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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Benhima (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): May I request Mr. Benhima, who is in the Chair, to convey to Mr. Belaunde—who, I am told, is feeling unwell—my best wishes for his speedy recovery. I am happy to associate myself, on behalf of my delegation, with previous speakers in expressing satisfaction at the unanimous election of Mr. Belaunde to the high office of President of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. His service and dedication to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, as representative at San Francisco of one of the founding Members of the United Nations, and his contribution to the smooth and efficient working of many of its organs, have earned him the respect of all. We fervently pray that his noble wish that this Assembly should go down to history as the "Assembly of peace" will be fulfilled.

2. The general debate in the Assembly faithfully performed each year affords to Member States the opportunity to review, if not all, certainly the major events and happenings in the world. It is, I believe, a healthy practice, particularly for the smaller States, which stand to gain considerably by stable political, economic and social conditions in the world and, concomitantly, to lose much by an adverse situation in these matters. The privilege of debating is the reflection of our duties as Members of the United Nations, and I am happy to observe that Member States have discharged it—each according to its own conviction—in earnestness and sincerity. It is with a view to discharging this duty that I have taken the floor to express our policies, positions, and sentiments regarding some of the items on our agenda.

3. During the past year, as stated by most of the representatives who spoke before me from this rostrum, the world has, on the whole, witnessed a relaxation of tension, resulting from the settlement of the question of Cyprus; the fruitful exchange of visits among the great leaders of the world, progress in the

field of the technical detection of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions; agreement regarding the establishment of a Ten-Power Disarmament Sub-Committee, and the Four-Power Foreign Ministers Conference held this year in Geneva. While direct contact among the Powers involved in these problems was primarily responsible for this relaxation of tension, there is no doubt that world public opinion and debate of some of the problems in many sessions of the General Assembly have played a very significant part. My delegation sincerely hopes that the General Assembly, at its current session, will avail itself of this opportunity to exploit the present favourable conditions and will conduct its debates in such a constructive manner as to achieve direct or indirect solutions of certain important questions on its agenda.

4. The settlement by direct negotiation of the question of Cyprus, which was one of the most debated issues in the General Assembly, has given satisfaction to my Government, for it demonstrates amply that, given good will and faith in the fundamentals of the Charter, differences among States can be successfully removed. It is the hope of my delegation that the procedure of settlement of the question of Cyprus will serve as an example in the solution of other differences existing among States.

5. The exchange of visits among the leaders of the world is certainly an event which we welcome wholeheartedly. His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, returning from an extended visit to many friendly countries, expressed to his people his deep conviction of the importance of such an exchange of visits in the following terms:

"Formal diplomatic relations between nations are, in these times, being accepted as useful in maintaining normal and friendly contacts. But these by no means can replace personal contacts among responsible heads of State, for seeing things with one's own eyes is superior to hearing even from the most reliable sources. We hope that this spirit will continue to prevail among leaders of the world. We are confident that the anticipated meeting of the heads of State of the two leading nations of the East and West will yield fruitful results for world peace."

We believe direct contacts among leaders of the world, though they may fail to remove differences in ideologies, can surely create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful coexistence.

6. The daily quest of mankind for peace and stability is certainly the greatest challenge to the minds of the statesmen of our times. The ever-pressing problem in this regard is the question of disarmament. It is not necessary to review the history of disarmament in the period after the Second World War to state the satisfaction of my delegation that it has been possible to evolve a procedure by which the negotiation on disarmament could be resumed by the establishment of the

Ten-Power Committee after almost two years of standstill. As the four-Power communiqué of 7 September 1959 [DC/144] and the resolution adopted by the Disarmament Commission [DC/146] on 10 September 1959 amply show, the final responsibility regarding the settlement of the disarmament question remains with the United Nations. This is in accordance with the Charter and with resolution 1252 (XIII) of the General Assembly. This is as it should be, for the search for peace is not limited to just a few States, but to all of them, particularly the middle-size and small States who are in dire need of durable peace in order to enable them to develop their resources and thereby achieve a higher standard of living.

7. It has been so often said here in the United Nations and outside, that the question of disarmament, particularly in nuclear weapons, is the concern of the great Powers who have the means, scientific knowledge and technical know-how to manufacture those weapons, and that the middle-size and small Powers have little or nothing to do about it.

8. But in the view of my delegation, this reasoning does not seem to be well-founded, because the middle-size and small Powers, although they have no right to say what the great Powers should or should not manufacture, what the great Powers should or should not do with their means, scientific knowledge and technical know-how, are, on the other hand, entitled to defend their right to existence. The great Powers, while having the right to spend their money in whatever way they like, can have neither legal nor moral right to deny the right of existence to the middle-size and small Powers which have nothing to do with the great Powers' struggle for supremacy.

9. We are told by competent authorities that war in our time would know no distinction between belligerents and non-belligerents, between present and future generations, and that it would mean universal annihilation. It follows, therefore, that the question of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, being a question of life and death for all peoples, great, middle-size and small, the whole world has a stake in it.

10. In our view, not only are the middle-size and small Powers entitled to defend their right to existence, but they would also be failing in their duty if they tried to hide behind the false argument that the question of disarmament is the sole responsibility of those who manufacture the deadly arms. We in Ethiopia, having had a tragic experience in the use of these scientific weapons of mass destruction in 1935-1936, although those weapons cannot in any way be compared with nuclear weapons, have an abiding and immediate interest in the solution of this problem. It is for these considerations that the Ethiopian delegation is firmly convinced that a solution to the problem of disarmament is the concern of all—great and small alike. We are happy to note that the four-Power communiqué of 7 September 1959 and the statements of delegations in the meeting of the Disarmament Commission fully confirm our position.

11. The progress achieved in the field of the technical detection of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions at the Geneva Conference^{1/} is certainly not one which would call for jubilation, but certain it is that the measure of progress achieved could lead—in the light

of the present relaxation of tension—to further concrete progress and agreement in this field. We acknowledge that progress in this particularly complicated field cannot be spectacular, but we believe it to be our duty to insist that the discussion continue untiringly until agreement is reached.

12. Having regard to these considerations and in a sincere desire to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations regarding the solution of disarmament, the Ethiopian delegation at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, submitted to the First Committee [955th meeting] a statement of general principles regarding the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The Ethiopian delegation is firmly convinced that the General Assembly can make a positive contribution by adopting a declaration of guiding principles regarding all implements of war, in particular nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The declaration would stand, in terms of rights and duties, just like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. It would contribute positively to the elimination of the cold war, and its effect on comprehensive disarmament agreement would be tremendous. Many delegations, both formally and informally, have shown interest in the suggestions of the Ethiopian delegation and should this interest be general at the current session, the Ethiopian delegation would be ready to present, with other delegations, at the appropriate time, a draft resolution containing the guiding principle that it submitted last year to the First Committee.

13. I come now to another question. The complete emancipation and political, economic and social advancement of the peoples of the continent of Africa is of special and direct interest to my country. During the last few years, we have witnessed a trend which has brought to the family of the United Nations many a distinguished African State. Very recently, the Republic of Guinea has joined this group and assumed its rightful place in the United Nations. Four others, Somaliland under Italian administration, the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration and Nigeria, will soon take their place in this Assembly. All of them have achieved this remarkable victory by their determination, tenacity, love of liberty and good fortune in having great political leaders. We derive immense pleasure in welcoming to this house an ever-growing family of African States.

14. Of particular interest to my country is the independence of Somalia, now under trusteeship administration, and its admission to the United Nations, because Ethiopia and the present Trust Territory of Somaliland have so much in common, including a common frontier. The question of the delimitation of the frontier between the two sister countries which has been unnecessarily delayed is now on the right track as the General Assembly has recommended [resolution 1345 (XIII)] its settlement by arbitration. We are confident that the judicial settlement of this question should satisfy both parties and that the two brotherly peoples would co-operate in all matters of common interest to them.

15. The African States themselves, determined to push the process of emancipation to its logical and happy conclusion, have during the past two years

^{1/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, convened 31 October 1958.

met first at Accra^{2/} and recently in Monrovia.^{3/} The Bandung Conference of 1955, which took place at a crucial moment in the emergence of Africa, proclaimed a number of fundamentals that gave momentum to the African movement for emancipation. The Conference of Accra, building on those fundamentals, adopted thirteen resolutions and a declaration, all intended to serve the special and particular requirements of Africa. They dealt with foreign policy, the future of non-independent territories in Africa, the question of Algeria, racialism, nuclear tests in the Sahara, and other matters of concern to the continent.

16. More recently, the nine independent States of Africa met in special conference to consider the war in Algeria but they were also prompted to adopt measures regarding nuclear tests in the Sahara, the Cameroons under French administration, Nyasaland, the question of South West Africa, non-independent territories and racial discrimination.

17. With regard to Algeria, the position of my country has been to support the legitimate aspiration of the Algerian people for independence, and that position remains unchanged. This is in keeping with our policy that Africa, the last stronghold of colonialism, must be freed from this evil and that Africans must regain their human dignity if lasting peace and genuine friendship among nations are to be achieved. It is our hope, therefore, that the principle of self-determination having now been accepted by France, and given good will and understanding between the parties directly concerned, a solution to this question will be attained.

18. Regarding nuclear and thermonuclear tests in the Sahara, our concern can hardly be over-emphasized. The first African Conference held at Accra, called first "upon the great Powers to discontinue the production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to suspend all such tests not only in the interest of world peace, but as a symbol of their avowed devotion to the rights of man"; secondly, viewed with grave alarm and strongly condemned "all atomic tests in any part of the world and in particular the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara"; and, thirdly, appealed to the "great Powers to use atomic, nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes". The Conference of Monrovia, in its resolution II, adopted the following provisions regarding this particular question:

"The Conference,

"...

"Considering the grave dangers these nuclear tests will hold for the people of Africa in general and in particular those living in the Sahara and the adjacent territories,

"1. Denounces vigorously and with profound indignation the decision of any government to carry out nuclear tests in the Sahara or in any other part of Africa, and

"2. Appeals to the conscience of the world to condemn this threat to the lives and security of the African people";

"..."

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, 15-22 April 1958.

^{3/} Conference of Independent African States, 4-8 August 1959.

19. The belief that we should call a halt to the spread of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests has won the conviction of the world, so that three items [67,68,69] on the agenda of the fourteenth session deal specifically with this question. The concern, therefore, of the African States over the decision of the Government of France to hold such nuclear tests in the Sahara is real. Their fear can only be removed by the spirit of accommodation which should animate the disposition of France towards the peoples of Africa.

20. The intentions of all of these resolutions are exactly in the spirit of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, so that they need not offend the susceptibility of any country. It is also to be noticed that at the commencement and conclusion of these Conferences the participants have made it abundantly clear in declarations and statements that their purposes were peaceful, that they had no intention to conspire against anyone but were simply bent on achieving what to us was most material, namely, the complete emancipation of the peoples of Africa from any kind of foreign domination.

21. As colonialism and all its evils are felt and detested everywhere, we feel certain that the world would prefer to witness a complete emancipation of the non-independent territories of Africa. The aspirations of the peoples of Africa are the same as those of all other peace-loving people: that is, to live under institutions of their own choice and making. Is it not a very simple and most just aspiration? We believe it is. It is an aspiration for lasting peace and friendly co-operation instead of enmity and unnecessary bloodshed among peoples. In this connexion His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia said:

"Those who lack the vision and foresight to realise that Africa is emerging into a new era, that Africans will no longer be denied the rights which are inalienably theirs, will not alter or reverse the course of history, but will only suffer the inevitable consequences of their refusal to accept reality."

22. It is distressing, however, that these just aspirations of the African peoples are achieved not always smoothly and by peaceful means but as a result of conflicts and bloodshed. The wholesale suppression of the aspirations of the African people in Central Africa this year is a case in point which was condemned by all African Governments and peoples. In this connexion His Majesty's message on Africa's Freedom Day of 15 April 1959 reads in part:

"All leaders of Africa and their peoples have followed with great concern and sympathy the brave struggle of the peoples of Central Africa to achieve those same goals and ideals which some of the African independent states have defended at such great sacrifices. It must be realised that the peoples and territories of Africa can no longer be regarded as preserves of colonial interests or the continued objects of imperialist designs. Unfortunately, that truth is apparently still to be learned by others. Until the entire continent becomes the home of the free and until every man and every people can, in peace, labour for the advancement and welfare of the family and homeland, the ideals and objectives which we have proclaimed to the world at Accra and Addis Ababa shall not have been attained."

23. We hope that those who have so far failed to change their thinking habits regarding colonialism; those who

still believe colonialism to be a normal relationship between the strong and the weak; those who still believe that the strength, wealth and enlightenment of nations can be measured by the number and size of the colonies under their domination, will realize, before it is too late, that this way of thinking is of the past.

24. Before I pass to other subjects, I wish to bring two related matters which I believe require serious consideration to the attention of the General Assembly. An examination of the final stages of the emancipation of the Trust Territories shows that these have, on the whole, been characterized by a debate full of tension and controversy. This would seem to have been caused by the fact that the Administering Authorities request the termination of their obligation under the International Trusteeship System when there is an elected Government deemed responsible to the people. On the other hand, experience has shown that at that particular stage there is much political agitation, some of the population favouring existing governments, others preferring determination of their wish under an election supervised by the United Nations. The Assembly, caught between such demands, has, on occasions, suffered a great deal. To avoid this difficulty, we suggest that during the last four years of the Trusteeship period, the Assembly dispatch visiting missions every year so as to watch carefully over tendencies in the Territories. Under its direct control, once the wishes of the peoples of the Territories regarding the form of their governmental institutions are ascertained, the Assembly would be able to avoid unnecessary tensions and acrimony, and this would also enable the Assembly to release promptly the Administering Authorities from their obligations under the Trusteeship System. Admittedly, the cost of the operation might be considered heavy, but, having regard to the obligation of the United Nations towards the peoples of the Territories and having regard to its effect upon the smooth working of the International Trusteeship System, the figure must certainly be worth paying. It is the hope of my delegation that our suggestion will be received favourably by all and will be put into practice.

25. Secondly, since 1950-1951 many an erstwhile dependent State has become a Member of the United Nations. The number has so steadily increased that it would not be surprising if in a few years the Assembly should outgrow its present conference hall. The point I wish to make is that, as the distribution of posts in the various organs of the United Nations was effected at a time when Member States were few, the ingenuity of the Assembly is now called upon to effect a more equitable geographical distribution of all the posts available so that each State and region would have a chance to participate closely in the work of the United Nations. We believe that it is such a balanced and equitable distribution of the posts available that will help the United Nations achieve its Purposes and Principles. We also believe that its universality will be more readily felt among the peoples of the world, for it is through such participation that identity of outlook is propagated and the rule of law more readily developed. Because of these considerations we welcome a thorough discussion of items 19, 20, 21 and 62 on the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

26. In the field of the economic advancement of Africa, our requirements, both in terms of capital resources and technical know-how, are enormous. The United

Nations is certainly doing useful work in the area through the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, and more recently by the establishment of the Special Fund and the Economic Commission for Africa. The task of the Commission is enormous, and its success depends to a large measure not only upon the co-operation of the Africans themselves, which would not be lacking, but also upon the extent of the encouragement and assistance given it by the General Assembly.

27. As is known, the activities of the Commission are not limited to purely abstract economic considerations but to concrete economic and social problems facing the peoples of Africa, such as the collection and analysis of economic and social data, the training of Africans, the study and proposal of plans for economic and social development, and a host of others. The Commission has already held one seminar on community development and is holding a conference of African statisticians at present. These are only a start, but they are a good start. Having regard, therefore, to the scope of the Commission's activities in regard to the peoples of Africa, as determined by resolution 671 A (XXV) of the Economic and Social Council, we are confident that this Assembly will adopt the Secretary-General's modest budget estimate for 1960, because if the Commission does not have the necessary funds, it would be compelled to cut its essential programmes. I feel certain that the Assembly would not desire to see the essential programmes of the Commission handicapped.

28. The importance of all these economic activities and co-ordination cannot be minimized. If the independence of Africa and other States is to be a reality and an achievement in fact and not in words, economic freedom must, at the same time, be ensured to them. There must be no vestige of interested or egotistic controls. My delegation sees no justification for the conclusion, by administering Powers, of agreements with Trust Territories ensuring in advance to such Powers privileged positions upon termination of Trusteeship. Nor do we believe that justification exists for so directing or operating economic arrangements between countries of one region as to conserve or extend economic controls over peoples struggling towards economic as well as political independence.

29. The social life of the peoples of Africa, apart from such daily human anxieties as afflict the world at large, is dominated by one consideration: the eradication of the evil of racial discrimination. Unfortunately, during the past year we have not seen any improvement in this matter; on the contrary there has taken place an intensification of the policy of racial discrimination. My Government are deeply concerned over the policy of racial discrimination prevailing in the Union of South Africa, South West Africa, Kenya and in other parts of Africa. Much has been said about the disregard and defiling of the sacred work of God. I need not deal at length with this matter, but will simply point out that our position in this matter is recorded by the resolutions we have adopted at the Accra and Monrovia Conferences. These resolutions have the same intent and purposes as those adopted by the General Assembly from year to year.

30. To sum up, the year 1959 has seen the solution of one important question, namely, the question of Cyprus. It has also seen a trend in international life which if properly cultivated and encouraged, could lead to the

solution of the differences endangering international peace and security and thereby activate a desire to live under the rule of law. Sustained effort to solve differences dividing the world could also contribute to what must ultimately be the purpose of this Organization, namely security under the law.

31. To realize this lofty purpose, there is much to be done. There is the problem of disarmament which awaits solution, there is the task of helping millions of Africans to emancipate themselves from the clutches of colonialism, there is also the immense task of improving the economic and social standard of many countries of the world. However staggering these tasks may be, it is rewarding to be assembled under the roof of one Organization and to dedicate ourselves to their solution so that we and succeeding generations will be able to live in friendship and understanding, for those are the foundations of permanent peace.

32. Mr. KHEIR (Sudan): May I request Mr. Benhima, who is in the Chair, to communicate to Mr. Belaúnde my hearty congratulations on his election to the high office of President. His brilliant career, his high academic achievements, his devoted association with the international Organization from the early days of the League of Nations, are but some of his great qualities that fit him ideally for this high office. His unanimous election to the Presidency of this fourteenth session of the General Assembly is a reflection of the esteem in which he and his great country are internationally held. We are confident that under his wise guidance this session of the Assembly will go into history as the "Assembly of peace". I pray to God for his speedy recovery.

33. To the Secretary-General and to his collaborators in the Secretariat and the specialized agencies goes our profound appreciation for doing so well a job that is so well worth while doing.

34. I am addressing the Assembly today from this rostrum to reaffirm the dedication of the Government of the Republic of the Sudan to the ideals of this Organization: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small", and to promote justice, respect for law, social progress, self-determination of peoples, security, and the capacity of men to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors". It is our dedication to this Organization as a temple of faith, and a symbol of man's best organized hope to substitute the conference table for the battlefield that inspired the formulation of our foreign policy on 17 November 1958. The first substantive paragraphs of that basic statement of Foreign Policy appear under the heading of "Our Foreign Policy in the International Community". May I be allowed the liberty of quoting a few sentences from that document:

"In the sphere of the United Nations we will act, guided by the United Nations Charter, applied objectively and impartially, sparing no effort to uphold the cause of right and justice. We will stand by the nations struggling for their liberty and independence in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the rights of man."

"We are fully aware of the fact that we are still a growing nation, but we feel our obligations towards

the international family, and we will do our best to play our humble part in furthering the cause of justice and the principles of liberty and peace."

This, in a nutshell, is our firm and considered attitude towards the United Nations. It is an attitude based on our conviction that we are participants in the life of the world.

35. The Members of the United Nations and their representatives meet in these regular sessions to renew a pledge and thereby to perpetuate a dearly cherished hope of peace through right and justice. It is this common craving for peace, it is the international pursuit of happiness and the necessity of co-operation amongst ourselves to achieve the noble ends consecrated in the Charter of the United Nations, that bring them together every year in this international forum. They meet here annually to discuss certain questions anent the world situation, the satisfactory settlement of which we believe to be conducive to promoting the purposes for which this Organization has been created.

36. In looking at the agenda before us, may I be allowed to submit brief comments on those items about which the views of the Government and the feelings of the people in the Sudan are relatively more vocal? I am anxious to assure you that in contributing these comments here, or in adopting certain stands during our discussions in the Committees, the members of the delegation of the Republic of the Sudan are animated by a keen desire to promote peace and international co-operation. Our reactions and our positions derive solely from loyalty to convictions and philosophies honestly adhered to by the Government and people of the Sudan.

37. The first question is that of Palestine. For eleven years now the tragedy of the Palestine Arab refugees has been painfully tearing through the inner fibres of the human conscience. Throughout these agonizing years, scores of thousands of those innocent victims of aggression and treachery have been living under conditions of immeasurable misery and injustice. The plight of the Palestine Arab refugees is an extreme example of a phenomenon that has, deplorably, become symptomatic of our present day life: on the one hand there is the conflict between the rule of law and the principles of justice and, on the other, there are the dictates of power politics. It will be a sad day for this world, before it becomes a seal to the doom of this beloved Organization, when the powers of the latter are permitted to prevail over the innate virtues of the former.

38. The facts that gave birth to the tragedy of the Palestine Arab refugees are only too obvious to all the Members of this Organization. But by way of a respectful reminder, I feel it will refresh the representatives' memories to refer to a few decisions of this Assembly. As long ago as 14 May 1948, the United Nations appointed a Mediator who, in discharge of the trust of the United Nations, stressed the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes. Consequent upon this, the Assembly passed resolution 194 at its third session which states in paragraph 11:

"... the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property..."

Subsequent resolutions have almost annually reaffirmed this position.

39. Now the question is: why is the United Nations showing signs of apathy in ensuring compliance with its resolutions? We hate to yield to the tempting answer that the intransigence of one Member State has weighed against a cause which the United Nations itself has consistently declared as paramount and invincible. We also regret to see that the world, if it is really symbolized by this Organization, is bowing to any pressure whatsoever.

40. We submit and insist on the enforcement of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) which offers the choice of return or resettlement and compensation.

41. The United Nations assistance so kindly extended to the refugees is acknowledged as an act of human solidarity, as is no less the Secretary-General's strong and unreserved recommendation in his recent proposals for the continuation of United Nations Assistance to Palestine Refugees [A/4121].

42. Speaking, however, of assistance to the refugees and of gratitude for such assistance should not blind us to questions of essence. How long will this assistance endure? And for how long will it be endured? Living indefinitely on charity, however ungrudgingly given, is most repugnant to human pride and dignity. Human dignity can only ebb to a certain abyss but not beyond. What then if such an abyss has already been reached?

43. The answer, in the view of the delegation of the Sudan, is clear and has been clearly endorsed by the Secretary-General in his document; when he says, and I hope I am correct, that a final solution to the problem of the refugees as such cannot be divorced from a solution to the political and psychological problem of Palestine in its entirety.

44. The second question is that of Suez. The delegation of the Republic of the Sudan notes that several of the representatives who spoke before have emphasized the necessity and propriety of freedom of navigation on international waterways. In this context some of these speakers deliberately, we think, alluded to the Suez Canal as one of those international waterways where freedom of navigation should not be hedged by any conditions or considerations. With this latter point of view, the delegation of the Sudan finds it difficult to agree.

45. It is unquestionable that the Suez Canal constitutes an integral part of the national territory of the United Arab Republic and as such it is subject to the sovereign control of that State. The corollary is that a territorial sovereign is rightfully entitled to restrict that freedom of navigation in favour of its national security. Considerations of national security may amount, and in this case do amount, to the right of denying that freedom to shipping beneficial or related to entities which are in a state of war with that territorial sovereign. In our view, this is compatible with the principles of the 1888 Constantinople Convention.

46. The contention of the Israel representative [806th meeting] that Israel is a small nation, that it wants to live in peace and that it is now subjected unjustifiably to aggression and economic sanctions has been adequately dealt with an explained away by my friend, the representative of Saudi Arabia [808th meeting]. The crux of the question, however, to put it very mildly, is not what Israel is but, first, how it came to be; and,

secondly, should the refugees be liquidated together with the innumerable resolutions of this Organization? The United Nations will not, in my humble submission, agree, nor will the Arab States and peoples, nor still the refugees who have the stronger voice. The reference by the representative of Israel to the Sudan's complaint is, to say the least, uncalled for and irrelevant.

47. The third point is the atomic tests in the Sahara. In its first statement of foreign policy the Government of the Republic of the Sudan declared the following:

"In so far as atomic energy is concerned, peace means the utilization of that energy for the benefit of mankind, and not for the destruction of its legacies and civilizations. For this reason we appeal that atomic energy should be utilized for peaceful purposes and for the building of a new world, not for its destruction. We do not approve of the present arms race nor the continuation of nuclear tests for war purposes. Small States like our country will be the first to be wiped out, for the obvious reason that they do not have the means to protect themselves in the face of such devastating danger."

It is our loyalty to those fundamental principles of our foreign policy that conditions our attitude toward the questions coming before this Assembly for consideration.

48. While rejoicing at the dawn of serious attempts to ban nuclear tests as part of the larger objective of reaching agreement on the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, as ordained by the Charter, the Government and people of the Republic of the Sudan were taken aback to learn that France is contemplating the explosion of an atomic bomb in the Sahara. Our reaction to these projected experiments on the very borders of the Sudan cannot be but one of deep alarm and concern. My Government has on several occasions and through diverse media drawn the attention of the French authorities to the incalculable dangers and grave consequences which such experiments are bound to entail. Quite recently, following the French Government's official decision to test such weapons in the Sahara, my Government made formal representations to France in an effort to persuade France to abandon the project. The Sudan was not alone in this, nor is it alone. The Governments of Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Morocco have made similar protests, and popular feelings throughout the world—including France—have been terrified at the prospect of the dangerous consequences.

49. The area selected for atomic tests is surrounded by other peoples and countries—the Sudan shares a border of about 2500 kilometres with French Equatorial Africa, forming part of the Sahara. Some of these neighbours are independent States which have made their attitudes known and their voices heard following the Conference of Independent African States held in Monrovia. Others are dependent territories whose true voice is not heard in these counsels and, as such, the United Nations has a prime responsibility for ensuring the security of those countries. The Charter treats the interests of these peoples as "paramount" and describes the promotion of their well-being as "a sacred trust". What greater interest, may I ask, without impertinence, is there for a man than the safety of his person? And how can a duty be "sacred" or "more

sacred" if it does not extend to the protection of human life against the imminent danger of total annihilation?

50. It is indeed a cause for regret and disappointment that France, a founding member of this Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council, on whom falls a special duty for the maintenance of international peace and security, should be the one who is about to fail in the discharge of that duty.

51. We note, in a memorandum circulated by the French Mission, that France is trying to justify its proposed action by drawing comparisons between its tests and those previously carried out by other Powers. This, we submit, is an invalid argument because, firstly, those Powers carried out their tests either on their own territories or with the consent of the owners of such territories. Secondly, those Powers have now declared their intention to suspend their tests pending agreement on the whole question of cessation of nuclear tests. We are advised by experts that, because of the nature of climatic conditions in the Sahara and the behaviour of the prevailing winds there, the chances of fall-out affecting vast areas are very great. The note goes on to state that the distance between the testing ground and the nearest inhabited point will be about 1,000 kilometres. This calculation presupposes the existence in the French Sahara of a circle of 2,000 kilometres in diameter that is totally uninhabited. To the best of my knowledge an area of such dimensions does not exist. The effect of the fall-out becomes even more serious and widespread in the face of the fact that the inhabitants of the Sahara are nomads, whose movements follow no certain pattern.

52. On the question of general disarmament, we believe that the solution of the problem is the key to the consolidation of peace. In this context, we are gratified to note the establishment of the Ten-Power Committee as a serious attempt of tackling the problem. We appreciate also, the communiqué [DC/144] made by the four Powers to the Secretary-General in which the countries concerned declared their intention to keep the Disarmament Commission informed of the progress of their deliberations, because the question of disarmament and the regulation of armaments is of over-riding concern to all the Members of the United Nations.

53. As a member of the African family, the Republic of the Sudan welcomes the advent amongst the Members of this Assembly of Togoland, the Cameroons, Nigeria and Somalia. But there are other communities yearning for liberation and independence, who have pinned their faith to this Organization for peaceful settlement, so that they might devote their energies to the constructive tasks of development and prosperity. We feel we are entitled to make their voice heard. We have ourselves passed through the same phase and know their motives and aspirations, which are the natural motives and aspirations of men and women asserting their inherent right to live in liberty and dignity. Their right to be the arbiters of their own destiny, to live in dignity and to promote their standards of living in larger freedom is a natural right which has been reaffirmed in the Charter. The alternative, and I must here strike a warning, is disturbance and violence or, in other words, another Algeria.

54. This brings me to the Algerian question. For five years war, and a very hot war, has been raging in that country with all its consequences—loss of human life and property. For the last five weeks the whole world,

the Algerians included, have held their breath waiting for the French Government to recognize the fact that the time has come for the Algerians to be independent. A huge pile of historical precedents have established that no power, no force, nothing whatsoever, can stop a nation from attaining independence.

55. For the purpose of creating and maintaining a suitable atmosphere with a view to helping both parties reach a happy compromise, the delegation of the Republic of the Sudan refrains from any comments on the French communiqué. However, we agree wholeheartedly with the reply of the Algerian Government which, by showing its readiness to discuss the political and military aspects of a cease-fire, as well as the details of the application of self-determination, has manifested a sense of responsibility towards its problem as related to the background of international peace and world tranquillity. This attitude is worthy of as hearty a welcome and as strong a support as was accorded earlier to the French communiqué.

56. It is to the conscience of the French people, to the descendants of the French revolution, who established the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, that the people of the Sudan appeal, applying for a cease-fire and not pacification, and for a dignified attitude towards the Algerian people as represented by the Provisional Government. It is with this Government, the Algerian Provisional Government, and this Government alone that lie the jurisdiction and power to order a cease-fire in Algeria.

57. Allow me to refer very briefly to the following questions: It may not be out of place to mention here the tense situation obtaining in some parts of the southern Arabian Peninsula. We would urge, in all sincerity, that solutions corresponding to the aspirations of the peoples of these areas and in keeping with their right of self-determination be found without delay. We believe that the cause of peace and the maintenance of friendly relations will be served if approaches consistent with the spirit and letter of the Charter are brought to the settlement of the issues involved.

58. We are convinced that the representation of China would not only recognize the legitimate rights of the Chinese people and their Government, but would surely enhance the effectiveness of this Organization. Today the United Nations can rightly pride itself in securing the effective participation of most Governments of the world. A respectable number of these have already recognized and established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. That is why we, the delegation of the Sudan, regret the fact that the General Assembly did not find it possible to include in its agenda for the current session the question of the representation of this great world Power. We sincerely hope that the General Assembly will revise its judgement in this regard in the near future.

59. Once again, and for the eighth time, the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of "apartheid" of the Government of the Union of South Africa comes before the General Assembly of the United Nations agenda item 61. The delegation of the Sudan notes with grave concern that, despite the repeated and unanimous condemnation by the General Assembly of such a reactionary policy, which aims at the absolute and complete oppression of the Africans and other non-Europeans in all spheres of life, the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to

introduce new legislative and administrative measures as a result of which the mere idea of racial equality in the Union of South Africa amounts to treason.

60. The Sudanese people, who strongly believe in the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, strongly condemn this suicidal policy which is a complete negation of all human ideals, and appeal to the United Nations to keep the issue alive in order to uphold the principle of freedom.

61. The Sudan has always taken a keen interest in the constitutional development of the United Nations. We conceive of the United Nations as an Organization created to respond to the requirements of an intrinsically dynamic world. The world of today is not that of San Francisco. It is changing and will continue to change. As a result, the scope and activity of the United Nations and its organs is rapidly expanding, notably in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. This fact was clearly envisaged by the original drafters of the Charter and was reflected by the inclusion of Chapter XVIII. In the view of the delegation of the Republic of the Sudan, a revision of the Charter capable of accommodating these factors seems both necessary and timely. The delegation of the Republic of the Sudan has specifically in mind a possible expansion in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council with a view to providing a more representative set-up. We also believe that the strengthening of the authority of the International Court of Justice by an increase in the number of Judges or by the conferring on them of greater powers will be salutary to the international community.

62. Further, a revision of certain Charter provisions that have, in recent years, occasioned heated controversies with a view to reconciling their interpretations, might remove causes for friction—even if only verbal—between Members of this Assembly. My delegation has particularly in mind the relation of Article 2 (7) to Article 1 as a whole and Article 10 (1) in matters of interpretation relating to competence.

63. At this juncture and after referring to the highlights of our foreign policy, I find it most appropriate to speak briefly about our economic objectives. Our policy in this respect has been explained on several occasions before, but I would like to emphasize once again that the financing of economic development has been the major preoccupation of my Government. A comprehensive policy regarding foreign investment and foreign capital has already been planned and the required legislation which will give effect to the principles already outlined has also been promulgated. From the beginning, my Government has attached great importance to an over-all economic development of the Sudan in every field in order to raise the material and moral standards of the Sudanese people.

64. We strongly believe that in the absence of an enlightened economic policy the political and social advancement of our people would be seriously retarded. That is why we are happy to welcome all sorts of economic assistance which the United Nations can afford to render.

65. So far as the industrial field is concerned, it is true to state that most, if not all, of our public utilities are already State-owned. In a country like ours where private capital is either shy or scarce, it is assumed that the Government will embark on industrial enter-

prises without any preconceived idea that the State thereby intends to create any sort of public monopoly for industrial enterprises. Such an arrangement is expected to continue as long as private capital, local and foreign, is not available.

66. I am gratified to state that in July 1958, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] advanced a loan equivalent to \$39 million to my country for the development of transportation. This is IBRD's first loan to my country, which became a member of IBRD in September, 1957. This loan will finance the imported equipment needed to increase capacity and improve the operating efficiency of the railways and of river transport services on the Nile; to build two new railway extensions into productive zones in the Southern and Western Sudan, and to increase berthing capacity at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, the country's chief outlet to the world.

67. My Government, during its short term of office, has been genuinely and keenly active in exploring all the possible ways that will help the establishment of local industries. Such industries as generation of hydro-electric power, textiles and others are under way, but much remains to be done. My Government would therefore be more than happy to see more collaboration on the part of the highly-developed countries to help the under-developed countries build up their economies.

68. In this connexion, I wish to state that the main obstacle which my Government has encountered in the development of the private sector is not the absence of investment opportunities but rather the lack of capital. This stems from the meagreness of domestic saving as well as the scarcity of foreign capital.

69. The Government of the Republic of the Sudan has announced a liberal policy toward private capital and has offered privileges and concessions which are sufficiently attractive to any genuine investor. Despite that, foreign private capital is not forthcoming. This, in my view, is due to the fact that the international movement of capital has lost the risk-bearing and enterprising qualities which have characterized its operation in the past. It is also due to lack of knowledge on the part of prospective investors. Under these circumstances, my delegation feels that the United Nations organs concerned with the development of under-developed countries can play a leading role in this regard. By directing private capital to where the need is more pronounced and remuneration is guaranteed, the United Nations can supplement its own work programmes and help the small nations expand their economies and develop their potential resources.

70. Being a primary-producing country, the Sudan follows with great interest the efforts of the Commission on International Commodity Trade in exploring ways and means for solving the acute problem of international commodity trade. I am sure that the solution of this problem would be an important factor in maintaining world stability, and would benefit not only the primary-producing countries themselves, but also the advanced industrialized countries. For more than two years now commodity prices have been falling. As a consequence of this adverse position, my country, with cotton as its main cash crop, has suffered violent swings in its balance of payments and a drastic depletion in its foreign reserves. This was the most serious problem facing my Government, which spared no effort

to save the country and redeem it from this critical situation. This included action on cotton marketing arrangements and monetary restrictions. Another solution is economic diversification.

71. I am glad to say that the efforts made by my Government to solve this problem have been crowned with success and we have now been able to dispose of all our stocks of cotton and other subsidiary crops. The success we have achieved will not make us fail to realize that in order to counter this international difficulty, collective co-operation is essential.

72. Before I conclude, I wish to refer to two institutions of particular interest to my country. The first is the Special Fund. Although it is premature to pass judgement on this new offspring of the United Nations, we have no doubt that it will discharge its great responsibilities with the zeal and devotion which is customary in United Nations bodies. We feel, however, that the funds at its disposal can be greatly increased with the co-operation of the advanced countries. Indeed, its resources must be reasonably increased if it is to be effective and to perform its intended objectives.

73. Secondly, I wish to welcome the advent of a new member to the family of international financial institutions, namely the International Development Association, which is now being processed with the co-operation of the United Nations. We have no doubt that this organization will fill a real gap in economic development and, for that matter, will greatly alleviate the financial burden consequent upon it.

74. We recognize that there are human problems which are difficult of solution. But given the will to co-operate, and given the determination to live up to our pledges under the Charter, we feel that these difficulties may not prove insurmountable. In conclusion, let us bring to our discussion of the questions before us the spirit which this Organization is entitled to expect from its Members and the spirit which the Members themselves are justified in expecting from one another.

Mr. Schmitt (Brazil), Vice-President, took the Chair.

75. Mr. CORREA (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Speaking for the first time from this rostrum at this session, I should like publicly to congratulate the President of the Assembly, Mr. Belaúnde, and his country, the Republic of Peru, upon his well-deserved unanimous election. The special distinction conferred upon Mr. Belaúnde is a just recognition of his remarkable accomplishments over many years in the United Nations and a tribute to his outstanding qualities. I should like to add my best wishes for his recovery.

76. It is a great honour for me to be the spokesman of the people and Government of Ecuador in this Assembly, the highest forum of the international community. I speak for a people which, under the protection of a democratic way of life, has become fully aware of the meaning of the peace for which it yearns: a constructive peace which will bring about justice among and within nations. I speak for a people which is working energetically to improve its standard of living and is proud to join in the crusade for the observance of human rights.

77. The technological advances which make the world smaller with every passing day and link the interests

and fates of nations, emphasizing their interdependence, have necessarily turned the attention of all States to problems—such as disarmament—which were traditionally the concern of the great Powers and to problems—such as economic development—which until recently were of interest only to those directly affected. The survival of mankind may depend on the progress of negotiations between the nuclear Powers and therefore we all have something to say. Similarly, the economies of industrialized and under-developed countries are closely linked, so that the problem of economic development irrefutably comes within the jurisdiction of the international community.

78. The speeches made just a year ago in the general debate here had as their common denominator the hope, shared by all groups in the United Nations, for a resumption of negotiations on disarmament, a suspension of nuclear tests, the establishment of a control system for the permanent cessation of tests, and an intensified drive for the rapid establishment of a system of international co-operation for the peaceful use of outer space. In this year's general debate, we are gratified to be able to note significant progress, which may turn the tide of history.

79. As pledged in unilateral declarations by the Powers concerned, no nuclear tests were carried out in 1959. I should like to reiterate our hope that nuclear tests will continue to be suspended indefinitely throughout the world. Testing is even more important than disarmament in that it threatens the biological integrity of the human race, which can be affected by the fallout from the nuclear explosions. We also wish to express the hope that the Geneva negotiations on a control system, which may provide a permanent basis for the cessation of tests, will culminate in a satisfactory agreement.

80. Agreement has also been reached among the great Powers to reopen disarmament talks. We can assure the negotiating Powers that any effort to eradicate war enjoys the support of all the world's peoples. As Members of the United Nations, we who do not directly participate in the negotiations shall be duly vigilant, in the hope that the negotiating Powers will very soon be able to report positive results to the Disarmament Commission. Thus far, the cold war has paralysed United Nations efforts to achieve disarmament. It would be absurd, now that there appears to be some prospect for agreement among the great Powers, that they should find it preferable to work out their agreements outside the United Nations. We are living in an era of international democracy in which the constructive achievements of statesmen must have the moral support of the peoples and it would be most difficult, if not impossible, to find a forum other than the United Nations for the full expression of that support.

81. International co-operation for the peaceful use of outer space, which has become all the more imperative as the two Powers which have penetrated outer space continue their fascinating race to conquer it, has been frustrated in the United Nations because five members of the *ad hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space have not seen fit to serve on it so long as there is no unanimous agreement regarding its composition. The continuation of that stalemate may delay a fruitful co-operation which, if it were started in time, would avert future conflict. Nevertheless, the *ad hoc* Committee has submitted a report [A/4141] which takes a moderate approach and does not lose sight of the final

objective of achieving world-wide international co-operation in this area. We regard this problem as one of the most important on the Assembly's agenda and hope it will be discussed and negotiated in the First Committee in a spirit of mutual understanding which will result in constructive work and in the establishment of the machinery for international co-operation so essential for its solution.

82. The concern with problems of disarmament, nuclear tests and outer space undoubtedly reflects mankind's fear of the dangers of total war. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten, here in the United Nations, that the system of collective security encompasses such less dramatic features as the rule of law and justice in all international relations and the need of small States for what might be called individual security, which would dispense them from relying on armed force as a means of self-defence. Many of us, representing small States at the San Francisco Conference, dreamed of collective security in a two-fold sense, namely, world security and individual security, and saw in the United Nations Charter a first step towards its achievement. Every year, in this general debate, we should draw up a balance sheet showing what we have achieved and what part of our arduous task still remains to be done.

83. It is sad to have to admit that renunciation of the use of force—which is one of the basic commitments of the Charter—is not being fully observed, as shown by events in certain parts of the world. It is to be deplored that the political climate is such that the United Nations cannot even serve as a moderating force in those situations on a world level. On the other hand, there are encouraging signs. A review of the fourteen years of the United Nations existence shows that an international authority is taking shape which, in certain circumstances, may preserve law and order and which was non-existent prior to 1945. The range of diplomatic resources for the prevention and solution of international disputes has broadened substantially as a result of the evolution of the United Nations. UNEF which is still in the Middle East is an example of the resources upon which the United Nations can draw. The problems of Kashmir, Korea, Lebanon, Jordan, Laos, although as yet unresolved, illustrate the fact that the United Nations has responded to the call of nations which felt the need for international assistance.

84. Since 1945, we have also noted a strengthening of some regional organizations whose function, under the Charter, is to supplement the action of the United Nations. With the growth of the United Nations and the increasing complexity of problems, their own importance will increase. This has been true of the Organization of American States which has just given an impressive demonstration of political maturity at Santiago, Chile, by coping with a touchy international situation by appropriate regional action. Perhaps we should count among the elements contributing to the new strength of the Organization of American States the dynamism, the wholesome and legitimate competition and the example of the United Nations, which, in turn, is stimulated by that regional agency.

85. Of course a system of collective security means that the authority of the United Nations must be strongly backed by its Member States. Ecuador has placed its faith in the Organization and accordingly has supported and will continue to support all measures to strengthen it. Members of the Ecuadorian armed forces

have served with the United Nations observation groups in Kashmir and Lebanon, and, at present, we have considered it our duty, despite the economic sacrifices this entails, to give full support to the continuing and adequate operation of UNEF.

86. This general debate also offers an excellent opportunity for a periodic review of the functioning of the United Nations. Perhaps more important than a revision of the Charter—which has no immediate prospect of success—is the periodic review of the functioning of the organs of the United Nations. The lesson of fourteen years of experience has been, if anything, that the Charter is adaptable and flexible and that if it were not, the United Nations might have been swept out of existence by the radical political changes which have occurred since the Second World War. It is true that the mysteries of world politics hamper its effectiveness to some extent. However, we still have a vigorous Organization which has made a place for itself in the world's conscience. In his admirable introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/4132/add.1], the Secretary-General makes some very pertinent remarks on this question, which should be borne in mind during our deliberations.

87. Two of the principal organs of the United Nations have been increasing in strength and effectiveness: the General Assembly and the Secretariat.

88. At the San Francisco Conference, we small countries showed foresight in attempting to establish a balance among the principal organs so that the powers of the Assembly as the body representing the United Nations as a whole should not be curtailed. And the door was left open, in the relevant Articles of the Charter, for the discussion in this Assembly of any matter which was not on the current agenda of the Security Council. Accordingly, when the Council was powerless to act, the Assembly has rapidly taken decisions on questions of international security, as shown particularly by the recent emergency special sessions. Moreover, in relation to the admission of new Members, the Assembly took a long step forward towards universality of membership and enhanced its representative nature. Many have expressed fears that the methods and procedures of the Assembly have not kept pace with the expansion in its membership. Obviously, with its larger membership, the ability of the Assembly to produce positive results may be diminished; on the other hand, as it becomes more representative, the Members can get to know and understand one another better.

89. In practice, the broadening of the functions of the Secretary-General has offset what we might call the executive limitations of the Assembly. On the other hand, by participating in a body with such varied composition, Member States are continually becoming more proficient in the difficult art of co-operation and with every passing day, learning the lessons of international life, which means a constant give and take. As a member of a group of States which comprise almost half the membership of this Organization fourteen years ago and now represents barely one-fourth, I can assure you that we feel on much more solid ground now that our role in the Assembly is conditioned by increasing contacts with other groups and by the continuing process of negotiation and conciliation, than we felt when it was defined by the simpler but sometimes artificial system of numerical majorities. I should like to emphasize that we are prepared to work in the As-

sembly in close contact with the delegations of all groups of States in seeking common areas of agreement or, when there are none, means for reducing acrimony and narrowing divergencies.

90. The increasingly important role played by the Secretary-General, particularly in the exercise of diplomatic activity, in addition to those of his functions traditionally regarded as political and administrative, has been a factor in revitalizing the United Nations in recent years. His presence at certain diplomatic negotiations outside the United Nations has been a symbol of the Organization's concern in vital matters. His peace-making activities in certain areas have prevented conflict. His policy of fostering the cause of the under-developed nations has been a true reflection of the spirit of the Charter. May I take this opportunity to place on record the gratification of the Government of Ecuador with his work and its support of his efforts.

91. Since we have referred to the diplomatic activity of the Secretary-General which has frequently been concerned with the problems of the Middle East, I should like to state that my country views with concern the abnormal situation which continues to exist with respect to free passage through the Suez Canal, both because freedom of navigation is a valid universal principle in itself, and because of the danger of renewed tensions in that sensitive area of the world. It is our hope that the further efforts of the Secretary-General and the co-operation of the parties concerned will successfully resolve this problem.

92. The situation in other principal organs is somewhat more complicated. The Security Council is still the organ which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Paradoxically enough, however, it is sometimes inactive during periods when the world seems to be plagued with explosive situations which may jeopardize peace. We are bound to wonder whether the principle of unanimity of the permanent members may not to some extent have rendered it sterile, or whether its membership is duly representative of all parts of the world, or indeed, whether many international situations cannot be settled in a forum so dramatically dominated by the great Powers. Or is it that States prefer to resort to other means of solving their problems rather than risk being involved in major political debates?

93. It is true that occasionally the Council is able to act in crises such as those which occurred in Lebanon in 1958 and in Laos in 1959, both very complex situations in which the Council was able to take adequate measures. Given the important function of the Council, the Secretary-General suggests that it should hold closed meetings devoted not to the examination of specific matters but to a study of all those aspects of the international situation which may fall within its competence in virtue of the powers vested in it under the Charter. That might be one of the possible means of strengthening the Council and it might perhaps be worth-while in such meetings to explore the possibilities of imbuing the parties to a dispute with the confidence that their complaints will be dealt with strictly on their merits.

94. The Economic and Social Council, considered jointly with its regional and functional commissions, bears heavy responsibilities which go beyond purely organizational matters and include co-ordination with the specialized agencies.

95. We consider the regional commissions to be an excellent example of efficiency and well-directed work, their success being due in a very large measure to the vision of their executive secretaries. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has accomplished work of fundamental importance in making Latin American countries aware of their natural resources and preparing them for technical assistance. I shall have an opportunity later of mentioning its work in connexion with the establishment of a common market for Latin America. We cannot, perhaps, say as much for the functional commissions, which were set up as technical organs to advise the Council in their different spheres of competence, but which in practice have become bodies representing Governments and which tend to duplicate the activities of the Council's Economic and Social Committees to the neglect of the technical aspects of their work.

96. Without attempting to discount the praiseworthy efforts of the members of the Council, we should like to direct their attention to the magnitude of the economic and social problems before them and to the desirability of initiating a new phase of activity in which the technical approach to problems, as well as imagination, courage and faith in attempting to solve them would play the most important part.

97. Perhaps the most significant features of the present time are the awakening of a social conscience and the anxiety to improve the economic and social conditions of the peoples of under-developed countries. Two-thirds of the world's population, or more than a thousand million human beings, are refusing to accept their low level of living as an evil against which there is no remedy. The international community is rebelling against the fact that levels of living in the majority of States - in sixty of the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations - fall within the category of "under-developed" and against an economic system whereby in under-developed countries the average per capita income has barely increased by \$10 in the last seven years as against \$530 in more prosperous countries.

98. It is an undeniable fact that the greater part of the world's population enjoys only the very minimum, or even less, of the bare necessities for existence and survival. It seems paradoxical that, in a world with immense untapped productive resources, with vast natural reserves sufficient to feed a population several times the size of the present, there should be people with little or nothing to live on. What is the use of scientific and technical progress if nothing can be done to solve the problem of poverty in a world abounding with natural wealth?

99. Vast economic resources are squandered on preparations for war and funds for the advancement of science and technology are diverted more and more to the armaments race, relegating the fight against ignorance and poverty to second place.

100. This may not be the right moment to make a thorough analysis of the many aspects of the economic problem, a task which may very well be left to our representatives on the Second Committee, but it is certainly necessary to call attention here to the imbalance between the falling prices of raw materials and the rising prices of manufactured goods. This leads to a crying injustice: the purchase of manufactured goods entails ever greater sacrifices on the part of the people of under-developed countries who, as a result of

the fall in prices of raw materials, receive an increasingly meagre reward for their work. We must also bear in mind that, because of the progressive population growth, the efforts of Governments to improve social services always fall short of the goal, while new facilities of all kinds become inadequate even before they are completed. It should also be noted that even if means of financing economic development have been increasing, in many cases the funds they provide scarcely compensate for the losses due to the fall in prices of raw materials.

101. The problems of under-development have economic, sociological and psychological elements that are so explosive that those who say that the next ten years will be crucial in the history of mankind are not far wrong. If under-developed countries are not made to proceed at a faster pace to enable them to reduce the gap between them and the industrialized countries we shall find ourselves on the brink of undreamed-of political and social change.

102. The people of the under-developed countries are well aware that the principal effort to improve levels of living must be a national effort; but they also realize that their slow economic progress is due in part to international causes, that the exploitation of resources require techniques that are still the property of the advanced industrialized countries and that the economic policy of those countries has a definite influence on the development of the rest. The problem must be squarely faced in its national, regional and world-wide aspects.

103. May I refer here to some of the efforts being made within the United Nations and in Latin America. On the positive side, I should like to mention that our economic policy in Ecuador has enabled us to maintain financial stability and the balance of payments through adequate diversification of exports. We have made good progress in the liberalization of imports and foreign payments and, what is more, the day may be at hand when my country can announce the free convertibility of currency and the unification of its exchange system. This will mean sacrifices, but we are encouraged by the knowledge that our country is building its prosperity on sound and solid foundations and avoiding the injustices in income distribution which accompany development financed by inflationary methods. Moreover, I am happy to acknowledge that Ecuador has recently received international assistance in the form of public loans, and that foreign private investment is beginning to show an interest in contributing to the development of our country.

104. On the regional level, the American countries have decided on a united economic policy. They have accepted the simple but precise principles of the so-called "Operation Pan-America", clearly and felicitously set forth by President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil and expressed here by Mr. Schmidt [797th meeting], head of the Brazilian delegation, who is presiding over this meeting, in an able speech. "Operation Pan-America" makes it clear that high-flown speeches about Inter-Americanism must be replaced by a gigantic effort for economic development, without which political regional co-operation becomes a mere abstraction.

105. "Operation Pan-America" presents a new philosophy which faces the realities of life in our time. It recognizes the fact that the ideas we have inherited

from the tranquil past cannot help us to cope with a world in upheaval and that our thinking and our actions must be cast in a new mould.

106. A series of efforts is being made within the regional group of American States as a result of the Brazilian plan: the Committee of Twenty-one has met, the Economic Conference was held at Buenos Aires, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council is functioning actively, technical studies are being made by the Secretariat of the Organization of American States. We hope that this increasing vigour will reach its culminating point in the Eleventh Inter-American Conference at Quito which will begin a new era for the people of America.

107. In the family of the United Nations, programmes have been undertaken which are on a small scale but are of vital importance for under-developed countries. Technical assistance has given tangible results in the training of specialized personnel, economic planning and the working out of methods of financing. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have effectively assisted economic development and monetary stability.

108. I should like to make special reference to two United Nations organs which have engaged in activities of great significance this year: the Special Fund and ECLA.

109. The Special Fund was set up just a year ago by the General Assembly [resolution 1240 (XIII)]. The appointment of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman as Managing Director was a happy choice. The Fund has launched its activities with speed, vision and thorough understanding of the situation in under-developed countries. The principles it has approved and the projects it has chosen show awareness of its goals. The Fund is intended to stimulate—by means of short-term projects with broad economic scope—the discovery and utilization of natural resources and also to act as a catalytic agent for private investment.

110. Unfortunately the funds available in 1959 barely totalled \$26 million, while requests exceeded \$100 million. We were therefore gratified to hear that the United Kingdom has generously decided to increase its contribution substantially, and that the United States has every intention of maintaining its unstinted contribution. It is hoped that at the 1959 United Nations Pledging Conference on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, which is to be held next week, large and small countries will be able to follow the lead of the United Kingdom. I am happy to state that the Government of Ecuador will announce an increase of at least 50 per cent in its contribution as a step towards reaching the target set in the proportionate contribution scale established by the Managing Director. Contribution to the Fund is, for large and small nations alike, in the nature of an investment which will benefit them in some way.

111. Through ECLA a dynamic impulse was given this year to the project of a Latin American common market, a long-cherished ambition of our countries which has hitherto been unrealized but which has assumed new significance in the light of experience in Europe and Africa. The common market answers the need of the Latin American community for industrializing, increasing its agricultural productivity and dealing with the structural problems of its development. We

have now realized that it is only by pooling our productive resources and our markets that we can maintain a rate of growth that will enable the Latin American countries to draw nearer to the more industrialized countries and to cope with the problems caused by the rapid increase in population. Under present conditions the isolated development of national economies scatters our resources, reduces our markets and does not allow us to take full advantage of the dynamic factor of population growth.

112. The population of Latin America is at present more than 180 million and will be three times that number in forty years' time. Yet the average per capita income is scarcely one-tenth of that of the United States and one-fifth of that of the countries in the European Common Market. There has been some decline in development figures in the last few years, caused by the drop in the prices of raw materials, and this has strongly affected capital investment, limiting it almost entirely to domestic savings. International public loans received have barely compensated for the losses occasioned by the unfavourable balance of trade, so that these loans being at least in part compensatory, failed to produce the desired effect of stimulation.

113. At the eighth plenary session of ECLA held at Panama in May of this year, it was unanimously decided that a group of experts from member Governments should, at the beginning of 1960, draft an agreement for a common market, based on the studies made by the Committee on Trade and particularly by the working party set up by that committee and consisting of outstanding personalities of Latin America. The draft agreement, which will be submitted for signature to the member governments, will provide for the establishment of a free-trade zone which will gradually be converted into a customs union.

114. Latin America has built great hopes on the common market, and I should like to express to the Secretary-General the gratitude of my Government for the work accomplished with such dedication and skill by Dr. Raúl Prebisch, the Secretary of ECLA and his colleagues.

115. The General Assembly is beginning its fourteenth session with an agenda comprising many difficult problems. My delegation will state its views on these problems in due course, basing its attitude on the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, which is not only a constitutional document but a code of international conduct. At this initial stage I have merely outlined our chief concerns, fears and hopes as we prepare to face the unknown perils which threaten us today. My delegation brings to this Assembly its deep conviction that technological progress will be an effective instrument in the removal of economic inequalities, that distrust between blocs of States will disappear to make way for a constructive peace and that this Organization will be regarded by succeeding generations as a symbol of the unity and progress of mankind.

116. Mr. GUTIERREZ (Chile) (translated from Spanish): I have great pleasure in paying a tribute on this occasion, on behalf of Chile, to the President of the general Assembly, Mr. Belaúnde, who is unfortunately absent. I should be grateful to Mr. Schmidt, who is in the Chair, if he would convey the gist of my remarks to Mr. Belaúnde.

117. We have known Mr. Belaúnde since he began to show an interest in international problems—the logical

outcome for a mind like his, attuned to noble purposes. We have since watched him take in his stride the endless round of conferences and assemblies of this type and have admired his cool, balanced mind. Thus in every respect he seemed exceptionally qualified to occupy a position apart from the rough-and-tumble of political disputes and closely identified with the principles which gave birth to the United Nations Charter. We also pay a tribute through him to a nation which attained independence at the same time as Chile and to which we are bound by firm bonds of friendship.

118. The feelings of a country like ours when we attend this session are very strange. Let me tell you, in complete frankness, how we feel: here we have a world which is expanding every day, a world beset by problems that are constantly becoming more serious. At the same time there is everywhere an overwhelming urge to live, to find a place in the sun. Precisely because newly independent entities are springing up all round, a country will feel the imperious need to secure its political survival. Here are a whole series of new countries which yesterday were not in existence, but today find that they have a destiny to fulfil, beyond the uncertain times in which we are living. They have the right to speak and to vote here on the same footing as the most powerful countries. For the first time some of them can enjoy the privilege of thinking differently from the countries on which they were formerly dependent.

119. To understand how much the world has changed for the better, let us simply recall the long years that elapsed between the proclamation of their independence by the Latin American republics and the recognition of that independence by the mother country, and the still longer period that other powerful countries of that era waited before deigning to accept them as equals. As late as the beginning of this century the payment of debts contracted by a Latin American State with the ordinary citizens or commercial firms of a number of powerful countries was subject to coercive measures. Of course I am not bringing this up in order to make charges of historical responsibility; nothing is further from my mind. I simply mention it to illustrate the tremendous progress humanity has made since then and to show the triviality of our present-day complaints—petty friction between sovereign Powers—in comparison with the sacrifices of dignity suffered in the past.

120. Let us recall that Cyprus should now be added to the long list of colonies or territories which have been granted their independence by England; that Nigeria will shortly become a federation and that Belgium is already talking to us about a free constitution for the Congo. Soon Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration will no longer be dependent upon France.

121. Thus, around us is a world bearing the hallmark of its origin. Anything can be expected of it except suicide. Hence our earnest wish is to see every seat in this Assembly occupied by representatives of countries which are truly independent, and by that I mean countries whose democratic structure allows them to reflect the freely expressed thoughts of free men. To put the matter differently, what is the use of the enlightened outlook of the highly advanced nations if certain parts of the world are still under the sway of a disguised imperialism or of despots whose word is law?

122. A country is not a name, or a flag, or a national anthem. It is a design for living based on tolerance and justice. If democracy seems to many people to be an imperfect system, let us admit that tyranny has given little evidence of its merits, other than the capacity to serve, blindly and for a limited period, some sinister purpose.

123. The problems facing the world today are so vast and have such wide ramifications that it would be foolish for me to try to deal with them. Besides, Chile belongs to a regional organization which endeavours to avoid friction and to settle its little differences without having recourse to so wide a stage as this Assembly. The organization in question has just achieved some very satisfactory results at Santiago as has been recalled here by other speakers. There is no need therefore for me to sing its praises. I will merely reiterate our faith in the effectiveness of its methods.

124. However, I do feel that we should contribute something of our own experience in regard to a few of the matters with which we have to deal. At the Santiago Conference,^{4/} the principle of non-intervention was of course reaffirmed.

125. This principle which in the past placed the former Spanish colonies beyond the reach of any foreign jurisdiction threatening their recently-won independence, now forms part of a statement of principles for our own internal use. It is no-less valuable for that reason.

126. There is a tendency to meddle in the affairs of other Governments or to judge them from our own particular point of view. This is especially true where frontiers permit easy contact between individuals and even actual infiltration with a view to changing prevailing systems.

127. This would be a most unfortunate policy as far as American co-existence is concerned. As the President of Colombia said recently, each nation should purge its own system of the defects which lower its prestige in the eyes of others. Otherwise, we would forever be fighting crusades of liberation, as dangerous as they were turbulent.

128. There is a great deal of talk about human rights. This expression is not at all unrelated to the political systems prevailing in various places. Nor is it unrelated to the right of the citizen to conduct himself as such, and to the right of the masses to a minimum of well-being. I am aware that this Assembly considers them as being on different levels; but unfortunately I do not see any way of separating them within the framework of certain concepts which we must extol, defend and encourage wholesale, if democracy is to uphold its prestige and fulfil its objectives.

129. It is clear that the individual human being is constantly acquiring more international importance, if one may put it that way. The first step was to condemn slavery and white-slave traffic. Then the international community went somewhat further and faced the problem of refugees. Now it is felt that we cannot remain indifferent either to the fate of our brothers where their rights are not recognized or they are ill-treated. The word "civilization" has acquired a much broader meaning than it had twenty or thirty years ago. Its roots have buried themselves deep in the human spirit, which has continued to gain strength, until little by

little a new map of the world has emerged, with frontiers now based on similarity of thought. Today we know which are the sectors where civilization prevails and which are the ones less worthy of respect, even where their material success is unquestionable.

130. For us at least, countries where people are persecuted for political reasons or where the prisons are filled with persons who have not committed civil crimes, are not civilized countries.

131. This theoretical attitude is not to be confused with the principle of non-intervention by one country in the affairs of another. It is distinct in character and in object. It pursues an ideal, of course. It is rather like the adoption of a person in political trouble who is out of reach, by many scattered persons who speak on his behalf and defend his interests.

132. My country believes that if such a doctrine is put into effect its repercussions could be very vast. The exaltation of the State as an entity to be given unquestioning obedience would be offset by the exaltation of the individual with both his obligations and his rights. The primacy of the State brings with it the subjection of the individual conscience, because a person cannot be changed into an expendable commodity without at the same time being deprived of all his innermost convictions.

133. The code of human rights is not yet written, although it is outlined at the beginning of nearly all our constitutions. It is made up, specifically, of a combination of principles linking human beings with their Creator. It tends to consider a man as the brother of all other men, who safeguard him from afar. He is removed from the arbitrary laws of the tribe and placed under the common protection of the human family.

134. My country understands this because within its borders there are certain practices which link us to the most highly developed civilizations. I refer to the juridical system, and understand the reference—namely, to the climate which is created where individual rights are respected, where courts operate independently and laws are obeyed even though we may not like them.

135. However, it cannot be expected that at a time like this, full of unrest for a variety of reasons, the masses will continue to respect and extol the juridical system if at the same time they do not find it effective in solving some of their most urgent needs as a society.

136. We are glad, therefore, that the so-called "operation Pan-America" is making fairly rapid progress on the practical level. Strengthening national economies by direct measures and improving the conditions of the masses is tantamount to enhancing popular respect for certain principles which at this time are being seriously challenged. It is perfectly logical for people to judge doctrines on the basis of the extent of the benefits they derive from them. It is not a question of extolling the materialistic aspect of the problem; it is simply that proof must be forthcoming that democracy on the political level, like private enterprise on the economic level, does not merely consist of phrases which conceal an outlook inimical to the welfare of the workers. Conversely, these concepts must be given a value in keeping with

^{4/} Fifth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, 12-18 August 1959.

the times, which will dignify, enhance and strengthen them.

137. The Government of my country considers that along with the contributions or support it receives from abroad, it has the duty of putting its own house in order. It is doing so, though it is no easy matter. It believes that confidence must be earned before it can be accepted with dignity.

138. I should like now to refer to the machinery of disarmament in relation to collective security. It would be hard to find any nation more eager than we are to divert for urgent social uses a large portion of the funds which are today being spent in certain particular fields. We realize, however, that other countries have a greater say in the matter than has ours.

139. For the first time we have heard clear-cut, detailed disarmament proposals, worked out in stages, which will enable the great Powers to take a stand on a matter of serious concern to them, not so much because of the material burden involved in maintaining armed forces in a state of high efficiency today as because of the terrifying prospect for the world implied in the possible use of the weapons in their possession. I refer to the speech made in this hall by the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting]. The voice of the United Kingdom had been gaining new respect by the way in which that country, without high-sounding declarations but with great understanding of the new times through which the world is passing, has been opening the door to political freedom in all territories in which the necessary conditions for establishing a nation were forthcoming.

140. The case of Algeria, although it affects us only remotely, cannot leave us unmoved. After holding a referendum which ratified the permanent status of Algeria as a French territory, President de Gaulle has gone further and made new offers which now include guarantees of a new consultation, in the broadest and freest sense, of the inhabitants of Algeria. This turn of events—quite apart from the great value of having France as a country respected in the European community—is a source of gratification to all those who understand as we do the need to go on clearing away the problems still darkening the horizon.

141. We are also concerned by the problem of Germany—a country still divided and afflicted deeply by other disturbing factors. The agreements reached during the last war and the terms of the United Nations Declaration and Charter, gave grounds for hope that the division would last only as long as was necessary to enable Germany to stand on its own feet physically, legally and politically. No one dreamed that the division would become the most serious obstacle to peace in Europe. Unfortunately, that is the case. The German nation, by the very calibre of its citizens, had a right to something better. Today, when territories decidedly less ready than Germany for self-determination appear in the Assembly as territorially complete units, the absurdity of leaving a great nation without hope of solving the problem of its unification—a problem which should never have arisen—becomes even clearer.

142. It will be most helpful to us to have at Santiago the fine building which the United Nations plans to erect on the large site made available by our Government and conveniently located for the purpose. ECLA, FAO, UNICEF, UNESCO, and perhaps other organi-

zations with branches in Latin America will be housed there. Thus the Chilean capital will be in close touch with a good deal of the work being done by the United Nations for the common weal in this part of the world; and we are certainly grateful for this honour done to our country. The formal handing over of the land granted by Chile will take place, and at the same time a start will be made on the planning and landscaping of the Vitacura Park.

143. It often seems to us that this world is badly and illogically planned in some ways just as intelligence, beauty and health are badly distributed. Nevertheless, we try to make the best of things and respect the laws which have been established by every community to make survival and progress possible. In a succession of stages, man has gradually modified his individual behaviour so as to make it compatible with the way of life of others. That process is rightly called civilization.

144. It is no mere fancy to think of such behaviour, so wise where human relationships are concerned, as also applying to the international field, now that the world has grown so small. It is becoming increasingly difficult in this Assembly to defend any idea in conflict with the progressive and fundamental achievements of the mind and the spirit. The principle of "might is right" is subjected to challenge from time to time, and its character is altered in the process.

145. It is particularly gratifying for nations like ours, whose history is linked to the future, to find that beneath the appearance of selfishness there is a vast network of mutual assistance, financial contributions and disclosures of scientific knowledge which has only recently come into the limelight. A certain type of progress goes beyond the bounds of its country of origin and seeks healthy expansion elsewhere, wherever it can be useful.

146. The United Nations specialized agencies, the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations, the Technical Assistance Board, IBRD and IMF work together with UNICEF, UNESCO, ECLA and FAO, and we could cite many other similar organizations and offices. My country still cherishes the hope that the Special Fund will include among its projects this year some educational ones of interest to us. We should also like to mention the common efforts being made to establish a Latin American regional market, a subject on which the previous speaker has said all that has to be said.

147. With a future before us which promises a new world of untold capacity for development, the absurdity of undertaking another war in which it would perish becomes increasingly obvious. The texture of the cloth is becoming stronger than its surface suggests, though it is at the surface that the conflicts arise. Chile offers all the good will it possesses in the common effort to build something which will transcend our differences.

148. Although the Organization founded in San Francisco during the war still has not completely fulfilled the hopes which were placed in it, its existence has made possible the inclusion of many countries whose behaviour, thankless though it may appear, promises future strength.

149. We are witnessing the greatest evolution that mankind has ever experienced, and it is taking place

in an incredibly short period. That the atmosphere in which it is occurring should be a strange and sometimes troubled one is understandable. It would indeed be odd if it happened without upheavals, and it would perhaps be even more dangerous if the atmosphere were one of hypocritical silence in which evil flourished with no time or opportunity to analyse it.

150. Mr. PERDOMO (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): The great confidence that the General Assembly has placed in Mr. Belaúnde in electing him to his present office and in placing upon his shoulders the responsibility of guiding our debates should be interpreted by him as a proper and just recognition of his qualities as an experienced parliamentarian and statesman. It may perhaps be regarded also as a tribute to his great efforts to ensure the constant application of the principles of the Charter. Without undervaluing his Peruvian origin, I would say that the granting of these powers to Mr. Belaúnde has given him a continental stature, making him a true credit to our America.

151. The present session of the Assembly has commenced its work in an atmosphere of harmony and relative confidence, as though we had agreed in advance upon an intellectual disarmament, which is as necessary for carrying out any useful work as is the other form of disarmament if nations are to live together in peace and devote their combined efforts to the development of progress and culture, thus enabling all peoples to enjoy the gifts which are at present reserved solely for certain sectors of this planet. In order to put an end to this painful contrast between the prosperous and happy peoples and those suffering dreadful poverty under the yoke of economic slavery, in order to make life more human and to fertilize the land, not with the blood shed on the battlefields but with the sweat of fruitful labour, it would seem that the prediction made by Mr. Belaúnde in his opening address [795th meeting], when he said that this session of the Assembly would go down in history as the "Assembly of peace", is beginning to come true.

152. The 1958 General Assembly—the first I had the honour of attending—took place in different circumstances. The atmosphere at that time was highly charged and everything seemed to point to the destruction of civilization. By all indications, the world was moving towards its ruin. The least that we can say today is that the atmosphere has completely changed. To a certain extent, confidence has replaced fear. Faith in the rules and principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed and supported by the United Nations is gaining ground and bringing to our hearts a message of peace.

153. Vague expressions of good intentions and abstract proposals for universal disarmament do not fill us with optimism but we consider them to be indicative of a change of mental attitude which may help to bring about honourable agreements. Such an attitude of mind is always encouraging at times when international tension has reached a dangerous level.

154. During the period between the end of the 1958 Assembly and the opening of the present session, vital developments have taken place on the international scene, which the United States Secretary of State Mr. Herter outlined in his statement [797th meeting]. As Latin Americans, we are particularly interested in those which have occurred in our continent.

155. Possibly the revolution in Cuba, which overthrew a threatening tyranny and established democracy on its ruins, was the event which had the greatest repercussions in our hemisphere. The Cuban people—following the example of the Venezuelan people, who had already performed a similar feat earlier in annihilating an absolutist and corrupt régime and replacing it by representative government—began to draw up, in the Sierra Maestra, in a spirit of idealism, a programme that, when the movement triumphed, acquired full reality in the cities. These two victories of American democracy, whose impact is felt far beyond our continent, have opened the road to human redemption and have given the classes which have been living in misery and material and moral want the conviction that blood shed for worthy causes is converted, by some unexplainable magic, into a source that nourishes the tree of freedom and gives stature and dignity to the human race. I should like to believe that those two revolutions are destined to alter in some way the course of Latin American life. A chapter of oppression in the life of the hispanic peoples is closing and a new chapter of devotion to freedom and democracy is opening.

156. To the Latin American peoples who, since achieving independence, have organized themselves under democratic and representative governments, nothing is more precious than freedom in its various forms. For that reason, whenever misguided rulers have temporarily quenched the light of freedom, the forces of the people have thrown the money changers out of the temple to which only those who govern in an honest and responsible manner should be allowed access. This has been the cause of our constant internal struggles. Fortunately we have now passed that tragic phase of our history and a new conscience is enabling us to consolidate our democratic institutions and our Governments which are the outcome of free elections. Then came the situation in the Caribbean region, which was described as explosive: attempted invasions of the Dominican Republic and of Cuba led to the belief that the continental mainland would become the scene of warlike operations. Fortunately we have a regional body called the Organization of American States which renders war between the countries of America practically impossible. The Santiago Conference^{5/} not only succeeded in warding off the danger of a threat to peace but also drew up new principles of American coexistence and strengthened the democratic and representative system in a statement referred to as the "Declaration of Santiago". The Eleventh Inter-American Congress, which is to meet in Quito, the capital of the Republic of Ecuador, in February 1960, will have to give concrete expression to those principles and thus help to strengthen American international law.

157. Most of the American States have been faced with a financial crisis caused by a drop in the price of their basic export commodities on the world market. Inflation has weakened their economies and brought many of them to the verge of ruin. Thanks to the assistance of IMF, of IBRD and of private American institutions, this dangerous situation has been overcome and some degree of stability has been achieved in the price of exportable raw materials.

^{5/} See note 4.

158. Something long desired in Latin America appears at last to be becoming a reality. We refer to the establishment of the Pan-American Bank, which, with the firm support of the Government of the United States, will soon become a financial institution with the specific role of assisting in the development of the economically under-developed countries.

159. We fully realize, however, that the Pan-American Bank cannot perform the miracle of solving our economic problems. The countries concerned will themselves have to solve those problems through diversification of production and expansion of their new industries.

160. In referring to the economic problems affecting the structure of the countries of Latin America and to the efforts being made to solve them, we cannot fail to pay a deserved tribute to the vision and wisdom shown by Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of Brazil, in drawing up the continental economic programme known as "Operation Pan-America" which is designed to give new vigour to the economies of the Latin American countries, to promote their development and to ensure a higher level of living for them all. "Operation Pan-America" reflects the general preoccupation and concern but, most important of all, it contains proposals for action.

161. The preoccupation is to see Latin America "share actively in world problems, in a manner commensurate with the magnitude of its contribution and the responsibility it bears in the solution of world conflicts". As President Kubitschek stated:

"I note that in Brazil—and I believe in other countries of the continent—there is a growing realization that we must no longer remain simply a chorus, a characterless rearguard, a mere background."

162. The concern is with the problem of "under-development", the very serious problem of developing the countries which have only rudimentary economies. "Operation Pan-America" places on this aspect the full emphasis required if we are to tackle these difficult but not insoluble problems.

163. The basic proposal is that there should be joint and concerted action by the countries of America to promote their individual national development, to protect the prices of Latin American products on the world market, to conclude agreements on mutual economic assistance and, above all, to raise the spiritual and material level of the people of Latin America through mutual co-operation and a continuous exchange of goods between all our nations. The aim, in brief, is the economic salvation of the nations of this continent. Impelled by these noble aims, "Operation Pan-America" had come to life and can even be said to have become a motto for Latin America.

164. On another occasion the President of Brazil said:

"The struggle against under-development, without excluding justice and moral law which inexorably condemn the coexistence of poverty and excess of riches, represents a long-term investment in the defence of America, with assured returns."

165. "Operation Pan-America" is not designed, like the Marshall Plan, to rebuild but is a purely creative endeavour, for its aims include investment for the

development of backward areas, intensification of technical assistance, the search for measures to provide protection against fluctuations in the prices of raw materials and products, and the prevention of inflation.

166. In its broadest terms, "Operation Pan-America" implies a revision of Pan-Americanism, which has so far manifested itself only in inter-American conferences and meetings. It represents a noble ideal designed to serve, actively and positively, the vital interests of our America. It is the expression of a new and positive attitude.

167. The nobility, sincerity, disinterestedness and impartiality of this goal were such that President Kubitschek, in order to avoid any possible suspicion, saw fit to make the following statement:

"One of the factors that augur most favourably for the success of this programme—which is not my own idea nor that of my country, but that of all the peoples of America—is that we are not engaged in any competition for prestige."

He seeks no honour for himself or for his country, nor does he claim any priority or exclusive rights. His sincere wish is that this plan shall seem to spring from the very heart of America.

168. The peace which the American continent has enjoyed for several years has been due, in large measure, to the fact that the peoples have heeded the principles of international law, that they have shown respect for legal solutions of conflicts between nations and that they have complied faithfully with the decisions of conciliation bodies.

169. At the present juncture my country and its sister republic of Nicaragua have submitted to the International Court of Justice, for a decision, their differences regarding the validity—which Honduras recognizes and Nicaragua denies—of the award on our border dispute rendered by the King of Spain in 1906. By this civilized procedure our two countries will eliminate a source of conflict and misunderstanding that has more than once brought us to the threshold of war. The judgement of the International Court will be effective, because the two Governments have so agreed and there now exists regional American machinery designed to ensure the execution of decisions handed down by international tribunals. It should be noted that the Council of the Organization of American States played a conspicuous part in the negotiating of the agreement to bring the dispute before the International Court of Justice.

170. Turning our attention from the American to the international scene, we would commend the efforts which the great Powers have made to remove the dangers of the chaotic situations which have menaced mankind with a nuclear war. Perhaps the very fear of seeing the entire edifice that civilized man has constructed over centuries of effort destroyed in a single moment has moved the Powers which control the destiny of mankind to hold the harrowing possibility of war in check.

171. We cannot be enthusiastic about any disarmament proposal when we recall, with deep concern, that Geneva Conferences on the suspension of nuclear tests and on the prevention of surprise attack have made very little progress after months of discussion, and when with equal concern we remember that

another, the Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference, produced, after weeks of deliberation, no more than a declaration of mutual desire to continue the talks on another occasion—which Heaven grant may be more propitious.

172. The fact is that disarmament is still a Utopian dream. But if, as Lamartine eloquently said, "Utopia is the ideal seen from afar", there would be reason to believe that this distant ideal could become reality, if account were taken of the laws of nature and history which are those that govern realizable ideals.

173. Each year we listen, on the subject of disarmament, to eloquent speeches and expressions of good will in which disarmament is described as the touchstone of world peace. It must be recognized, however, that armaments are not the cause of war but are simply the instruments which nations use in order to wage war.

174. Armaments are, in reality, an effect and not a cause. Nations are arming because of the mistrust and fear which have reigned since the last world tragedy. We believe that, even if armaments were reduced or abolished, the causes capable of unleashing war would remain. But we also believe that by reducing armaments we should take a step towards eliminating the so-called cold war, which is simply the international tension that might, in certain circumstances, lead to a hot war.

175. We do not wish to minimize the importance of disarmament, or indeed of a reduction of armaments. On the contrary, the countries which would benefit most as a result would be the less-developed ones—for, as has been repeatedly said in this Assembly, the resources which are now employed on the production of nuclear weapons, and of armaments in general, would be used to promote the development of the under-developed countries.

176. The armaments race must cease, for it has led nations to go beyond the earth into outer space in an insane effort to test the range and destructive power of nuclear devices.

177. It must be said that mankind has not enjoyed real peace since the end of the Second World War. The ferment of war has envenomed international relations. The treaties which the victors impose on the vanquished may put an end to open hostilities, but they do not create conditions for a stable peace throughout the world.

178. Peace can be based only on the elements fundamental to it; these, in the view of one author, are: first, the right to a national personality, issuing from the self-determination of peoples, recognized and respected by all nations; secondly, the freedom of nations to develop their powers in full autonomy; and thirdly, the existence of rules of law which, by their universal nature shall apply equally to all countries.

179. Peace cannot be the result of negative steps, such as disarmament. Nor can it be achieved by means of armies, alliances, or a balance of power. Peace must be constructed out of positive factors. It can only become the normal state of nations when the causes of war are eliminated, when international law is scrupulously observed by all countries, when methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes have been so perfected that they cannot be dispensed with, when confidence reigns, when fear

disappears, and when aspirations to world domination are held in check—in a word, when brotherly love again prevails.

180. International peace must be ensured for all nations through respect for their rights. It was a wise saying of Cicero's that "Justice lies in giving to each his due". Stable world peace could be attained if the rulers who decide the destinies of the world united their intellects and their wills. Peace must result from an education of the peoples, from a progressive evolution in the public conscience. A peace not based on these processes will necessarily be temporary and unstable.

181. Experience has shown that the use of arms for the settlement of international disputes can never create conditions for a lasting peace, since the vanquished will never accept their defeat but will constantly watch for the hour when revenge will be possible.

182. Personally, I reject colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, since I regard it as incompatible with human dignity. I condemn the oppression of nations which, though they possess a well-defined international personality, are unable to project it or act with complete freedom because they are subjected to the force and intimidation of foreign Powers. At the stage which Christian civilization has now reached, any system is an anachronism which fails to recognize and respect the human rights that, even in the remote times of Solon, were safeguarded in the Constitution of Athens.

183. Colonialism is a concept which belongs to the distant past and which, therefore, should by now have been discarded. Colonialism, in my view means the merciless exploitation of territories which by natural right belong to their inhabitants. It means, moreover, physical, moral and intellectual slavery—every form of slavery, and degradation, to which man can be subjected. It means poverty for the exploited and riches for the exploiters.

184. Although in thus speaking of colonialism I have, as I indicated, been expressing purely personal views, these views are in line with the attitude which my Government adopted when it signed, together with the other Governments of Central America, the "Declaración de la Antigua Guatemala" at the first Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Central America—a document which contains a categorical pronouncement against the survival of colonialism in America.

185. We regard the recent occurrences in Tibet as an affront to civilization, involving genocide in its most brutal forms.

186. Giving credence to what has been printed in the Press, we condemn the acts of aggression perpetrated by Communist China against India—a country which since its independence, has devoted its efforts to developing itself, moulding its future destiny and constituting itself a promoter of international co-operation.

187. The thoughts of all peoples are united in their clamour for freedom, social justice, international co-operation, and the welfare and security of all, in a world devoid either of oppressor or of oppressed nations. By reading the history of mankind—by studying the past—we can prepare ourselves better for the

future. Innovation is part of the law of progress, and the lessons we must learn in order to accomplish our civilizing task are to be found in the heritage of the ages, even though we may sometimes feel that history is moving backwards.

188. There exists in the world today a dangerous situation which can jeopardize international peace if the right measures are not taken. We have in mind the situation in the Middle East. In that disturbed area, there are people who live with rifles at their side. Provocation, challenge and menace are common currency. Aerial incidents succeed one another with alarming frequency, and certain ships are denied the right of passage through international waterways which should, in normal times, be open to the maritime traffic of all nations.

189. Peace, in the Middle East, is certainly precarious. This is shown by the simple fact that the United Nations is compelled to maintain an emergency force there. The Middle East, in fact, is an area of potential

conflict. That is the picture painted for us by certain Arab representatives in this Assembly.

190. When people live in fear of aggression or of surprise attack, the prospect of peace fades and the monster of war rears its head. The United Nations must recognize this harsh reality and exert every effort to the end that provocation, maritime discrimination, provocative acts and threats of extermination shall cease.

191. The basic task of the United Nations is to maintain permanent peace throughout the world. But this can be accomplished only if all the Member States which have undertaken to respect the principles of the Charter provide the United Nations with their resolute and effective co-operation, if they abide by the decisions of its organs, and if all States, great and small, strive by concerted and well-directed effort, to preserve rather than destroy the achievements of civilization, and the law of nations.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

