

governments and millions of people to use our United Nations for the purpose of avoiding the grim tragedy of global destruction, and of bringing about a better world than the one we have today.

The evolution of technological processes and developments in nuclear science have made mankind far more immediately interdependent than either public opinion or governments, in any part of the world, have yet realized. But, unfortunately, as our interdependence increases, our divisions persist. The undeniable fact is that if we do not find a means to harmonize, to reconcile them, they may destroy us all, this increases the importance of the United Nations as a centre of negotiation, of reconciliation, and of unity. By unity I do not mean the lifeless uniformity which is the ideal of totalitarianism.

If we are to do anything about these divisions, we must first recognize and try to understand them.

There is, first, the fundamental division between totalitarian and free societies. In the former, the citizen is the mere servant of the state, while, in international matters, reliance on force and aggressive expansion is a normal development, however much the words "Peace" and "co-existence" may be used to camouflage or confuse. Free societies, on the other hand, are based on the doctrine, however imperfectly realized in practice, that man has rights and duties above and beyond the states and governments which have been created by him in order to protect his freedom and security under law and justice.

Then there is the division between the self-governing and non-self-governing parts of the world. Many people often but I think mistakenly, equate this division with that between colonial administering countries on the one hand, and the dependent territories on the other. In fact, of course, the non-self-governing part of the world is incomparably greater than this. A people who are governed by a dictator, whose power is based merely on military or police control, is not self-governing, even if the dictator happens to be of the same race, and to speak the same language as most of his subjects. The people of a puppet state, the satellite dictatorship of a totalitarian power, are non-self-governing to a greater extent than the people, for example, of a colony which is on the move, though sometimes the move may seem to be too slow, to national freedom under democratic self-government.

Then there is the distinction between the highly industrialized parts of the world, with relatively advanced material standards of living, and what are called the "under-developed" areas. Under the leadership of the United Nations we are trying to do something about this, but the process we are finding is bound to be a slow one. I hope it remains steady.

The United Nations, then, operating in a world thus deeply divided, and indeed made the more necessary precisely because of that division, represents and must try to serve men on each side of each of these divisions, without betraying or weakening the principles of its Charter in the process.