

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



819th PLENARY MEETING

 Friday, 2 October 1959,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Auguste (Haiti)</i>	337
<i>Speech by Mr. Shanahan (New Zealand).</i>	340
<i>Speech by Mr. Enckell (Finland)</i>	344

President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Bérard (France), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): My first words must be addressed to Mr. Belaúnde to congratulate him on behalf of the delegation of Haiti on the highly important and difficult position he is called upon to occupy as President of the General Assembly at this fourteenth session, the great session, as it may well be called on account of certain memorable events that will be recorded in its annals.
2. I understand from those who have already spoken here, and who have long enjoyed the privilege of his company, that Mr. Belaúnde was chosen to guide the work of this international assembly in recognition of his outstanding qualities as a diplomat, statesman and scholar, which have never ceased to impress them throughout his long and brilliant career.
3. His colleagues were therefore equally inspired by affection and admiration when they elected him to use his rich experience in presiding over and guiding this Assembly on which the anxious eyes of the world are fixed. And I feel sure that for him it is one of the greatest satisfactions of his public life. He will perform his duties with his customary dedication, in the knowledge that he is now serving a great cause, the cause of our civilization and of a world longing for true peace. My delegation congratulates him on the great honour done to him.
4. We regret his absence on account of ill-health during the last few days and beg you, Mr. President, to convey to him our sincere wishes for a speedy recovery.
5. The greatest honour of my public life now falls to me, namely that of speaking for my country as the head of the Haitian delegation to this fourteenth session of the great family of the United Nations. Any emotional note in my voice may be attributed either to the atmosphere and circumstances, which may make a speaker nervous on a "great day", or to a sense of personal inadequacy in speaking at this rostrum from which the greatest politicians of the world have addressed such distinguished audiences.

6. There may be times when it is fitting to practise the philosopher's policy of silence, but there are certainly other times when to refrain from expressing an opinion would be a kind of cowardice not in keeping with the moral responsibilities we have undertaken in promising to "maintain international peace and security".

7. The true way to peace as defined by our Charter is not that of force based on conventional and nuclear weapons, because an armament policy, whatever its motives, embodies, if we analyse it thoroughly, something injurious—the element of premeditation which in criminal law is not easily excused by extenuating circumstances. Armaments arouse doubts and suspicion, and as force is answered with force it is enough for one country to begin arming for the contagion to spread among all the other countries that are in a position to arm.

8. That is, briefly, in my delegation's view, the way international tension is created, maintained and developed, keeping on tenterhooks the political and military authorities in those countries which have plunged madly into the construction of the most monstrous arsenal of modern times. Mutual distrust finally engenders fear, an emotion that is most difficult to restrain, for a man who is afraid is not absolutely sane and there is always a danger that he may commit acts of despair and madness.

9. The fact that humanity has twice been plunged into disaster in less than a generation reminds us that, if history repeats itself, it is chiefly because man refuses to change. If the light of reason does not prevail in time to make the nations understand each other a little better, we all know from recent experience what unfortunate and startling use may one day be made of this formidable arsenal of destruction that has been accumulated over the years at the cost of large sums which, otherwise invested might have served to promote the welfare of so many needy peoples.

10. In the dark and gloomy picture I have just drawn, the clouds on the horizon seemed to many, until quite recently, to be the presage of further calamities on earth. But the recent talks between the great Powers at Geneva on the serious problem of disarmament, which we so anxiously followed, are the kind of initiative that soon leads to the much desired atmosphere of relaxation in international affairs.

11. Such efforts are an attempt to re-kindle the flame of hope which yesterday was dim and flickering, and to restore the spirit of understanding in those who once, having fought side by side on all the battle-fields and knowing only too well the horrors of war, brought into being at San Francisco the Charter of the United Nations in which they all promised to prefer the pacific settlement of disputes to the use of armed force.

12. The meetings which have made international history during recent weeks have given us new hope

and strength to combat the surges of pessimism that nurture and intensify the anxiety which is so fatal to the cause of peace.

13. When our Charter, inspired by the abstract principles of the rights of man, stipulates international co-operation and the development of friendly relations among nations, it implicitly condemns the armaments race, even in circumstances where man, to salve his conscience, tries to justify it by the old saw of preserving peace by the preparing for war. History is a sufficient reminder of how the empires of the Napoleons of every age came to an end.

14. The important meetings to which I refer are present proof that reason and wisdom can work a miracle, that men are not only capable of uniting for purposes of destruction but also for construction, the kind of construction which gives them stature in our eyes, because they are prepared to make mutual concessions to win the greatest battle of all—the battle for peace, and because the human spirit has for once achieved a rare victory of the mind over the emotions.

15. The sociologists, who try to explain away everything to prove to us that spontaneous generation does not exist in their field, will tell us that what the uninitiated considers astonishing is only the result of more inter-dependence among men, the abolition of distances and the age-old need to group together which has its modern expression in words like "common market" or "continentalism"—soon, no doubt, to be replaced by "intercontinentalism".

16. The United Nations represents, I think, the great cross-roads to which all the magnificent efforts to unite men and nations converge. It is a meeting-place of all political creeds, where men learn to accept contradiction and where they hold seemingly commonplace talks which have, however, often helped to remove foolish obstacles by giving us the opportunity to see each other in a more human light.

17. That is the significance of the talks between the great Powers responsible for the fate of our civilization, considered in conjunction with other equally important events which redound to the credit of the United Nations, such as the accession to independence of the new African States.

18. The close ties which bind my country to Africa compel me to express on behalf of the delegation of Haiti our tremendous satisfaction at seeing those States represented here in this Assembly, on the same footing and with the same rights as any other States Members of the United Nations.

19. Let us not then give way to despair, for there is now in the world something different and new which does man credit, namely, the great advance made in international political thought. Thanks to all these changes, independence is no longer something to be brutally snatched, as in the last century or more than 150 years ago, by fire, sword and destruction.

20. The Trusteeship System, as established by the Charter, is a progressive method of achieving independence and self-government, by accelerating the political and social development of peoples that have not yet reached political maturity. It sets the seal on the right to independence. And if certain other principles of primary importance demand that it be made conditional, the system still serves to safeguard the right to independence and to destroy the old false

notion that certain countries are incapable of ever attaining self-government.

21. Thanks to the positive achievements of the United Nations, the recognition of new States is no longer postponed indefinitely as it used to be.

22. The hard way of independence has no longer to be learnt in isolation, under the scrutiny of those who dissociate themselves from the process and watch from a distance to see what experience will prove. Like young saplings shooting proudly upwards, the new independent States are fostered with a care which is yet another indication of the changes wrought in the world today by the many opportunities which better international understanding can offer. The social conscience is making itself felt everywhere.

23. The richer countries are giving more thought than ever to the fate of the under-developed countries. We look forward to the day when a better distribution of this world's goods will make charitable works unnecessary. That is the object of the many cultural, social, economic and humanitarian measures undertaken by the specialized agencies to improve the lot of man, whatever his race or creed, and to drive back ignorance, poverty and disease. Privileges and barriers are disappearing, and only an unfortunate few fail to realize it.

24. We are so disturbed by the clash of arms and the nuclear tests which poison the atmosphere that we do not stop to examine the significance of all these social upheavals revealing what some call "adjustment of ideals". There is no pure ideology at the present time. Let us admit that the different systems borrow ideas from each other, and let us hope that from this interchange there may emerge one day a standard and vitalized specimen of a social and economic democracy which is thoroughly sound and healthy.

25. In the meantime, however, our great concern should be the problem of under-development, which carries with it ignorance, poverty and disease.

26. Hitherto the remedy of increased production has been the one stressed by well-intentioned people who would begin by creating wealth so that there is food and housing and comfort for all. But in a capitalist economy such as ours, based on profit making and not on social needs, an economy that we have no real wish to see changed, the more riches accumulated the more necessary it becomes to make the machinery for their distribution more efficient and flexible.

27. If a capitalist economy is to be sound, it must have constant means of expansion, and this can best be ensured by the easy circulation of wealth; there must be ready access to it through a high degree of purchasing power, an extension of credit, an investment policy leading to more employment, and lastly, international trade free from any restrictions based on the rigid economic nationalism which has done so much harm in the past.

28. However, we must recognize that everything has been done to create wealth. Indeed, technology has joined forces with education and hygiene in launching an offensive that undoubtedly does credit to the great captains who planned it. In certain instances, the various groups are vying with one another in taking the initiative against under-development. Millions are being appropriated and armies of technicians are moving to and fro in the less developed and under-

developed areas. Many people are today amazed that, though years have passed, the results are still rather meagre. Although there is no doubt that inroads have been made on ignorance, poverty and disease, they still oppress millions of human beings. Of the eighty-two countries which make up the great international community to which we belong, approximately two-thirds—sixty, to be exact—are classified, technically speaking, as less developed and under-developed. However, no less an authority than Mr. Hoffman, Managing Director of the Special Fund, comments as follows on these countries:

"But many of them were not inherently poor, but simply unexploited, and the cost to the advanced nations of a truly adequate program would not be too burdensome. If the 5 billion dollars of technical assistance needed over the next decade were devoted to developing and tracking down these natural resources, it seemed quite possible to raise—on a repayable basis—the 30 billion dollars of capital investment that were necessary for the steady development of those countries, which form 60 of the 82 UN members."^{1/}

29. The specific facts which emerge from these words of Mr. Hoffman are so important that they should be analysed. Let it be noted at the outset by those who would still ignore it that an under-developed country is not necessarily a poor or a ruined one. The irony of things in this world is that, although these countries may be potentially rich—their valuable natural resources giving them, so to say, a vocation for wealth—they have not yet been able to develop them, since they lack both the means and the necessary technological experience to do so.

30. The facts in the quotation I have just cited indicate that the problem of under-development admits of a quicker and more harmonious solution than some may have believed possible. All that need be done is set the price, and Mr. Hoffman tells us that 30,000 million dollars would suffice. Now, what does this most substantial sum which would effectively cure economic evils—the source of all other evils in the world—represent when compared with the 100,000 million dollars spent annually on military budgets by those who—in pursuing a mirage which entices all who are foolish enough to follow it over the precipice—arm themselves for destruction in the vain hope of wresting for themselves world hegemony.

31. More than millions of dollars are needed to carry out a truly adequate programme against under-development, to use Mr. Hoffman's own words. This would be a third of the thousands of millions spent annually to mount the terrifying machine of war which now threatens world peace.

32. It is true that, when attempts are made, albeit with inadequate funds, to stamp out under-development, it can at any rate be said that an effort is being made. But such an effort resembles charity; it is not a thorough programme of economic rehabilitation which will heal not one country or one continent but a world—the free world, built on the rock of the capitalist economic system. To overcome the under-development which endangers the whole economic system—so intimately linked to the ideals which we

uphold—means to protect oneself and to ensure the survival of the civilization we cherish.

33. Social evils cannot be cured by the development of a philanthropy which only encourages indigence and impoverishes the individual, sometimes permanently. They can be only cured by putting man in accordance with his sense of dignity, now so much discussed, in a position where he can develop his own natural resources. The motives for helping him effectively do not spring from considerations of humanity or altruism, but from a true understanding of everyone's immediate or long-term interests, as made evident to us by the interdependence of economic facts.

34. The fact that only twenty-two out of a community of eighty-two Members can pride themselves on not being a prey to economic anxiety is irrefutable proof that under-development is not a subjective condition, existing in a given country or race, but rather an almost universal one. This does not mean that another type of economy should be sought; it means that our economy is sick and must be cured as soon as possible.

35. Our economy is hamstrung by extremist economic nationalism which has never given up its struggle and hampers the development of international trade. It is on international trade that we must rely to stimulate investment, develop employment opportunities, and ensure a good market. It is the eminently sound way to bring about universal well-being.

36. This vision of reality has of late deeply stirred the conscience of mankind. The emotions and anxieties to which heads of Governments and politicians were subject are now being experienced by industrialists and businessmen. Government leaders and the responsible parties are meeting and consulting one another. Throughout the world, there is a desire to reduce protectionism to mere emergency measures; people are turning towards the Common Market, which is the new semi-liberal formula adapted to the atomic age. In Europe, the satisfying experiences with Benelux and the Coal and Steel Community have led those people who have experienced the happy effects of partial economic disarmament to think of the Common Market which could be compared to some kind of economic federation. The conversations which are taking place in certain quarters nearer to us show that Latin America is working in the same direction.

37. The feeling of danger which we have felt for a long time is spreading everywhere, and discussions of the utmost importance for the defence and future of our economy have just been held at the Seventeenth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, at Washington. It is comforting to note the great decisions taken by the giants of world economy represented among the forty countries. Let us hope that business leaders, inspired by the new concept they have of their responsibilities, will confront the dangers of the moment by applying the right treatment, so State institutions can cure social evils better and more quickly than could any essentially political organization left to its own devices, which falls only too easily a prey to the intrigues for influence and to the passions which blind judgement.

38. I am speaking on behalf of a country which, in the past century, achieved its independence under exceptional circumstances. Perhaps this is the proper moment to say that my country has greatly suffered

^{1/} ICC News, Monthly Bulletin of the International Chamber of Commerce, July-August 1959, No. 5-6, vol. XXV, p. 3.

from the isolation in which it was held in the past by the ideas of the time.

39. In this continent—where, with their civic spirit, love of liberty and devotion to the principle of non-intervention, the men of today remind us of the heroism, the spirit of solidarity and the noble virtues of their forefathers—Haiti was the second State which sprang directly from the principles of 1789. Ogé and Chavannes, who, under the tropical skies of Santo Domingo, were the first men on this continent to demand the application of these principles, were coloured men, French settlers' sons who had studied in France at a time when the very air vibrated with the ideal of liberty. Once home, their ears still ringing with the Marseillaise and the tumult of the storming of the Bastille, they may have paid dearly for daring to speak of "natural rights". But the idea of those innate rights found a deep echo in the minds of those who were so cruelly exploited. For the first time in the history of mankind, an entire class of men became conscious of its rights. It was the signal for the war of independence in the Republic of Haiti, which helped the dawn of liberty for all slaves on the American continent.

40. We shall throughout our history bear the marks of this spirit of the French revolution—the determination to fight unremittingly all forms of privilege.

41. Our economy must also be liberal, like the one that prevailed when it was born. I need hardly recall how that economy suffered when protectionism was applied everywhere and the world had to live under conditions of real economic warfare. We accepted in all good faith the classical economists' liberal thesis of a division of labour among nations and kept our status as an essentially agricultural country, selling our primary commodities and raw materials in accordance with the law of supply and demand. Unfortunately, this law has proved nothing but a snare, for its functioning has been upset by the imperialism of the stronger nations.

42. Our economy, as I have said, is essentially a liberal one: for more than a century and a half we have used no protectionist weapons to protect and industrialize ourselves, as we had the right to do. Our customs duties are of a purely fiscal nature; we have neither quotas, nor import prohibitions nor exchange control in our country. We are in principle, therefore, the most fervent supporters of international free trade based on the theory of comparative costs.

43. The impoverishment of agricultural countries, brought about by the enormous and unjust discrepancy in the prices of agricultural and industrial products is at the root of the economy's stagnation and the true cause of many of our misfortunes and difficulties.

44. Despite the prevailing poverty in our country, deep devotion to spiritual values among the Haitian people and its present Government, led by Dr. François Duvalier, one of our greatest leaders, makes our country one of the healthiest in its imperviousness to ideas which are causing anxiety to many.

45. Our forefathers who built a home for the Haitians upon the ruins of Santo Domingo bequeathed to us a sound economic and social structure when they based it on a system of small holdings. They were men of great vision for, in 1804, they did what others recommended more than 150 years later.

46. It is only natural that those of us who believe in spiritual forces should be stirred by any signs of good will, by an awakening of conscience and by any exceptional effort on the part of our politicians, even when such symptoms bear the marks of personal interest, for it is something new that personal interest should seek to ally itself with the interests of the community.

47. Those who also believe in human values and happen to find them along the path of life should stop to pay homage to the man who embodies those values and to point out his merits, particularly when his actions support the high ideal of "every day more, every day better". It is therefore a particular pleasure for the Haitian delegation to pay public tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a man who time and again has commanded the admiration of all for his profound sense of social justice and his eminent qualities as a statesman.

48. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): Mr. President, allow me, through you, to offer to Mr. Belaúnde my congratulations upon his election as President of the General Assembly and my best wishes for his speedy recovery from his present indisposition. Mr. Belaúnde's warmth of personality, his long and perhaps unique experience in the service of this Organization and his devotion to the cause of the United Nations are known to all of us. The fourteenth session of the General Assembly is fortunate indeed in its choice of the presiding officer.

49. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my sympathy to the leader of the delegation of Ceylon and, through him, to the Government and people of Ceylon on the tragic death of the late Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, whom I was privileged to know personally.

50. To speak late in this annual debate confers an advantage, and I think it also creates an obligation. I have had the benefit of listening to the statements of many representatives in regard to those matters which are of paramount concern to all the Members of the United Nations. In placing before the Assembly the views of my own Government on some of these questions, I recognize a duty to avoid needless repetition. I should therefore like to preface my remarks with a few observations about the tenor of the debate.

51. There has been ample testimony that all the Governments and peoples of the world seek the goal of disarmament. Everyone knows that the quest is desperate, for we live in the shadow of a growing destructive power which our forbears could scarcely have imagined. Many speakers have emphasized the imminence of this peril. If we do not soon find a way to bring about disarmament, a point may be reached at which—by miscalculation or design—events may make further discussion meaningless.

52. In our recognition of these dangers, we are all of one mind. We are also united, I think, in deploring the huge wastage of human skills and natural resources in furthering destructive ends. Since the establishment of the United Nations, much has been done through international co-operation to assist the advancement of the less developed countries. In any historical perspective, this record is impressive; but, as the Secretary-General reminded us twelve

months ago,^{2/} the volume of resources absorbed each year in military uses exceeds the total resources available for economic development in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All of us, I am sure, would wish to reverse that trend.

53. Such a display of unity would seem to ensure success—if the United Nations were able to function as the authors of the Charter had envisaged. In a very real sense, the central problem of disarmament is simply that of achieving among the great Powers the basis of mutual confidence and co-operation which is presupposed in the Charter of this Organization. No problem is more fundamental, and, of necessity, its solution must largely depend upon the actions of the great Powers themselves.

54. It is therefore the course of realism to welcome and encourage direct negotiations among the great Powers. My Government gladly acknowledges the progress already made at the Geneva Conference on the discontinuance of nuclear tests, though important points of difference remain. Patience and perseverance will be needed on both sides; but the attitudes of the three Powers justify the hope that a soundly-based treaty will be concluded. The restraint shown by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union in suspending tests of nuclear weapons has encouraged and reassured world opinion, which was becoming increasingly alarmed at the rise in radiation levels.

55. It is New Zealand's hope that the last nuclear weapons test has taken place and that the temporary suspension of testing will become permanent. There can, of course, be no assurance of such permanence unless suspicion is put to rest by an agreement which provides for an effective system of inspection and control. This need of an effective system of inspection and control is not of course an end in itself, but it is, we feel, the necessary condition for establishing international confidence. If the Geneva negotiations are successful, there will be much greater promise that other and more complex aspects of the disarmament problem can in their turn be resolved.

56. My Government believes that the ten-Power disarmament committee, set up by agreement between the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, will be well placed to promote negotiations among the four Powers themselves. Judged in this light, the new Committee could not be regarded as an encroachment upon United Nations prerogatives. We are, however, glad to have the assurance that reports of the work of the ten-Power committee will be submitted to the Disarmament Commission. We do not consider that the United Nations should remain inactive while the problems are being examined in another forum.

57. In their statements before the General Assembly, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], for the United Kingdom, and Mr. Khrushchev [799th meeting], for the Soviet Union, both outlined new disarmament plans. These are most interesting and important proposals. They demand careful study and thorough discussion; but the contrasting methods of presentation invite a preliminary comparison. The United Kingdom plan proceeds by careful stages, building stone upon stone. The conception of this plan is that the process of disarming depends directly upon the gradual establish-

ment of an adequate system of controls and supervision.

58. The Soviet plan is also detailed; and, in that respect, it is—as Mr. Khrushchev suggested when he spoke to the Assembly—a renovation of disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union over a period of more than thirty years. Nevertheless, the dramatic feature of the Soviet plan lies in its insistence that all the obstacles to agreement among the great Powers can quickly be surmounted. As a declaration of faith and purpose, made by the leader of one of the world's two most powerful States, this assertion is of great significance; but the detailed proposals outlined by Mr. Khrushchev do not in themselves reveal how the two sides are to reconcile their desire for disarmament with their natural concern to preserve their own security. We need, I feel, further explanations before judging whether the goal of total disarmament is capable of such rapid attainment.

59. Meanwhile, I feel, we are entitled to draw encouragement from the mounting indications of a better international climate. The imperative need to agree upon disarmament measures has provided the occasion and the incentive for a closer understanding among the great Powers. The progress made at the Geneva Conference and the voluntary suspension of weapons testing by the three nuclear Powers have contributed to a relaxation of international tension. The meetings which have taken place this year between leaders of the great Powers are another welcome development, which cannot fail to reflect itself in the disarmament situation.

60. There is, in short, we feel, a new spirit of cordiality in Great Power relationships; but this spirit of cordiality has still to be translated into terms of practical achievement. In the field of disarmament, as in other fields, the proof of progress is agreement upon concrete measures, which alone can promote the growth of trust and confidence among the Great Powers. That is the element of strength which has so long been lacking in the structure of our Organization; and differences among the Great Powers are a present source of danger. The quest for practical measures of disarmament should go hand in hand with progress towards the solution of other outstanding political questions. While such problems remain or continue to arise, they must temper any optimistic assessment of the international situation.

61. I would refer particularly to the negotiations among the Foreign Ministers of the four Powers which have special responsibility in regard to Germany. These negotiations are of vital importance to the preservation of peace, and they receive appropriate mention in the Secretary-General's report to this Assembly [A/4132]. If any attempt were made to change the situation in Berlin by unilateral action, the set-back to international confidence would be profound, and every field of United Nations endeavour would be adversely affected. My Government shares the hope and expectation of the world that the issues separating the four Powers will be resolved by agreement. We have noted with deep satisfaction that the recent meetings between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev have yielded renewed promise of such an outcome.

62. After their recent talks, the two leaders issued a communiqué stating that negotiations about Berlin

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 3.

would be re-opened "with a view to reaching a solution which would be in accordance with the interests of all concerned". I stress the last words; for it is right that we should bear in mind the particular interests of the German people, as well as the general interests of the world at large. I can only regret that, in the European area, there has been no improvement in another situation which affects the welfare of a nation and the right of its people to live in freedom. It is, unfortunately, only too clear that in Hungary repressive policies have not abated. The Soviet and Hungarian authorities have continued to defy the United Nations. The General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem has been denied permission to visit Hungary in pursuance of the mission entrusted to him.

63. In Asia also there have been developments which must give the international community deep concern. I refer particularly to the actions of the Peiping Government in Tibet. Brutal repressive measures have been applied on a wide-spread scale. They were used to subdue what was undeniably a genuine national movement of protest against the destruction of the separate identity and unity of the Tibetan people. These actions have been condemned throughout the world, and cannot, we feel, be ignored by this Assembly.

64. In Laos recent developments have presented this Organization with a problem very similar to that which it faced last year in respect of Lebanon. Once again, the problem involves a small country whose history and attitudes show that it is no menace to any other State. Once again, it is complained that rebel elements are being assisted and directed from outside and that foreign forces are directly involved. Once again, there has been great difficulty in determining the nature and extent of the emergency. In our divided world, there are many techniques of subversion and indirect aggression. They assume special effectiveness when employed against countries which, like Laos, face great internal difficulties in establishing national unity and stability. When charges of aggressive conduct call for investigation, every effort should be made to establish their validity. My Government is gratified that the Security Council responded so promptly to the appeal recently made by the Government of Laos.

65. In my previous remarks I have laid a heavy stress upon the need for a better understanding and closer co-operation among the Great Powers. It is, I think, self-evident that every step in that direction will increase the effectiveness of this Organization and will advance the cause of peace and security. It is however, far from my intention to imply that the special position of the Great Powers in any way diminishes the responsibilities of the United Nations or each Member State.

66. Despite the handicaps under which it has often laboured, the United Nations has given many proofs of its ability to contribute actively to the relief of international tension. In this respect, it is perhaps in the Middle East that we are confronted with the greatest challenge. Nowhere is a relaxation of tension more to be desired. The benefits of progress would be felt throughout the world; but, first and foremost, they would be reflected in better living standards for the peoples of the area themselves. In this context, I should like to pay a tribute to the

Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to provide for the continuance of United Nations assistance to Arab refugees, and in every way to help in bringing about an improved international atmosphere in the Middle East.

67. If we are to achieve a relaxation of tension in this area, it must, I think, be agreed that the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force remains essential. The United Nations Emergency Force has continued to carry out its difficult task with great efficiency; and, in the view of the New Zealand Government, it deserves the fullest support. This is surely a case in which Member States have the opportunity and the obligation to make a direct contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. If we do not face squarely the financial implications of action by this Assembly, we shall jeopardize the future of the Assembly's own instrument.

68. The problem of the Palestine refugees, with all its overtones of social injustice and human suffering, remains before us. Despite grave financial difficulties, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has carried out its humanitarian mission with the aid of a devoted staff. The New Zealand Government believes in, and has consistently supported, the work of the Agency. We think that the Assembly could not abandon this endeavour and the people who depend upon it, without compromising the high ideals of the United Nations and its concern for human welfare. Nevertheless, if this work is to continue, the Member States which support it have every right to expect the full co-operation of the countries in the area in seeking to achieve a more satisfactory and permanent solution.

69. It is, in every context, regrettable that little progress has been made in solving the political problems of the Middle East, in spite of the considerable efforts of the United Nations. This makes it all the more important that nothing should be done to exacerbate relationships among the States in the area. As a small step forward, the international community has surely the right to expect that the laws of peace will be applied to situations which are in themselves inherently peaceful. As it has stated on many occasions, my Government attaches great importance to the principle of freedom of navigation; and it remains firmly of the view that the Suez Canal should be operated under a system which treats the ships of all nations alike.

70. In reviewing the accomplishments of the United Nations, a prominent place must be given to the operation of the Trusteeship System. The Assembly can, we feel, take considerable satisfaction in the fact that four Trust Territories in Africa are approaching independence or self-government in 1960. We look forward to their admission as Members of this Organization. It is our hope that they will be given every assistance by the United Nations in dealing with their early administrative, educational and technical problems. As their numbers grow, the independent States of Africa will, I am sure, play an increasingly important part in the councils of the world.

71. To New Zealand, the work of this Organization in the field of trusteeship is of special interest; for the United Nations has entrusted to my country the important responsibility of administering the Trust

Territory of Western Samoa. During the present month, a cabinet government is being inaugurated in Western Samoa. That is almost the last major constitutional step before independence is attained in a little more than two years' time.

72. It is therefore fitting that I should mention, as a vindication of United Nations methods, the steady evolution of this Trust Territory from dependent status. The establishment of a cabinet government and other advances have made 1959 perhaps the most important year in Western Samoa's history as a Trust Territory. These developments have come about through a close and continuing partnership among the Samoan people, the New Zealand administration and the Trusteeship Council. I believe that all three are entitled to take pride in the results achieved.

73. For New Zealand there is an additional source of satisfaction. At the San Francisco Conference in 1945, the New Zealand representative, Mr. Fraser, who was then the Prime Minister of my country, served as Chairman of the Committee which drafted the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter. He urged that the idea of "accountability" for peoples under trusteeship should be fully expressed. Since that time, New Zealand's interest in the theory of trusteeship has been reinforced and tested by practice. Step by step, my Government has tried to apply to Western Samoa the concepts discussed and agreed at San Francisco. New Zealand now looks forward with pleasure to the culmination of its trusteeship in an independent and prosperous Western Samoa.

74. This year, my country has rejoined the Economic and Social Council after an interval of ten years. Once again we have found how useful it is to be brought into closer touch with this large and important segment of the work of this Organization. No Member State is unaffected by the activities within the Council's purview. It is, I am sure, very much in the United Nations own interest that all Member States should, from time to time, have the opportunity to serve on the Council. Unfortunately, the present size of the Council restricts these opportunities unduly; nor does it provide a membership which is fully representative of the various geographical areas of the world. Discussions which took place in the Assembly and in the Council itself have more than once drawn attention to the benefits which would flow from increased membership.

75. It is our impression that some changes in the role of the Council are also demanded if it is to keep pace with the extension of United Nations interests and activities. It is, however, equally pertinent to recall that the Council and its subsidiary bodies already have substantial achievements to their credit. Among the most notable is the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which the Secretary-General has justly described as "an example of international economic co-operation on an unprecedented scale". This statement is all the more impressive when it is remembered that the Expanded Programme is only one facet of a larger undertaking—the economic and social development of the less developed countries.

76. The problem of under-development dominates and will, for the foreseeable future, continue to dominate the thinking of the United Nations in the economic field. Despite the flow of assistance to the under-developed countries, the gap in relative rates of eco-

nomie growth has continued to widen. The difficulties of the less developed countries have been increased by the declining demand in many cases and the continued lag in the prices received for primary commodities which figure so substantially in their economies. Often this situation is aggravated by policies which tend to restrict international trade in raw materials and foodstuffs. Such policies cause particular hardship to countries which are heavily dependent for their incomes on a narrow range of primary commodities. International economic assistance in increasing measure is certainly required; but an essential need is the adoption by all countries of policies which will lead to a fuller and freer flow of trade in primary commodities at prices which will promote both growth and stability in the less developed countries.

77. In order to raise living standards for the world's rapidly increasing population, a vast co-operative effort by both developed and under-developed countries is also required. This is a challenge which the international community must meet. A close analysis of all existing efforts in the light of priority needs will indicate the points at which further measures should be taken to raise living standards. By reason of its world-wide associations and its highly qualified staff, the United Nations is in a particularly good position to help in this function. Recently, a number of ways have been suggested in which the role of the United Nations in the field of international economic policy could be developed. Among these, one of the most interesting, we feel, is the suggestion made by the Secretary-General at the twenty-eighth session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva for high-level discussions on major questions of economic policy.

78. In the early part of my statement, I commented on political problems which can be solved or avoided only if the great Powers are able to compose their sharpest differences and to achieve a greater measure of mutual confidence and co-operation. I then attempted to touch upon various aspects of the wider range of United Nations activities in which other Member States share with the great Powers the capacity to make this Organization effective. I have latterly been speaking of the problem of under-development; and it is appropriate that I should end my statement by turning back to the other great overriding issue—that of disarmament.

79. It is the prerogative of the United Nations, which has the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, to address itself even to those problems which fall primarily within the competence of the great Powers. At this Assembly session, we shall exercise that prerogative, and we may hope to influence favourably the course of subsequent negotiations among the great Powers.

80. Later, the Disarmament Commission will receive reports of progress in the ten-Power disarmament committee. My Government hopes that the Disarmament Commission will be active in its approach to these or other issues within its competence and purview.

81. But there are extremely important aspects of the disarmament problem which need not be laid aside to await progress in negotiations among the great Powers. In this context, the first requirement would

seem to be the formulation of measures to limit the extent of the disarmament problem. Otherwise the problem may grow too large for human ingenuity to solve. Any effective measures to limit the spread of nuclear capability will make an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace and will receive the wholehearted support of New Zealand.

82. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland): Most speakers in this general debate have referred to the recent visit to the United States of the Head of the Soviet Government. The meetings between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev have had a profound impact on the international atmosphere, and consequently on this Assembly, and my delegation wishes to take this opportunity of joining in the expressions of satisfaction and hope voiced here by so many representatives before me. These meetings may be seen as the most important single step so far towards the implementation of the resolutions on "Peaceful and neighbourly relations among States" (1236 (XII) and 1301 (XIII)) adopted unanimously by the Assembly at its twelfth and thirteenth sessions. The essence of these resolutions, as indeed of the Charter itself, was echoed in the communiqué issued by the two statesmen at the close of their talks on 27 September 1959 in which they renounced the use of force and pledged themselves to settling all outstanding international issues by peaceful means through negotiation.

83. In a statement on these subjects before the First Committee at the twelfth session of the Assembly, I had occasion to point out that "we in Finland are loath to see the world we live in consisting of separated groups of countries"^{3/} and I ventured to suggest that "Terms such as East and West ought to belong solely to the realm of geography"^{3/}. In saying this, I was not merely voicing pious sentiments; I was stating a Finnish national interest. To explain what I mean, perhaps I may restate briefly some of the main principles underlying Finland's foreign policy, which, in fact, are not without relevance to the main topics of today.

84. For the past fifteen years, Finland has sought to safeguard its security, not by relying on military means, but by gaining the confidence of the great Power which is its neighbour, by maintaining friendly relations with all countries, by disassociating itself from the conflicts of interest and the tensions between others, by adhering faithfully to all obligations undertaken. Our policy of neutrality, as I believe we have been able to demonstrate by our words and actions in the United Nations, is designed to remove Finland unequivocally from the realm of political speculation, and the more hopeful international atmosphere cannot but strengthen our belief in its success.

85. I should like in this connexion to repeat the following words from a speech by the President of Finland, Mr. Urho Kekkonen:

"We realize the decisive importance of mutual trust in international life. It seems to us that we have succeeded in building our relations with our closest neighbours on the firm basis of confidence. It may be said that honesty in our international dealings is a national necessity, for it is of vital importance for Finland that others have confidence in us. We want to demonstrate to all nations, near

and far, that our word can be trusted, that we act honourably, without guile or malice. We ask for confidence in such a foreign policy, which is in keeping with the Finnish national character, and we are happy to note that our sincere efforts meet with sympathetic response."

86. Future development of friendly and peaceful relations between nations will to a great extent be measured by progress in the field of disarmament. The Finnish Government has, on several occasions, both here and elsewhere, declared its willingness to support and, if possible, to facilitate all efforts designed to bring about genuine disarmament under adequate control, and my delegation wishes to renew this pledge at this session. This applies both to the great aim of general disarmament and to such partial or interim measures as may be regarded as steps towards the ultimate goal. Any measure which, by advancing disarmament, will serve the cause of mutual confidence and of security for all nations will receive the support of my delegation, and the more far-reaching such measures prove to be the more we shall welcome them. My delegation also welcomes the decision to resume disarmament negotiations within the ten-Power disarmament committee as a practical way of dealing with the problem at this stage. This does not, of course, absolve the United Nations of its responsibility in this matter.

87. It seems to me that our main task at the United Nations is to endeavour to create the most favourable atmosphere for the forthcoming negotiations, and this, we believe, can best be achieved by concentrating in our activities on constructive proposals that could command the widest possible support among the nations most closely concerned. Such a course of action might most likely prove to be an efficient contribution to the furthering of our common aim.

88. The question of disarmament is frequently being linked to that of aiding the less developed countries, in the sense that savings in military expenditures could release funds for economic development. There is, however, also another link between the two problems, less tangible but at least equally important. This lies in the fact that substantial and wide economic growth can be achieved only when international tension and suspicion are lessened and the feeling of insecurity and the fear of war are removed.

89. My delegation, at a recent meeting of the Economic and Social Council, stressed the fact that constructive work in all the fields where it is so badly needed can be achieved only if the nations involved—and we are all involved—consider that they can have confidence, deep and unshattered confidence, in the stability of peace and in the permanence and sincerity of friendly relations among nations. Only then can we build on the necessary assumptions of international co-operation, of steadily increasing world trade, and of a reasonable and efficient international division of labour.

90. Very little indeed could be achieved, especially in the economic field, for the benefit of the less developed parts of the world without a deep conviction that we may have faith in the future and that, consequently, it is really worth-while to build a new and better world for ourselves, for our fellowmen, and for coming generations.

91. The creation of confidence between nations is necessarily a slow and gradual process. We know this from our own national experience. Mankind has lived for so long in a world of strain and crisis that we are understandably cautious in our hopes for an improvement. None of us, I am sure, underestimates the difficulties of the perhaps long process of negotiations that lies ahead of us. In this process, the United Nations, we believe, has a vitally important part to play. My delegation has consistently advocated the view that our task here is to narrow differences, to seek solutions that aim at conciliation and compromise, rather than sharpen existing conflicts or create new ones. We, on our part, will continue to do our best to live up to this view. The prestige and authority of the United Nations, in our opinion, cannot but suffer if we devote our time to proposals and resolutions that turn out to be hollow words when tested against the realities of the world we live in. This should not be the place to vent our frustrations.

92. My delegation does not share the view that recent trends need mean a diminution of the role of this Organization. In this context, I wish to recall the significant words of the Secretary-General in his

excellent introduction to his annual report. He pointed out that:

"The various diplomatic and political activities in the course of the past year are in full harmony with the intentions expressed in the Charter. They may even be said to reflect obligations which Member nations have assumed in the Charter. Also, irrespective of this formal aspect of the matter, those who support the work of the Organization must welcome all such serious efforts to further the purposes for which it was set up, whatever the specific form such efforts may take." [A/4132/Add.1, p. 1.]

In another connexion, the Secretary-General described the United Nations as "an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security." [*Ibid.*]

93. We have at this stage a great responsibility for using this instrument to its full advantage.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.

