

extent of stopping aggression in its tracks and driving it back beyond its jumping-off point. But doing so cost many lives - and the U.N. is excoriated for that. All of which is simply another reminder that few of us are as logical beings as we like to think we are.)

What can be said about the U.N. system for providing collective security? First of all, it is not primarily a system of military action. Out of the 22 articles in the Charter which outline this system, the first six provide for what is called "the pacific settlement of disputes." These require that "the parties to any dispute ... shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." Here is a wide range of action to preserve peace which has nothing military about it. Any or all of these means are to be used before the proposal to use armed force is to be considered. Yet all these are truly a part of the U.N.'s collective security system. They are, it is fair to say, the normally employed part of that system.

Take that matter of mediation as an example. Twice now in its brief history the United Nations has used mediation to halt what threatened to develop into wars which could have engulfed the world. The first time was in Palestine. Mediation looked almost hopeless when it was attempted there. The first U.N. mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, was assassinated. When Dr. Ralph J. Bunche took over the task, at first he could not induce the representatives of the Arabs and the Israelis to shake hands or to enter the same room.

But the U.N. mediator would not give up, knowing that behind the Arabs who were fighting in Palestine there stretched a tense Arab world all the way from Morocco in the northwest corner of Africa to Indonesia in the southeast corner of Asia - an Arab world which would almost certainly be drawn into the war if it continued. And if that happened, then other nations, with their interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, would follow. The possibility of a Third World War was grim and growing.

Finally, by even-handed dealing, by patience and by superb statesmanship Count Bernadotte won a truce-line dividing the belligerents. True, it is a precarious truce and there have been raids back and forth across the truce line. But it is not the Third World War. That is what counts.

Right now another U.N. effort at mediation is going on. This is being handled by a mediation team headed by Dr. Frank Graham, who gained fame as president of the University of North Carolina and was briefly a U.S. senator. India and Pakistan were on the verge of an all-out war over the disposition of Kashmir when India brought the question to the U.N. It would have been a bloody war, for there are issues of religion as well as ethnic rivalries involved. Nearly 500 million people would have been fighting in that war at its start, and you cannot have that many at war without probably involving many, many more. Kashmir war could easily have brought on a Third World War - as easily as Palestine.

The U.N. mediation has not yet solved the Kashmir problem. But it has gained a truce, and it has brought the heads of the Indian and Pakistan governments closer and closer