

of state, but he had been a member of the U.S. delegation at the San Francisco conference where the U.N. Charter was adopted. Here are some of the things he said:

Some consider that the United Nations has proved to be an almost complete failure.... Those who wanted an organization with "teeth" see that the only teeth yet possessed by the U.N. are paper teeth.... Speaking in November 1944 before the Federal Council of Churches I said.... that while the Security Council could be useful as "a forum where controversial matters are discussed, where public opinion may focus its pressures,.... the force proposals are little more than scenery."

There is less chance today for collective military action by the whole membership of the United Nations than there was when it was formed. That is why those who think the best hope of peace is through amassing overwhelming armed force against a possible aggressor more and more rely on the development of the "regional arrangements," authorized under Article 51 of the Charter. The United States is a party to three of these - NATO, the Pact of Rio de Janeiro and the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A.) pact.

This is not to deny the possibility that, against minor offenders or in limited local situations, the U.N. might occasionally find it possible to deal with threats to the peace through police action. But the critics who hold that the U.N. is a failure unless it is ready at the drop of a hat to suppress any aggressor are not thinking about something on the scale of an invasion of Costa Rican villages by Nicaraguan guerrillas. And it must also be borne in mind that "police actions" cannot always be kept within their intended limits. Remember Korea.

Summing up, therefore, we believe that it is a mistake to expect much in the way of maintaining peace from collective military action by the U.N. Something may be contributed to that cause by the restraining powers of regional agreements. More is to be hoped for from the "mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement" of Article 33. But the great hope for the future lies in the development of the General Assembly as an agency for inquiry, discussion and the promotion of negotiation. Especially of negotiation.

In the Service of Humanity

To see the United Nations at its best, one should watch it when it gets down where the human problems of survival and development are most harassing and works at solving those problems in man-to-man terms. When the U.N. is trying to deal with the big political problems of nations, there are times it seems baffled and weak. But when it tackles the misfortunes of human beings it shows a remarkable ability to provide all kinds of practical help in an efficient, inconspicuous and astonishingly inexpensive way. This is the sort of thing it is doing every day of the year.