large scale by any power outside the area has been prevented. The record is encouraging, it gives us reason to believe that by adapting the methods which the United Nations uses to the strength which it possesses, we may achieve very useful results.

I do not intend to make a detailed examination of the course of events in Palestine or Indonesia or Kashmir, although I think that the case history of any one of these situations would make a rewarding study for your students of political science and international