

seemed to me to be a special quality of American thought, when it is at its best. It is the power to be conscious both of the reality of evil and danger, and yet reject a cynical or even a tragic view of life. Nowhere more than in the United States have those two attitudes been held in balance. I think, for example, of William James, who returned from his researches into the areas of unreason with his confidence in the constructive powers of intelligence unimpaired. I think of Mr. Justice Holmes, who insisted grimly all through his life that "Every society is founded on the death of men"; who is said to have kept in his cupboard until the day he died the tunic in which he was wounded at Balls Bluff; and who yet was prepared to sanction what seemed to him the most visionary social experiments. Today, although recognizing the grim aspects of human and political life, we need, as never before, to be able to see beyond them with courage and with obstinate confidence in the future; to keep our vision steady and to keep it true.

I venture to refer to this fine and enviable quality of American thought and life because this is a moment when it is needed, perhaps as never before, in the direction of the policy of this country. It is, I hope, not inappropriate for an outsider - even one so close as a Canadian - to refer to American policy - and actions - because they largely determine the fate of all the rest of us.

This country, devoted to the ideals of peace, progress and freedom under the law, has not sought (but thank God has not refused) the leadership of the free world - a leadership which has indeed been thrust upon it by the hard and inescapable facts of power and position. It is moreover discharging this responsibility in close cooperation with other peoples who share the same ideals and are working towards the same goals; especially the peoples of the Atlantic and Western Europe.

Leadership, by a pistol at the back of sullen and forced allies is one thing. Leadership of free and democratic peoples, who can be convinced but not coerced, is something else.

Such leadership, I suggest, has never been tried, let alone succeeded in circumstances such as those in which we live today, when scientific material progress has far outstripped social, political and moral development; when the plain and challenging facts of interdependence on a shrinking globe make solitary progress almost as difficult and unrewarding as solitary confinement.

Kipling, in a more spacious, free-for-all age, could write:

"Down to Gehenna and up to the throne  
He travels fastest who travels alone".

It might be argued that in 1953 this motto applies only to the first part of the journey. To reach the right goals we must advance together.

A coalition such as ours, however, can only move together on the basis of full consultation and agreement on basic policies and objectives. It must combine freedom