

Text of Pope Paul's Speech at U.N. Appealing for an End to War and Offensive Arms

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 5.—Following is the official United Nations English translation of the address that Pope Paul VI delivered in French yesterday to the General Assembly:

As we begin our address to this audience, which is unique in the world, we wish to express our profound gratitude to U Thant, your Secretary General, for the invitation which he extended to us to visit the United Nations, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of this world institution for peace and for collaboration between the peoples of the entire earth.

Our thanks also to Mr. Amintore Fanfani, the President of the General Assembly, who has used such kind language in our regard from the very day of his election.

We thank all of you here present for your kind welcome and we extend to each one of you our cordial and deferential salutation. In friendship you have invited us and admitted us to this meeting, and it is as a friend that we appear before you.

In addition to our personal greetings, we bring you those of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council now meeting in Rome and represented here by the eminent cardinals who accompany us.

In their name and in our own, to each and every one of you, honor and greeting.

This encounter, as you all understand, is of a twofold nature: It is marked both with simplicity and with greatness. With simplicity, because you have before you a man like you, your brother, and even one of the smallest among you who represent sovereign states, for he is vested if you wish to think of him thus, with only a minuscule and almost symbolic temporal sovereignty, only as much as is necessary to leave him free to exercise his spiritual mission and to assure those who deal with him that he is independent of every other sovereignty of this world. He has no temporal power, nor any ambition to compete with you. In fact, we have nothing to ask for, no question to raise. We have at most a desire to express and a permission to request: namely, that of serving you in so far as lies within our competence, with disinterest, humility and love.

First Declaration

That is our first declaration. As you can see, it is so simple that it may seem insignificant to this Assembly, which is accustomed to deal with most important and most difficult matters.

We said also, however, and all here today feel it, that this moment is also a great one. Great for us, great for you.

For us, first of all. You know well who we are. Whatever may be the opinion you have of the Pontiff of Rome, you know our mission. We are the bearer of a message for all mankind. And this we are, not only in our own personal name and in the name of the great Catholic family but also in that of those Christian brethren who share the sentiments which we express here, particularly of those who so kindly charged us explicitly to be their spokesman here. Like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we are conscious of living through a privileged moment, however brief, which fulfills a desire nourished in our heart for nearly 20 centuries. For, as you will remember, we have been journeying long, and we bring with us a long history; we here celebrate the epilogue of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world, ever since the command was given to us: "Go and bring the good news to all peoples." Now, you here represent all peoples.

Message for All

Allow us to tell you that we have a message for you all, a happy message, to deliver to each one of you.

1. We might call our message, first of all, a solemn and moral ratification of this lofty institution. This message comes from our historical experience. As "an expert in humanity," we bring to this organization the suffrage of our recent predecessors, that of the entire Catholic episcopate and our own, convinced as we are that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace.

In saying this, we feel we are making our own the voice of the dead and of the living; of the dead, who fell in the terrible wars of the past, dreaming of concord and world peace; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew them; and of the living who go forward confidently, the youth of the present generation, who legitimately expect a better hu-



United Press International
POPE PAUL VI shakes hands with Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko of Soviet Union during visit to the United Nations. In center is Pierre de Meulemeester, protocol chief.

man race. And we also make our own the voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who long for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well-being and for progress. The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace; we presume to present here; together with our own, their tribute of honor and of hope. That is why for you, also, this moment is great.

2. We know that you are fully aware of this. Listen now to the continuation of our message. It looks entirely towards the future. The edifice which you have constructed must never again fall, it must be perfected and made equal to the needs which world history will present. You mark a stage in the development of mankind: from now on retreat is impossible, progress essential.

Formula of Coexistence

To the plurality of states, which can no longer ignore one another, you offer an extremely simple and fruitful formula of coexistence. First of all, you recognize and distinguish the one and the other. You do not confer existence upon states, but you qualify each single nation as fit to sit in the orderly congress of peoples; you grant recognition, of high ethical and juridical value, to each sovereign national community, guaranteeing it an honorable international citizenship. This in itself is a great service to the cause of humanity, namely, to define clearly and to honor the national subjects of the world community, and to confirm their juridical status, which entitles them to be recognized and respected by all and from which there may derive an orderly and stable system of international life. To give sanction to the great principle that relations between peoples should be regulated by reason, by justice, by law, by negotiation; not by force or by violence, not by war, not by fear or by deceit.

Open to the Young

So it must be. Allow us to congratulate you on having had the wisdom to open this assembly to the young peoples, to the states which have recently attained independence and national freedom. Their presence is the proof of the universality and magnanimity which inform the principles of this institution.

So it must be. This is our praise and our wish, and, as you can see, we do not bestow these as from outside. We derive them from inside, from the very essence of your institution.

3. Your charter goes further than this, and our message advances with it. You exist and operate to unite the nations, to bind states together. Let us use this formula: To bring the one together with the other. You are an association. You are a bridge between peoples. You are a network of relations between states. We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field of what our Catholic church aspires to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal. In the ideological construction of mankind, on the natural level one can conceive nothing superior to this. Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some, but of all peoples. A difficult undertaking? Indeed; but this is your undertaking, your most noble undertaking. Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act effectively at the juridical and political levels?

Proposal

Once more we reiterate our wish: Advance always. We will go further, and say: Strike to bring back among you any who have left you, and seek a means of bringing into your pact of brotherhood, in honor and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it. Act so that those still outside will desire and merit the confidence of all. And then be

ments of the whole world, express to you both praise and thanks.

Gentlemen, you have performed and you continue to perform a great work: The education of mankind in the ways of peace. The United Nations is the great school where that education is imparted, and we are today in the assembly hall of that school. Everyone taking his place here becomes a pupil and also a teacher in the art of building peace. When you leave this hall, the world looks upon you as the architects and constructors of peace.

Peace, as you know, is not built up only by means of politics, by the balance of forces and of interests. It is constructed with the mind, with ideas, with works of peace. You labor in this great construction. But you are still at the beginnings. Will the world ever succeed in changing that selfish and bellicose mentality which, up to now, has woven so much of its history? It is hard to foresee; but it is easy to affirm that it is toward that new history, a peaceful, a truly and fully human history, as promised by God to men of goodwill that we must resolutely set out. The roads are already well marked out for you, the first that of disarmament.

If you wish to be brothers, drop your weapons. One cannot love with offensive weapons in hand. Those weapons, especially those terrible weapons that modern science has given you, long before they produce victims and ruins, cause bad dreams, foster bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust

generous in granting such confidence. You have the good fortune and the honor to sit in this assembly of peaceful nations, hear us as we say: Ensure that the reciprocal trust which here unites you and enables you to do good and great things may never be undermined or betrayed.

4. The logic of this wish, which might be considered to pertain to the very structure of your organization, leads us to complete it with other formulas. Thus, let no one, as a member of your union, be superior to the others: Never one above the other, this is the formula of equality. We are well aware that there are other factors to consider besides simple membership of this institution. But equality, too, belongs to its constitution. You are not equal, but here you make yourselves equal. For several among you, this may be an act of high virtue; allow us to say this to you, as the representative of a religion which accomplishes salvation through the humility of its divine founder. Men cannot be brothers if they are not humble. It is pride, no matter how inevitable it may seem to be, which provokes tensions and struggles of prestige, of predominance, of colonialism, of egoism; it is pride that disrupts brotherhood.

"Never Again War"

5. And now our message reaches its highest point. Negatively, at first. You are expecting us to utter this sentence, and we are well aware of its gravity and solemnity: Never one against the other, never again, never more. Was it not principally for this purpose that the United Nations arose: Against war, in favor of peace? Listen to the lucid words of a great man, the late John Kennedy, who declared four years ago: "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind." Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard-of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin, are the sanction of the pact which unites you, with an oath which must change the future history of the world: No more war, never again war. Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind.

Our thanks to you, glory to you, who for 20 years have labored for peace and have even suffered the loss of illustrious men in this sacred cause. Thanks and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented and for those which you have brought to an end. The results of your efforts in favor of peace, continuing until the present day, even if they are not yet decisive, are such as to deserve that we, presuming to interpret the senti-

and somber resolves; they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of solidarity and useful work; they falsify the psychology of peoples. As long as man remains that weak, changeable and even wicked being that he often shows himself to be, defensive arms will, unfortunately, be necessary. You, however, in your courage and valor, are studying the ways of guaranteeing the security of international life without recourse to arms. This is an aim worthy of your efforts, this is what the peoples expect of you, this must be achieved. Let unanimous trust in this institution grow, let its authority increase; and his goal, one may hope, will be attained. You will win the gratitude of all peoples, relieved as they will then be from the crushing expense of armaments and freed from the nightmare of an ever imminent war.

We rejoice in the knowledge that many of you have looked with favor upon the invitation that, in the cause of peace, we addressed from Bombay last December to all states, to use for the benefit of the developing countries at least part of the savings which could be realized by reducing armaments. We here renew that invitation, trusting in your sentiments of humanity and generosity.

Cooperation Asked

6. In speaking of humanity and generosity, we are echoing another fundamental principle of the United Nations, which is the high point of its positive side, namely, that you work here not only to avert conflicts between states, but also to make states capable of working one for another. You are not satisfied with facilitating mere coexistence between nations; you take a much greater step forward, one deserving of our praise and our support—you organize brotherly collaboration among peoples. In this way a system of solidarity is set up, so that lofty civilized aims may win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual. This aspect of the United Nations is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human aspect; it is the ideal of which mankind dreams on its pilgrimage through time; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, we presume to say, the reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth—a reflection in which we see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly become earthly. Indeed, it seems to us that here we hear the echo of the voice of our predecessors, and par-

ticularly of Pope John XXIII, whose message of "Pacem in Terris" received to honorable and significant a response among you.

Sacredness of Life

You proclaim here the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom—and above all his religious freedom. We feel that you thus interpret the highest sphere of human wisdom and, we might almost say, its sacred character. For you deal here above all with human life; and human life is sacred; no one may dare offend against it. Respect for life, even regard to the great problem of the birth rate, must find here in your assembly its highest affirmations and its most reasoned defense. Your task is to insure that there is enough bread on the tables of mankind, and not to encourage an artificial birth control, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life.

It is not enough, however, to feed the hungry; it is necessary also to assure to each man a life that befits his dignity. This too you strive to achieve. We may consider this the fulfillment before our very eyes, and by your efforts, of that prophetic utterance so applicable to your institution: "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Is. 11,4). Are you not using the prodigious energies of the earth and the magnificent inventions of science, no longer as instruments of death, but as tools of life for humanity's new era?

We know how intensive

and ever more effective are the efforts of the United Nations and its related world agencies to assist Governments which need help to hasten their economic and social progress.

We know how ardently you labor to overcome illiteracy and to spread culture throughout the world; to give men adequate and modern medical assistance; to employ in man's service the marvelous resources of science, technology and organization—all this is magnificent and merits everyone's praise and support including our own.

We ourselves would like to set an example, even though the smallness of our means is inadequate to the practical and quantitative needs. We intend to intensify the efforts of our charitable institutions to combat the hunger of the world and to meet its chief needs. It is thus, and in no other way, that peace can be built.

Man Is His Own Enemy

7. One more word, gentlemen, one last word: This edifice which you are constructing does not rest upon merely material and earthly foundations, for if so it would be a house built upon sand; above all, it is based on our own consciences. The hour has struck for our "conver-

sion," for personal transformation for internal renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of men's life in common; in a new way, too, of the paths of history and the destiny of the world, in accordance with the words of Saint Paul: "To put on the new man, which after God, is created in righteousness and the holiness of truth." (Eph. IV, 23). The hour has come for a halt, a moment of recollection, of reflection, almost of prayer. A moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny. Today as never before, in our era so marked by human progress, there is need for an appeal to the moral conscience of man. For the danger comes, not from progress, nor from science—on the contrary, if properly utilized, these could resolve many of the grave problems which assail mankind. The real danger comes from man himself, who has at his disposal ever more powerful instruments which can be employed equally well for destruction or for the loftiest conquests.

Seek Spiritual Principles

In a word, then, the edifice of modern civilization must be built upon spiritual principles, which alone can not only support it, but even illuminate and animate it. We believe, as you know, that these indispensable principles of superior wisdom must be founded upon faith in God. That unknown God of whom Saint Paul spoke to the Athenians in the Areopagus. Unknown to them, although without realizing it they sought Him and He was close to them, as happens also to many men of our times. To us, in any case, and to all those who accept the ineffable revelation which Christ has given us of Him, He is the living God, the father of all men.