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**President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS**  
(Netherlands).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. DERESSA (ETHIOPIA), MR. BARRINGTON (BURMA) AND MR. TRUJILLO (ECUADOR)

1. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The Ethiopian delegation joins with so many others in extending congratulations to the President on his election. We feel that the Assembly is most fortunate in entering upon its tenth year of work under the guidance of so distinguished a representative of a nation so widely admired for its historic contributions of scholarship, of industry and of tenacity to the great international tasks which are now the responsibility of the United Nations.

2. During the year since my delegation last contributed to the general debate [*442nd meeting*], my august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, on 1 June 1954 officially visited the Headquarters of the United Nations and had occasion to speak here. The Ethiopian delegation was particularly pleased that His Majesty's solemn reaffirmation of the contributions Ethiopia has made to the development of collective security was so widely appreciated. The Secretary-General, on that occasion, referred to the recent contribution of my country to United Nations policy. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that the Emperor, speaking four months ago on another occasion in New York observed:

"It is certain that the basic support of the principle of collective security comes less from the larger States than from the small States, which have more to gain and more to lose by failure in its application. In this respect, it is significant that the smaller States associated in the United Nations efforts in Korea outnumbered the larger States."

3. The Secretary-General, in discussing the role of the United Nations in the introduction to his annual report [*A/2663*], most valuably expressed the concern of many delegations at the proliferation of regional arrangements outside the organizational framework of the United Nations but within its sphere of interest. On this point, the views of my Government, as ex-

pressed by His Imperial Majesty on the same occasion, are not without interest. Referring to the system of regional defence pacts, he stated:

"For its part, at the Conference of San Francisco which drafted the Charter of the United Nations, Ethiopia was alone to point out the pitfalls of this solution. There are, of course, regional agreements in force in certain restricted areas of the world—the North Atlantic and European Defence Community is so vast as to fall outside this restriction—but present-day events show only too clearly that broader solutions are required and that regionalism, in the final analysis, does a disservice to the principle of collective security. My delegation is profoundly convinced that collective security can alone afford the answer to this problem and that it must be recognized as having, not regional, but universal validity. Otherwise, its deterrent as well as its defensive effect will be of manifestly insufficient force."

4. My delegation must repeat the hope it has expressed in recent general debates; namely, that the appalling waste of increasing armaments may be checked. The apparent failure of the meetings in London last spring was most disappointing. My Government is most anxious that effective pressure should be maintained upon the Disarmament Commission, so that it will be unrelenting in its efforts to lessen the frightful burden of armament and military preparation.

5. I therefore most cordially welcomed the substantial contribution made to the general debate yesterday [*484th meeting*] by the Soviet Union delegation, as well as the proposal of the United States Secretary of State for the international development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the addition of the resulting item to our agenda. Ethiopia hopes that effective steps forward in this field may lead to a relaxation of tension in the military field. But quite as important is the hope that international consideration of the possible uses of this vast new source of power and energy, in close relation to the development of the power and energy requirements of the industrially under-developed regions of the world, may provide a stimulus to creative thinking and scientific research that could truly usher in a new era of international collaboration and economic development.

6. But, vast and promising as are the vistas opened by the constructive development of the peaceful use of atomic energy in the field of technical assistance and economic development, it is most important that the momentum of the present United Nations Technical Assistance Programme should be maintained. In my own country, significant if limited contributions are being made, with the promise of additional limited programmes. It is, of course, increasingly evident that the full effect of technical assistance projects can be realized only through the establishment and strengthening of

the necessary economic instruments and agencies for financing and securing the proposed developments. As the Ethiopian delegation had occasion to note in the general debate last year, a change in the general atmosphere and even a slight change in the rate of economic development in the under-developed countries not only would be of the greatest psychological importance to the strengthening of the work of the United Nations, but would have an immediate and appreciable practical effect. The Ethiopian delegation will accordingly press for the establishment of effective and substantial international economic instruments and agencies, not only for the expansion of technical assistance, but also for the financing and promotion of the basic economic development of the under-developed areas of the world.

7. My delegation remains convinced that there is the closest connexion between the effectiveness of collective security under the Charter and the climate of economic development throughout the world. The same boldness and willing assumption of great risks that crowned the Organization's successful application of the principle of collective security must characterize its approach to the interrelated problems of technical assistance and economic development.

8. My delegation has from the earliest discussions at San Francisco lamented the tendency in the Organization to minimize the contribution of international law to the development of international institutions. We hope to see in the second decade of the Organization a greater willingness to restore to international law, and to legal considerations generally, the stabilizing role they have historically enjoyed in international affairs.

9. Several representatives have referred to the sense of discouragement and frustration that accompanies the persistent reappearance of a number of items that have been described as the "hardy perennials." My delegation particularly regrets that the high hopes of the Organization in carrying out the human rights provisions of the Charter and the efforts to secure the elimination of the problems arising from so-called racial differences should continue to be frustrated; yet it is perhaps the evidence of the Organization's coming of age, as it moves into its tenth year, that it has not failed to persist in holding us all to the high promise of the Charter.

10. I am confident that in this year of greater calm but higher tension in the affairs of the world we shall make the best possible use of the calm afforded to us and shall at the same time be impelled to our task by the tension that surrounds us.

11. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): On my first appearance at this rostrum since the election of the President of the General Assembly, permit me to offer him the congratulations and best wishes of my delegation. I should like also to seize this opportunity to associate my delegation with the well-earned tributes which have been paid to Mrs. Pandit, the outgoing President. We of Asia are proud of the gracious, skilful and impartial manner in which Mrs. Pandit conducted and guided the deliberations of the eighth session of the General Assembly, and our satisfaction and appreciation are not diminished in the slightest by the fact that Mrs. Pandit's notable achievement has been just what we had come to expect of her.

12. We meet once more in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb, a shadow which grows in size with every month

that passes. Man has at last mastered the secret of his own extinction. This is the most significant development in the entire history of mankind and one which calls for a new set of values and a new way of thinking. Throughout the ages, war has been abhorred, but nevertheless it has occurred with sickening regularity. Out of this has developed the feeling that war, despite all its horrors, is inevitable. The hydrogen bomb serves notice on mankind that it must banish all such thinking. Not only must mankind cease to think of war as inevitable, but it must be seized constantly with one overriding determination—the determination that there shall be no more war, big or small, limited or otherwise. The supreme need of the hour is to think straight, and man finds it difficult to think straight when the world is beset even with small or limited wars. We have heard before of wars to end all war. But the next one will end all war, and with it the human race.

13. We are sure that everyone in this hall is aware of this grim fact. But we make no apology for mentioning it because it is important that we keep it constantly in mind; and, furthermore, it is imperative that every man, woman and child on this planet should be made aware of its implications, since their future, and even their very existence, may depend on their understanding and appreciating them. Every opportunity should be seized to drive this lesson home. From this point of view it is unfortunate that hydrogen and atomic bomb tests, by their nature, have had to be carried out in the most sparsely populated areas of this globe.

14. It is against this background that we view the cessation of the fighting in Korea and Indo-China. The almost audible sigh of relief which went round the world when the Indo-China agreement was signed at Geneva was proof of the growing realization that this is indeed an interdependent age. It was a most heartening sign for the future. The people of Burma welcome the agreement, and on their behalf I wish to congratulate all those who participated in the Geneva Conference on their statesmanship and untiring efforts to bring to an end, at least temporarily, a dangerously explosive situation. The armistice agreements have still to be implemented, so that we are not yet out of the woods; but we are confident that this can be done successfully, given the same wise statesmanship and restraint which marked the final stages of the Geneva Conference. Those whose duty it is to ensure compliance with the armistice agreements shoulder a tremendous responsibility towards the entire world, and we are sure that they will fully discharge that responsibility. Perhaps more than most other nations, Burma has a vital interest in the final result, not only because of our geographical proximity to Indo-China, but also because we have a special interest in the outcome so far as concerns Laos and Cambodia, countries which are linked to us by ties of religion and culture.

15. The end of the fighting in Korea and Indo-China is indeed a matter for satisfaction and congratulation. But the conclusion of these conflicts represents only the first steps towards the restoration of peace to this unhappy world; it merely removes the symptoms of a deeper malady which has come to be known as the "cold war". As long as this cold war continues to plague the world, the fate of mankind will remain in doubt. It consequently behooves all of us, even if we

cannot bring the cold war to an end, to do all in our power to bring about an easing of that war. There are some who say that peaceful coexistence between the two ideological blocs is impossible because of the basic conflict between the two systems. To accept this contention against the background of the hydrogen bomb is, in our view, to submit to a counsel of despair. It seems to us that both systems have come to stay for the foreseeable future since neither can destroy the other without itself suffering fatal injuries. In other words, the alternative to coexistence seems to be no existence. We feel that the general acceptance of this basic fact would, in itself, go a long way towards removing some of the current cold war tensions. It is a matter of mental attitude or approach. If only all of us here could make this adjustment, we feel sure that it will be possible to work out a *modus vivendi* which would make life on the earth more tolerable for all of us. It is in trying to bring about this *modus vivendi* that this Organization can play not only a leading, but even a crucial role.

16. Burma, as a small nation, has always been a firm believer in the United Nations. Despite the obvious shortcomings of the Organization, we continue to have faith in it. If it was necessary nine years ago, it is even more necessary today. If it did not exist, we feel sure that the world would today be busily engaged in trying to establish it. A divided world stands in greater need of a common forum to keep it from becoming even more divided. Here we are in entire agreement with the views expressed by the Foreign Minister of Norway from this rostrum last Friday [476th meeting]. We would like to see every sovereign State represented here. We need them here to assist us in our quest for a *modus vivendi*. A situation in which so many influential States are kept out of our Organization is bad for the United Nations, for the States kept out, and for world peace. We shall therefore continue to strive to secure the admittance to the United Nations of all those independent States who wish to join it, including the newly independent States of Laos and Cambodia.

17. A related question is that of the representation of China, which is already a Member of the United Nations. I wish to make it clear that what I have to say now is no way motivated by ill-feeling or vindictiveness towards Formosa for what it has done in my country. We do not forget that it was the then Government of Nationalist China which sponsored our membership in the United Nations. In urging the seating of the Central People's Government of China in this Organization we are merely taking cognizance of an existing fact. The fact is that the authorities of Formosa have long ceased to have any control over the Chinese mainland, and their representatives at the United Nations therefore do not represent the Chinese people. The failure of the United Nations to face up to this fact has been a major source of weakness to the Organization, since all discussions on questions in which China is interested—and there are many, since China is one of the great Powers—tend to be unreal. Furthermore, the denial by the United Nations to the Central People's Government of its legitimate rights as the successor of the former Nationalist Government has inevitably caused that Government to take a jaundiced view of the United Nations, thereby adding to the tensions which already exist.

18. In this connexion, I should like to recall to the Members of the Assembly the unanimous agreement reached on this question by the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma at the Colombo Conference in May of this year. Paragraph 4 of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of that Conference reads:

“The Prime Ministers considered the question of the representation of China in the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of China. They felt that such representation would help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tensions, and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to the problems concerning the world, particularly in the Far East.”

Therefore, while the present session of the Assembly is precluded from taking up this question for the remainder of the year, we would like to urge, in the interests of the United Nations and of world peace, that the serious consideration of this matter should not be much longer delayed.

19. A number of speakers who preceded me at this rostrum have been critical of those of us in the Organization who follow a policy of non-alignment in the cold war. I do not need to go into the reasons for our maintaining this position since they are well known to all. Nor do I have to justify our attitude since this is a matter of exercising our sovereign rights. Strictly from the viewpoint of the United Nations, however, we should have thought that the existence within the Organization of a neutral group of countries is more of an asset than a liability. Surely the usefulness of the United Nations would be seriously impaired if every Member of the Organization were to align itself with one or other of the two major blocs. The effectiveness of this Organization as a place for discussion and for seeking compromises would then be greatly reduced, if not completely destroyed. Since, as we see it, one of the principal tasks facing the United Nations is to try to work out some means of peaceful coexistence, we would regard the division of the entire membership of the United Nations into two clear-cut blocs as a tragedy for all concerned. In short, we feel that our position of non-alignment serves a useful and what might become an essential purpose to the United Nations and to the cause of world peace. By maintaining friendly relations with all States and by aligning ourselves with none, we feel that we, and those who share our view, may eventually serve as some kind of bridge. Indeed, the ideal United Nations, as we see it, would be one in which there are no blocs at all, and in which each Member State can consider each issue strictly on its merits and not be bound by some degree of loyalty to one bloc or another. Consequently, we cannot help but deplore the present trend whereby some Member States tend to drift away from a policy of non-alignment. As a country we have no desire to criticize them, nor do we feel we have the right to do so. But as a Member of this Organization, we regard it as a development which augurs ill for the future of the United Nations, and we feel that it is our duty to express our concern.

20. So far, I have been discussing what might be termed the impact of the hydrogen bomb on all our lives. I turn now to the bomb itself, and this inevitably brings up the question of disarmament. The current armaments race is, of course, a symptom of the cold war. Unless and until the cold war abates, there can

be little prospect of securing any meaningful agreement on disarmament. This does not mean that no attempt should be made to obtain such an agreement; such attempts should proceed concurrently with our attempts to obtain an easing of the tensions of the cold war. We therefore stand firmly behind the Disarmament Commission and the General Assembly in their efforts to find a solution which would cover both conventional and nuclear armaments, since the two are inseparable. However, we deplore the tendency which has been exhibited by the General Assembly to adopt resolutions on disarmament which lack the unanimous agreement of all the principal parties concerned. Such resolutions are inevitably still-born, and in our view do not help to advance the cause of disarmament. Rather they tend to retard progress because they leave the dissident minority with a sense of defeat and isolation. We do not know of any rule which prescribes that every discussion in the United Nations must end with a vote. In many cases, we feel that it would be better to have no resolution at all than to have a self-defeating resolution.

21. Having said this, I should like to refer to a matter on which it should be possible to reach agreement despite the cold war. This is the question of the cessation of all further experiments designed to produce bigger and better thermo-nuclear and atomic weapons. If what we read in the newspapers is correct, the type of hydrogen bomb already in existence has sufficient potency to extinguish life on this globe. Surely, then, we have already reached the ultimate. To continue the search for more powerful types would, in the circumstances, seem to us to be particularly senseless. Such experiments would only add greatly to the existing tensions, thereby bringing nearer the day when these weapons of mass destruction might be brought into use. One of the principal obstacles to an agreement on disarmament has been the difficulties inherent in inspection and control. In regard to new experiments with atomic and thermo-nuclear devices, however, it seems that this difficulty does not exist since all atomic and hydrogen bomb explosions can be readily detected. Any violation of an agreement to stop further experiments would therefore become known at once, and the violator would earn the condemnation of the entire world. In addition, we would urge that an attempt should be made to agree on publishing authoritative information regarding the destructive capabilities and the known and probable disastrous effects of these weapons. As the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma said in their final communiqué after the Colombo Conference:

“ . . . such publicity, by arousing the conscience of the world, would help in the search for an agreed solution of the grave problem that threatens humanity”.

22. Like so many delegations which have preceded us, we warmly welcome the initiative taken by the United States with regard to the development of an international pool of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The unanimous decision of the Assembly to include this item on its agenda [478th meeting] is to us one of the most important and significant developments of the year, and we look forward to the discussion with the hope that unanimous agreement will be reached to establish such a pool.

23. Now for a quick survey of some of the other grave problems which face our world. Though these problems

often tend to take a back seat compared with the questions which I have already discussed, it would be a grave error to underrate their importance.

24. The first of these is the continued existence of colonialism in various forms on the face of this planet. Colonialism, as we see it, is the domination of one people by another; and since it is a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the world, we condemn it without exception, wherever it may occur, and in whatever form. It has been Burma's consistent policy to support the cause of all colonial peoples in their struggle for national freedom. At this session, as in the past, we shall adhere uncompromisingly to this stand. We believe that good government is no substitute for self-government, and we will not swerve from this view.

25. A second problem is one to which we have adverted in our previous interventions in the general debates of the Assembly. This problem was put in a nutshell by the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands in his speech on 27 September last [480th meeting], when he said:

“If I may venture to make a prognosis, I might say that history's verdict on the success or failure of this ninth session of the Assembly will depend largely on the outcome of one particular item of the agenda now before us: the question whether we shall be able to find a solution for the problem of the financing of the economic development of the under-developed countries.”

26. Apart from the hydrogen bomb, this is without doubt the gravest of the long-term problems facing the world. The existing and widening gap in the living standards between the highly industrialized and the under-developed countries of the world poses a threat to world peace which might quite conceivably overshadow the current cold war. We regret to have to say that the urgency of this problem does not seem to be fully appreciated. The tendency is unfortunately to subordinate this colossal problem to the more immediate problems brought on by the cold war. Those Member States which are in a position to make the most effective contribution towards finding a solution to this problem seemingly take the attitude that it is something that can wait until better times. In our view, it cannot wait. By its nature, it is a problem which calls for a long-range solution. The results of any long-range plan will take decades to become apparent, even with all the acceleration that man can devise. This surely makes it imperative to get off to an immediate start.

27. The various programmes already instituted have done little more than scratch the surface. If proof of this is required, it is amply demonstrated by the fact to which I have already referred, the widening in recent years of the gap in living standards between the more fortunate and less fortunate parts of our globe.

28. The United Nations technical assistance programme has done excellent work in this field within its extremely limited resources. But its achievements have been pitifully inadequate in relation to the overall need.

29. We of the under-developed areas do not ask for charity. There is no under-developed country which is not putting everything it can afford into meeting this challenge. Burma, for instance, has an eight-year programme of economic and social development which

engages the attention of every leader and draws on our every resource. In spite of this, however, we will need assistance if the programme is to be successfully implemented.

30. Once again we would like to urge the Assembly to give its earnest consideration to this problem. In the realization that we live in a world rushing towards interdependence, we should resolve that we shall not rest until a solution has been found. Indeed, it is our conviction that the prime need of the under-developed countries is economic and technical assistance, and not military assistance.

31. Finally, I turn to the item on our agenda with which my delegation is most intimately concerned. As Members of the Assembly will have seen from the report [A/2739] which my Government has recently submitted to the United Nations, the problem has been eased but not liquidated. There are still several thousand Kuomintang troops on our soil. Their continued existence represents a threat, not only to our country, but to the peace and tranquillity of the whole of South-East Asia. We shall continue our efforts to liquidate this problem in its entirety, and in this endeavour we are confident that we shall continue to have the moral support which this Assembly has so generously extended to us in the past.

32. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Before turning to the problems facing the United Nations, on which each Member must define its position clearly, I wish to take this opportunity of thanking the Assembly for the great honour it has done to my country by electing its representative to one of the Vice-Presidencies [474th meeting], in accordance with the wishes expressed by the regional group of twenty Latin-American States.

33. Ecuador is conscious of a rededication to the task which we have freely undertaken of building a better world and saving humanity from the scourge of another war. Faithful to the purposes and principles of the Charter, we repeat our promise to work unceasingly for the achievement of the noble ideals which inspired the authors of that great instrument in which all men of good will have placed their hopes. This has been my country's undeviating course in the past and will certainly be its aim, with all the more reason, in the future.

34. We are at the dawn of a new age in history. Nobody, unless he is naively optimistic or blindly rash, can deny that we face serious problems; their solution is vital to the future not only of our culture, but of life itself in all its forms. Happily, that very difficulty spurs us on to seek with calm and steadfastness the road which will lead us to truth, to the achievement of peace, to that wisdom which will reconcile the opinions fighting for dominion over the human spirit.

35. The apprehension which we all feel at finding ourselves caught in a conflagration of incalculable dimensions is very similar to the anxiety felt by our ancestors who saw the destruction of the Roman Empire, or who later saw their world widened by the discovery of the American continent. Just as those social events inevitably produced a fresh conception of the world, mankind today must conceive a different picture from that on which he based his explanations of the social, economic and political phenomena of the first years of the century.

36. We must not listen to those who disbelieve in any solution but tragedy or the fatalists incapable of conceiving any solution other than that governed by inexorable materialistic laws. Fortunately, many believe in the transcendental spiritual forces and in the limitless possibilities of human courage which refuses to bow to the force of circumstances but grapples with them and finally masters them. New and more perfect things, ideas and institutions can be built on the ruins of those which have crumbled.

37. In the crisis of the modern world there are many factors which give us a great advantage over other ages of known history; among these factors are our complete knowledge of the causes of the phenomenon and the fact that we have a sensitive and watchful legal instrument which emerged from the First World War and has been improved since the Second. Knowing as we do the radical change which is now occurring, we are encouraged to have faith in the success of our use of that instrument which was established so that the change could take place without violence and without the agonizing scenes which accompanied such changes in other ages.

38. This instrument is imperfect not only because it is a political experiment on a large scale but also because it was the result of a number of compromises between States whose way of thinking, organization and culture differed widely. Our Organization must eliminate these imperfections and embrace new social principles if it is to be, as its Charter says, a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of peace and security. Anticipating the needs which are created by the progress of any juridical system, the Charter provides expressly that the problem of its revision must be raised and that when it is, a conference shall be held for that purpose. It was felt that ten years' experience would be sufficient to justify any change. The opposition which has been aroused by the mere mention of revision of the Charter is a disquieting manifestation, since it reflects deep distrust between the two groups of Powers into which the political map of the world has unfortunately become divided.

39. Last year very little progress was made in this matter and, as in many other cases, all that could be done was to adopt a resolution [796 (VIII)] by which the Secretary-General was requested to prepare, publish and circulate documents which might be useful to Governments intending to press for revision of the Charter. This matter is not included in the agenda of the present session, and the enthusiasm of many delegations for revision seems to have waned, probably because they fear that instead of obtaining what they desire for the common good, they may destroy this edifice and find themselves once again in a world without law. Our Governments shall have one year, however, in which to reflect on the desirability and possibility of revision and we hope that good sense will prevail and that the proposal will either be postponed until a more propitious time, or that Foreign Ministries will negotiate among themselves a draft revision acceptable to all. What is important for the United Nations is that harmony should not be disturbed and that we should enter on the tenth session with a concerted plan either to revise the Charter in terms previously agreed, or to put aside the idea if by doing so we can avoid a greater evil. Common sense tells us that it is better to continue living with an imperfect Charter which in

fact serves to maintain peace, rather than to return to that primitive state of nature, as Rousseau called it, where there was no other law than that of the strongest.

40. The concept of subject and ruling nations does not reflect the position in the world today. There are very few groups of men still incapable of governing their own destinies. The old way of regarding the world has lost its *raison d'être*. It arose from the concept of the hegemony of a continent peopled by men of superior race, masters of technology in all its aspects, who assumed the heavy burden of leading ignorant or barbarous peoples to a civilized way of living.

41. The real basis of the so-called colonial policy is the economic exploitation of the weak by the strong, and just as such exploitation has been opposed within States, the present trends of international law have flowed into fresh channels: the Mandate System of the League of Nations, and the Trusteeship System and the provisions of the United Nations Charter governing the Non-Self-Governing Territories. My delegation reaffirms its hope that both the colonial and administering Powers will fulfil the sacred trust which they have assumed and will endeavour to endow the peoples for whom they are responsible with the intellectual, moral and technical ability to achieve self-government and independence, so that the Assembly need not discuss problems of this nature which charge the atmosphere and detract from the spirit of democracy that we are trying to defend against flank attacks by the bloc of Communist Powers.

42. Last year, in the Fourth Committee, my delegation maintained that it is incompatible with the letter and spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter to plead Article 2, paragraph 7, in support of the claim that matters connected with the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories are matters of domestic jurisdiction. My delegation maintained then, and repeats now, that nations which have not reached full self-government are, as it were, incomplete States which, while possessing the elements of population and territory, lack only government or, in other words, the capacity of self-determination and self-rule. For that reason, possession of their own territory is the inalienable right of non-self-governing peoples and never of the administrators, whose only power over such territory can be compared with the powers under civil law of a guardian over a ward. We can no more speak of the sovereignty of an administering Power over a Non-Self-Governing Territory than we can speak of a guardian's ownership of his ward's property. We can only use the term "sovereignty" in connexion with internal administrative measures taken by an administering Power.

43. We deeply regret that there should still be those in this Assembly who claim that such problems should not be raised because no progress can be made by so doing, and, in fact, that to raise them is to erect still greater obstacles to the achievement of the objective towards which we strive. It is well known that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter is the first line of defence of the administering Powers, whereby they deny the Assembly's competence to discuss such problems and assert that they are matters of domestic jurisdiction. In the last resort it is contended that the existing state of affairs cannot be altered by reason of purely political situations, on the grounds that any such change would endanger peace and security.

44. The delegation of Ecuador has the highest respect for opinions which it does not share, and I shall do no more than explain quite clearly why we think differently. My delegation does not wish to precipitate solutions, still less to do anything which the enemies who await any division in the ranks of democracy can seize upon in order to engineer a greater evil than that which we are trying to remedy. No; our argument sets forth concisely my delegation's attitude towards the anachronistic problems of colonialism; we ask, with profound sincerity and conviction, that such problems should be solved quickly and peaceably, and wherever possible without prejudice to all legitimate interest. We earnestly desire to help populations which do not yet enjoy self-government or which are under trusteeship to achieve the greatest measure of self-government of which they are capable; nor do we mean, by expressing this humane and disinterested desire, to disparage the civilizing work which has been accomplished in many colonies and Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories.

45. Since that is our position, it is clear that my delegation will take a fundamental view of matters of racial discrimination which find their way year after year into our agenda. Most of the Latin-American nations, in which this grave problem could have arisen, have avoided it by adopting the natural and humane method of mixing races. This mixture of blood which fills certain politicians with horror is today and will remain in the future the only intelligent and Christian way of burying past prejudices and overcoming the satanic pride of those who despise the coloured races. My delegation will never cease its efforts to achieve an agreement in this matter and to eliminate from our agenda matters which should never have arisen once the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been adopted.

46. The world-wide nature of our contemporary civilization makes us think especially of the part played by the interdependence of States and international co-operation. It is well known that social and economic phenomena are universal and that no State can live in isolation. As a result, certain world organizations have arisen, almost spontaneously, since the end of the last century and in our era they are increasing in number to meet the growing needs which no State could satisfy alone without the greatest difficulty. The organization for postal and telegraphic communications in the first place, followed by the organization dealing with matters of health, established the model for a large family of organizations specializing in matters ranging from culture to meteorology which must be studied in all continents and latitudes.

47. Peace is indivisible and in order to obtain a lasting peace it is essential to strike at the roots of war, at hunger, nakedness, ignorance, poverty and sickness. Considerable progress has been made through technical assistance administered or co-ordinated by the United Nations, but not enough has yet been done even to bring us within sight of the desired objective.

48. As far as Latin-America is concerned, and I am speaking particularly of Ecuador, we must state that we are receiving help and co-operation, but on a much smaller scale than what should be given if any serious effort is to be made to raise the standard of living of our people and to close the widening gap between means of production and means of sustenance.

49. In Central and South America there are vast expanses of arable land which have never been touched by the hand of man. I may quote the case of my country for example, in which we have more than three million hectares of very rich soil which surveys and reports by qualified American and European technicians have compared to that of Java. Yet this soil remains virgin, although it is near the Pacific on the slopes of the western range of the Andes, facing the coast. In spite of all my Government's efforts and the personal interest of the head of the State, very little has been accomplished in comparison with the magnitude of the task. A great highway from north to south will cut through this region, in which enterprising men will find a marvellous corner of the world where great fortunes can be made and where they can live protected by our laws, which give every guarantee to foreign capital finding honest investment in Ecuador.

50. The assistance which my Government is receiving for the completion of this tremendous highway project designed to link all the regions of Ecuador, formerly divided by geographical difficulties which have hindered our progress, is very little, I might almost say derisory. While a disproportionate excessive and growing share of military aid is given to peoples which may jeopardize the integrity or security of others, no regard is given to those who are making gigantic efforts to develop their own resources and who are not asking for charity but for co-operation by means of credit under conditions compatible with the economic situation of the country. We already have huge files full of technical reports and plans but we have not as yet received the capital or machinery to carry them out.

51. To make the formation of credit institutions conditional on the results of the plan for universal disarmament is a cruel joke on the countries in the process of development. The discouraging report of the Commission entrusted with this delicate and complex problem will be discussed at this very session of the General Assembly. Despite the efforts made by the Western Powers to close the gap between the negotiators, nothing useful came out of the London meetings, except the conviction that the Soviet Union does not wish to negotiate on the question of disarmament and therefore takes up positions which it knows will not be accepted by the other members of the Commission.

52. We small Powers have no direct part in this process of negotiation for disarmament and are only spectators and, of course, possible victims of the failure of this generous effort, not only in the event of war but also while suffering under this peace which has come to be called the "cold war". So long as no agreement is reached on disarmament, its chances of efficient economic aid are remote, and as there is not the vaguest hope of such agreement, we must be satisfied with the excellent advice showered on us in massive quantities to which the representative of Chile referred in masterly terms when speaking from this same rostrum [475th meeting]. Our countries will have to develop by means of their own limited resources added to technical assistance which is on a very small scale in comparison with the assistance requested.

53. My delegation will attach most importance to proposals leading to economic co-operation, the improvement of standards of living and, in general, the

development of our countries. The objects of this co-operation are not unilateral advantages, nor of course generous and free gifts, but mutual benefits; we want it to be a business transaction which will return the amount invested plus higher profits than those earned by capital in the developed countries.

54. We have already said [478th meeting], during the discussion of the agenda for this session, that one of our greatest assets is in the territorial sea, in the continental shelf and the land underlying this shelf which is the continuation under the sea of the national territory. The President of the Republic of Ecuador stated recently in a Press conference held at Quito:

"Chile, Peru and Ecuador are aware of the importance of this natural resource and the advantages offered by its rational exploitation. For purposes of military defence, the European nations arbitrarily determined the limits which suited them. For the economic defence of the wealth of the sea, the South American nations are fully entitled to fix suitable limits in the light of experience, without prejudice to the freedom of the seas of other innocent purposes."

55. This defines in a few words my country's view of the law relating to these natural resources, formerly unknown and exploited by persons devoid of technical knowledge as a result of whose activities many species of great value in the international market have been threatened with extinction. Chile, Peru and Ecuador are proceeding in full agreement to defend their interests and are confident that the rights on which they rely will be respected within and outside our continent.

56. My delegation wishes warmly to congratulate the Secretary-General on the work he has accomplished in the reorganization of the Secretariat and the commissions and for the suggestions he submitted on this same subject to the Economic and Social Council at its last two sessions. A very desirable change in systems and methods of work is gradually taking place and, while producing appreciable savings in the expenditure of the United Nations, is at the same time resulting in more efficient and technically more perfect work without that flood of documentation, much of it unnecessary, which used to deluge the offices of delegations and Foreign Ministries. The personnel policy is further evidence of the wisdom, judgment and energy of the Secretary-General and will restore confidence in the devoted staff of the United Nations. The presence of the Secretary-General at the principal debates of the Economic and Social Council was commented upon favourably, and he was informed that his attendance had set a very useful precedent for the Council and for the Secretariat which should not be abandoned.

57. The representative of Uruguay said in his statement [481st meeting] that the doors of the United Nations should be kept open to any legitimate complaint on the part of its Member States. And in his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/2663, p. xi], the Secretary-General says:

"... the importance of regional arrangements in the maintenance of peace is fully recognized in the Charter and the appropriate use of such arrangements is encouraged. But in those cases where resort to such arrangements is chosen in the first instance, that choice should not be permitted to cast any doubt on the ultimate responsibility of the United Nations. Similarly, a policy giving full scope to the

proper role of regional agencies can and should at the same time fully preserve the right of a Member nation to a hearing under the Charter.”

58. The precedent established by the Security Council in the case of Guatemala is extremely dangerous inasmuch as it implies distorted interpretations of the Charter and in a way closes its doors to an American State applying to the Security Council for assistance when it feels that its case should be heard by that body. We are members and staunch supporters of the Organization of American States, but we cannot by any means agree that it has exclusive jurisdiction in a dispute such as the one I have just mentioned. My Government took a firm and fundamental position on this question and informed the Security Council accordingly in an official communication [S/3255]. We hope that there will be no more such negative decisions by the Council, lest the prestige of the Organization suffer and one of the fundamental objects of the Charter—protection against attack—become illusory or come too late.

59. My Government considers that the political system and internal structure of a State are by contrast with some other matters I have mentioned—questions exclusively within its domestic jurisdiction in which no intervention by a foreign Power should be tolerated. It recognizes of course the possibility that in a world of interdependent States, certain agreements should be worked out for warding off common dangers, such as the spread of Communist imperialism. Nevertheless, realizing the part played by the small Powers in world affairs, my Government does not believe it would be proper for it to adopt extreme attitudes wholly out of keeping with its true capacities. It will not associate itself with or support any proposal without previously analysing it first in the light of its own interests, and

secondly in the light of those which are involved in regional and world problems. Its attitude will therefore be one of constant defence of the moral and legal principles which are the only strength of the weak.

60. In the General Committee my delegation supported the item proposed by the United States delegation concerning the development of the peaceful and scientific uses of atomic energy. The Soviet Union delegation's support of the inclusion of the United States proposal on the agenda has met with widespread enthusiasm in international public opinion and there is hope that for once the two great Powers will act in agreement and that man may be able to use a force which in the past was thought to be God's alone: the power to transform matter and to release the gigantic forces of the atom. President Eisenhower's idea has met with a most auspicious reception. We shall also support the resolution to be proposed on this subject, a milestone in the realization of peace which will still cause so much anxiety and sorrow to those who have the honour and the heavy responsibility of guiding the destiny of mankind.

61. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): There are no other speakers for this morning. Twenty-five delegations have already spoken in the general debate, and nine speakers are still on the list. I should like to propose to the Assembly that the list of speakers should be declared closed at the end of this afternoon's meeting. If this proposal meets with the Assembly's approval, I would ask representatives who wish to speak but have not yet placed their names on the list to be good enough to do so before the end of this afternoon's meeting at the very latest.

*The meeting rose at 12.5 p.m.*