

Dear friends, just before I start, I would like to thank you very much to Uniting for Peace because of the permanent mobilisation of all those that are aware of the present situation. I will insist today because as a scientist I have been working many years on the prevention of mentally retarded children and I know very well that in the neo-natal, the new born children we must have a diagnosis but then immediately we must try to make a timely treatment because otherwise even if we have a very precise diagnosis then already it is too late at this moment the diurnal pathology is already irreversible.

Well now I would like to tell you from the very beginning that we are in a moment that we know already have entered an era of humanity known as the anthropocene because now we influence the environment, not only on climate change but on the ecological and this change can be irreversible. This means that our legacy to the future generations will be historically something so terrible of humanity that for the first time in history the next generation will find earth with worst capacity for a dignified life. And therefore from the very beginning I would like to tell you that when Vijay invited me to come here tonight to give this Annual Erskine Childers Lecture 2016 I said yes, even if I have very many things to do now he has mentioned at the end this prevalency of the International Commission against the Death Penalty, it is hard to imagine that we can react so emotionally and to kill some person instead of providing them with the opportunity of rethinking what they have done. Therefore today “Building a Culture of Peace in a World of Conflicts” this is the title of this lecture and I will start with what really has inspired me because you are so terrible in this Uniting for Peace movement because you give invitation at the same time you already give the way by which you must develop.

Here is one phrase that I think is extremely relevant today as I was saying - timely treatment - at this moment what is most urgent and now I am quoting Erskine Childers “We have to go forward with the giant undertaking of building a democratic United Nations to make the real world safe, just and sustainable for all our children.

Yes, this is exactly what we need now, the giant undertaking of building a democratic United Nations. This is already enshrined in the Preamble of the United Nations Constitution. This Charter of the United Nations was written in a moment of immense human tension and it is precisely when this tension exists at this moment the people are more creative - really they are able to pass this message of immense enlightenment for the future and in the UNESCO Constitution that was written immediately after the end of the Second World War, it is said “Humanity must be guided by Democratic principles”. This is what we must do - we must be guided by democratic principles - by ethical principles, because immediately they say these are very few. These principles that must be the pillars of our everyday behaviour - justice - freedom - solidarity - equal human dignity - if really that we think that all humans, regardless if they are women or men, if they are of one colour of the skin or another, or one ideology or the other, one religion or the other - if we really think that all human beings are equal in dignity then all the problems will be solved. And it is so important that in this message in 1945 it is

said “Human dignity - equal human dignity. And when talking about solidarity they say intellectual and moral solidarity not only solidarity to provide the world with food - of course this is important - but solidarity is much more than this - solidarity is to share - it is to share our own experience, our own emotions, our own thoughts - to share in all this. And now precisely now there is longevity - we have more years of life normally, we have so many people - this is an immense treasure, we have so many people who are living 70, 80, 90 years and they all have this immense experience, they have created their own life because every single human being is able to think, to imagine, to invent, to anticipate and to create. This is our hope, we can invent for every one of us, our tomorrow. It’s fantastic, this capacity. I can tell you as a bio-chemist that this is an absolutely unbelievable capacity that we have - and it distinctive of human beings.

And therefore we must realise that we can today say yes, the situation at the local level is very difficult from the conceptual point of view and also from the environmental point of view. This is very difficult but we can say, and we can repeat here today, what President Kennedy said in the year 1963 - three months before he was killed - he said at the International University of Washington - he said “They told me that peace is not feasible - Peace is feasible - They told me that disarmament is an illusion - disarmament can be implemented” and he added - and I think that this is what we must have everyday in our minds - he added “There is no challenge that is beyond the distinctive human capacity”. Every single human being is able to create - every single human being is equal in dignity. This is very important.

Today when I see Europe - when I see this European Union it seems unable to be anything other than a monetary union - we have no political, social or economic union, only a monetary union which is a disaster. But they have a fantastic charter - a fantastic charter of fundamental rights but what happens is that the leaders do not agree to these excellent documents that had been produced in the year 2000. The first article - number one - the first article of the Charter of human Rights is ‘dignity’ - equal dignity. And now there is something we must underline that is extremely dangerous- because we can see what happened in the 1930s, and what happened afterwards - for now we have xenophobia, racism, fanaticism - for what is this ? And this happens in countries - all of them - that have agreed to have this charter of fundamental rights - but we have this where one person thinks he can ‘prevail’ upon the others - as Mr Trump said recently of the ‘whites’. It is unbelievable to imagine that in one moment in which humanity has this fantastic capacity of expressing ourselves now we the freedom to say what we think. Twenty five years ago this was not possible when 90% of human beings were being born, living and dying in a very reduced environment. This was because we had no information about what was happening 3,000 miles away and we were very reduced, and therefore we were invisible. Imagine, from the origins of time, always with male power, how for so long women, regretfully, were not in power. And during all these centuries, always the rest of the human beings, the inhabitants of the planet, were persons that were fearful, obedient and silent. And with all this, until twenty five years ago, we did not know what was happening in other parts of the world - and now things have changed a lot. Now with this digital technology we can express ourselves - we are not silent any more - and we are not fearful anymore. And you know that fear has been something that from the origins

of humankind has been brought of absolute power - and we thought “What will they decide?” - “Now you must go - All the soldiers must go!” We were always obedient - it was not possible for us to say “No, this is not what we want” - for we were fearful.

The first paragraph of the Preamble of this wonder that is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says these rights are to free humanity from fear. You see this is fantastic ! Now you must no longer be fearful because now you know that your future is not that which has already been written into history - we can change things now. And I think it is very important to read again this document of UNESCO, this charter of the United Nations and these declarations I told you about earlier. By the way, if in the 1st paragraph they say ‘you must not have fear any more’ then the 2nd paragraph says that you have the right to disagree with decisions made by those in power - you have the right to say “No ! This is not acceptable”. Unfortunately, we are always saying ‘yes’ , for example when you see these economies, all the economists are just saying ‘yes’ and it would be wonderful if one says ‘No!’ Because we must know that there are many complexities that might give a lesson to live in a different way - and that there are some moments in which you must act in accordance with your conscience.

And I remember very well my father - he was a very modest person with no academic qualifications, but was a person who was a self made man - and in the year 1947, already having not been highly educated, when he read that in Oxford a Professor by the name of Fleming had discovered penicillin, he said penicillin must be done in Barcelona. And in 1947 as group of doctors in medicine and pharmacy, they introduced anti-biotics and penicillin in Barcelona - this is to tell you that my father was a self-made man - a very strong personality. And he told me one day when I was appointed Rector of the University of Granada - he told me “Federico, I must tell you one thing - it’s extremely important - when you have become convinced that you have found a solution, you must act in such a way, you must consult, you must reflect, you must compare, but if at the end you are convinced that you are right and they are wrong, do what you consider what must be done and do not ask for permission - because if you ask for permission, this permission will never be given - and he was absolutely right. And I can assure you that when I have situations in which I have to take decisions, being Rector, or being Minister of Education and Science, or afterwards in UNESCO, I have done what I considered must be done - of course there may be a possibility that I could be wrong - but can we always consider being a ‘yes’ man - particularly when we have a system when we have more poor people in the world. But now, a moment will arise when people must think, we must reflect calmly and then we must take our own decisions.

Dear friends, yes, the giant undertaking of building a democratic United Nations ! Yes, this is fantastic because in the design by Franklin Delano Roosevelt started in 1944 and it was a fantastic design because he said, first of all, we have to have one realisation that provides food, because if we talk about ‘the right to live’ and then they have nothing to eat, and they have no water to drink - then how can we allow this ? And so he created one agency for food, another agency for health, and other agencies for education, culture and science. And another was created for work and in this way a system was being created with the possibilities of providing knowledge and good decisions from the scientific point of view to the political

United Nations that was created at the start of 1945 in San Francisco, as you know. And there was one very big problem for development, and today there is a very big problem for children. And they were saying that with a design like this we can assure that during many years any kind of conflict, such as this horrible conflict that started in 1939 by Germany and Italy - and Japan ! we forget about that - we always talk about the Europeans - well this terrible war was ending at this moment with Roosevelt for this United Nations which as Erskine Childers says, should be created. And the first phrase of this charter I think that today gives us three points of reference and solutions that we need to redress many present trends. What is it he said ? He said "We the People" - it is fantastic ! They do not say "We the State" or "We the Government", no, it is 'we' that have decided to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war. But today we are forgetting these succeeding generations - today we make it possible to come to a point of no return - where it is irreversible - and our legacy to the succeeding generations can be a disaster. This is very important, that in 1945 they said "To save succeeding generations from the horror of war."

Now we have many horrors to save the succeeding generations from and it is for this that I believe that it is this phrase of Erskine Childers is really what we must repeat - and repeat again in your "Uniting for Peace" because this is the solution. Always it has been, as we (Federico gestures towards myself here) were talking before I came in this room - in 1919 was the end of the 1st World War and this was a terrible war because the soldiers were dying of cold, of thirst and hunger - it was a disaster. And when the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson who came from New York - and there were no planes - he came from New York to Brest and then to La Place De La Concord in Paris and he signed the Convention for Peace - probably inspired by Gandhi - and he signed this and said - now this is all over, Ladies and Gentlemen, because now we are going to create an International Court of Justice - and we are going to make an International League of Nations, that from Switzerland will be a new place from where we will be in a capacity - in this League of Nations, so Germany, for example, will not be able to re-arm itself and therefore we will have another way of solving the conflict - which will be diplomacy, the encounter, the conciliation, the mediation etc - fantastic ! The same night when he was in La Place De Concord, the persons that were around the President said "Mr President - what is this you are signing here, about peace and this League of Nations ? Have you not been elected to see that North America is the most powerful nation in the world ?" We were talking about this because this should be taught in all the schools - when Woodrow Wilson came back to the United States, the Republican Party was against this society of nations and there and there remains this incoherence that the USA never joined the League of Nations - an agreement that was signed by its President, Woodrow Wilson ! And you know what happened we were inefficient because the United States was not there and should have been there. And some years later there was this man called Hitler who wrote in "Mein Kampf", the book that he wrote in 1933, that the Aryan race was incompatible with the Jewish one - and you know what happened - Hitler, Mussolini, Hirohito - you know what happened. . . .

And at the end of this second world war was when this fantastic United Nations was designed and started to be active in San Francisco in June 1945. Then came the intellectual arm of the United Nations with UNESCO - which was created here in London, by the way, and the first Director General was Julian Huxley. You remember at first what happened when USSR and the USA were not very good friends and they started this terrible armaments race and this was the Cold War. They were not fighting but they were growing with more and more weapons and more and more power. When this Cold War ended in the 1980s it was a fantastic end because it was an end in which one of those involved in this struggle, the Soviet Union because of Mikhael Sergei Gorbachev , and without a drop of blood - this is very important historically - it was not necessary for a single drop of blood - all this Empire of the Soviet Union disappeared and was converted into a Commonwealth of independent states.. Therefore this side was already solved. On the other hand there was a genius - I was very honoured to meet him and I was so inspired by this man and his name was President Nelson Mandela. I knew him before he left the prison because the UNESCO liked to promote and help the liberation movement - and I can tell you it was terrible. Imagine one person, after 27 years of him being in prison, his only problem was he was black - nothing more - 27 years in prison ! And the last years in this terrible prison on Robben Island, close to Cape Town - and this man in six months - and this is one moment that I would like you all to imagine - that there are many impossible that may be feasible - all this Empire of the Soviet Union all disappeared - and all the racism of apartheid - this apartheid was the worst thing possible - the hate from one race to another - and suddenly in months with this fantastic personality things changed completely, and as you know, he became the President of his country - it was a conciliation, a fantastic process because he was an unexpected personality. You can imagine that after 27 years you leave the prison and you go like this (Federico opens his arms out in a gesture of embrace) and say now we are friends, we are brothers - well you can imagine because normally after 27 years it is that the feelings are of vengeance - it was fantastic ! Then we were in a moment in which all the things were claiming peace - no more Soviet Union, no more apartheid. The conflict in Mozambique was solved by a peace process - also in Salvador there was a very big civil war and we signed to end this conflict. Also in Guatemala there was a situation which after 1991-1992 produced a result of peace - it was like all involved were in favour of change - of a different way of solving the conflict - except, regretfully, what was the thought and action of President Reagan and Margaret Thatcher - they thought differently - they were against the idea of Erskine Childers and put aside the United Nations and said from now onwards we have 'globalisation' and have this process where you only have six countries leading the world - and it was the G6 at the beginning, and then they added Canada to make it G7 - and after this the G8 - and more recently the G20. How can we accept a situation where we are 193 countries - and we accept that there are just 6, 7, 20 countries who have their hands on the reins of the common destiny ? I say No! - this is unacceptable and this is the reason today why we are in a big difficulty because in United Nations if there are at least five countries that have 'veto' and the leaders are not democrats - well we are all in there and I can assure you that when there are many people in there - and when we are all active - as you are in Uniting for Peace - at the end of all this you have good results - and you have the possibility of convincing some of these very big powers - but now, well it is a very bad decision. They left UNESCO, by the way, and they thought that by

behaving in this way, UNESCO will disappear. UNESCO does not depend on money - it depends on our good intentions, our cooperation and our solidarity ! And I can tell you for our UNESCO - we were quite happy without these two countries, because when they were there they thought they were the only leaders - No ! In this there is no leadership - maybe so in the United Nations there is because of the military aspect etc, but in one organisation dealing with culture, dealing with education - No ! And try to remember - one day I had the opportunity this to President Reagan, because they left and they were not coming back - and President Reagan in 1995 went to see me and he wanted to know how much money I expected the United States to pay UNESCO and that he could not pay it - and I told him - I am not asking you for any money - what I want is for you to say that it is in the interests of the United States to join UNESCO - and I agree with you that UNESCO does not need the dollars that you can provide - because in many schools in the United States, particularly in the states that are around the Republican leadership, the teachers are required to explain, for example, Creationism ! This is obligatory - what is all this ! (Laughter from audience)

Then I told him, probably you have the sixteen best universities in the world - but you also have the one thousand universities that are the worst in the world - all this you must realise. I was happy because when he went back to the White House he said he could sign the agreement, but not officially, because he could not provide all this money. But I said this is not relevant, for in the intellectual institution of UNESCO all that matters is the culture and the education - and now it is to pass on to all the people that education is not as now, from OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), for they are just telling us that education is knowing about all these things - the digital technology etc - all this is wonderful - this is only in the professional capacity - this is only about having the ability to do things - what we are saying is that education really means we should be free - what does this mean ? It is to really do what you consider, that after reflection, after listening - for 'listening' is extremely important - you must listen to all the others. But after all, this is up to you , you can say 'yes' or you can say 'no'. Maybe even one day say 'yes' and the next day say 'no', for this is freedom - you must be free - you must not be under any kind of fear, or action, or dogmatism - and 'responsible' because we must all be responsible - we must know that we have this responsibility with all the others.

Dear friends, the 20th century, with the end of these two world wars, demonstrated to us that Erskine Childers was absolutely right - and now we have this United Nations we must try to convince everybody that now is more urgent than ever - because now we can reach points of no return - until now that was not the case - now is the case - now we have a lot of diagnoses, a lot of 'think tanks', a lot of universities - now what we need is timely action - it is time for action !

We cannot have more and more diagnoses - I say do not give me more diagnoses because we have enough for the treatment - because in this way we can make this person healthy for all their life. But they say, Oh Yes, now we are going to make a more perfect diagnosis ? No ! - the good diagnosis is over - it is time for action , because what is the perfect diagnosis ? Now we have too many diagnoses - now we need action - action related to the environment, because now we can reach the point of no return.

Action concerning the most important figure - every single human being. Today, 11,000 refugees and migrants, some have already died, some of them? well we just don't know what has happened to them.

I remember in these years, the 60s, 70s, the keyword for all the United Nations was to 'share' - we must share - international cooperation. My predecessor in the United Nations was a fantastic personality from Senegal whose name is Amadou Mahtar M'Bou, and when he was talking, he was talking in French - he was saying "cooperation internationale - cela la solution!" Why? Because of us sharing - with the cooperation we were sharing the knowledge of the richest one with the other countries that were starting, in order that all the people can have a dignified life - in their countries of origin. But you know, today, today how many people die of hunger? More than 20,000 persons - every day - because they have nothing to eat - and I have seen this - it is terrible. Because we know that all these people are living in places where it is very difficult and we do not help them. The United Nations Development Program was extremely powerful and we were helping the countries - "cooperation internationale!" we were helping them - and there were in Europe - particularly the northern countries - I must pay tribute to them - they were very, very helpful - immediately they were ready to support them all. Well now, at present, all this has disappeared, you know, there is no money - because we had the debt and we had the deficit - and I don't know how many things - but there is no money for solidarity - and it is for this that we have all these millions - because we are unable to help them in their country of origin. Instead of international cooperation, what we are practising today - it is a shame - it is exploitation.

And then the World Bank! by the way, the World Bank was for Reconstruction and Development, but they shortened it, the Republicans took out the name and now it is just the 'World Bank' - and it is just a tool for the richest countries of the world. Now what is absolutely true is that the World Bank are saying that the GDP of Rwanda and Uganda is growing - as you know it is through these two countries that all the the coltan is extracted - you can imagine now it is extremely important because of the role it has with computers, mobiles - the digital technology.

Well my dear friends. Yes, we need a change of culture. From the origin of times they have always said that what we need to do is prepare ourselves for war. I was learning Latin when I was young and there was this phrase - which even dates from before the time of Christ - it was "civis pacem - para bellum" which means "if you want peace - prepare for war" - and this is still said today! The absolute male power has always said what we need is to be stronger and always have more power than the others. Whilst 20,000 persons die of hunger every day - at the same time that \$4 billion is spent on weapons, on armaments and in other military expenditure. And you realise that in part of this there is the complexity in the economy that is borne of speculation and of de-localisation - all of which has come because of greed and irresponsibility - it has been said by some very important economists in the world. Because we have said now all this must be produced. Instead of being produced at home by the industries in our country, this is more cheaper to be produced in Bangladesh, in Turkey and in China particularly. And so we have speculation and de-localisation. In Spain we were very good producers of textiles - now all this has been outsourced - and what can we do? Most of the

factories in Spain are gone and the number of people employed is extremely reduced because of the progressive mechanisation and digitisation that is replacing human beings. At the International Peace Bureau Congress, which Vijay was also at, we learnt that everyday \$4 billion is invested in military armaments. How can we accept this when people are dying of hunger and thirst and there is this immense poverty? You know today, according to Oxfam, around 70 persons today have more money than the rest of humanity. Billions of people have less than these 70 persons put together! Well, this means that all these things we must address - we must address now and without violence. We must say No! this situation has got to change. We must change this economy of violence and killing to an economy based on knowledge and wisdom - and we have an immense amount of knowledge and wisdom - immense! We must have an economy based on human development - sustainable human development because our ecological conditions cannot be allowed to deteriorate any further. All we seem to want to do is just sell more cars - hybrid cars - electric cars - and we are happy with this?

I would like to talk very briefly about another issue - that is the immense power of the media. In North America more than 60% of all the media is controlled by a single person and it is much the same in South America. Here in Europe, in my country, most of it again is controlled by one person - and he is not even a Spaniard! We must take this into account - however, thanks to digital technology and social media all the young people can now connect themselves to the internet and mobilise themselves and now be visible - and be free to express what they need to say. All we have on television for the young people now is football - again tonight we have football - it is Spain against Italy - and when it is all over then we are just left with this immense media power that does not let us act according to our will.

We must take all of this very seriously because now we can reach points of no return and we are urged that tomorrow could be too late - we must act now before it is too late. And when we see these 11,000 persons in two days on the Mediterranean - they deserve their dignity and brotherhood - how can we possibly accept this situation? \$4 billion every day for armaments and we have no money for these people? It's for this that I was in Berlin with Vijay Mehta - and he too was at this International Peace Bureau Initiative and it was wonderful. And do you know what we are asking for? We are asking for only 10% of what is being invested in armaments and military spending. If we could get this, then everyday we would have \$400 million for all the United Nations priorities such as food, clean water, health services, hospitals, environment care and education - these are the priorities - for all of this can be done with just 10% of the military budget - and how can they say no to this? Therefore it is a change of culture and it is for this that in 1989 the UNESCO Constitution said "since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men - and not of women! - that we must build the pillars of peace" - a culture of peace instead of a culture of war - instead of saying "civis pacem para bellum" we must now say "civis pacem para verbum" - we must now speak - we can solve so many things through mediation, through conciliation, through encounter and through dialogue. There is another way of action today and this is the culture of peace. And why cannot this culture of peace be feasible now?

In 1996 I was with President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria and he told me “Federico, the culture of peace is a very good idea and we must promote this - but it will only be feasible when an important percentage of women will be in the decision making position - because politically women are less inclined to resort to violence and force than the male politicians.

Therefore, dear friends, we have all these problems, but for the first time in history we have the possibility of inventing solutions. The past is already past - it is already written - we must describe the past faithfully but it is already written, But the future is up to us - to write the future - and now for the first time in history we can do this - all of the human beings - we can now express our views and all human beings must say No! to any kind of dogmatism or fanaticism.; When we are free we can really create - we can invent the future - and this invention of the future is our dream and I think that for the first time in history that we can all be aware of all the problems that face us knowing that we are able to solve them - Thank you very much.