

Nevertheless, the most the U.N. has dared to do is to provide a platform from which the Tunisian and Moroccan nationalists could tell their story to the world and to adopt some toothless resolutions expressing hope that France would bring both rapidly along to self-government. Perhaps the fact that the U.N. heard the case of the two North African protectorates even though France stalked out of the sessions - and threatened to do worse - can be regarded as a minor achievement. In the old, pre-U.N. days Tunisia and Morocco would have had nowhere to make their appeal except to the fortunes of armed revolt. But the festering sore of these two spots remains, and it marks another U.N. failure.

The U.N. has failed to induce the Nationalist government of the Union of South Africa, headed by that iron-willed Boer, the Rev. Dr. Daniel F. Malan, to abandon its apartheid policies. It has carried out a careful study of the segregation of races which Dr. Malan's government has made the cornerstone of its policy. In a voluminous report it predicts that this will lead to tragedy in the African future. But the resolutions it has passed have seemed only to confirm the intention of the government of South Africa to go forward in its trouble-breeding way.

Another failure has to be admitted in the effort to bring the Union of South Africa to acknowledge that it must ask the U.N. for the right to administer the old League mandate of South West Africa, and must report to the U.N. on its stewardship of that responsibility. South Africa argued that case before the International Court of Justice, but the verdict given there was not a clear one and South Africa had already served notice that it would not be bound by it. All attempts by the U.N. to establish its final authority over South West Africa - which are really attempts to protect the natives against the harshness of the Malan government's racial policies - have failed.

Failure has plagued the efforts of the U.N. to induce many of the nations - conspicuously the United States - to ratify the genocide treaty. This is the treaty which defines genocide - the mass killing of great groups of people because of their race, religion, nationality or ethnic origins - as a crime under international law punishable in the courts of the nation where the crime is alleged to have taken place. The genocide treaty has been ratified by 42 nations and is in effect among them. But the U.N. has failed to persuade the United States to ratify. (And this even though the U.S. delegation in November of this year voted for a resolution in the Assembly which exhorted all nations that have not ratified to hurry up and do so!) American action on the genocide treaty at present seems stalled.

The U.N. has called on its four member-states with occupation forces in Austria to speed up conclusion of a peace treaty with that unhappy little country. Result to date: failure.

Perhaps as regrettable as any is the U.N.'s failure to work out the question of admitting new members. If the United Nations is to achieve its full stature and shoulder all the responsibilities which it should, it needs to become the United Nations. That is to say, it should have in its membership every nation which wants to join and is willing to accept the obligations of membership laid down in the Charter. At the start, it looked as though the U.N. would soon achieve this universality, when its original membership of 51 quickly mounted to 60 nations.