

Nuclear Weapons Conference, Geneva 1958-61 ; SECCO after Summit Conference ...

HS L 179:91



National Library
of Sweden

Day Hammar skjöld's saml.

Conference of Ten, Geneva

11 March 60

Eugen, Hans (Norwegian Delegation to the
U.N.)

- 1 letter to D.H.
- 1 encl. (Foreign Minister Lange's speech before NATO-
meeting, Dec. 59)

11 March 1960

PERSONAL

I was happy to get your letter. It is sad with Jens and I hope he will soon recover. Lucky, however, that Oslo could spare you for the most important tasks waiting for you in Paris.

I am not surprised to hear what you say about the disarmament discussions. It confirms what I have been able to piece together here. Within the next few days we will see what comes out of the Western efforts. As regards the work of the Ten, I cannot be optimistic in view of other developments and their impact.

....
....
The technical assistance problem has occupied me very much recently. I enclose the first pages of the press conference I gave on my return from Africa and also a speech the other day in New York. Together I believe that the two documents may give you a fairly good background. However, there is naturally much to be added.

First of all, the African preference — and I believe this is true of all under-developed countries — is strongly for aid through the U.N. The reasons are pretty obvious, but all the same the strength and the universality of the reaction have struck me. As Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika — as you know one of the best of the handful of great African nationalist leaders — put it: "If we have to choose between 'X' millions bi-laterally and 'X minus' through U.N., we choose 'X minus' ". As I said in the press conference, they make little distinction between bi-lateral aid and aid by a group on which they are not represented and which has a definite political accent, like the one that might be established under the so-called Dillon plan. Again, it is easy to understand their position. Basically, they run into the same troubles with such a group as in a bi-lateral relationship, and it does in no way bring them outside the debate about colonial influence or the cold-war. Specifically, they seem to note that the Dillon group would include as prominent members the five ex-colonial powers in Africa and that it would be strongly slanted in the Nato direction. Only the U.N., of which they are themselves members, breaks the colonial spell and puts the matter outside the orbit of the cold war.

./.

H.E. Mr. Hans Engen,
c/o Délégation de Norvège
aupres l'OTAN,
Paris, France.

Looking at it from the U.N. side, I would not wish to stress these typical arguments of the under-developed countries but another aspect of the problem which you find clearly reflected in my New York speech. The first and most urgent need is for pre-investment or pre-pre-investment work. Pre-investment work is the main task of the Special Fund, but experience shows that there is a need for pre-pre-investment work through our technical assistance people, as many countries are not in a position to present even their pre-investment projects in a proper form to the Special Fund without help. Now, these basic technical studies, surveys and planning operations are, of course, very closely related to central governmental activities. Therefore, it is particularly difficult for countries to engage in the pre-investment work on a bi-lateral basis, while, on the other hand, they are not too scared of using U.N., which has the added advantage that U.N. lends its prestige to central operations in a way which will mark their whole effort and the ensuing international assistance with a "neutral" U.N. stamp. My conclusion is that, quite apart from the political wishes of the under-developed countries, the U.N. cannot escape having, and is having, a strategic position for which our financial resources may be sufficient and which no other organisation and no country could fill with the same advantages. Building on this strategic position and using our work in the pre- and pre-pre-investment fields, we also avoid competition with the investing countries or groups which come in on their due places with all the supposed bi-lateral advantages to them, although from the point of view of the receiving government under the U.N. flag.

In these circumstances, I find it rather surprising that — apart from a personal contact with the Italian delegate — "the eight" in Washington have not taken any contact with us or shown any interest in the co-ordination of their thinking with our experiences. Alas, it is symptomatic of an effort at all costs to avoid this mixed company and to try and make the world safe for the West. However, one would think that they should realise that in doing so they reduce their own chances to reap the contribution they want, while having only slight possibilities to reap the national or group benefits they are hoping for. My worry is that, in our race against time, all of us, and not least the West, are losing out as the situation develops very quickly. It is in these circumstances only a modest consolation that I am sure that experience and hard facts sooner or later will bend the help to under-developed countries back into U.N. channels.

What I have said here and what you can read from my press conference and speech show you that I am in full agreement with what you indicate as your probable line in the Paris talks. Halvar's stand in Paris was helpful — although fruitless at the time — and may now serve as a good spring-board for your own observations.

The idea to launch assistance to the under-developed countries as an operation outside the U.N. at the summit meeting seems to me to be substantially dangerous and tactically poor. However, I see back of it the hand of de Gaulle with his "directorate of four" approach and his nearly pathological attitude against the U.N. However, I would hope that the Americans and the British would be strong enough to resist such an "idée saugrenue".

I don't see any likelihood that I will come to Paris in the near future. My programme is over-filled, and the situation in France does not invite any personal efforts.

I would be very happy if you could find time to keep me a little bit in touch with the relevant developments as seen from your vantage point.

P.S. Re-reading my letter I feel that I should add Paul Hoffman's favorite argument for a U.N. approach to assistance to under-developed countries. I think it is a most valid one. The Special Fund, in putting up 31 million for various programmes, has activated contributions of 44 million from the receiving countries. This proportion, which is very favorable, indeed, is possible on the basis of dealings with an international organisation like the U.N., but I think that it can be safely said that it would be impossible on a bi-lateral basis, as a donor country would be sharply resented if it puts up a demand for a matching contribution of anything like this size from the receiving country.

Avskrift.

Utdrag av utenriksminister Langes innlegg om økonomiske spørsmål under statsrådsmötet i NATO, desember 1959.

15. desember

"The field in which there would be room, to my mind, for initiative and imagination, is the field of assistance to the under-developed areas and countries of the world. Might it not be worth considering that the West, in the course of preparations for a Summit conference, should propose to the Soviets a large scale joint East-West programme of aid to these underdeveloped areas? Should we not in this way put to the test what peaceful co-existence really means to the Soviet leaders? Such a proposal would be a challenge to them as well as a serious effort on our part towards the solution of what is perhaps the most important problem of our day. Such a proposal would also respond to the growing realisation among our peoples of the need for action in this field and to a similarly increasing demand for an initiative from the West. I hasten to add though, that such a programme would have to be presented in concrete and detailed terms, not just as a general idea. It would call for meticulous planning on our part and it would have to be implemented within the framework and covered by the authority of the United Nations, and the idea would be to present a plan of a magnitude vastly surpassing anything done so far."