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General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. DOIDGE (NEW ZEALAND), MR. SANCHEZ
ARANGO (CUBA) AND MR. CARIAS (HONDURAS).

1. Mr. DOIDGE (New Zealand): Let my first words, as the representative of New Zealand, be words of grateful thanks to the French Government for its spirit of welcome, its kind hospitality, and for the skill and foresight with which the arrangements for this session have been completed.

2. We find ourselves, at this session of the General Assembly, at a significant point in the history of the United Nations. It is the purpose of this Organization to build up a system of joint security which will discourage would-be aggressors, or, in the last resort, bring actual aggressors to heel. In the Charter, and in the Uniting for Peace resolution [377 (V)] adopted a year ago, we have provided the framework within which collective power can be brought to bear upon any aggressor, even if that aggressor should shelter under, or be sheltered by, the use of the veto in the Security Council.

3. The framework exists. Our task this session is to fill in some of the framework. And we must do so at a time when people all over the world, people who thought they had won the right to the blessings of peace by their sacrifices in the last war, are realizing that in the world today the price of peace is high indeed. Those people are asking not only whether the price can be paid, but also whether it is in fact worth paying.

4. We of New Zealand, who have fought aggression far from our shores in the two world wars, and now also in Korea, have no doubt that the price is worth paying. But we believe also that those who are being asked to make heavy sacrifices have the right to demand that there should be some light ahead, some hope for a reduction of the present nightmare tension, some prospect that the burden of armaments, now being carried for a clear and definite purpose, will in time become less necessary.

5. It is for that reason that we welcome, earnestly and sincerely, the new proposals, announced on Wednesday by

Mr. Truman, and elaborated yesterday by Mr. Acheson, for limiting and regulating all armaments. Here is a genuine attempt to bridge the wide political differences which, unreconciled, continue to produce the fear and the insecurity which in turn lead the nations to rearm. We fervently desire such a reconciliation, and believe that the unrivalled facilities of the United Nations for negotiation and for conciliation upon a basis of justice should be used freely to that end.

6. But we have listened to too many sad lessons in the last few years, or at least we have learned too many sad lessons in the past, to be carried away blindly in our desire for peace. The aggression in Korea has shown us the evil that is abroad in the world. The toleration, to put it mildly, by one of the great Members of the United Nations of that betrayal of peace has forced us to match the words of that Member against its deeds. The insincere conduct of the armistice negotiations by the enemy of the United Nations is a warning to us to be cautious. Only people who hold the United Nations in the greatest contempt could have manufactured those pathetically obvious "incidents" at Kaesong.

7. Let us continue to work for peace with goodwill and without provocation. Let us strive for the "peaceful co-existence" of which Mr. Stikker yesterday spoke so eloquently. But let us do so with sober realism and great care. Our aim is conciliation and honourable negotiation. But in order to make real progress with either, the United Nations must possess solid organized strength.

8. In moving ahead at this session with the joint organization of security, basing ourselves in the next few months upon the study made by the Collective Measures Committee, the starting point of our thinking must naturally be the United Nations action in Korea. This is the first test of the United Nations as an instrument of collective security. It is also—and do not let us forget it—a demonstration that when the crisis comes, when the aggressor strikes, the vital element is not machinery, not words, not organization, though all can play their part, but courage, resolution and morale.

9. It appears to the New Zealand delegation that the

Korean war will be remembered in history as establishing two facts :

10. First, that the world recognizes aggression to be none the less aggression though it fight under an ideological banner and call itself liberation or by other high-sounding phrase.

11. Secondly, that there is a real though limited solidarity of the United Nations in defence of their principles. Real, though limited, the United Nations response to the challenge in Korea leaves us with divided feelings. We have all paid tribute to the decisive lead given by the United States and the heavy sacrifices which, along with the South Korean forces, the United States divisions have suffered in the common cause. The United Nations stands in debt to all those men who are doing the hard and terribly demanding work of fighting its battles, and none of us, who in this forum must necessarily talk in general or abstract terms, is likely to forget for an instant what harsh realities are implicit in such notions as collective security and resistance to aggression.

12. Of my own country may I say this. In the first world war, when our population stood at only 1,500,000 people, 100,000 of our young men volunteered for service overseas. In the second world war, when our population still fell short of 2 million, more than 200,000 men and women went into the armed services to fight for freedom. New Zealand's dead lie buried in Norway, in France, in Italy, in Greece, in Crete, in North Africa, in Malaya, in Burma and throughout the islands in the Pacific.

13. In Korea, at this moment, New Zealand has approximately 2,000 fighting men. That may not seem a large number, but it represents one out of every thousand of population, a proportion that few other Members of the United Nations can equal. Many other countries are contributing also on the field of battle to the common effort. We are glad that their number has increased somewhat in the past year and are particularly glad to see detachments arrive from certain States which, owing to the circumstances of their history, have not before been called upon to fight in collective actions for the defence of freedom.

14. But we must confess that we think the response could have been better. There was no doubt in this case from which quarter the aggression came. This being so, it appears to us that participation in the united effort might have been more general. In a world organization representing so many different interests, it is hard to find solid ground of agreement. We had hoped to find this common ground in the universal and sincere acceptance of the obligation of collective resistance to aggression which is the heart of the Charter of the United Nations. Either the United Nations means this, with all Members taking their share, or surely it means very little. We can have no effective world-wide system of collective security until all countries are prepared to pull their weight in deeds as well as in words. As the Collective Measures Committee puts it: "Nor can any withhold its individual contribution, counting upon the efforts of others to preserve it, since by doing so it inevitably weakens the common effort on which it seeks to rely".¹

15. In the meantime, faced as they are with the threats of a seemingly implacable totalitarian group of countries, individual Members of the United Nations have no alternative but to build up their individual strength and, through regional arrangements, join it to that of other Members

who can be trusted to be resolute and courageous in an emergency.

16. It is such a situation which has led New Zealand in the past year to enter into a regional security arrangement—a tripartite security treaty—with Australia and the United States, whose peoples New Zealanders respect and trust, and with whom they share a common record of co-operation and sacrifice in the defence of freedom, as well as a common determination to maintain that freedom in the face of any future threat.

17. May I say at this point that as New Zealand's representative I had the privilege of being associated at Canberra last year with Mr. Spender of Australia, and with Mr. John Foster Dulles of the United States of America, in the writing of that agreement. The treaty is one which gives us the security we desire. But it goes further than that. It reinforces and strengthens the whole fabric of peace in the Pacific. This tripartite security treaty, and others of a similar nature, like the North Atlantic Treaty, acknowledges the supremacy of the system of universal security envisaged in the Charter and emphasizes the obligation of the parties to give maximum support to the measures taken by the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

18. Even so, the New Zealand Government has no illusions that regional arrangements of security are a final or a satisfactory answer to the problem of preserving world peace. They are a second best, valuable and necessary at present and a bulwark of the infant United Nations; but in time they must be merged in that wider system which alone can produce real collective security.

19. I desire to touch upon two other questions at this time and on both only because they are fundamental to the establishment of international goodwill and ultimately to the security of all of us. The first concerns a matter which should, like the duty to join in resisting aggression, be common ground: it is the duty which falls upon all of us to honour our international engagements. It is naturally of particular concern to New Zealand that the country whose rights—or the rights of whose nationals—have recently been violated by the unilateral over-throw of freely concluded agreements, is the United Kingdom.

20. The repudiation of treaties might have appeared more understandable, although still inexcusable, if done at the expense of a country which rigidly opposed all change and never listened to arguments for the revision of agreements in the light of circumstances. The United Kingdom, however, has, as everybody knows, conducted political transformations of the most tremendous significance where those could be effected by agreement. But no country can be expected to acquiesce in the mere repudiation of agreements to suit the convenience of one party. Whatever their particular political sympathies, all Members of the United Nations should, in our view, be united in upholding this principle.

21. In the case of the denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936² there is the further consideration that the act threatens to disturb conditions in an area which is of vital importance to communications, such as ours in New Zealand, the free flow of which seems to us a matter of general interest. That nations, as I say, should seek the revision of situations which they consider derogatory to their status is understandable. That is not the point. The

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, sixth session, Supplement No. 13*. Para. 5.

² See *League of Nations Treaty Series*, Vol. CLXXIII, No. 4031.

question is whether revisions are to be sought by consent ; whether the United Nations itself is to become, in the apt but sometimes unheeded words of Article 1 of the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment" of the common ends of the Charter, or, alternatively, an international juggle.

22. And now, may I seek to make my last point. The United Nations is based on the postulate that it is not sufficient merely to organize security in the military sense. Resolution and courage, so necessary in the face of aggression, are not likely to spring from underfed or exploited peoples. The Charter of the United Nations recognizes that a broad foundation of co-operation between peoples in the economic, social and cultural fields must be built up. An international enterprise of which I shall now say a few words, the Colombo Plan, is wholly within the spirit of the United Nations, though not within its organization and framework.

23. No problem before us today remains a greater challenge to our collective endeavour than the grinding poverty of a large section of the world's populations. If only we had imagination and vision and kept this situation in the forefront of our minds, I often feel that other problems, which we now so hotly debate, would shrink to quite minor proportions and so become more tractable.

24. New Zealand is proud of its membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations and is proud that this Commonwealth has sponsored the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia. I am personally happy to think that I was New Zealand's representative at the Commonwealth Conference in Ceylon which gave birth to the Colombo Plan. The co-sponsors of the plan include India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, countries which are actively engaged in the great task of emancipating themselves from economic want and social misery. New Zealand believes that this equal association is one of the prime merits of the Colombo scheme. As free and equal partners these countries helped to work out the principles on which the plan is based. As free and equal partners they have included in their plan their development programmes founded on their own appreciation of their potentialities for advancement in the next six years. It is the hope of the New Zealand Government that all the countries in South and South-East Asia will participate in the Colombo Plan.

25. We often hear it expressed that the so-called underdeveloped countries must help themselves if outside help is to be given or is to be effective. This is correct. But what is apparently not always realized is that the Asian countries—and I speak from my own experience—are very well aware of this. They are already working very hard under the direction of their own skilled and experienced administrators. We have the evidence of the Colombo Plan that they are determinedly setting about the task of helping themselves. And, in addition, there is the encouraging fact that, despite their own needs, they are prepared to help others. That, I think, is a very fine thing. It is also of some significance for all other countries of the world.

26. As Mr. Acheson reminded us yesterday, it is through the United Nations that we can wage the only kind of war we seek—the war against want and human misery. In South-East Asia untold millions struggle with hunger, poverty and disease. The message that came out of the Colombo Conference is a message directed straight to this Organization. It is that in a world racked by schism and confusion it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped, and imprisoned in poverty, the human resources of the countries of South and South-East Asia,

which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere.

27. Mr. SANCHEZ ARANGO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): Once again, as the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly begins its work, the eyes of the world are anxiously turned towards this meeting of the nations in Paris, the city which is the fine flower of western civilization and the cradle of democracy.

28. This expectancy, at once fearful and hopeful, reflects the deep desire of all peoples that ways and means should be found of restoring to mankind, not the false illusion of armed peace, but a real guarantee of lasting peace based on justice, and with it the means of using the astonishing achievements of science for the purposes of civil life.

29. On this occasion the Cuban delegation reaffirms its desire for a peaceful and just settlement of the great problems which divide the world, in conformity with the high principles of the United Nations Charter and with the strictest respect for the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. We have grounds for constructive optimism in the midst of all our difficulties and problems. Grave crises have already occurred in the course of the short life of this Organization, but the mere fact that the flags of sixty countries are flying in these precincts in itself provides ground for hope.

30. Nevertheless, we should be neither honest nor truthful and we should forfeit our right both to individual and collective survival if we were to ignore the brutal facts of the winter of 1950 and if we tried to forget the river of blood which was shed and is still being shed as a result of the deliberate violation of the 38th parallel, the persistent aggression against the most elementary human rights, and the constant pressure and permanent menace of anti-democratic forces which have threatened with extinction the accumulated gain in regard to material and moral advancement and political progress achieved through many centuries of sacrifice and heroism. We should likewise be failing in our duty as sincere democrats if we failed to denounce the deplorable cases in which totalitarian philosophy and methods hypocritically make a show of serving democracy when in reality they are supporting harsh dictatorships which, with their hundreds of exiles and thousands of political prisoners and with no respect for human rights, are violating the most elementary principles of the international rule of law and maintaining systems of repression that are as appalling as those of the Powers overthrown in the Second World War. There can be no doubt that such régimes lack the moral authority to speak in behalf of the principles defended by the United Nations.

31. It must be recognized that the international situation has deteriorated during recent years and that there is no positive sign of a relaxation of the severe tension which has compelled some of us to embark on a costly process of rearmament and others to convert our peace-time economy to a potential war economy.

32. Faithful to its democratic tradition, Cuba, first of all in the Security Council and later in the fifth session of the General Assembly, gave whole-hearted support to the measures intended to repel totalitarian aggression in Korea and to furnish whatever aid was necessary to the democratic government of that State so that, through the combined efforts of the United Nations, the unification of Korea might be achieved in the manner decided by this international Organization. Our position with regard to the Korean question remains unaltered. We believe that the fate of the

United Nations depends on the application of an unflinching policy of resistance to aggression.

33. The Government of Cuba attaches the utmost importance to these annual meetings of the General Assembly. It does so not only because of the questions and specific problems which are considered and decided here, but because of the work which is carried on simultaneously to ensure the increasingly effective attainment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. We regard this second aspect as fundamental. It is an undoubted fact that the instrument created in San Francisco before the war against the aggressive Powers of the Axis had ended has not proved to be completely suitable for the solution of the grave problems with which we have been confronted during the last five years. It must therefore be so re-adapted in the light of present circumstances and our urgent need for universality and permanence that the aims we set ourselves in signing the basic statute of the United Nations may be fully achieved. In short, the General Assembly must, by interpretation and constructive application of the Charter, make possible the complete attainment of the high purposes of the United Nations. In this connexion I should like, on behalf of my Government, to make a number of statements of principle with regard to certain problems the solution of which is daily becoming increasingly urgent.

34. In the political field, the Assembly has, during its last two sessions, worked with positive results to improve our system of collective security. I refer to the resolution "Essentials of Peace" [290 (IV)] and, more particularly, to the resolution "Uniting for Peace" [377 (V)]. The latter resolution, recognizing that the system established by the Charter had not operated satisfactorily in consequence of the voting procedure in the Security Council, stated that the fact that the Council was not discharging its responsibilities did not deprive the Assembly of the rights it holds in virtue of the Charter or relieve it of the functions with regard to the maintenance of peace and international security conferred upon it by the Charter.

35. The Government of Cuba, which has fought against the veto privilege ever since the San Francisco Conference, repeatedly pointing out the flagrant contradiction between the United Nations' purpose of preserving the peace and the methods adopted to achieve that purpose, considers this decision of the Assembly to be of far-reaching significance. It amounts in effect to an express recognition not only of the mistake made when the Charter was signed but also of the need to rectify that mistake by entrusting to the General Assembly, the most representative organ of the United Nations in which decisions are taken by the democratic procedure of the majority vote, the function of and ultimate responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. My Government, I repeat, considers this interpretation and application of the Charter as one of the General Assembly's most positive achievements and as a matter of the greatest historical significance. There can be no question that in more than one respect, as has been shown by the events of recent years, the United Nations requires institutional reorganization to enable it fully and effectively to achieve its primary purposes.

36. Faithful to this principle, my delegation will support any action to strengthen and develop the principles and procedures established in the resolution "Uniting for Peace", such as the maintenance of the Collective Measures Committee.

37. In the social field, the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by international action is one of the main objectives of our foreign policy. Cuba

considers it to be a basic principle in this connexion that the protection of such rights and freedoms has ceased to be a matter within the exclusive competence of States and is now a subject amenable to collective action and settlement. The idea underlying this principle should not give rise to any hesitation if we remember, among other things, the fact that the Charter expressly lays upon the United Nations an obligation to promote universal respect for such rights and freedoms and their effective enjoyment. In fulfilling this duty, the Assembly has taken numerous decisions and initiatives, including those relating to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)], the last stage in which is represented by the draft international covenant on human rights and measures of implementation which will again be considered during this sixth session.

38. In this matter the delegation of Cuba will maintain the attitude it has adopted at the previous sessions of the General Assembly and in the Organization of American States, where efforts are also being made to secure better international guarantees of human rights. In this connexion I should like to point out that the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held at Washington in the spring of this year adopted, on the proposal of my country's delegation, a resolution on "the strengthening and effective exercise of democracy".^a Stating that the "solidarity of the American Republics requires the effective exercise of representative democracy, social justice and respect for and observance of the rights and duties of man", this resolution of the American Ministers of Foreign Affairs suggests that the Inter-American Conference which is to meet at Caracas in 1953 should consider, by means of conventions, the measures necessary in order that the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the other American principles directed towards preserving and defending democracy in the continent may acquire full effect in all the countries of America.

39. In view of the intimate connexion of the colonial problem with the international protection of human rights, I should like to make a brief statement on that problem and the relevant activities of the United Nations. Actually, one of the main functions of the United Nations is the protection of nations which do not yet enjoy self-government. Cuba has always been identified with the legitimate aspirations of those nations and with all efforts and initiatives designed to secure for them the full enjoyment of the rights and benefits to which they are entitled under the Charter. We have fought and we shall continue to fight for the strict observance of the obligations placed upon the Colonial Powers by the Charter, and for the granting of an increasingly broad right of petition to the inhabitants of the dependent territories. We have fought and we shall continue to fight against the so-called colonial clause when used by the authorities in the metropolitan territory as an instrument for evading its obligations towards the colony, and we shall insist undeviatingly and unremittingly on everything conducive to the full realization of the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

40. With regard to economic matters, my Government is particularly interested in the items on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly.

41. We strongly uphold a policy which will raise the workers' standard of living, both in the less developed coun-

^a See *Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs*, Washington D.C., 1951, resolution VII.

tries and in the territories which do not yet enjoy full self-government, as well as in the colonies. We consider it necessary to assist the under-developed nations in obtaining adequate economic means of subsistence such as will enable them to achieve material and spiritual well-being, the aim of such assistance being to increase the purchasing power of the countries concerned in order to help towards greater stabilization of world economy and prevent the produce of their labour from being used as a means of unfair competition in international markets in a manner derogatory to human dignity.

42. The imperative duty of true democracies is to attempt to secure the economic betterment of all human groups, not only on grounds of elementary self-defence, but also in order to counteract the insidious campaigns of those who attempt to lure such groups with the promise of unreal Utopias or who maintain the peoples in a permanent state of servitude for reasons of personal gain. Only by taking the offensive on both the political and economic fronts will the final triumph of democratic ideals be secured.

43. Bearing these facts in mind, the Government of Cuba has made a determined effort to deal with the problems of agrarian reform. We have established special legal arrangements which give the worker the right to occupy permanently the land he cultivates. Being of the opinion that an agricultural reform in accordance with the standards of the age is not one which merely gives the peasant a plot of ground, but one which effects the fundamental change of converting the farm labourer into an efficient producer, my Government has established and operated the Bank of Agricultural and Industrial Development. The primary function of this institution is to organize the provision of easily available, mobile and extensive agrarian credit, such as will reach the branches of production left untouched by private banking. The Bank has established for this purpose the rural rehabilitation loan, which is granted without further guarantees than personal and moral guarantee of the debtor, and is chiefly an instrument of public assistance and a means of achieving the peasant's spiritual rehabilitation. My Government has also completed the organization of the Agricultural Development Fund, the purpose of which is to settle peasant families on their own land and provide them with enough tools and implements to work the family plot.

44. This rough outline of the land problem and of the economic and social aspects of the ownership and cultivation of the land makes it possible to assess the substantial progress achieved by Cuba in abolishing all traces of economic feudalism and establishing economic and legal instruments devised not only for the benefit of the Cuban people but also with a view to co-operating by this means in maintaining the lofty principles by which the United Nations is actuated.

45. The Government of Cuba also desires to express its opinion on international trade in view of the close relation between the problems connected therewith and the cardinal purpose of the United Nations, which is the maintenance of peace. Not without profound disquietude, my Government has observed the tendency, which has become general among many countries, of maintaining and intensifying import restrictions that impede the free flow of international trade, in spite of the international obligations prohibiting such practices as harmful to the rehabilitation of the world economy. Organizations of such authority as the International Monetary Fund have stated that, notwithstanding the existing difficulties and the uncertainties of the moment, many nations might have abolished a greater number of restrictions on trade in view of the undoubted improvement in their currency reserves and balances of payment.

Nevertheless, the predominant trend in commercial policies has been in the opposite direction. In this connexion, the Government of Cuba wishes to recall that, in order effectively to achieve universal economic stability and create adequate conditions for the maintenance of peace, it is absolutely essential for countries to fulfil their obligations to liberalize trade by abolishing restrictions on imports and currency, restrictions which are unnecessary and illegal, and which are at the present time causing markets to close down.

46. This Assembly meets at a dramatic hour in the world's history, at an hour which I have no hesitation in describing as decisive for the destiny of western civilization. World public opinion is anxiously waiting to see what attitude we shall adopt. There is a universal conscience which beats in time to our work and which imposes upon us a grave responsibility. Our main duty is not to betray that conscience. It has been said that the United Nations is the great workshop of peace. During our discussions we shall hear that word spoken very often in the various official languages of the Organization. In all languages it has the same meaning for men of goodwill. That meaning cannot be delusive or equivocal. We desire peace; but it must not be peace at any price, not a peace which will mean peace for one part of mankind while some nations perish beneath the aggression of other nations, but a peace based on law, freedom and justice. We have to build that peace with heroic efforts, by dint of great sincerity and self-abnegation, casting aside spurious ambitions and sterile suspicions and rivalries which will necessarily lead to antagonisms between men and nations. It is my wish, in conclusion, that our minds and consciences may be so illumined under the influence of this City of Light, which has welcomed us with such cordiality, that this ideal so cherished by humanity may, in the end, when our discussions are over, be given appropriate expression in doctrine and action.

47. Mr. CARÍAS (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): The great enterprise which must be present in the minds of all representatives at the beginning of each session of the General Assembly of the United Nations compels me, at the risk of repetition, to express before this world gathering my uncompromising loyalty to those principles which inspire in us a broader patriotism and a deeper sense of world unity.

48. Notwithstanding the fearful character and magnitude of recent events and the impenetrable clouds which obscure the world picture, there persists the consoling belief that present conditions may constitute a terrible problem of disequilibrium, but not one of regression. "Ideals in politics are never realized, but the pursuit of them determines history", said Lord Acton, the great British philosopher.

49. For us of the New World who have come today to this City of Light, animated by the best intentions and guided by the most generous instincts to offer up our contribution on the altars of peace, this is also a propitious moment to pay a warm tribute to the spirit of France which has influenced the culture of so many nations. France, which has succeeded in surviving bitter distress with fortitude, has displayed the most serene heroism and achieved the most brilliant victories.

50. While I am referring to France, it seems to be appropriate to mention another State which also belongs to the same illustrious race whose age-long tradition still has much to teach the present day. I wish to say now that it will be the aim of my delegation to use its best efforts to help Italy to regain, through the proper organs and methods, full legal equality in the international sphere. I am sure that it is

in the real interest of all to offer enthusiastic support to any attempt to ensure that the undying and incomparable culture and Latin soul of Italy should display themselves with renewed vigour.

51. As early as September 1947, in the General Committee of the Assembly, during the discussion on the inclusion of supplementary items in the agenda of the second session of the General Assembly, Honduras, Argentina and Ecuador, being convinced that the United Nations was capable of a magnificent future, appealed to the good and noble sentiments of the great Powers which had signed the Treaty of Peace with Italy and invited them to give that country an opportunity of submitting its own further observations and suggestions for alleviating the burdens placed upon it by that treaty. I took the liberty of saying at the time that it would be an irreparable catastrophe if that great people, the guardian of the noblest treasures of the spirit, was to be permanently hampered by certain clauses in the treaty. As representative of Honduras, I expressed on that occasion my fears that the treaty might result in perpetuating poverty and despair among the Italian masses. At the same time, I meant no disrespect to those whom I had seen suffer the tragic consequences of a régime blinded by pride.

52. The only motive of the then Government of Honduras and of the present Government was a sentimental and idealistic one. Today, even more than ever, it is time to set aside any thought of mere reprisals or attitudes resulting from secret political calculations.

53. We believe that the tremendous evolution imposed on us by events and the vicissitudes common to all human tasks will accustom us to the idea of seeking solutions which are more in accordance with hard facts.

54. May I take the liberty of extending here a hearty welcome to Mr. Anthony Eden, one of the outstanding architects of the United Nations, and quote a saying of his which is relevant to the problem with which I am concerned today: "In my experience of international affairs it is the human factor, as expressed in the policy of governments, and not the mechanical shortcomings, that has caused our failures".

55. We have had many opportunities of learning and realizing fully that, without violating the fundamental principles of our Charter, it will always be open to us to make a fruitful and constructive demonstration of international morality and community spirit by improving legal machinery thanks to the procedures laid down in our basic statute.

56. Some method should therefore be found of bringing Italy into the United Nations, so that by adapting policy and jurisprudence to the time and circumstances, we may give Italy and other nations an opportunity to reoccupy, in full awareness of their actions and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and responsibility, a position from which they will be able to make more effective use of their abilities in this supreme task, which will result in the advent of greater world harmony.

57. I dwell on the particular case of Italy because of the special position it occupies in respect of its foreign relations.

58. Without going into the matter very deeply, it is sufficient to recall that on 2 December 1950, the General Assembly approved the Trusteeship Agreement whereby Italy, although not a Member of the United Nations, was appointed Administering Authority in the Trust Territory of Somaliland [resolution 442(V)]. It is absolutely essential

that, in order to carry out these grave responsibilities, Italy should be given the full powers granted to all Members of the United Nations.

59. It seems to me, moreover, to be appropriate to remind the Assembly of the existence of resolution 197 A (II) of 8 December 1948, concerning the admission of new Members, in order that it should act in accordance with the advisory opinion given on 28 May 1948 by the International Court of Justice,⁴ which declared that a State was not juridically entitled to make its consent to such admission dependent on conditions not expressly provided in paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter.

60. *The New York Times*, in commenting on the statement made on 26 September 1951 by the United States of America, France and Great Britain on the peace treaty with Italy, said: "If the Western Powers are open to criticism, it is that they waited so long; Italy had earned her passage back a long time ago".

61. While I am attempting to clarify the position of the Honduras delegation in regard to individual questions, I should like to say that our efforts will, as always, be directed towards supporting those initiatives which will hasten the entry into force of a nobler code of international conduct and a more realistic understanding of collective responsibility.

62. Since numerous aspects of the work of the United Nations are justifying our hopes that, in addition to purely technical and mechanical progress, many statesmen in the chief industrial countries will be more and more able to put forward loftier plans for the over-all economic and material advancement of the peoples, our aim will be to co-operate here to the fullest extent of our capabilities. To sum up, it is our earnest desire that the monumental work of the United Nations may be inspired in the pursuit of its aims by a new confidence in a future of greater justice and greater happiness.

Invitation to the Directors-General of the specialized agencies to address the General Assembly

63. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no more speakers on my list for this morning. I wish to inform you, however, that, after consultation with the Secretary-General, I have invited the Directors-General of the specialized agencies, who are in Paris for the opening of the Assembly, to speak in today's plenary meeting.

64. In these times of political tension it is of value for the Assembly to hear the principal officers of these agencies which, in conjunction with other United Nations bodies, are engaged in such active work for the economic and social well-being of mankind. This is also a fitting occasion for us to hear a description of some of the long-range objectives which ought to be continually pursued as the lasting foundation of peace.

65. As they have accepted my invitation, we shall have the pleasure of hearing the Directors-General of the International Labour Office, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and of the World Health Organization. At this afternoon's meeting I shall give the floor to the administrative heads of the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunication Union and the World Meteorological Organization.

⁴ See *Admission of a State to the United Nations (Charter, Article 4), Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 57.*

66. The specialized agencies are an important part of the United Nations structure and, as the Secretary-General observed in his twenty-year programme,⁶ they should continue to receive the active support of all the Members of the United Nations. I shall, therefore, have great pleasure in giving the floor to these high officials, and we shall follow with the closest attention what they have to tell us concerning their work and their contribution to the common effort in which we are engaged.

67. Mr. MORSE (Director-General of the International Labour Office): May I, at the outset, associate myself with the statement made by the President of the General Assembly on Wednesday [334th meeting] in which he applauded the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Mr. Léon Jouhaux who, as Workers' Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, is assisting us with unceasing vigour in forging links of peace based on social justice.

68. I should like to talk to you today about the role that the International Labour Organisation, with the support of your government, can play and is playing in securing peace, because I know that all the countries here represented want peace and are seeking means that will achieve it. Even those of us who are sometimes assailed by doubts realize that without the United Nations the world's communications would be cut, and so long as all the great Powers gather in this room so long do we have the right to go on believing in and working for solutions to the enormous problems which we face. These problems must be solved—as indeed they will be—if peace is to be made secure. It is to this end that the International Labour Organisation is bending its efforts, and it is for this purpose that it is co-operating so fully and whole-heartedly with the United Nations.

69. I do not propose to deal in detail with this collaboration. Indeed, the relations between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation have now become so close, and the subjects on which we work in day to day collaboration are so various, that it would be an impossible task for me to give the General Assembly, in the time at my disposal, an adequate picture of the range and intimacy of the co-operation between the two organizations. As an illustration, however, I may refer to the Secretary-General's twenty-year programme for achieving peace through the United Nations, and state that the International Labour Organisation is co-operating, and will continue to co-operate, in every phase of that programme outside the purely political field in which it is not directly concerned.

70. In order to give delegations to the General Assembly a fuller picture of this co-operation, the annual report of the International Labour Organisation⁸ to the United Nations is being made available to Members of the General Assembly and I can, therefore, confine myself this morning to certain features of our work and our relations which are of outstanding topical importance. In particular, I should like to appeal to the General Assembly and to the Governments represented here to help us in certain aspects of our work which have a direct bearing on a fundamental and immediate objective of the United Nations, to maintain peace by safeguarding human freedom. We are doing as much for this purpose as the co-operation we are at present receiving from governments will allow. With your fuller co-operation we can do much more.

71. The General Assembly will be called upon during the present session to take further decisions concerning the content of the proposed international covenant on human rights and the arrangements to be made for its implementation. Without anticipating your decisions, I should like to assure you that the International Labour Organisation will continue to give its full co-operation in the consideration of those rights which constitute its special responsibility. We attach the greatest importance to the principle laid down in the draft that nothing in the proposed covenant should be so interpreted as to impair the provisions of the Charter and of the constitutions of the specialized agencies which define the respective responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters dealt with in the covenant.

72. Four years ago the General Assembly asked [*resolution 128 (II)*] us to proceed with the adoption of an international labour convention on the protection of trade union rights, and two years ago the Economic and Social Council asked⁷ us to establish, on behalf of the United Nations as well as on behalf of the International Labour Office itself, a fact-finding and conciliation commission which could conduct an impartial examination of allegations concerning the infringement of trade union rights. The convention⁸ was adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1948 and it is now in force for the twelve governments which have ratified it, but wide-spread further ratification is still necessary to make the convention the effective safeguard for the protection of trade union rights throughout the world. I therefore appeal to the governments which have not yet ratified this convention to give it thorough and urgent consideration.

73. The Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association has been established and consists of men whose character, standing and impartiality give the fullest guarantee that they will take a responsible and constructive view of the questions referred to them. The Commission can function, however, only with the consent of the governments concerned, and hitherto no government has given its formal consent to the reference to the Commission of questions concerning it. The Governing Body is taking action to expedite the preliminary examination of allegations so that the reference of appropriate cases to the Commission may be facilitated, but the responsibility for our success or failure in this task, which we have undertaken on your behalf, rests squarely upon the governments concerned. I make an earnest appeal to all the governments represented in the General Assembly to accept the principle of impartial and disinterested investigation of allegations as the only alternative to allowing charges and counter-charges relating to such rights to be a continuing element in international tension, and I renew the solemn pledge which the International Labour Organisation has repeatedly given that, in dealing with this matter, it will be our concern to provide facilities for the impartial examination of the facts in an atmosphere free from political prejudice of any kind or propaganda in any interest whatsoever.

74. It is in the same spirit that the ILO has approached the problem of forced labour. In pursuance of decisions taken by the Economic and Social Council and the Governing Body, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and I have appointed an *ad hoc* committee to survey the use of forced labour as a means of political coercion and as an important element in national economies. We have

⁶ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 60.

⁸ Fifth Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations.

⁷ See Economic and Social Council resolution 239 (IX).

⁸ The Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948.

been particularly concerned in selecting the members of the committee to ensure that it is a body of the highest standing and reputation, enjoying the independence necessary to enable it to make a completely impartial and objective examination of the whole question. The committee itself, in its first progress report, has emphasized this conception of its task and stated its intention to proceed, without prejudice of any kind and with complete impartiality and objectivity, with the sole aim of safeguarding human rights and improving the situation of workers. Governments will in the near future receive a communication from the Secretary-General and myself requesting certain information on behalf of the committee, and I venture to take this opportunity of appealing to the representatives to the General Assembly to ensure that the committee receives the full co-operation necessary to enable it to discharge its difficult task in an authoritative and impartial manner.

75. The International Labour Organisation is acutely conscious of the responsibility of the international organizations to ensure that the limited resources at their disposal are used to the best effect. We appreciate to the full the heavy financial burdens now being carried by governments and peoples in all parts of the world and we have attempted so to concentrate our efforts and resources as to ensure that our activities are firmly rooted in the world situation and correspond to urgent needs. The Governing Body has given the fullest consideration to the resolution [413 (V)] on this subject adopted by the General Assembly last year and has addressed to the United Nations a communication recapitulating the action taken by the ILO to secure effective concentration of effort and resources. This document is available to Members of the Assembly in the ILO report to the United Nations. It outlines certain general principles which the Governing Body considers fundamental to successful co-ordination and effective concentration of effort and resources. I would particularly draw your attention to the principle that effective concentration of effort implies the fullest use of existing international machinery rather than the creation of new machinery for dealing with each new question which arises; the principle that effective budgetary control presupposes a close relationship between the determination and elaboration of programmes in each organization and the taking of financial measures necessary to give effect to such programmes; and to the principle that, while budgets should be kept as low as is consistent with the effective discharge of the responsibilities of each international organization and while new activities should not involve automatic increases in budgets, the test must be the resources necessary for the efficient and economical discharge of the tasks which it is wise and appropriate to undertake in a given situation. The General Assembly can count on the fullest co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in ensuring that first things come first and that the effort of the international organization is directed towards achieving concrete tangible results which have a direct bearing on the immediate problem of securing peace by safeguarding freedom.

76. The Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies are all co-operating through the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination to secure more effective concentration of effort by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and I should like to acknowledge the whole-hearted co-operation which I, as Director-General of the ILO, have consistently received from my colleagues. Co-ordination between the international organizations can, however, never be fully effective unless it is adequately buttressed by co-ordination of policy within national governments. My colleagues and I are placed in a most difficult position if we receive from our respective

governing bodies mutually contradictory instructions. There has been a great improvement in the last two or three years in national co-ordination but much still remains to be done. I am confident, however, that, in view of the great importance attached by the General Assembly to the whole problem of co-ordination and concentration of effort, this most urgent element of the question will receive continuing and effective attention.

77. The International Labour Organisation, in its search for social justice and in its efforts in laying a basis for world peace, is engaged in a variety of basic programmes ranging from improving the lot of indigenous workers on the one hand to improving methods and techniques of production on the other. In addition, it is carrying on wide-spread technical assistance activities both as part of its normal work as well as through the expanded programme of technical assistance, for this type of assistance and operational field work is the proper complement to the ILO's legislative activity. The organisation has established field offices and missions in several countries, while technical experts are working under its auspices in a great number of countries dealing with a variety of questions. I should like to repeat that the services of the organisation are available to any government that requests them.

78. It is because of the over-riding humanitarian considerations involved and the stability which it can help bring to both political and economic life that we have given special and urgent emphasis in our recent work to the problem of migration from Europe. Our chief concern in this matter is to see that the problem is solved before it becomes a major element in further international tension. We have considered it our duty to urge that in solving it the waste and dispersion of effort which would be involved in any duplication of the existing ILO manpower programme should be avoided. It was with this in mind that we put forward an international plan for migration recently at Naples. The nations represented at the Migration Conference in Naples felt unable to consider the plan on its merits, for reasons which I need not go into here, but nevertheless we succeeded in focussing attention on the gravity of the problem and in drawing out the views of the various governments concerned with the migration of Europe's surplus millions. We would still urge that the problem must be solved and solved without undue delay, and we pledge the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation to that end.

79. The regional activities of the International Labour Organisation have been further intensified since last I addressed the General Assembly, especially in Asia and in Latin America. We are taking steps to extend such activities in the Middle East and assure the governments of that region that our technical services are at their disposal in giving assistance in the development of their social and labour legislation.

80. In conclusion I would like to echo the plea contained in the Secretary-General's progress report [A/1902] on his twenty-year programme for universality in the membership of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The International Labour Organisation is, and remains, universal in its interests and outlook. It is not, and will never be allowed to become, an instrument of the policy of any State or any one group of States. It welcomes to membership all States which are willing to accept the obligations of its constitution and co-operates with all regional organizations which are prepared to act with it in promoting the objectives set forth in its constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia. To make it possible for all human beings, irrespective of

race, creed or sex, to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity; that is our objective, as it is yours. We look forward to the day when we can be proud to have achieved the active and whole-hearted co-operation of every Member of the United Nations in the pursuit of this objective.

81. Mr. DODD (Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations): The General Assembly understands clearly that world peace cannot be built upon a foundation of hunger and misery, for the Assembly has itself emphasized this upon several occasions. The Economic and Social Council, in its last two major sessions, has placed the need to improve the food situation in the very forefront of the world's economic and social problems. We need to continue measuring the size and the growth of the job to be done, but we need talk at no great length about how important it is. The overwhelming and immediate need is to find and do the concrete and effective things that will produce more food and bring it to the world's hungry. The size of the problem is enormous, but not too vast to grasp. It is growing larger, but not at a rate which we cannot overtake, provided only that we begin to act.

82. The League of Nations in 1937 found that half the world's population suffered from malnutrition and under-nutrition. The post-war situation was somewhat worse. In 1946 the FAO World Food Survey found that if only reasonably adequate diets were to be available, the world food production would need to be increased 90 per cent by 1960. A further survey is now being made. 1960 is only eight years away, but since 1938 the world's population has increased by 12 per cent and our world food production has increased by only 9 per cent. The greater increase in food production has occurred in parts of the world already well fed. Upon a *per capita* basis, the world has less food available today than it had before the war. Furthermore, present trends in a number of countries indicate that the amounts of food entering international trade are likely to decrease rather than to increase. This is serious not only for normal food-importing countries but also for countries which usually have not had to import food but which today find themselves urgently in need of imported supplies.

83. The cruel famine which millions in India are now suffering, in spite of the great efforts made by their Government, reveals how dangerously thin is the margin between bare subsistence and actual death. Nor do the famine headlines reveal the millions of human beings who are today hungry, weak, inefficient and doomed to early death. To the world's shame this is so usual that it is no longer news. What has to be done is known.

84. During the last six years in FAO's meetings, the ministers, administrators and technicians of sixty-five countries have reached substantial agreement. Numerous studies by our secretariat have contributed the factual bases. These six years have brought progress, but not enough. Within the limited means of FAO, now substantially increased by the expanded programme of technical assistance we are now giving some degree of direct assistance to more than forty countries, and in many different fields.

85. The heart of the problem lies in what governments can and will do. FAO will help them, but we cannot do what governments cannot or will not do. International advice and assistance are of little good unless governments themselves take vigorous action, sometimes even drastic action.

86. The technical steps that need to be taken are known clearly enough for all parts of the world, even though often there are not yet enough trained technicians. But while trained technicians are indispensable, they cannot themselves add one mouthful of food to the world's supply. Food is not produced in government ministries. Only the people who farm the land and fish the waters can produce more food. It is in their hands that the giant power of modern technology can be placed, and this can be done only if the necessary economic and social conditions are created. These conditions include, in many countries, improvements in land tenure and other rural institutions, the provision of credit, and the availability of food and equipment, improved seed and fertilizers. Above all, he must have the incentive to produce and must feel that if he improves his methods he can increase his crops and better his condition. This knowledge must be brought to the individual farmer on his individual farm in practical ways so that he will understand and accept it, even over the barriers of ignorance and illiteracy.

87. To create these conditions and services, which alone can unlock the power of technology and give us the hope of feeding the world better, will require a great intensification of effort by governments and by their international agencies. All experience shows that large expenditures by governments for these purposes will be profitable investments. The greater amount of the expenditures will need to be internal. The international agencies can only supply the little leavening. The effort must be all along the front, for food production is locked to health and both of these are locked to education. The FAO Conference, with delegates from more than fifty nations, is to meet in Rome on 19 November. As squarely as I am able, I propose to put before them the need for a great intensification of effort to bring about, by simple and practical means, the beginning of the end of hunger.

88. The General Assembly has an important part to play. There is no assembly in the world with a louder and clearer voice than yours. Not only do ministers and technicians listen when you speak, but rulers and peoples. For this reason, FAO has warmly welcomed the initiative taken by the General Assembly in 1950 regarding problems of land tenure [resolution 401 (V)].

89. If the dreadful gap between the hungry and the fed continues to widen, it will, like the fatal crack in the foundation of a building, forever threaten the stability of the structure of world peace which this Assembly is trying to build for the peoples of the world. I know that the General Assembly is convinced of the extreme seriousness of the world food problems and of the urgency of national and international action. If you speak for action, you will strongly reinforce the efforts which I am sure the FAO Conference will make to set action in motion, in each individual country, towards the conquest of hunger, the enemy of peace.

90. Mr. TORRES BODET (Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (*translated from French*): As I take the floor to greet you on behalf of UNESCO, I cannot but recall that day in September 1947 when, as head of the Mexican delegation, I had the honour of addressing your General Assembly for the first time.

91. The world had then only recently emerged from the war and, out of the colossal destruction and amid lofty aspirations, peace was striving to find its way. The agencies of the United Nations were in their infancy. I felt the need then to emphasize the fundamental identity between the

function of the United Nations and that of the specialized agencies in the common task of constructing peace.

92. It was in that spirit that the following year I accepted the appointment as Director-General of UNESCO. Passing thus from national to international service and from politics to work of a technical nature, I felt that I was remaining loyal to the same cause: the cause of peace founded on economic and social justice and on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind, of a peace, in short, which would not only be peace among States but among the peoples of the world.

93. I am not, of course, forgetting the disappointments and the anxieties which characterize these last four years. However, it is precisely because political difficulties are mounting that there has never been a greater need for remembering that peace is not a purely political phenomenon. It is also conditioned by economic, social, intellectual and moral factors, which, although less spectacular, are of at least equal importance. Indeed, the more the United Nations system is hampered by political obstacles, the more it becomes necessary for the Organization to take effective action in those other directions where, in the final analysis, the actual needs and the true aspirations of man manifest themselves.

94. That is the endeavour of the specialized agencies. Their aim is to combat evils: hunger, disease, ignorance and want, in the face of which all men, to whatever State or whatever party they belong, feel the same need and the same urge for brotherly help.

95. Two special features distinguish UNESCO from the other agencies. None is more directly affected than UNESCO by repercussions of political events and, at the same time, none is more deeply committed to long-range activities. On the one hand, its standing with the public is to a great extent dependent on the authority of the international order for which you are responsible and, on the other hand, it is responsible to you for training the minds of men to that sense of international morality without which your endeavours could not achieve any lasting results.

96. In 1933, meeting under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, a number of writers, scientists and philosophers from several countries discussed the future of civilization. They agreed on a seven-point declaration, the first two points of which read as follows:

"1. The immediate future of civilization in all its forms is closely dependent upon the maintenance of peace, and all other circumstances of a more particular and technical nature turn upon this issue.

"2. The future of culture, even within individual countries, is essentially bound up with certain universal factors which, in their turn, are dependent upon the organization of the human race as one moral and legal entity."

97. No better definition of the way in which the immediate technical work of UNESCO depends on the political activities of the United Nations could be found. Every day brings further proof of this. Any aggravation of the crisis in international political relations has immediate repercussions on those responsible for carrying out our work, widens their ideological differences and threatens to discourage their aspirations towards the universality of mankind.

98. Against this swelling tide of passion, UNESCO is erecting a rampart of security and hope by demonstrating the benefits of international intellectual co-operation. By

helping scholars to establish contact with one another throughout the world, it is giving proof of the existence of an outlook ruled by the norms of universal truth. We are doing even more than that; in some cases UNESCO is endeavouring to mobilize these specialists for some particular international action, either by organizing national research according to an international plan, as, for example, in the case of the problems of arid zones, or by setting up international institutes, such as the International Computation Centre whose services are at the disposal of Member States. Similarly, by facilitating cultural exchanges, UNESCO is showing that every culture possesses treasures which can and should enrich all mankind and also that new life can be infused into every culture by contributions from other civilizations. In all these respects, the activities of UNESCO have resulted in pointing to and strengthening the existence of an international community of minds, which foreshadows and paves the way for the world community of peoples.

99. It is not within the power of UNESCO to determine whether the transition from one to the other shall take place rapidly or not. That depends on political considerations and not on action by the technical body. If national frontiers were opened to allow the free flow of ideas and the free movement of the persons conveying them; if the material expressing and communicating these ideas could move freely from country to country; if freedom of information were guaranteed; and if the rights of scientists, writers and artists were protected—if all this were to become a reality, it would then be possible to judge in all its scope the power of the intellect as the organizing and unifying principle of human communities.

100. If intellectual and moral factors are to play an effective part in achieving friendship and mutual understanding between peoples, a realignment in political affairs is essential. First and foremost, the present must be given a sufficient measure of security so that the intellect, freed from its preoccupation with immediate questions, can behold the future and regain full command of its powers.

101. In this connexion, I should like to associate myself with the efforts of the Secretary-General, whose twenty-year plan for peace has the merit, among others, that it is an attempt to liberate the work of the United Nations from an atmosphere of crisis and to reset it in a historical perspective. More than any other organization, UNESCO would benefit from such a change. As it works according to long-term plans, it must plan, and its work should be measured, according to a scale extending over generations. The first twenty years of life are necessary to mould the character of a human being and it is precisely these twenty years of security which, as a beginning, the United Nations ought to give the world so that education may lay the foundations of a true peace in the minds of men without any tragic contradiction from life. UNESCO's work for peace needs these ample prospects, for the task to which it summons its members is gigantic and arduous.

102. More than half the population of the globe can neither read nor write, remaining in almost total ignorance. This causes waste of energy, opens the door to abuse and contains the germs of revolt. It is hardly to be expected that a system of peace, that is of mutual respect of rights, or harmonious collective progress can emerge from such differences in awareness. UNESCO is endeavouring to lessen this inequality by simultaneously proceeding in two parallel directions: primary schooling and fundamental education.

103. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the principle of free and compulsory primary education. UNESCO is sedulously promoting efforts for the effective application of this principle. Last July, in association with the International Bureau of Education, it organized in Geneva the Fourteenth Conference on Public Education, to consider the problem as a whole. This conference, attended by representatives of fifty governments, recommended that every State in which primary education was not extended to the entire population of school age, should draw up with the least possible delay a national priority plan which, while allowing for the needs and resources of the country concerned, would provide practical measures over a given period of years with a view to ensuring the steady expansion of such education.
104. On the basis of the conclusions of the Geneva conference, UNESCO is now preparing to organize biennial regional conferences at which it will be possible to consider the economic, social and intellectual conditions peculiar to each part of the world realistically. The purpose of these regional conferences will be to assist States in drawing up and carrying out their national schemes by comparing and pooling knowledge and experience.
105. However, so long as the total population of the world does not have access to primary schooling, we cannot disregard the masses of illiterates of every age who have not received such schooling. It is for the sake of those less privileged persons, who for decades to come will continue to number some hundreds of millions, that UNESCO has formulated the concept of fundamental education. Fundamental education means the minimum of general technical, moral and civic instruction without which education, science, culture and information could not exist in the most elementary sense in which modern society understands these terms. Admittedly, by comparison with primary schooling, this fundamental education is no more than an expedient. It is, however, an urgent expedient if we do not wish whole generations in many countries to be sacrificed.
106. After several years of research, the General Conference of UNESCO, at its last session, adopted a scheme for the establishment of a network of international centres for perfecting methods of training staff and producing material for fundamental education, in keeping with the peculiar needs of the different regions of the world. A first centre was opened this year in Latin America. It is expected that it will take twelve years to carry out the scheme in its entirety and that some 5,000 specialists will be trained who will then, in turn, train teachers in their own countries.
107. I have described how UNESCO has launched an offensive against ignorance on the two fronts of the present and the future. However, the problem of education is not purely quantitative but also qualitative. The number of schools, teachers and pupils is not the only thing that counts. The curriculum and the policy of the education given in these schools by these teachers to these pupils is even more important. For while it is true to say that people can be educated to freedom, there is also such a thing as training them to servitude.
108. UNESCO does not seek to impose any particular ideology. On the contrary, UNESCO is founded on mutual respect of all beliefs and it hopes to see them all represented within the Organization. But where the issue is peace or war, freedom or justice, when the issue affects not merely the ideas of man but man himself, UNESCO will never be neutral. UNESCO will always be found on the side of international law and human rights.
109. I shall not here dwell in detail upon the work being done in this respect by UNESCO to encourage an international civic spirit, the natural extension and outcome of a local and national civic spirit. I shall do no more than refer to three resolutions which the General Conference adopted at its last session concerning the activities of the Organization in the service of peace.
110. Under the terms of the first resolution, the governments represented at the session "solemnly bind themselves to work for peace and peaceful ends, in full and friendly trust, complete independence, and full equality of rights".
111. The second resolution confirms its "whole-hearted support of the Secretary-General's endeavours to achieve and maintain peace through action by the United Nations under the Charter".
112. And the third resolution, which is a consequence of the resolution [377 (V)] on "Uniting for Peace", adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950, states that "within the limits of its competence... and in accordance with budgetary provisions", UNESCO will furnish information and emergency assistance, upon the request of the competent United Nations bodies, particularly by facilitating, through educational and other appropriate means at its disposal, wide-spread understanding of the nature and background of the action taken by the United Nations to maintain or restore the peace.
113. These resolutions show how UNESCO proposes to play its part in the work of the United Nations. It is true that its founders did not, in 1945, expect it to grow up in a world such as we now see it. Little did they think that, six years later, national defence budgets would amount to 100,000 million dollars, as the Secretary-General mentions in his report,^o and that governments would have to give greater attention to the production of deadly weapons of destruction than to the peaceful needs of education, science and culture.
114. Nevertheless, even in a world such as this, insidiously poisoned by mistrust and stunned by fear, UNESCO continues its work to maintain and set up peace. It is working to maintain peace by demonstrating to the masses as well as to the elite, the value which intellect confers on life. It is working to set up peace by equipping everybody intellectually to enjoy the rights and shoulder responsibilities of free men and by promoting the rule of an international civic spirit over individual or collective selfishness.
115. I have told you how UNESCO is affected by difficulties, how it shares the anxiety which the present inspires in you and how conscious it is of being the responsibility of your loftiest and most exalted hopes. That is sufficient evidence of the importance we attach to the session of your General Assembly and of the sincerity with which I wish for the success of your deliberations. It is my prayer that from this beacon hill of Chaillot where, three years ago, you adopted the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)] and so held out a great promise to the world, you may through your efforts lead the peoples back to the ways of justice, truth and peace.
116. Dr. CHISHOLM (Director-General of the World Health Organization): I am sincerely and deeply grateful for this opportunity to say a few words to you. We are all keenly aware of the noble and difficult tasks that you face together as the hopes of a fear-torn world are once again

^o See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1.*

focussed on your work. The search for lasting security, peace and prosperity is, as the President of the French Republic stated here so convincingly a few days ago, the supreme concern of all those who contribute to this work through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Therefore, it is fitting for me to limit my remarks today to pointing out some of the ways in which the activities of the World Health Organization and the fundamental concepts underlying these activities are linked to our supreme and common concern.

117. The very philosophy which in 1945 gave birth to the idea of a world-wide health organization, and which led to the establishment in 1948 of WHO as one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, embodies a clear understanding of the intimate relationship that exists between health and peace. There is in this philosophy an express recognition of the fact that efforts to raise standards of physical, mental and social well-being are at the same time steps which lead towards the achievement of collective security and enduring peace. The WHO constitution, which has now been accepted by seventy-nine States, proclaims that "the health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security". It also declares that "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition" and that these principles "are basic to the happiness, harmonious relations and security of all peoples". This is the same philosophy which is outlined in the twenty-year peace plan by the Secretary-General of the United Nations with which the World Health Organization is, of course, in complete accord.

118. The organization which was built on these fundamental concepts is today only a little over three years old. Despite serious limitations WHO is already carrying out an impressive number of important international projects. If we consider them together for a few minutes, I am sure that the same questions will occur to all of us; what are the lessons which our common action against disease and for better health has taught us so far? And, above all, what has WHO been able to contribute to the cause of peace?

119. The first lesson which we in WHO have learned is, I believe, that true co-operation between individuals and nations sincerely devoted to the common cause can never fail. There are already many cases in the records of our young organization which go to prove this. For example, there is the astonishing progress made by a number of countries in South-East Asia and in the Americas as well as in other parts of the world against one of the worst age-old scourges of mankind—malaria. In many places this progress has been buttressed through help given by WHO and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in the form of international demonstration teams. In some countries, after barely two years of such demonstration work, projects affecting the health and well-being of hundreds of thousands of people have already been taken over and expanded by the governments. This is a source of great satisfaction to us, since our aim is to help countries to help themselves.

120. As in malaria control, so also great progress is being made in many countries, with assistance from WHO, in combatting the venereal infections and tuberculosis which for centuries have claimed millions of victims each year. In the field of public health administration twenty-seven countries have asked for and received help through WHO during 1951 alone. This year, too, there are joint UNICEF - WHO programmes under way in sixteen countries for improving the health of mothers and children.

121. One of the most important functions of WHO is to promote the exchange of scientific information so that knowledge and skills acquired by any one country may become available to all others. In this connexion I could cite the twelve major teaching and training projects being carried out at the present moment, or the 498 fellowships which have been awarded this year by WHO to specialists from more than seventy-five countries for study abroad. I might also mention the world-wide importance of the International Pharmacopoeia which, published a few days ago, marks the culmination of fourteen years of work by experts from many countries.

122. My list of examples could be continued almost indefinitely; but I prefer to bring it to an end by telling you in slightly more detail the story of just one of many activities, one which aptly illustrates the fact that the seeds of international co-operation, once well planted, are certain to grow and bring forth fruit.

123. Early in its history, at the time of the Interim Commission, WHO considered how it could help to meet the need for more wide-spread knowledge of modern techniques in anaesthesiology. Individual consultants were sent, first to Austria, in 1947, and then to Poland and Finland, in 1948. By 1950 interest had grown so strong in the Scandinavian countries that a training centre to serve this area as a whole was opened in Copenhagen and jointly operated by WHO and the University of Copenhagen.

124. As the work of this training centre in anaesthesiology became known, other countries outside the Scandinavian group began to send students there. Indeed, Yugoslavia, France, Greece and Israel wished to have similar training centres set up in their own countries. The work of the centre was therefore broadened and by 1950 those taking part, in addition to all the Scandinavian countries, included physicians from Switzerland, Greece and France. In the same year we sent individual consultants in anaesthesiology to Yugoslavia, Israel and Turkey. During 1951 this work has been continued in Israel and started in Iran. The beginning of 1952 will see consultants at work in Ceylon, in Burma and in Thailand. From a very small beginning WHO's activity in this one field has spread from country to country on the common ground of need, so that within just these few years since 1947 seventeen countries have gained tangibly in knowledge and skills with which to protect and promote the well-being of their peoples.

125. What, you are entitled to ask, is likely to be the enduring significance of the various kinds of work which WHO has initiated around the globe? In at least two important respects we can give, even now, very concrete and very categorical answers to this question. First, through the existence of a world health agency the suffering of millions of human beings in scores of countries will be alleviated and many, many thousands of lives will be saved. Second, the movement of doctors, nurses, sanitary engineers, etc., from one country to another under the auspices of WHO, the actual team work of specialists coming from different regions with differing social and cultural backgrounds, is resulting in a valuable cross-fertilization of ideas and in establishing strong emotional and intellectual bonds across international boundaries.

126. All this creates conditions which are unquestionably favourable to the development of harmonious relations and mutual understanding among the nations. But can we go beyond this and say flatly that the work being done now by WHO is a major contribution to the cause of peace? I think not, at least not under present circumstances and not unless we make certain reservations. This brings me to

the second lesson which I believe we have learned from the brief experience of our work in WHO. It is a lesson which, like the first one, has important implications for the whole of the United Nations system.

127. In attempting to evaluate the projects we were carrying out, we quickly discovered the fallacy of equating health work with health progress, let alone with progress in the broader sense. Let me put this in very concrete terms. Suppose WHO were able to report tomorrow that smallpox had been brought under control for the first time among a given population of, say, 3 million people or that certain countries as a result of anti-malaria campaigns have increased their total manpower by the equivalent of the work of 2 million persons per year. Where would be the progress and how would we define it if the 3 million just freed from smallpox were to continue living in a state of semi-starvation or ignorance? And what is done with the extra labour power gained through these countries having rid themselves of malaria?

128. It could, of course, simply result in more unemployment and hence greater misery than before. Unless sufficient capital investment is assured, unless these people can be certain of markets for the produce of their labour, unless they can count on greater educational and cultural opportunities for themselves and their children, then the significance of their achievement with regard to health—any general real gain in terms of greater physical, mental and social well-being—will diminish to the point of disappearing altogether.

129. We of the World Health Organization will never grow tired of stressing, at every opportunity, that our work, and health work in general, cannot be carried out effectively in a social, economic and political vacuum. When we say this, when we point to the close relationship between health and economics, we are merely emphasizing the fact that the sensitive plant of good health cannot grow in a barren economic and social soil.

130. I am quite certain my colleagues in the other specialized agencies will agree when I stress the need for all possible co-ordination of our efforts on both the inter-agency and the inter-governmental level. If we mark the various projects of the specialized agencies on a world map, they appear in far too many cases as isolated tiny pin-points. Kept separate, their impact on our lives would probably never amount to much. But if we succeed in bringing those pin-points together, if we can combine health with social, economic and political projects in harmonious association, and if we can take a long-term view reaching not just ten or twenty years, but two or three generations into the future, then we may expect great and enduring values to result from our efforts.

131. In this connexion I must say a few words about the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. Precisely because this programme provides for a concerted, combined attack on the economic problems of the so-called under-developed areas, it must be considered as one of the most vitally significant of all the component parts of the machinery we are building towards making that new world of peace, security and plenty for which all peoples long. I sincerely hope that the heavy rearmament expenditures resulting from the international tension that still holds the world in its grip will not interfere with this great programme for economic development, a programme which, if universally applied and not hurried beyond the capacity of countries to afford it, can become the most effective tool of our policy for peace.

132. The question of universality leads me to the final point that I should like to make here with regard to the future of our joint endeavours. It is not too much to say, I believe, that the most serious handicap facing the World Health Organization during the past years has been the lack of participation by a number of countries in its work. We cannot achieve our aim unless those few countries which have not yet given active support to the World Health Organization will do so, and unless those will return which, after playing an important role in establishing the organization, have seen fit to discontinue their participation in it. The objectives of the World Health Organization transcend all political and ideological differences. It is therefore unthinkable that any nation could long wish to stand apart from the joint efforts of mankind to bring about better health and, through it, greater happiness on earth.

133. All of us who work in the specialized agencies have a vested interest in peace—a vested interest which we share with you and with all the peoples of the world who stand behind our common effort. I am confident that your work here in Paris will advance still further toward the creation of conditions of international understanding which can at last make it possible for us to lay the economic and social foundations for peace, security and plenty.

134. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The first speaker at this afternoon's meeting, which will be held at three o'clock, will be the representative of Australia. I shall announce the time for the General Committee's meeting this afternoon. I should also like to ask representatives wishing to speak tomorrow morning to give in their names today. There are at present only two speakers on the list for tomorrow, namely the representatives of Canada and of Iraq.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.