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AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Rachid Driss.

2. Mr. DRISS (*interpretation from French*): I have already had an opportunity, in the general debate [1859th meeting], to set forth the views of the Tunisian delegation on all the problems facing our Organization.

3. At this commemorative session it is my great honour to read to the Assembly the message that His Excellency Habib Bourguiba, the President of the Tunisian Republic, wished to address to the United Nations, despite the state of his health which prevents him from being among us on this twenty-fifth anniversary:

"Twenty-five years ago the United Nations was born in a world still suffering from the physical and moral wounds of war. An act of renewed faith in human wisdom, that birth was also the promise of a new international order founded upon peace, justice, progress and freedom. It was to mark the frontier between two worlds: one an outmoded world that had foundered in war because it failed to defend

and preserve the peace, resist aggression and force and satisfy the demand of enslaved peoples for justice and freedom. The other a world of hope that opened to all peoples without distinction the inspiring prospect of a future of peace and progress. Does the world in which we are living today, twenty-five years after the birth of this Organization, perfectly conform with the ideal image we had of it at the time? We owe it to the truth to recognize that that is far from so. To be sure, considerable progress has been made. Decolonization, the masterwork of the United Nations, has in the main been achieved. However, it should be followed through to its conclusion with increased vigour and effectiveness. The vestiges of the colonial era are an unacceptable challenge to the principles of the Charter and a blow to the Organization's prestige.

"In the field of economic and social development the role of the United Nations is already very important. It will become more and more so as the international community becomes more clearly aware of its responsibilities vis-à-vis the most serious problem of our time, the gulf between rich and poor nations. It may be useful to say that it is this awareness that will ultimately determine the success of United Nations action to bring about a more just and peaceful world.

"It is undoubtedly in its essential mission, the maintenance of peace, that United Nations action meets with most criticism and causes most disappointment. The prevailing feeling is one of a certain impotence and, let us be frank, of a certain abdication. Whether or not this is because the major decisions of the United Nations are often flouted, that feeling exists and points to a real malaise, one particularly felt by peoples which, like that of Tunisia, continue to be profoundly devoted to this Organization whose mission is the maintenance of international peace and security. That is why I hope that the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations may be for all of us an opportunity for soul-searching and for an attempt to think about these problems. The most important and most immediate of them is how to restore the authority and prestige of our Organization while fully recognizing the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter and giving it the means to shoulder them. The world has undoubtedly changed a great deal in the past twenty-five years. So has the Organization. Hence the necessity to make adjustments that will take into account those changes and, in particular, the new forces of peace and progress liberated by decolonization."

* The 1865th to 1870th, 1872nd to 1879th and 1881st to 1883rd meetings contain the speeches made during the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session.

4. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Prime Minister of Sweden, His Excellency Mr. Olof Palme.

5. Mr. PALME: Mr. President, your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly is a well-deserved tribute to your personal qualities as a diplomat and an international personality. It is at the same time a fitting recognition of Norway's contribution to the cause of the United Nations since the very first days of its existence, when your distinguished fellow countryman, the late Trygve Lie, began to build and organize the Secretariat of the new world Organization.

6. In June 1945 the world had experienced a grotesque failure of the ideals of humanity and reason—the cruel war. Those who were gathered in San Francisco to sign the Charter of the United Nations wanted to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. Co-operation between nations was to replace violence and military power. They wished to create an international organization in order to make the world safe for peace. Those who spoke in San Francisco expressed bright hopes for a better future. Two months later the atom bomb was dropped over Hiroshima and 70,000 people were killed. None of those who participated in the San Francisco Conference knew of the existence of this terrifying means of death and destruction. Had they known, the peoples that they represented would probably have demanded much stronger guarantees for peace than were to be provided by the Charter.

7. Two months later the General Assembly convened for the first time. Now representatives were aware of the new threat against human survival. Still they were determined to preserve peace through international co-operation. Still they had hopes. But they were marked by a new and greater fear for the future. This fear has followed us ever since. Of this we were reminded when quite recently three major countries carried out nuclear tests. We could follow the tests on our seismographs and our instruments for measuring radioactive radiation. It was a new reminder that there was no escape for anyone in a war fought with nuclear or chemical-biological arms—however small, however remote, however neutral we may be. We would all have to pay the price. For, as a former President of this General Assembly once said: “... if fools and folly rule the world, the end of man in our time may come as a rude shock, but it will no longer come as a complete surprise”. [1560th meeting, para 8.]

8. Thus we are reminded of the growing interdependence between nations in our time and of the global partnership in life and death. The great task of the United Nations is to transform fear into a constructive partnership of international co-operation and solidarity. It may seem paradoxical, but so far the greatest achievement of the United Nations in the field of international interdependence may have been to promote national independence. The growing membership of this Organization is a reflection of the fact that millions of persons have been freed from colonial rule. The United Nations has served as a framework and a forum for this historical process, which to a very large extent

has been marked by a spirit of co-operation and friendship. Colonialism is becoming a remnant of the past. The situation in southern Africa is, therefore, a glaring anomaly in the modern world.

9. Dependent peoples have, with nationalism as a powerful driving force, freed themselves from colonialism. That is perfectly in line with the internationalist ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. National liberation is the first step in the social and economic liberation of peoples who have lived under oppression. It is also a precondition for the self-reliance and the ensuing co-operation between equals which are the basis of international solidarity.

10. The United Nations is on its way to becoming a universal organization. It is all the more important, then, that the world's most populous nation should participate in its deliberations.

11. But, naturally, there is a certain contradiction between the principle of universality and the reality of power. At the birth of the United Nations the great Powers already had a dominating position on account of their vast military and economic resources. That is still more the case today, in spite of the largely increased number of sovereign States. A factual duopoly of power has been established between the two world Powers.

12. This is not necessarily a wholly negative element. These Powers are fully aware of their enormous destructive potential and of the particular responsibility that this implies. They constantly try to liquidate causes for great-Power conflicts. The balance of terror and power is a safeguard—although a fragile one—against a world conflagration.

13. Yet I submit that this duopoly, this pax of the super Powers, contains certain risks for the smaller nations. The nuclear arms race is only one aspect of the general phenomenon of the growing preponderance of the great Powers. Technical and industrial developments tend to favour the already big and the already strong. Modern science requires such outlays of money and personnel that only the very rich can afford them. There is the risk of a growing gap between the great Powers and all the other nations of the world. We feel that this risk should be frankly recognized.

14. This is particularly important in view of the tendency of the great Powers to use small nations and to dispose of their territories for political and military purposes which do not necessarily coincide with the interests of the smaller Powers themselves. The great Powers sometimes seem to assume the role of divine providence, professing to know what is best for smaller nations and punishing them if they do not agree about the diagnosis and all the cures. The result is often confusion, suffering and destruction, and seldom durable peaceful solutions based on the genuine national and social aspirations of the peoples involved. The very presence of the overwhelming military might of a great Power may make it very difficult to determine what those aspirations are. The possibility of a free choice can be rendered illusory.

15. Maybe I am simplifying, but could it not be said that the small nations, in the interest of peace, should have the right to be left in peace?

16. That certainly does not mean isolation. It simply means that only if the peoples have the responsibility for their own destiny can they be expected to assume their share of the responsibility for the destiny of the world as a whole.

17. The strengthening of the United Nations is of paramount importance for small nations. The Charter in itself provides excellent machinery for interplay between the few big and the many small nations of the world. It could give every country the chance to participate actively and constructively in the work for peace and a better future. During these 25 years large-scale co-operation in many fields has been developed within the United Nations. Before the war there were only a few international specialized agencies in existence. Today almost all national activities are covered by international agencies belonging to the United Nations family. Thus, the instruments have been constructed, but it is clear that they have hitherto not been used enough. The support of member countries has not been sufficient. There has never existed a common strategy to tackle the fundamental questions of our time.

18. The primary task of the United Nations is to combat war by controlling conflicts and by restricting violence. Therefore, the debate must always continue. The dialogue over frontiers must never be allowed to die. Therefore, negotiations must continue. We must never give up negotiating. Therefore, we must try every possibility to strengthen the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations and the peace-keeping machinery.

19. My country will, as always before, be prepared to make, when required, its contribution to the cause of peace, because it is a sad fact that violence grows between nations and within nations. There is the ever-present fear of a nuclear holocaust—the ultimate violence. But technical development makes it also possible for minorities to reach for their aims by terror. Kidnapping and hijacking are terrifying examples of this development. The war and the violence we see on the television screen in our living-rooms can break down our inhibitions and dehumanize our feelings.

20. The brutality of the war in Viet-Nam has shown how the fear of the enemy and the routine of fighting can be transformed into contempt for human beings. At the same time, violence can be made to seem impersonal because it is inflicted from afar and handled by electronic devices.

21. In this situation it is necessary to revert to and assert standards of human decency in order to counteract the technical multiplication of the power to destruct and destroy. More than ever we need concerted action, a determined struggle against violence and the causes of violence. The Charter of the United Nations gives the basis for the preservation of peace.

The United Nations also provides us with the instruments to put international co-operation into practice. What we need is a strategy for peace or, rather, a strategy for survival.

22. Let me briefly mention what I would regard as some of the main elements in such a strategy for survival.

23. First, disarmament is the crucial and most urgent problem of our time. Certain risks may be worth taking in order to achieve it. The words of the late President Kennedy still ring in our ears: "The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison with the certain danger of a continued arms race." The time to change the trend is now, during the first year of the Disarmament Decade.

24. As a result of disarmament negotiations, a great number of small nations, have committed themselves not to acquire or to produce nuclear arms. These commitments have been made in the evident expectation that they would be followed by concrete measures to prevent the proliferation of such weapons. What we expected was substantial commitments by the nuclear Powers concerning limitations in respect both of the further sophistication and of the quantity of new arms systems.

25. Those expectations have been sadly disappointed, as is blatantly illustrated by the three nuclear blasts on the eve of this commemorative session. Smaller nations have often called for a complete cessation of the arms race. Today they demand a moratorium on all qualitative—although I hesitate to use the word in this connexion—and quantitative increases of the nuclear arsenals. How otherwise can their confidence in the credibility of the great Powers' willingness to stop the arms race be restored? The very minimum we could ask for is a complete ban of nuclear tests.

26. Second, the international efforts to counteract racism and colonialism in southern Africa must be intensified. This concerns not only the African continent. It has a direct bearing on the possibility to create a basis for good relations between peoples of different races all over the globe. The situation prevailing in southern Africa today is a challenge to human decency.

27. Third, the United Nations activities to uphold respect for human rights should be intensified. This is an integral part of the fight against violence and oppression. The violation of human rights must be counteracted whether the oppressor is a misled minority group or a dictatorial régime. Respect for the individual can no longer be viewed as a matter under the exclusive sovereignty of the individual State. It concerns all mankind.

28. Fourth, to safeguard our environment is a matter of human survival. The menace against our environment has made people aware of the seemingly anonymous threat of technical development that goes out of control. Even if man does not blow our earth to pieces he may make it equally unlivable by the destruction

of the environment. This requires joint efforts by all peoples irrespective of their geographical position or level of development. We hope that these objectives can be furthered by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972.

29. Fifth—and basically the most important factor—the enormous differences in social and economic conditions between rich and poor must be bridged. Growing gaps and inequalities breed violence. This is true in the less industrialized countries as well as in the rich industrial countries. It is true within nations and between nations. The success or failure of the Second United Nations Development Decade will be of fundamental importance for our possibilities to preserve peace.

30. Where poverty and starvation are most pressing, where injustices between classes and groups are most glaring, conflicts are born. Where social oppression and poverty join with national oppression and colonialism, the conflicts will grow into war. To prevent such a development will require a growing flow of capital to the developing countries and a system of general preferences for their trade.

31. But economic and social progress have to go together; employment, education, housing, land reform and family planning must be considered as important in the development process as technological and industrial improvements.

32. A strategy of survival, involving commitments on the part of all countries, can be put into practice by the United Nations. But its success depends entirely on the active engagement of the Member countries and this is basically a political question.

33. We cannot blame scientists and experts, nor technical developments and anonymous economic forces. Catastrophe, if it comes, would in all essential parts be a result of misguided political decisions or failure to take political decisions at all. The knowledge that today's decisive problems are social and political and thus have to be solved by social and political methods is growing. Therefore developments can only be rectified by the peoples themselves, who, by virtue of their longing for peace and justice, force through those profound changes in the structures of societies and international relations which are a condition for peace in the world and solidarity between and within nations.

34. In this endeavour, the United Nations is an indispensable instrument.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Ecuador, His Excellency Mr. José María Pínce Yepes.

36. Mr. PONCE YEPES (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me to come to this rostrum, in the name of the Chief of State of Ecuador,

His Excellency Mr. José María Velasco Ibarra, who is an outstanding devotee of law, and to convey on his behalf a message of greeting to this distinguished Assembly and support for its noble goals of peace, justice and progress on this occasion of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations.

37. A positive indication that humanity has made progress is to be found in the coexistence of nations which, in the interests of best achieving the noble objectives of mankind, succeeded 25 years ago in creating the United Nations as a balancing force and a response to war, injustice and the predominance of force. The League of Nations, which was born at a similar moment in history, was a first generous effort at organization of the international community, and the United Nations, which was also born of a world conflict as an authentic community of nations, had to seek means of preserving mankind from the scourge of war, of practising tolerance in order to live in peace as good neighbours and, to this end, it proclaimed among its purposes and principles the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the principle of non-intervention, the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the principle of international co-operation. Both Organizations constituted prominent milestones marking the efforts and desires of man to advance towards progress, peace, justice and liberty.

38. On 7 February 1945 Ecuador signed the United Nations Declaration, the antecedents of which are to be found in the Atlantic Charter of 1941, Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, Yalta in 1945 and earlier too, in the message on the four freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt, a synthesis of the desires of an anguished generation seeking a better world.

39. With a clear foresight into the future, the genius of Bolívar conceived the idea of a universal community of nations for the high purposes of peace. The Panama Congress of 1826 was a first step and was therefore confined to the peoples of the new continent, who were united by ties of blood and culture. This Congress instituted a process which culminated in the Chapultepec Conference¹ in which Latin America took the initiative in institutionalizing the legal principles that should govern international relations in this hemisphere and, that later, acquired universal dimensions. The regional organization which was finally created in Bogotá in 1948² and made subordinate to the United Nations Charter, reflects fundamentally the valuable contribution of the inter-American legal thought in establishing the rule of law throughout the world.

40. With these principal antecedents, the Organization began its historic progress on 26 June 1945, with the signing of its founding instrument—the Charter—which entered into force on 24 October of that year.

41. The maintenance of peace, which is the basic purpose of the Organization, has been a source of con-

¹ Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico from 21 February to 8 March 1945.

² Organization of American States.

tinuing concern, an objective which in large measure has been achieved, although the so-called conventional wars and civil wars fomented from abroad have continued, casting a shadow on the universal panorama, the balance of which seems to have been maintained, not so much through conviction and respect for a peaceful settlement of disputes, but more from fear of nuclear weapons.

42. A fundamental element for the attainment of peace and human equilibrium is a better structuring of States and peoples on the basis of an economic democratization which, as a stage beyond mere political democratization, would break this fatal and dangerous imbalance that exists today between highly industrialized countries and developing countries, a picture which reflects a pattern of rich countries and poor countries.

43. In commemorating a stage in the life of the Organization, what should be the position of the Governments and peoples that make up this Organization? I believe that it is for our generation to make an inventory of past achievements, criticize the efforts wasted, encourage the successful efforts that have been made and especially offer sincere support of a reaffirmation of faith in the Organization, its purposes, principles and objectives which, by natural law, are the sustenance of the human soul, whatever its position in time and space.

44. These are principally a rejection of the threat or use of force, condemnation of aggression and territorial conquests, peaceful coexistence of States, strengthening of the principles of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the right of peoples freely to decide on their political organization; the perfection, strengthening and efficiency of the methods of the peaceful settlement of international situations or disputes, without which justice will continue to be a theoretical entity at the mercy of the predominance of the strongest.

45. As a result, it is necessary without any delay to work out a definition of aggression which would make it possible to place in its proper perspective a problem that is so fundamental and important to the international community.

46. The liberation of the countries and peoples still under colonial domination is another of the objectives which must be achieved as a matter of urgency.

47. The strengthening of international security and even the seeking of preventive means and methods for the solution of disputes, is a subject which should be given priority in the legal questions confronting the Organization.

48. Moreover, and as a necessary means for attaining the objectives we have mentioned, it is essential to urge all States to offer their unwavering and loyal co-operation in the discharge of the obligations imposed on them by the Charter, including those concerning peace-keeping operations.

49. Lastly, it devolves upon the Organization to continue the progressive development of the principles of international law incorporated in the Charter.

50. To conclude, let us bear in mind the wise words uttered a few days ago by our distinguished Secretary-General when he said:

“In commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we should celebrate not by looking backward but by looking forward with hope.”

51. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, His Excellency Mr. P. J. S. de Jong.

52. Mr. DE JONG: It is a pleasure and a privilege for me—also on behalf of the Prime Minister of Surinam and the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Antilles, as representatives of the peoples of the Kingdom of the Netherlands—to address this General Assembly. Men all over the world, united in their urgent desire for peace, are focusing their attention on this rostrum, where representatives from Member countries render an account of what they have made of the United Nations in the last 25 years.

53. This celebration is the moment to evaluate the significance of the United Nations. The essential observation to be made is that for 25 years the United Nations has existed and, by its mere existence, has influenced our policies. As sovereign nations, by our own free will we have subscribed to the Charter, and by that act we committed ourselves to high ideals and practical rules. We have truly become members of an international community.

54. It is impossible to formulate foreign policy without taking into account our obligations under the Charter and the influence of this Organization. The United Nations has become a permanent factor in international life. But we the Member States have time and again failed to bridge the gap between this basic political reality and our existence as individual States. Allow me in this respect to quote our distinguished Secretary-General, who in an address delivered in Ottawa two months ago, on 23 August, pointed out that: “Management of problems which are global in scope requires extension of authority to world agencies, but many nations are extremely reluctant to allow the exercise of that authority”. Further on in the same speech he said: “Nothing could increase the effectiveness of the United Nations more than a modification of out-moded and unworkable concepts of unfettered national sovereignty.”

55. I subscribe fully to those words. In these turbulent times we cling too strongly and too often to old-fashioned concepts of national and constitutional sovereignty.

56. Moreover, those in the United Nations family who bear responsibility for the social and economic progress of humanity have in the past 25 years too

often insisted on their own "autonomy" or their particular "constitutional responsibility". Such appeals were not what the authors of the Charter had in mind in 1945 when they anticipated that Chapters IX and X of the Charter provided the foundation for a harmonious co-ordination of all efforts in order to achieve a truly great framework for joint action.

57. Confronted with the problem of the differences in wealth in this world, with explosive growth on the one hand and stagnation and despair on the other, the United Nations has become the true meeting place, where gradually the notion has grown that justice must be made a reality in the commonwealth of nations. Organs of the United Nations have already accepted responsibilities in this field. But out of the long struggle of ideas, of successes and failures, a document has emerged which gives to the United Nations a new opportunity to find its true self and, to us, Member States, a new impetus for its realization.

58. This document has required five years of often complicated and difficult but persistent preparation. Almost at the last minute the Member States managed to present unanimously to this Assembly a new international strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*A/8124 and Corr.1 and Add.1*]. This Second Development Decade will have a profound impact on international relations if we succeed in achieving the objective of economic growth as envisaged; this will eventually lead to a fairer distribution of wealth. With the adoption of the strategy we have made the greatest single step forward towards peace and security in the twenty-five years of United Nations activity. This strategy means the internationalization of one of the greatest problems of our time. Economic and social progress are declared to be the common and shared responsibility of the entire international community. Developing and developed countries alike voluntarily resolve, in a common effort, to pursue the objectives spelled out in the strategy, by taking measures also carefully described in the document.

59. An even more fascinating perspective is opened up for the international community by the concept of review and appraisal of the progress made in the development effort. For the first time, all sovereign Members of the United Nations have voluntarily accepted the idea that an instrument of this world Organization will examine the policy measures they have taken, together with the impact of those measures, and that this instrument will have the authority to recommend alternative measures, including new goals and policies. The acceptance of this concept is of historic importance.

60. The pace of our lives quickens as the world around us moves faster. As a fruit of the process of change, new international thinking gradually emerges. We have come to realize that in the future all countries will have to change their priorities. This is essential, both on the national and on the international level to mobilize the forces of growth in this world.

61. In the years to come we shall have to struggle on this new basis to elaborate these new priorities, new alternatives and new choices in our rapidly changing world. We shall have to create new machinery for reshaping the world economy, strong enough to be handed over to future generations. A minimum requirement for all this is the faithful compliance with the commitments we are accepting during this Assembly.

62. I represent a country where the turmoil of change leaves a definite mark in the everyday life of society. Many of my countrymen are strongly involved, not only in what is happening within our frontiers, but equally strongly in the failures and successes of the world at large.

63. My colleagues from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles and I solemnly rededicate ourselves to the Charter.

64. We repeat our promise to contribute with all our energy to the establishment of peace and security.

65. We accept the provisions of the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts.

66. We promise to strive for the goal of general and complete disarmament.

67. We accept the obligation of the Charter to work for the respect for and the strengthening of international law.

68. We support the new development strategy.

69. We pledge ourselves to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

70. We shall live up to the objectives of the United Nations and we shall support every effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for peace, justice and progress.

71. May God grant that our work will redound to the benefit of mankind.

72. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Prime Minister and Minister for Commonwealth and Foreign Affairs of Malta, His Excellency the Honourable Giorgio Borg Olivier.

73. Mr. BORG OLIVIER: Mr. President, I should like to express on behalf of the Government and people of Malta our great satisfaction in participating in the celebrations marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

74. May I, on behalf of the Government of Malta, join previous speakers in offering sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Because of your distinguished career at the United Nations, and also as the son of the last President of the League of Nations, it is very fitting that you should be presiding over the Organization on the occa-

sion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. Your long experience in the work of the various committees on which you have served with distinction augurs well for the success of this session.

75. I also wish to extend my congratulations to the members of the General Committee. I am happy and honoured that Malta is represented, for the first time, on the General Committee and I am particularly pleased that this should have happened at this historic session.

76. Looking back over the 25 years since the guns of the Second World War fell silent, one notes with satisfaction the valuable work performed by the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the activities of States in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. The Organization has also performed a useful function as a forum for debate on matters of international concern. But if one were to draw up a fair balance-sheet of the achievements and failures of this Organization, one would have to add that there is still considerable room for improvement even in those areas in which the performance has generally been a positive one. Regrettably, one would also have to acknowledge that the United Nations has failed to implement effectively the basic purpose for which it was established: the maintenance of international peace and security.

77. Judging the Organization particularly on recent performance, one cannot but question the credibility, even the relevance, of the institution in its efforts to take effective action on the problems that it was established to resolve. We all know that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests, under the Charter, with the Security Council; and we all look to that Council when peace and security are threatened or violated. Too often, however, we find that the Council appears to ignore even major threats to peace and threats or the use of force by the stronger against the weaker. Too often it is content with a temporary cease-fire. As a result, the United Nations is commanding less and less attention; and what should have been a bulwark for the smaller and weaker nations has proved to be impotent to afford them protection.

78. The Security Council must again assume its full responsibilities and make full use of its powers for the maintenance of peace and security. While the attempts made by the big Powers to settle regional conflicts are welcome, great care must be taken to ensure that they are not a substitute for but complement the work of the Security Council. Negotiations can be successful only if the nations concerned are allowed to decide their own destiny. Compulsion, especially if it is prompted by a desire to share influence and prestige in the area, cannot lead to a lasting peace.

79. The concern of small nations—and Malta is one of the smallest—about the clear inability of the United Nations to cope with the various international problems that affect humanity is in inverse proportion to their size. For that reason, and because of the rivers of blood that are still being shed by a suffering humanity,

I am sure the Assembly will be indulgent with me if I add my voice to those of the speakers who have preceded me in order to stress again the absolute need to rededicate ourselves, not so much in word as in deed, to the effective implementation of the basic purposes of our Charter. The principles enshrined in the Charter 25 years ago have lost none of their validity or vitality. It is we who over the years have turned so much hope into so many disappointments.

80. Many speakers have referred to the need for a political will. This, of course, is basic and I shall not repeat what others have said on this point. Sometimes, however, a potential political will may exist but may find it difficult to express itself because of deficiencies either in the Charter or in the organization and procedures existing within the United Nations system.

81. We are not among those who believe that, at the present time, the Charter could be profitably improved. If gross violations of the present Charter scarcely raise comment any more, if many specific provisions of the present Charter relating to peace and security have remained a dead letter, it would be vain to hope that an improved Charter, or a different selection of Security Council members, or improved procedures, could afford more security to those peaceful countries that need the protection of a just international order. Nevertheless there are certain provisions in the Charter that not only are useless but could give an unintended colour of justification to gross violations of international peace and security. I refer in particular to Article 107 and to practically the whole of Article 53 of the Charter. These Articles no longer serve any useful purpose and are a latent threat to peace. We suggest that they should be deleted from the Charter at the earliest opportunity.

82. In the economic, social and humanitarian fields, there are many countries, I am sure, having the political will to make greater use of the United Nations system. The organization of that system and the existing decision-making procedures, however, are clearly not of a nature to encourage the expression of that political will. This is a matter which we have repeatedly raised but about which little has been done. The system is both over-organized and unco-ordinated, the proliferation of subordinate decision-making bodies continues, and clear objectives and clear lines of authority for the implementation of programmes in different fields have yet to be established.

83. I have raised this matter again because while I am fully appreciative of the very useful work that has been done by the United Nations and its specialized agencies in raising the economic, social and cultural standards of developing countries, I am equally conscious of the grave problems facing those countries. They are of such magnitude that only a greatly improved system can effectively deal with them. The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, and later the United Nations Development Programme, have broken new ground in international co-operation between rich and poor countries. At the same time one cannot fail to observe that the United Nations

programmes of assistance, invaluable as they are—and I wish again to express the gratitude of my Government for the assistance received—still constitute only a small fraction of the total aid received by developing countries.

84. If the United Nations is to perform its present tasks adequately, and more so in order that it may successfully meet the challenges of the future, it is essential that the system be streamlined and made more effective. This task could be approached simultaneously through a more rational budgetary process within the United Nations system and through the integration of programmes.

85. The budgetary level as a whole should be decided at the General Assembly, taking into account over-all needs, and the funds within the level so established should be assigned to the specialized agencies. It would then be the function of the governing body of each specialized agency to distribute those funds by allocating them to individual programmes.

86. The integration of programmes and their more effective implementation call for a central decision-making body capable of making its authority effectively felt throughout the entire system. Of equal importance is the establishment of clear objectives and clear lines of authority for the implementation of programmes in different fields. In addition, those programmes must support one another.

87. In the economic and social field, the Charter has entrusted wide responsibilities to the Economic and Social Council. We have therefore already a central body with powers wide enough to define over-all objectives and priorities and to transform the multiplicity of what are basically unco-ordinated programmes into an integrated whole. We realize that this is not easy. It is, however, an objective which is well worth the heavy increase it would admittedly involve in the present work of the Council. Its achievement would set an excellent precedent in the history of the United Nations.

88. Mankind is only too painfully aware of the acrimonious disputes between States that mark the contemporary world. We are all tragically becoming increasingly familiar with the threats to the security of small nations and the resort to force for the settlement of international disputes. International opinion is generally conscious of the need to apply to the relations between States the principles of equality and dignity that have been recognized by most countries within their borders. Though human rights are not universally respected, they have frequently been a topic for discussion at the international level. The debates in the United Nations amply reflect the general awareness of the forces I have mentioned.

89. But beyond these forces and the resulting problems, and possibly clouded by them, another mighty historic force is silently and imperceptibly transforming the very foundations of our world. I refer to the explosive advance of science and technology. Scientific and

technological progress has acquired a momentum that cannot be stopped. Scientists have acquired such intimate knowledge of nature and such technical ability that it would be possible totally to disrupt the world and to bring about unbearable conditions even without a major war.

90. Some of the scientific break-throughs of recent years have included the decoding of the genetic code, the discovery of anti-matter, the effective use of lasers for a variety of purposes, weather control and, of course, the spectacular advance in computer and communications technology.

91. The recent decoding of the genetic code, to take one case, will certainly lead to the development of the infant science of genetic engineering. Should we, and if so, how are we to modify the inherited characteristics of man? Will there be attempts to specialize man as we have specialized cattle, horses or dogs? Will there be attempts to create men of superior wisdom, men specialized for war, men specialized for farming or for industrial or domestic work? Will there emerge some mad scientist or a criminal man of outstanding cunning and perversity? The implications of such developments for our economic, social and political systems, perhaps even for our very existence, are immense and could be terrifying.

92. No matter how reluctant we may be, these advances in science and technology are forcing upon us with increasing urgency the enormous task of creating a new world order; a world order based upon the premise, not a freedom of action by sovereign States, but of close co-operation between States and upon the acceptance by States of responsibility for actions which may adversely affect others. The silent, but increasingly pressing, constraint exercised by scientific and technological advance demands the subordination in certain cases of the national interest to the regional and even world interest, and consequently the surrender by the national State of some of its freedom of action.

93. In an age of unbridled nationalism—a natural reaction perhaps to the subjection in which so much of the world has been held—in an age of newly found independence for such a large proportion of humanity, it may be anathema to some to talk of curtailment of sovereignty. But the imperatives of science and technology are opposite to those of nationalism.

94. We are living through experiences which are not dissimilar to those which, to the utter astonishment of the world at large, ushered in the atomic age. The consequences of allowing events again to take us unawares, and therefore unprepared, are certainly not less ominous and could be even more sinister than those which were heralded with such catastrophic impact at Hiroshima. We must recognize these facts now, and we must, possibly within this decade, take common action in order that the current contradiction between the traditional conceptions and modes of action of States and the irresistible forces of science and technology does not undermine the very foundations of the world.

95. It has been said that the United Nations is not a technological institution. Yet these are basic questions that must in due course be debated and answered. The United Nations is the appropriate forum where science and technology and their implications on international relations can be discussed. If necessary, the United Nations system should be structured in such a way as not only to permit but to promote useful debate and co-operative action on the problems I have just referred to.

96. The rapid progress of science and technology is enabling man to penetrate into the new environments of outer space and the ocean depths. It is urgent to establish a more comprehensive law for the former and an international régime of an institutional character for the latter.

97. Ocean space is an ecological whole which not only makes the world livable but contains immense and still largely unused resources. Technology is making this area accessible and exploitable; yet at the same time it is giving us also the means to destroy its usefulness to us. Increasing industrialization, expanding urban agglomerations, a greater use of nuclear technologies and other factors are resulting in the pollution of ever wider areas of ocean space. We dump there our chemical and radioactive wastes without taking the necessary precautions. Oil pollution is also becoming more widespread. Modern fishing techniques are depleting many desirable stocks of fish while coastal fish and much of the plant life on which they subsist are endangered by increasing pollution. Lakes and rivers have died, and some internal seas, like the Caspian, the Baltic and even the Mediterranean, are in serious danger of becoming dead seas.

98. It cannot any longer be permitted that the ocean space be used and exploited on the present basis of only slightly modified freedom. The present legal régimes are clearly inadequate. Indeed they are leading increasingly to gross economic waste, to the depletion of living resources and to an alarming impairment of ecology.

99. The problems of ocean space cannot be solved by the action of individual States alone. There must be a co-operative endeavour to establish a new, equitable and appropriate legal framework for the use and exploitation of ocean space as a common heritage of mankind. Unless this is done, mankind may well suffer an irreparable loss. Hence we welcome the moves that are being made towards a new conference on the law of the sea.

100. It will probably be generally accepted that scientific and technological advance has far-reaching implications for international security and related disarmament negotiations. In the United Nations, however, arms control and disarmament problems are traditionally discussed in isolation and with little reference to the technological background. There appears to be a tacit assumption that technology for military purposes can be clearly distinguished from technology for peaceful purposes. Such a distinction—though never entirely true—might have been a reasonable assumption in the

past, perhaps even as late as twenty years ago. In the contemporary world the assumption is confusing and can lead to a misunderstanding of the nature of the strategic arms race. Technologies, and even techniques, are increasingly having both military and civilian applications, and at the frontiers of science it is practically impossible to distinguish between the two.

101. The time, we think, may soon come when, in addition to the traditional debate on arms control and general and complete disarmament—which, of course, must continue—it may become useful, perhaps even necessary, to examine the more difficult question of the control of technology. That suggestion may appear somewhat strange. It is, however, a natural corollary of the principle which we are trying to adopt in other areas: in order to establish a world order it is necessary to extend to international relations the kinds of controls that we regard as essential to maintain order within State boundaries.

102. In the meantime we welcome the strategic arms limitation talks that are taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union and we earnestly hope that they will lead to useful results. We note with regret, however, that these talks are not likely to have the far-reaching effects we would desire because of a number of factors, including the difficulties of verification, even with the assistance of satellites. Here again effective arms limitation and, even more, a measure of disarmament are not attainable without the sacrifice by the States involved of some of the attributes of sovereignty. Until that is recognized, the arms race will impose increasingly heavy burdens upon them and upon the rest of the world.

103. One of the beneficial results of scientific advancement—and I must, after having referred to some of the more dangerous implications, add that humanity has benefited immensely from that advancement—is that useful and vigorous life is now possible to an advanced age. My country hopes to be able to outline in some detail at the current session of the General Assembly developments in this field and their implications for social policy.

104. At the beginning of this new decade, which may well be decisive for the future of the world, the United Nations must adjust its procedures and its structure to be better able to discuss and to take more effective action on the new and unprecedented challenges which mankind will have to face. It is in our view essential that there should be a more rational assignment of responsibilities to major Assembly committees, and we suggest that an Assembly committee be given major responsibility for the examination of the international implications of scientific and technological advance.

105. In the economic, social and human rights fields the activities of the United Nations system must be streamlined and resources concentrated on clearly defined and realistically achievable objectives. While we respect the autonomy of the several parts of the United Nations system, the system itself must be strategically directed from a centre of authority and

must be structured meaningfully to deal with emerging problems. The multitude of existing programmes of international co-operation in national and regional development must be more closely integrated with action through the United Nations Development Programme and the latter should take even greater steps to review its procedures in the light of the Jackson Report.³ We must no longer think of the United Nations family as a system of virtually independent, competing agencies, but as a multifaceted, integrated whole through which the international community seeks to achieve the purposes so admirably defined in Article 55 of the Charter.

106. If the United Nations adjusts its structure and its activities, the world will have a chance to advance into "the broad, sunlit uplands" described by Sir Winston Churchill many years ago. If the necessary changes are not made the future may be bleak and the United Nations may well sink into increasing ineffectiveness and irrelevance.

107. In order to be able to make such changes, however, we must above all have peace. A political solution to conflicts that are threatening international peace must be found, and found quickly. The main responsibility rests, of course, with the great Powers; but the contributions of the smaller countries through co-operative work within the framework of the United Nations, can be no less important. We therefore give our whole-hearted support to the Organization and are anxious to make our contribution, small as it may be, to the strengthening of the United Nations.

108. Before concluding, I should like to pay a warm tribute to the outstanding qualities of our Secretary-General and to his continued efforts for world peace. The successes obtained by the United Nations in the past few years are largely due to this untiring energy and dedication.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Nsanzé Térence, Permanent Representative of Burundi to the United Nations and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic.

110. Mr. TERENCE (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the President of the Republic of Burundi and the Government and people of Burundi, I have the pleasure and privilege of hailing your election to the Presidency of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The bonds which unite your Government and mine, the friendship which marks our relations with you, are such that any description of our joy at finding ourselves under your aegis would be inadequate. Consequently, I would simply say that you may rest assured of our co-operation, modest as it may be, at this session which, though a regular session, is extraordinary in nature.

111. Neither would I wish, in this twenty-fifth year of our Organization, to pass over in silence the merits of the distinguished Secretaries-General who have suc-

cessively presided over the destinies of our Organization. I would be particularly failing in my duty if I did not pay a ringing tribute to His Excellency U Thant, who for the past decade has been the mainstay and the brain of this Organization in which we all place our hopes.

Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. To turn now to the substance of the problem, the celebration of the silver jubilee of the United Nations, I should like to present the views and policies of the President of the Republic of Burundi and its Government as to what the United Nations should be and what it is supposed to do for the world.

113. The United Nations is in danger of becoming an impersonal godhead burdened with all the sins of its Members. The depersonalization of this Organization by its Members has been one cause of its ineffectiveness in past years. Its supporters, such as ourselves, have raised a rampart of platonic mysticism around the Organization which has made it a god as imaginary as it is impersonal, to which all the troubles of today's world are ascribed. This dematerialization of the United Nations gives rise to three adverse consequences. First, instead of symbolizing a human body, living and equipped with active faculties, the Organization is tending to become a kingdom of dreams and legends. Secondly, those that violate the Charter and cause trouble in the United Nations readily succeed in making the U.N. a scapegoat for the failures of which they are the instigators, being themselves responsible for the Organization's paralysis. Thirdly, there is another category on the chessboard of the United Nations, that of docile or resigned spectators who seem to play the role of mere supernumerators with clear consciences.

114. The anniversary of the Organization should bring this imaginary world back to earth. It is for us—and this is an imperative rather than an option—to strip off the impersonality in which it has been masked and give it a real and personal stamp; hence, to attribute to its Members both meritorious acts and setbacks, and the responsibility for them. We are the United Nations. It is the Members that constitute its structure. Hence the need to explode the fiction long accepted in this house that all wrongs are the collective responsibility of all the Members.

115. Of course, all human beings are naturally more eager to extol their merits than to assume responsibility for their errors. By virtue of this same innate reluctance to accept undeserved reproach, we may legitimately seek to dispel the ambiguity exploited by the cleverness of some States and the spontaneous good faith of others within this international community. Thanks to this ambiguity all Members are indiscriminately held to be both guilty and innocent in reference to the blighted hopes of our organization.

116. This ready confusion tends to ease the heavy burden of the prevaricators, or even to exonerate them

³ *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.70.I.10).

altogether. Hence innocent and guilty are held equally answerable for damage of which they are not equally the cause. It is salutary for the United Nations itself that those who did not take part in the painful events that have afflicted our Organization should dissociate themselves from the principal instigators of those events. As a world institution whose mission is peace, the United Nations is in essence perfect. It is therefore sad that the Organization should almost invariably find itself the target of an avalanche of recrimination. This scenario, which even Members with a clear conscience have finally underwritten, takes various forms. Now it is the Organization that is raked with bitter criticism, now it is the States that have best conformed to the Charter, in spirit and letter, that find themselves endorsing fiascos in which they have no part.

117. What are the essential causes of the failure of the United Nations?

118. Examination of the road travelled by the community of Members since the entry into force of the Charter testifies to a general impotence vis-à-vis the main objectives, particularly in the following areas: decolonization, the defence of human rights, economic development, disarmament and maintenance of peace. For years now there has been a growing disaffection with the United Nations on the part of many States. Faced with severe setbacks, there is a growing tendency on all sides to call in question the structure and functioning of its principal organs. While it is true that the machinery with which it is equipped suffers from certain deficiencies due to various factors, the essential causes of the failure of the United Nations are to be found in the attitude of States too greatly devoted to the defence of their particular interests and fiercely jealous of their national sovereignty.

119. We agree of course that Article 2 of the Charter recognizes all Members as equally sovereign, a prerogative which for almost all countries is limited to the legal or even theoretical domain. Accordingly, it is first and foremost the giants of our Organization that are the target for the recriminations provoked by disappointment in the international community. The nuclear arsenals at their disposal and their military, economic and political gigantism have in fact encouraged the colossi to reduce other States to the status of powerless commoners, entirely defenceless in the arena of world politics. Because of this monopoly seized by the club of the great Powers, it would be unfair to accuse any particular sovereign nation of encroaching on the United Nations. Relegated to second rank by the powerful, Member States content themselves with playing a secondary role, having no alternative. Towering like veritable Hercules over other States that are treated as mere myrmidons, the great nations cannot escape the unanimous criticism levelled against them.

120. The misfortunes of this Organization cannot, without distortion of the facts, be dissociated from the behaviour of the giants. No gesture is made to dispute them that privilege. Nevertheless, their skill in shirking their duties contrasts strangely with the enormous resources they have at their disposal and the unlimited power with which they are vested.

121. Is it not the shirking of responsibility by the great Powers which is the source of the present politico-military imbroglio in the Middle East? On this subject, the recent aerial hijackings in the region were determined by motives fundamentally different from those which prompted previous hijackings. These acts of stateless persons deprived of their homes, their property, and virtually everything that makes human life a precious treasure, are inspired by frustration and destitution.

122. The bloody civil war which recently took such a heavy toll in Jordan, allied to the aerial hijackings, is only one link in a long chain of catastrophic future possibilities, unless the great Powers tackle the Middle Eastern problem at its root. What are these events, indeed, if not an unequivocal condemnation of the impotence in which the General Assembly and the Security Council have bogged down, subject as they are to the will of those colossi, the oracles of the United Nations? Besides this most brutal indication of the helplessness of the United Nations, the urgency of the Near East conflict is a spectacular warning to the powerful that are the only main obstacles to a final settlement.

123. Peace without a homeland is pure Utopia. For us in Africa peace depends on a twofold liberation: from colonialism and from racism. As long as southern Africa is given over to colonial voracity and racist rapacity, peace, whatever form it takes, will be nothing but an abstract and illusory reality for Africa. To representatives who have no personal experience of the degrading treatment inflicted on the victims of the colonialist and separatist dogma, it might at times seem that the Africans have some special interest in wearying this Assembly with the same old litany on matters already abundantly aired. It is no part of our intention to importune this august forum. Only the extreme and unrelenting gravity of the dehumanization of man by his fellow man on our continent suffices to justify our urgent and repeated appeals for the safeguard of human beings forced to live in misery.

124. The monstrosities begotten by those Siamese twins, the régimes of *apartheid* and of colonial subjugation, in southern Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) can never be over-dramatized. One need only look beneath the euphemism used to designate South African nazism to see glaring evidence that nazism and *apartheid* are not just similar but absolutely identical. In previous years the Burundi delegation has shown, with irrefutable proof in support of its thesis, that in its initial stage South African racism was a branch of Hitlerism, finally developing into an out-and-out copy of nazism in its essence, its ends and its means. *Apartheid* and nazism are only two aspects of one and the same scourge, namely, the self-deification of a particular human group.

125. To reveal the identical nature of *apartheid* and racism, I shall confine myself on this occasion to three literal quotations reproducing the theory of racial supremacy as preached by the Führer. His ideological dis-

ciples in South Africa have servilely followed in his steps, whole-heartedly embracing the doctrine of nazism and transplanting it to our continent.

126. Hitler, in his *Mein Kampf*, a work in which he vaunts community of blood as a natural and sacred law, takes himself for the man "chosen by heaven to proclaim the will"—the racist will, of course—"of the Creator". Then Dr. Malan, one of the most fanatical champions of *apartheid*, writes "The history of the Afrikaners, is the work not of men but of God." My third quotation is the following. At the Calvinist Conference of Bloemfontein held in 1950, the theologian Strauss affirmed that "the native should obey our commands. He should even bear our chastisement in the name of the Lord because it delivers him from the slavery of sin".

127. This august Assembly can thus easily see that *apartheid* and nazism are identical. In other words, "*apartheid*" is only a euphemism that applies to the same reality as nazism.

128. Hence, one cannot help wondering what motives lead the European countries, which were the scene of nazism's bloodiest devastations, to hasten to arm to the teeth the most servile disciples of the Aryan theory.

129. What are we to make of the contradictory behaviour of Western Governments that are pleased to stigmatize the régimes of socialist societies as totalitarian while striving up hill and down dale to appoint themselves faithful guardians of the Governments of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon, Governments that with their own pastiche of nazism are perpetuating the system that put Europe to fire and sword? No doubt because the standard-bearers of such régimes are entrusted with the sacrosanct mission of preserving the biological purity of the white race!

130. Accordingly, the continuous infringement of human rights by Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury reflects the intrinsic paradox that has taken root in this Organization. Defeatism, a commonly adopted attitude, strengthens the dictatorial influence that those Governments, constantly rebelling against the supreme authority of the United Nations, bring to bear on certain Powers. Hence we are witnessing a strange scenario in which régimes whose policies of colonial tyranny and dehumanization are universally condemned dictate their will to the giants of the United Nations that are nevertheless entirely capable of forcing the rebels to bow to the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

131. The purposes of the United Nations require all Members, and particularly the great Powers, who have a special obligation to speak out against the pronouncements of Governments defying the United Nations, once and for all to free themselves of the influence, highly prejudicial to peace, to which the partners of those Governments submit by reason of the interests they have in countries where the inalienable and fundamental rights of peoples are subordinated to business deals.

132. Yes, I address myself to you, Sir, the President of the General Assembly; you who are a son of Europe bringing honour to that continent, who are the most refined product of Western culture and civilization; and you, distinguished delegates of the West, the cradle of a large part of modern civilization—can you go on suffering the Portuguese and South African régimes to sully your image with impunity, an image they claim to defend? Is it régimes based on colonialist and racist fanaticism that reflect and represent the quintessence of humanism and civilization as it is known in the West?

133. The gap between the dream and the reality should not result in collective defeatism. There is hardly need to go on demonstrating that the repertoire of past vicissitudes presents a gloomy picture. At a time when we are embarking on a new era, albeit without erasing the past, our efforts should be directed towards the future. The incapacity of the United Nations to attain its major objectives in first youth and adolescence, far from diverting it from its noble ideals, will serve as a solid springboard from which to launch into a phase of renewal. To bring about this renewal, we must arm ourselves against attacks of the pessimism and passivity in which combatants who lack courage and militants who see no future try to take refuge.

134. As architects of an international society built on fraternity and peace, we must be imbued with the ardour necessary to guide our steps towards the ultimate ideal. Past errors and shortcomings will contribute to the cause for which we fight, provided they urge us on towards the heights we would scale.

135. The United Nations cannot resist the appeal for renewal without abdicating its vocation. To be the sure and supreme guarantor of peace among nations, this Organization will better respond to the requirements and contingencies of our times by equipping itself with new strength and new vitality.

136. The triumph over selfish nationalism, to ensure the success of the new effort we are to launch, should underlie the impetus we intend to give the work of the United Nations in the coming years.

137. To generate this new momentum is an enormous undertaking that must be tackled by the international community as a whole. For that reason alone, the Secretary-General and the Secretariat should play a preponderant role. Entrusted as it is with the fate of the world, the United Nations has no choice but to count on the active participation of the Secretary-General in seeking to eradicate the selfishness of those countries which force it at best to prevaricate and which thus in the long run transform this world Organization into a faithful self-portrait of the club of the colossi.

138. In order for it to be cleansed of its old habits which accentuated its infirmities, the United Nations needs a new breath of life. Above all we must inculcate in the great Powers a more altruistic attitude, more generous sentiments and a more magnanimous vision. At the same time, this new breath of life must revitalize

the mind and soul of this Organization, namely, the Secretariat. The lofty mission entrusted to the administrative and functional staff requires active and increased assistance from Member States.

139. Thus, the resources of Governments, deployed in unison with those of the Secretary-General, will result in a better consolidated administrative and political structure capable of raising our Organization to a level commensurate with its colossal responsibilities.

140. The imperatives of peace require us to rehabilitate the human race.

141. Perhaps we should recall that the United Nations is approaching the age at which its predecessor, the League of Nations, succumbed to the weight of its own impotence.

142. There is another kind of war going on which is all the more harmful because it is hidden. This war, which draws a line of demarcation between the members of one and the same human family, is called the racial psychosis of superiority complex on the one hand and a resignation complex on the other. This twofold

complex is as deliberately encouraged as it is assiduously practised by its beneficiaries, and astutely inculcated in its victims, the peoples dubbed as "coloured". Racial antagonisms being to blame for this division of the human race into two camps, harmony, equality and brotherhood among men and peoples get decidedly short shrift. In the face of such evidence a different order, a different balance is necessary if we are to have peace.

143. It is within the purview of the United Nations to set about the task of dismantling the obstructionist mentality that is responsible for the theories—as outmoded as they are artificial—which claim the divine right of racial supremacy for one human group and a fate of perpetual congenital inferiority for other races.

144. In conclusion, the rehabilitation of the human race by this Organization should finally—thanks to the almost superhuman heights reached by science and technology—be aimed, if not at the immortality of man, at least at a new lease of life.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.