

at a time when America must either win the intelligence race or resign itself to a secondary position in the world, there is no room for ethnic taboos. We have gone a long way, at least in that respect.

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Now as the main part of my talk, I shall say what I am going to say in the form of a series of propositions.

(1) America is a pluralistic civilization--pluralistic ethnically, culturally, politically, economically. This is part of our glory. Walt Whitman said "We are not just a nation, we are a nation of nations." I hope we will remain a nation of nations.

(2) Much of our national strength comes from this pluralism. You do not find in America, as you find in so many countries, the population divided into two strata--first, those who had been there originally and were conquered, and secondly, the conquerers. The only conquered in our society are the Indians, and there are not many of them left. The Negroes were conquered in a different way; they were brought here in chains, and they still form part of the underlying strata. I say that much of our strength derives from this pluralism because it shows both the world and ourselves that we have been able to resolve the basic test of democracy. After all, what is the basic test? It is not whether a homogenous people can live together without murdering each other; it is whether a people who are not homogenous can do it--whether it can be done that way in a city like New York or Chicago or San Francisco.

In Europe this has not been true. The whole of European history is a blood-soaked history, the history of man's inhumanity to man, brother against brother in political, religious, and racial conflict, ending up with the genocide of millions of Jews at the hands of the Nazi regime. That was the climax of the long story of what we would now call the lack of "consensus," which is now being demonstrated in Africa. The amazing thing in America has been the presence of consensus between very disparate people.

Also, we are showing the rest of the world how we resolve these problems, and this is of great importance in the era of nuclear politics. The nuclear weapons we are making and stockpiling cannot be used. We do not dare stop making them, but we do not dare use them, and quite rightly, just as the Russians do not dare use them. The result is that the meaningful struggle