

UNITED STATES MISSION  
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July 6, 1950ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR FRANCIS B. SAYRE, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE  
IN THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE COLGATE  
UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY, HAMILTON, NEW YORK, ON  
SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1950THE UNITED NATIONS

It is heartening indeed to meet with so distinguished a group as this, drawn together by a vital common concern to know more about the problems of American Foreign Policy. And it is an honor for me to have the chance of coming from Lake Success and talking over with you, with all frankness, something of our work there.

## I

It is of the United Nations that I want to talk with you today.

If ever an international organization dramatically justified its existence before the world, it was the United Nations on that fateful Sunday of June 25, less than two weeks ago. At our breakfast tables that peaceful Sunday morning we were half stunned by the news even then coming in hot over the wires of a sudden unprovoked attack by the North Koreans upon their fellow Koreans to the South of the 38th parallel -- a full-scale invasion by Northern forces heavily armed with offensive weapons. It was a cold-blooded assault, obviously planned and organized well in advance, for the purpose of overwhelming the Republic in short order and presenting the United Nations with a fait accompli. It was a direct challenge to the very existence of the United Nations itself. It spelt open defiance to all free peoples who would organize the world upon a basis of law and international justice. If Korea could be crushed with impunity, it might well mean the end of the free world's brave efforts to achieve a rule based upon law and justice and the sacredness of individual personality.

Yet what could be done? The South Koreans had insufficient forces to withstand this sudden unprovoked attack. Time was of the essence. The free world had no united international forces at its command.

You know what happened. At 3:00 o'clock that very Sunday afternoon the Security Council was called into extraordinary session. In the dramatic meeting that followed, the Security Council determined that the invasion constituted a breach of the peace, called for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of North Korean armed forces, and called upon all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of the Resolution. The Soviet member was boycotting the Council and therefore absented himself from the meeting.

Two days later, on Tuesday afternoon, June 27th, the Security Council met again. The North Koreans had ignored and defied the Sunday resolution and had even called upon the Korean Government to surrender. President Truman in a ringing statement in Washington declared that "in these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support" The Security Council thereupon by a vote of 7 to 1 passed a Resolution recommending "that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area".

The effect was electric. The United States had shown with fire that it is believed passionately in defending human liberty and the fundamental rights of men. The United Nations was a living reality. People breathed more freely again.

Those two fateful and unforgettable meetings of the Security Council last week were like a flash of lightning. They suddenly lit with blinding light a dark corner of the eastern world and illumined behind the clashing troops and marching men a few sorry figures crouching in the dark. They crystallized in a moment the opinion of the free world. They united those who believe in human justice and liberty and fired them to fight in united defence against unprovoked aggression. Those Council decisions already 43 nations have pledged their support.

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Nevertheless, let us be honest. We must not overplay the United Nations nor overrate its powers. A too exaggerated conception of the United Nations unsupported by fact can lead only to disillusionment.

We should recognize that without the decisive action and leadership of the United States the United Nations could not have met the crisis. The free nations, realizing that America was determined to fulfil its Charter obligations, rallied in overwhelming numbers to the United Nations banner with vigor and generosity.

From the very outset, the United Nations played a potent part -- not in furnishing armed force, without which Korea would have been a lost cause but in crystallizing world opinion, which is of greater ultimate power than any armed force, and in writing and organizing the moral force of the world. The United Nations stood ready at hand as an instrumentality of unique potency. At a moment when the world was caught off guard and seemed impotent to act, that nation to whom all the free world looks for leadership, making one of the outstanding decisions of its history, was able through the United Nations to act with earth-shaking effect. The course of world history has undoubtedly been changed as a result of what took place last week.

Had there been no United Nations, at best it would have appeared to be merely a life-and-death struggle between two Great Powers -- the United States against Russia -- each with its allies, but with the old Balance-of-Power struggle unrelieved and interpreted by many as merely a sordid fight for selfish world power. But thanks to the United Nations, the situation is fundamentally different. The fighting cannot now be interpreted as the struggle of two Great Powers, each thirsting for world mastery. The struggle has been transformed from the very outset into one of law against brute force, human freedom against slavery and oppression, democracy against tyranny. In such a struggle all who read history know which side will prove ultimately victorious. Mankind has ever thrown its forces onto the side fighting for humanity. The Soviet Union, now isolated from the rest of mankind, is ranged against the moral force of the world. That is a force against which no people can ultimately win.

It is true that that fateful decision of the United States and those of the Security Council touched a situation which could grow into a Third World War. The outcome of the decisions remain still in uncertainty. But, whatever the outcome, we know that the decisions were right. They did not increase the chances of a Third World War. They substantially reduced them. Had the Soviet Union found that the United Nations would remain supine while Red armies crushed the very child which it had brought into being and brazenly flouted the passionate effort of free people to build a peaceful world, there could have been no escape from a Third World War. The appeasement of Munich did not stop World War II. The white feather in the Korean crisis would have accelerated World War III. We can find deep satisfaction in knowing that the people of the world have learned a profound lesson. They remember Manchuria, Ethiopia and Munich. Imperialist aggression must be stopped before it gathers momentum, else it is likely to engulf the world.

## II

But I want to return to the United Nations, and paint the picture of what it is -- and what it is not -- as frankly and honestly as I can.

In the first place it is not a guarantee of world peace. As we have seen in the case of Korea, if properly utilized, it may prove of devastating power; but, contrary to the understanding of millions of people when the United Nations was first set up, it offers no insurance against war. Machinery alone can never guarantee peace. Unless there is a common will to peace among the Great Powers, there will be no peace. That is plain common sense. If the Great Powers disagree in their fundamental objectives, no possible United Nations Charter provisions whether with or without veto arrangements, no possible international covenants or agreements, will be a guarantee against fighting. If men or governments believe the issue is really vital to their national existence and if they believe they have the armed power to win, they fight.

In the second place, the United Nations is not a super-state. It was set up as a forum for public discussion and as a means of coordinating and uniting the activities of free peoples following common objectives. It was

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organized primarily to discuss and consider and recommend. It was never intended to be a world police state.

But, in the third place, although the United Nations does not exercise police powers and has as a result of Soviet obstruction no armed forces at its command, it does wield power of matchless potency. Its real power rests upon moral force. If we are to be realistic we know that stable peace is not to be won by mere pious desire. Peace is to be gained only through the long hard work of developing common moral standards throughout the world. But we must also have an international instrumentality of power — a well-built and closely knit organization which has the ability to throw the spotlight suddenly onto dark corners, to crystallize rapidly the public opinion of the world and thus to unify and coordinate massive action among free peoples to defend their freedom. Such an organization, as we have seen in the case of Korea, can generate incalculable and overwhelming power. It can marshal the moral force of humanity; and once this is given concrete expression by coordinated action no people and no nation can withstand it.

This is a picture of what with united support from all free peoples the United Nations can become — and is becoming. Mankind has caught the vision and is moving ever nearer to its realization.

## III

How far today have we come along this pathway? Exactly what are the objectives of the United Nations and how far have we gone in their achievement?

The United Nations was set up to fulfil three outstanding functions. In the first place, it has a political function, to maintain international peace and security. This function, the most dramatic but not necessarily the most important, is exercised in the main (1) by the Assembly through its powers of discussion and recommendation and (2) by the Security Council through recommendations, decisions or positive action. The power given by the Charter to the Security Council is very great. In the case of threats to the peace, breaches of the peace or acts of aggression, the Security Council is even given the power by Article 42 to "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security". Since the United Nations as yet, however, possesses no regular international "air, sea, or land forces", this provision of the Charter has remained dormant. Even if it were practically possible to set up an international military force during the continuance of the existing veto power, it is unrealistic, as long as fundamental disagreement continues among the Great Powers, to think in terms of an international police. In the absence of an act of aggression or a threatened breach of the peace, the powers of the United Nations are confined in the main to discussion and recommendation.

The crucial issues which make for peace or war grow out of deep festering sores which cannot be cured in a night. The remedy must generally be sought in the removal of root causes and then in the healing effects of time. In the international world curative processes are seldom dramatic.

Nevertheless, the record of achievements of this youthful organization is an impressive one. Iran, Palestine, Greece, Kashmir, Berlin, the former Italian colonies, Indonesia, and Korea, potential dynamos of flaming trouble, all attest the healing power of the United Nations. Each might have ignited World War III; in each fighting was localized or averted. In some cases the United Nations afforded a means of delay until adequate programs could be devised and developed or the processes of mediation or conciliation be brought into play; in others, the disputants found in the United Nations the means for saving faces while yielding on important issues; in still others, the United Nations facilities were used to remove the controversy from the supercharged heat of a public arena to the cooler atmosphere of Council or committee. In all the power of public opinion and of moral forces played the major part.

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In the Iran controversy in 1946, as a result of the debate in the Security Council, Soviet troops were actually withdrawn from Iran on May 21st. The Palestine controversy was referred to the United Nations in 1947 by the United Kingdom which for years had proved unable to find any solution. A United Nations Mediator was appointed. Although at the cost of the Mediator's life, a truce was effected and armistice agreements reached between the parties, and although some problems still remain, full-scale war, which for a time seemed imminent was, largely due to the brains and persistent effort of the United Nations, averted.

The other controversies tell the same story. Greece, thanks to the United Nations, retains her independence today. Had Greece fallen, Turkey would have been encircled and the entire Mediterranean and Near East would have been open to Soviet penetration. India and Pakistan have been spared the disaster of war over Kashmir. The bringing of the Berlin deadlock before the General Assembly in Paris in 1948 compelled the Soviet Government to try to justify its action before the bar of the world and undoubtedly caused it to modify its program under the pressure of world opinion. The problem of the former Italian colonies, which for three years--from September 1945 to September 1948--proved insoluble to the four Great Powers, was transferred in 1949 to the United Nations, and is already on the high road to settlement. In spite of the inflamed situation touching Indonesia, full-scale fighting was stopped and the new State of Indonesia set up. The new State of Korea through the United Nations was set up in 1948 without being still-born. In spite of last week's murderous attack, again thanks to the United Nations, it is still a living state.

#### IV

A second function of the United Nations concerns the highly explosive problem of dependent, or in present-day language, "non-self-governing peoples". Among the root causes of war, Pandit Nehru, one of the leading voices of Asia, put at the very forefront the treatment of dependent peoples. The relationship between the races of the West and the peoples of Asia and Africa may well determine in the Twenty-first Century the destinies and the happiness of every people, including our own. The yellow and black and brown peoples of Asia and Africa comprise more than half the people of the world. Their nascent power is incalculable. Will this immeasurable power be organized and ranged in defense of Western civilization or against it? The Communists already recognize the significance of this power and are playing for its control. Their aggression in Korea shows the vigor and ruthlessness with which they are pursuing that objective.

Much of the colonial enterprise of the past has been conducted for the profit of the governing peoples and stained with the poison of racial exploitation. At the same time the iron of racial inferiority has been driven into the souls of millions of Asians and Africans. "The West", in the words of Pandit Nehru, "has too often despised the Asian and the African and still, in many places, denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness."

Since the first World War, however, has come a profound change. We have come to realize that the exploitation of a people by a dominant race is utterly indefensible. It runs squarely counter to the very cornerstone upon which Western civilization has been built--human freedom. It deeply violates the Christian ethic of the sacredness of each individual personality.

But, in spite of this fundamental change, the poisons resulting from the colonialism of the past unhappily remain. From these the Russians are brewing noxious propaganda and are busy spreading infections bred from these poisons throughout Asia and Africa.

The cornerstone of the new Western colonial policy is to make the interests of those who "have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" . . . "paramount". That is the very language of the United Nations Charter. It is exciting if it can be made real. To give flesh and blood to the new conception, the Charter created the international trusteeship system and set up the Trusteeship Council.

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One of the most dramatic forward movements in the international world of our time is the giving of independence to all those peoples able and desirous to assume its responsibilities. Since the setting up of the United Nations, some 500 millions of people--a quarter of the entire population of the world--have been clothed with independence. Seven new nations of Asia--India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, the Philippines, Korea and Indonesia--have come into existence.

But the problem of deeper difficulty is how to deal with those primitive people, many of them living in a tribal or feudal world of their own, who lack the training and education necessary for discharging the responsibilities of independence or self-government in our strenuous modern world.

As part of the machinery for dealing with this problem, the United Nations Charter provides for an International Trusteeship System. To date, the Trusteeship System embraces ten trust territories, located in the Pacific and in Africa, administered individually by six different Members of the United Nations. The United States itself is the Administering Authority for the former Japanese Mandated Islands, now known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, stretching across some three thousand miles of the Pacific. An eleventh trust territory, Italian Somaliland, with Italy as the Administering Authority, is in the process of being created. The supervisory body of the Trusteeship System is the Trusteeship Council. This Council, one of the principal organs of the United Nations, is composed of the six states which administer trust territories and six other states, "non-administering Members", to provide an evenly balanced body. It is the responsibility of the Trusteeship Council to examine annual reports and petitions with regard to the trust territories, to dispatch missions to each of them to ascertain on the spot what conditions prevail there, and to make appropriate recommendations to the Administering Authority and to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

I wish I had time to tell you something of what is actually being done along these lines in the various trust territories of the world. In our own Pacific Islands territory, for instance, within the three years since it was placed under United Nations trusteeship, United States officials have been tirelessly at work in accordance with the trusteeship agreement to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants. To teach them the ways of self-government we have organized and developed over 100 "municipalities" as basic units of local government. Of the principal officials now holding office in these municipalities, 135 were selected by popular election. At first, the conception of a municipality's responsibility for its own costs was a baffling one; but, as a result of repeated visits of field trip officers, all except the more conservative islands now appear to have grasped the basic concepts of both the responsibility of officials to the people and also of the people for the carrying forward of their own municipal program.

In the field of education, elementary schools have been established on practically every inhabited island, and elementary school has been made free and compulsory. Well over 90% of the school population attends. An admirable Teacher Training School has been organized at Truk; here indigenous teachers are being trained, and this fall courses will be offered leading to diplomas in Government, Agriculture, Business and Liberal Arts, as well as in Communications and Teaching.

In the field of public health, hospitals and dispensaries have been built and indigenous medical and dental assistants and nurses are being trained at Guam and sent out among their people. All the inhabitants are being vaccinated against small-pox, tetanus and typhoid fever. Active yaws, an infectious and troublesome skin disease which before afflicted an estimated 90% of the population, has been reduced to a point where open lesions are now infrequently seen, Intestinal parasitic diseases have been reduced dramatically. A floating clinic and laboratory, the S.S. WHIDBEY, is visiting every inhabited island and makes physical examinations, chest X-rays, seriological and other analyses of the inhabitants, from which individual health records are being set up for virtually the entire population.

We must be preparing the peoples of underdeveloped areas to play their part in the coming work of the Twenty-first Century. We must find a practicable way for promoting in each separate field their political, economic, social and educational advancement. That is the objective, as defined in the Charter, of the work of the Trusteeship Council. Furthermore, we must convince these peoples, as they prepare themselves for their new role in world affairs of our own sincerity and integrity

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of purpose. Upon the success with which the Trusteeship Council leads the way in the trust territories for the achievement of the Charter objectives among all dependent peoples may well hang war or peace in the Twenty-first Century-- may well depend the destinies of Western peoples.

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Time does not permit me to speak of the far-flung economic and social work of the United Nations. Perhaps in the long run the work of the Economic and Social Council and of the Specialized Agencies which work under it may be the most fundamental of all United Nations achievements. It is clear that there can be no stable world-wide peace except as it is built upon individual freedom, social security and fundamental human rights. Through the United Nations the peoples of the world for the first time in history succeeded in drafting a Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Again, enduring peace cannot be built upon starvation and want. Nor when these are rife can Communistic propaganda be stemmed. It happens that in many areas of the world today only ignorance, lack of technological knowledge or inability to procure necessary capital advances stand in the way of economic progress and heightened standards of living. Upon the great task of achieving progress along these lines -- the so-called Point IV program, the United Nations is now hard at work.

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One must come back again and again to the central truth. Enduring peace can be built only upon moral forces; and the control of nations through moral force depends upon the development throughout the world of common moral standards and values. The United Nations is the greatest single instrumentality in existence for evolving common conceptions of international morality. But the brunt of evolving common moral values throughout the world must depend upon the rank and file of the peoples in every country. That depends upon leaders of opinion like yourselves.

May I, in conclusion, urge you with all the power at my command to do your part in the great building work for peace. In two ways each one of you can make outstanding contributions: (a) by forging in support of the United Nations a public opinion which is alive and responsive to changing needs, and (b) by helping to clarify and strengthen moral standards, each in his or her own community and throughout the nation. For in the last analysis it is only upon foundations such as these that lasting peace can be built.

Upon this great task particularly we of America must be tirelessly at work. For the United States was founded as a Christian nation by men who had a living faith in God.

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