

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**878th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 29 September 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): The election of Mr. Boland to preside over this historic session of the General Assembly bears eloquent testimony to his eminence among the representatives to the United Nations. It is a recognition of his personal merit and acknowledged experience in the affairs of the Organization.

2. To use the language of hyperbole, may I say, in the words of a Persian poet, that stars looking from the firmament into this Assembly might feel a little envious of the scintillating galaxy gathered here. The great men, who have come from the East and the West, personify the might and the majesty of the countries they represent. They are here today with a single purpose; to find a solution to the problems of this troubled world; and while they are here, mankind waits in breathless suspense. Some of them are armed with the awesome power of life and death over the human race, but we believe that they have come to the United Nations in quest of peace. They have come to parley, to try to lay down their arms, to find means of living together in peace with one another in a world free from fear and free from want.

3. This year and this session will remain famous in history because of the presence here of many African nations that have won freedom and have been admitted to the United Nations. That great continent which was called dark, but on which the light of freedom now shines, is free to bring its youth and its vigour to the service of its peoples. For many generations the Africans were held in bondage. Today they are free and are here with us as equals to discuss and solve the problems facing humanity.

4. May I mention here that I have been instructed by the President of Pakistan, Mohammed Ayub Khan, to extend to our African comrades his warm personal

greetings. Now that the chains of political subjection, theirs and ours, have been broken, we look forward sincerely to close relations with the new African States. Despite the long distances between us, there are historical ties of faith and culture between the teeming peoples of Africa and Pakistan. These bonds transcend distances and differences of custom and language.

5. We have gathered here from all parts of the world, all seeking one paramount objective: peace. We had hoped that the great nations of the world, which have conquered space, would teach us here how to conquer our passions and our vanities so that we may live in peace without fear. Though but a few days have passed since we came full of hope, we already witness disillusionment. We had thought that it was a manifestation of the new strength of the United Nations that great nations, which among themselves commanded the strength to destroy, had come here to ensure peace. But to our dismay we find that this great house of peace, to which are committed the aspirations of all nations, has itself become a target of attack. This can only bring disappointment to all of us who look to the United Nations as the instrument which man has forged to control his ambitions and his anger.

6. The course of world affairs over the past decade has demonstrated the fact that, while at critical times the great Powers dispense with the United Nations in both aggravating and easing their tensions, it is the smaller countries, the defenceless ones, that stand in dire need of the Organization in order to shield themselves from the dangers of power politics and to moderate the policies of the great Powers.

7. It has been said of great historical figures that they wade across the world to make an epoch, bless, confuse or appal. What kind of epoch are we about to make? Have we come here to bless or to appal?

8. The peoples of the world live under a perpetual terror of annihilation. In a matter of minutes, cities can be destroyed and the countryside laid waste by means which neither the imagination nor the cruelty of Attila or of Genghis Khan could have conceived. We do not believe that any of the nuclear Powers at present would deliberately launch a war of extermination. But the possibilities of miscalculation, mistake or accident, which may unleash such a calamity, cannot be precluded. For fifteen years the great Powers have talked of disarmament, but with what results? Not a single division has been disbanded nor a single tank destroyed by agreement. There has been some reduction of armed forces and presumably of some armaments. But these reductions have taken place by unilateral action, not by agreement. There is, therefore, nothing to prevent their unilateral increase.

9. In securing the peace of the world through disarmament, undoubtedly the end is more important than the means. Barely twelve months ago, we discussed disarmament in this very Assembly hall in an atmos-

phere radiating hope. But, unfortunately, the Paris Summit Conference, which followed it, failed, and the storms which had gathered there overtook the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

10. Despite a measure of "rapprochement" between the two sides in the negotiations in the Ten-Nation Committee, the objective of general and complete disarmament remains distant so long as fundamental differences between them are not resolved. Two of the main difficulties relate to inspection measures. The first pertains to control, not control over what is to be reduced, on which agreement in principle has been reached, but the verification of armed forces and armaments, either before or after reduction in each stage. The second relates to the technical difficulties of ensuring by inspection that no undeclared stocks of nuclear weapons are concealed. It is admitted on both sides that such hidden stockpiles cannot be discovered by any means now known to either side. We note the Soviet contention that, with the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the difficulties of control, including verification of undeclared stockpiles, will disappear because all means of delivering the weapons to their targets will have been eliminated. We need a fuller and more convincing explanation of this thesis before it can be accepted as an adequate answer to the formidable difficulties which have supervened in the way of the total elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control.

11. The Pakistan delegation welcomes the pledge of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, given in his statement last Friday [869th meeting], to resume negotiations with the Western Powers, which have been waiting for this positive response since June 1960. We note that the document circulated by the Soviet delegation and entitled "Basic Provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament" [A/4505] revises in one important respect the Soviet plan of 2 June 1960 [A/4374]. It is now proposed that the armed forces and conventional armaments of the United States and of the Soviet Union should be reduced in the first stage to 1.7 million, and those of the other States to fixed levels. Conventional armaments thus released are to be destroyed and military expenditures of States to be correspondingly reduced.

12. It is the view of my delegation that if obstacles to general and complete disarmament cannot be eliminated immediately there is no reason why some partial disarmament measures should not be undertaken now. A specific task of the General Assembly at this session should be to bring about an agreement in principle between the East and the West on the reduction in the levels of the armed forces of the United States and the Soviet Union to a figure between 2.5 and 1.7 million, as well as the reduction of conventional armaments to related levels and the elimination of stocks thus released. This agreement in principle should be followed by negotiations to fix the levels of forces and armaments of the other great Powers. If this should come to pass, the prospect of a real measure of immediate world-wide disarmament under international control will be unfolded.

13. The respective proposals of the Western and the Eastern Powers encourage us to believe that, in addition to a real measure of conventional disarmament, other initial measures are also possible in the immediate future.

14. It cannot be expected that all these intricate questions of substance can be resolved by the General Assembly. That is why a negotiating committee was established by the Foreign Ministers of the four great Powers in September 1959. Many representatives have referred to the constitution of this committee. At present it has five members from the Western and Eastern Powers, respectively. It has been suggested that the committee be expanded to include other interests as well. We agree to this, but in our view what is more important is the immediate resumption of negotiations.

15. May I at this stage touch upon a related question. It is a matter of regret that, despite two years of negotiations, no agreement has been reached to halt test explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. We would appeal to the parties concerned, with all the emphasis at our command, to reach immediate agreement to stop such tests in order that the present uncertain voluntary moratorium may be replaced by a mandatory prohibition under effective international control.

16. In a search for general and complete disarmament it is not possible to ignore a study of the United Nations, with a view to determining how its machinery can best be developed in support of disarmament. If general and complete disarmament is achieved, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, as reflected in Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter, pertaining to the right of veto, will wither away. The principle of the sovereign equality of all States, large and small, will then be freed from the anomaly and contradiction imposed by the veto power.

17. We have always been in favour of restricting the use of the right of veto as far as possible, since it is against the very spirit of the Charter. We are therefore constrained to express our regret that at a time when its elimination is being foreseen suggestions should be made to extend its scope to the administrative machinery of the United Nations.

18. The Charter of the United Nations supplements the rules of general international law. By outlawing war and the use or threat of force and enjoining the settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, the Charter establishes its supremacy. The International Law Commission, in the report of its second session,^{1/} enunciated the proposition that in the light of the rules of general international law, read together with the provisions of the Charter, the sovereignty of a State is subject to the supremacy of international law. In their actual international conduct, however, many States Members of this Organization have shown themselves unwilling to strengthen the rule of law, in that they fail to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

19. This year, Pakistan has submitted a revised declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court to include all cases, other than those which, under international law, fall essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. It has thereby surrendered its sovereign right to determine for itself whether or not a particular matter is essentially

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 12.

within its domestic jurisdiction and has solemnly declared in advance that should such a question arise it would be content to accept a determination made in accordance with the rules of international law. Pakistan has thus demonstrated, in tangible terms, its willingness to subordinate its sovereignty to the supremacy of international law.

20. Under conditions of general and complete disarmament the supremacy of international law must be proclaimed as an imperative of international conduct. Looking towards this evolution in international life, the time has come to pursue with a greater sense of urgency the task of the progressive development of international law and its codification, as envisaged in Article 13, paragraph 1 (a), of the Charter. Thought must also be given to the need to amend the Statute of the International Court of Justice to extend the scope of its jurisdiction to all matters to be provided for in a treaty on general and complete disarmament and to make Article 36 of the Statute, relating to the declaration on compulsory jurisdiction, applicable to all legal disputes arising from the treaty for the duration of its validity.

21. The economic development of under-developed countries presents a challenge of the highest magnitude to all the nations of the world. Both President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev expressed great solicitude for the welfare and economic progress of these countries. We the people of the under-developed countries note this with profound satisfaction.

22. We are conscious of the great development which in the course of the last forty years has placed the USSR in the forefront of scientific and technological progress. The countries of Asia, too, have tirelessly endeavoured within their limited resources to improve conditions for their peoples. Despite our meagre resources the pace of our development has been significant, and this represents, by and large, the voluntary sacrifices of our people.

23. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union cited a few statistics relating to some under-developed countries, including my own, to highlight the contrast in the economic progress between the Central Asian Republics and their neighbouring countries. For example, he mentioned the low rate of electric power generation per caput as an illustration of our primitive economy. It is true that the position is as suggested by the statistics. The only point that I may mention is that the present generation of power in Pakistan is more than 700 per cent of what it was when we became independent a few years ago. In the same context I should like to repeat that, despite our limitations and our meagre resources, we have achieved substantial progress.

24. Since independence, our industrial production has risen by approximately 400 per cent and, during the last two years, by about 70 per cent. But by far the most significant change brought about as a result of the revolution in October 1958 has been the radical land reforms, which have not only achieved social justice and the promise of a better future for the tillers of the soil, who constitute 85 per cent of our population, but have also changed the pattern of our entire society. They have given a sense of self-respect and dignity to our masses, who before this revolutionary change were crushed under the burden of an iniquitous and effete social system. These are

great changes, and our people see before them the dawn of a better future. Their energies have been mobilized for the common weal.

25. My country has received generous aid from the United States of America. We have made good use of this assistance, and there is in evidence a considerable degree of improvement in the infrastructure of our economy on which to base our future development. We acknowledge with gratitude this assistance; but at the same time we have been a victim, like many other under-developed countries, of the harsh and unrelenting interplay of international market forces. For many years now, the terms of trade have moved progressively against the primary producing countries. In fact, the position is that we have lost much more in trade than we have gained by aid. There is no co-ordination of policies amongst the primary producers, and they suffer from their disjointed state. On the other hand, much of Europe, for instance, is becoming increasingly a closed community, which gives it great economic and commercial power. The future is grim, indeed, for the under-developed countries, for their dependence on foreign aid is likely to increase rather than to diminish in the immediate future. This deterioration in the economic conditions of African, Asian and Latin American countries, which depend so heavily and so exclusively on the export of a few primary commodities, is a subject which should become of paramount importance to the Secretariat.

26. During the fifteen years of the existence of the United Nations, the economic and social picture of the world has become increasingly a study in contrast. The appalling poverty and misery of some parts of the world stand out in sharp outline against the abundance and opulence of other parts of this same world. An average annual income in the under-developed countries of approximately \$120 per person is to be contrasted with an average per caput annual income in the more advanced countries of \$800. According to another estimate, the majority of the inhabitants of the under-developed countries subsist on an income of only \$8 per month as against \$6 a day in the most highly developed countries.

27. There are two aspects of this difference in the standards of living which are of crucial importance to the world today: first, that the disparity is not only great but growing; and, secondly, that the peoples of the under-developed countries, living so long at levels of bare survival, are no longer prepared to accept such conditions of life as immutable. A revolution of rising expectations is sweeping through these countries. Fatalism and resignation have given way to expectation and demand.

28. The under-developed countries are in a predicament. Despite all the sacrifices and austerity of which their people are capable, the march forward is only nominal because of the simultaneous decline in trade. It was hoped that their political emancipation would lead to economic development. But, unfortunately, so far the odds have been heavily against them. I have already mentioned the change in the terms of trade against the under-developed countries, which means in effect that the improvement in the standards of living of the manufacturing countries has in a large measure taken place at the cost of the starving people of the backward nations. Would it not be an act of historic justice if some restitution were made in the present for the wealth which has flowed in the past from these

countries to enrich the economies of those now so industrially advanced?

29. I have gone into some detail about economic matters only because they pose serious problems for a large part of humanity.

30. To sum up briefly, our position is: because of the declining terms of trade, all that we are able to do, despite our very best efforts and sacrifices, is to reduce the pace of retrogression. Unless this decline is halted, significant progress will not be possible and the primary producing countries will always have to depend on foreign assistance even to maintain their present standards.

31. Turning to political problems, may I say that the situation in the Congo continues to cause concern to all of us. The threat of unilateral intervention by the great Powers in the heart of Africa, and the consequent danger to peace in the African continent, has not been removed. If Africa is to be saved from becoming an arena of conflict between the East and the West, it is imperative for the United Nations to play a positive and impartial role there. We believe that as far as possible the Secretary-General has endeavoured scrupulously to comply with the spirit and the letter of the resolutions of the Security Council. Considering the magnitude and the complexity of the task and the speed with which the United Nations operation had to be launched, Mr. Hammarskjöld and his associates must be considered to have faithfully carried out their difficult mandate in accordance with the basic principles endorsed by the Security Council. The Pakistan delegation recognizes that the Secretary-General's mission is an extremely delicate one and has not been made any easier by the internal confusion in the Republic of the Congo. Therefore, we take this opportunity of reaffirming our confidence in the Secretary-General's integrity and judgement.

32. It would appear to my delegation that at present the main problem in the Congo is the prevalence of internal strife, which is unhappily preventing the restoration of normal conditions. The resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] adopted at the fourth emergency special session does envisage the appointment by the Advisory Committee on the Congo, in consultation with the Secretary-General, of Asian and African representatives, for the purpose of conciliation between the parties to the political and constitutional conflicts. In the furtherance of this objective, the African States must of necessity play a leading role. Thus the mandate given to the Secretary-General can well be supplemented by the good offices of the African States in the solution of the internal problems of the Republic of the Congo. Whatever might have been the changes in the situation and the conflicts of interest, it was the general expectation that the United Nations operation would crystallize the positive role that the Organization could play in strengthening the independence of emerging nations against external pressures.

33. My delegation believes that the isolation of the African continent from the East-West conflict must be ensured by the Africans themselves and supplemented by the assistance of the United Nations only when necessary. It cannot be done by the United Nations alone, because the Organization itself is so often a centre of this conflict. It may not always be capable of adequately filling the vacuum. Therefore, the principal actors on the African scene must be the Africans

themselves and, in our opinion, they are quite capable of fulfilling their own destiny.

34. That great continent is pulsating with a new life and a new force. It is in transition from the old to the new. Colonial empires are being succeeded by a community of sovereign States, conscious of their solidarity and determined to give Africa its rightful place in the comity of nations. We have heard in this very hall the voice of free Africa and seen the passion in African hearts for peace and justice and their determination to exclude outside interference in the affairs of their continent, of their people and of their Governments.

35. It is a matter of sorrow that great nations and statesmen should not see the logical sequence of events as they must ensue. Events carry with them the seeds of consequences and, like nemesis, they are inexorable. Prejudice and chauvinism make men myopic. In this world of turmoil and conflict, the heart of humanity is yet with the peoples struggling for freedom and equality. One may delay the deliverance of a people, but then nature extorts a high price for it, as in the Congo. It may also do the same in the Union of South Africa, where racial discrimination is rampant. As one who is aware of liberal political thought, I am appalled that in a country which claims to be civilized and Christian, human beings should be denied basic human rights because of their race and their colour.

36. The Sharpeville disturbances underline the serious nature of the situation prevailing in the Union of South Africa. They made it very plain that unless the situation improves, conditions will deteriorate to an explosive point. The General Assembly has adopted resolutions for many years asking the Union Government to cease and desist from its discriminatory racial policies. The South African Government has so far ignored the appeal to reason. In a continent which is now free, and in the midst of peoples determined to make good their claim to equality, South Africa cannot remain isolated. To attempt to do so is to oppose the march of history. Future generations of the Union of South Africa may have to pay a very heavy price for the resentment and rancour that the "apartheid" policy of that country is creating around her.

37. Nothing in this world is quite perfect and it would be futile to expect perfection in an organization which combines the attributes and characteristics of almost all the nations of the world. Looking at the performance of the United Nations from the darker side, one would be inclined to stress the failures, the unsettled problems, the unattained objectives, the hopes unfulfilled, the promises unrealized. There is a "catena" of them, but life must be measured not only by failures, but also by accomplishments. We can mention grave failures, where people have been denied their rights because political expediency has prevailed over the conscience of nations. I shall not dilate on them, for, despite their tragic remembrance, we still have faith that right must prevail and the United Nations must succeed.

38. In this context, among the other vital unsolved issues, I have in mind Algeria—that strife-torn land where the blood of patriots still flows in their fight for freedom. Is it not an irony of fate that that struggle should have to be won against a nation which through history has been identified with liberty and equality?

39. At the opening of the General Assembly last year, we welcomed the declaration of President de Gaulle on 16 September 1959 recognizing the right of self-determination for the people of Algeria. We regret that no significant development has since taken place which would translate that inalienable right into a reality. At one time there appeared a prospect of a "rapprochement" between Algeria and France, but the preliminary talks to arrange the "pourparlers" have failed. Let me declare here that the sympathies of the people of Pakistan are with the valiant sons of Algeria, fighting heroically for their freedom. At a time when so many countries on the continent of Africa are taking their place in this Assembly, it is with great sorrow that we note the absence of Algeria. We appeal for a new effort on the part of the parties concerned to settle this human problem by peaceful means. If we succeed, a tragic chapter will close in the history of mankind, and to the brave people of Algeria will be brought peace and the freedom and dignity for which they have fought so long and so well.

40. Another problem which haunts the conscience of nations is the denial of justice to that part of the Arab nation which comprises the population of Palestine. The failure to solve the Palestine question has kept the Middle East for all these years on the verge of conflagration. It has been suggested that the tension in the Middle East should be removed by the dictates of realism. In the view of my delegation, the only realistic approach in this case is to recognize the human rights of a million Arab refugees who have been uprooted from their homes. Unless the resolutions of the General Assembly on this question are implemented, no arrangements to enforce peace in the Middle East by outside powers are likely to be effective or lasting.

41. The solution of the problems to which I have referred is without doubt difficult, and the difficulties are seemingly insurmountable. But they have to be solved, and solved by peaceful means. The principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes is a cardinal feature of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Only a few days ago, our firm faith in peaceful procedures was vindicated when we resolved our dispute with India over the distribution of the waters of the Indus Basin. This dispute, which had defied solution for almost as many years as Pakistan has been in existence, has ended by the signing of the Indus Waters Treaty between our President and the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is here this afternoon. The conclusion of this treaty demonstrates the triumph of the procedures of peaceful settlement. We are hopeful that this initiative for peace will be extended now to the only grave issue still outstanding between India and Pakistan, namely, the Kashmir question. It is our most earnest hope that this noble precedent will give rise to a new spirit in the relations between Pakistan and India, and lead to the settlement of this problem of problems of our vast region.

42. We have always believed that every people and every nation must be permitted to live according to its own way of life, which reflects its accumulated national heritage. In fact, it represents an accretion of history. We, the 90 million people of Pakistan, claim to pattern our lives on the precepts of Islam. After all our turmoils and tribulations we now have a leader in whom the people of our country have reposed their hopes and their faith. He firmly believes in promoting fraternal relations between the peoples of the

under-developed countries, particularly Asia and Africa, and to that end he has directed his efforts in a most positive and constructive way. Under his leadership, Pakistan is engaged in a great political experiment known as "Basic Democracies". The objective of this political system is to foster and encourage the creative urges of our peoples.

43. The system of Basic Democracies is an attempt to evolve a political framework related to the conditions in the country, in conformity with our requirements and suited to the genius of our people. The system enables the people of Pakistan to be associated in the activities of government through their elected representatives at every level of the administration, beginning with the village and culminating at the centre of the highest functions of the State. Our objective in Pakistan is not to imitate systems of polity which have evolved in the altogether different historical circumstances of other countries. Our aim is to institute a system rooted in the experience of our own people and enabling them to reorient their whole outlook regarding their collective welfare. We believe that our system of Basic Democracies is the answer to our needs.

44. It has been said that hope builds sooner than knowledge destroys, and thus despite the many buffets of fortune and the fluctuations in international relations, mankind has subsisted on hope, hope for a world free from humiliating poverty and degrading fear. The progress of science has opened majestic vistas of new worlds; yet, while there is the infinity of space to be explored and conquered, those in whose hands lies the knowledge and the means to do so are engaged in internecine struggle which creates new fears every day. The problem of poverty remains unsolved. There are hundreds of millions of men and women and children who from birth to the grave live an existence of privation and insecurity. May we not hope that these problems may be dealt with as the primary ones and that the phantom of armed conflicts and nuclear annihilation will be exorcised from the world—so beautiful and full of such great opportunities for happiness.

45. The Charter enjoins us not only to save ourselves, but also succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It has often been said that in the event of world conflagration, there will be neither victor nor vanquished. This seems obvious, but even if there is a sham victor, his victory will be that of the dying over the dead; his thrill the dubious one of glory in the utter demolition of civilization, the destruction of its culture, of its universities, of its institutions for art and science, of its mosques and temples and churches. It will be on this scene that the victor, too, will pass into nothingness.

46. We have the opportunity and the means to avert this catastrophe and to realize mankind's dream of progress towards a future unbelievable at the present time. Shall we also have the will and the courage? We have the means because we are now told that according to the correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, war between the two social systems is not inevitable. But those who witness the arms race between the East and West cannot but be burdened by the fear that, unless it is immediately halted and the trend reversed, war is inevitable. A race in armaments has never ushered in peace; it has ever brought the sword. To one who can contemplate the terrestrial scene with a

deep insight into the march of history, it would seem that a blind fate is moving us towards self-destruction. Is it that an imminent and blind will rules our affairs, driving us to inevitable doom? May it be given to the great men who take part in this session of the Assembly to prove that it is otherwise, that mankind does have freedom of choice and that peace and war in this age of glorious opportunity and mortal peril are not predetermined but hinge upon the exercise of man's free will and his determination to avert the ultimate world tragedy.

47. Mr. CHIRIBOGA VILLAGOMEZ (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): I should first like to extend my congratulations to the President of the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session. Destiny and his own outstanding qualities have called him to preside over an Assembly which for a number of reasons is of historic importance. First of all, representatives and leaders in the forefront of world politics and diplomacy have come to attend it, and the presence of individuals who represent world public opinion not only strengthens and enhances the prestige of the United Nations; it also means a renewal and a strengthening of the hopes for peace and justice which are inexhaustible in the hearts of human beings everywhere.

48. But the presence of the leaders of world opinion must also have a somewhat deeper significance from the sociological point of view. Why, asks the man in the street, are the leaders, the Heads of the great States attending the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly? Is it a mere propaganda stunt? To place such a construction on it would be a gross over-simplification not in keeping with the prestige of the United Nations and of all the great leaders who have come to attend this session. The sympathetic and thoughtful interpretation placed by the peoples of the world on the great gathering of distinguished personalities at the fifteenth session is that they are tired of trying other methods of negotiation and have decided that the United Nations is the proper forum, the right place in which to try to settle the world's problems.

49. Until quite recently—and now we are referring to the attempts made outside the United Nations to solve world problems—we of the small and medium-sized nations have been observing with concern and alarm the trend towards a revival of the notion of a sort of board of directors to manage world affairs. At this time when international maturity is the mark of great, medium-sized and small States alike, when the legal equality of States is recognized in practice, when all nations feel that they are fully entitled to take part in the conduct, administration and direction of public affairs, the very idea of the world empowering or authorizing certain Powers to direct and manage international affairs is unthinkable.

50. As the representative of a small country, I feel that it is worth stating from this rostrum that the small and medium-sized countries have a special interest in keeping the banner of the legal equality of States flying, since it is indeed one of the greatest achievements of the twentieth century. The hackneyed distinction so often made between big, medium-sized and small States, industrialized and under-developed States, poor and rich States, cannot and must not affect the rights and obligations set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, nor can it serve as an excuse or argument for a group of States to try to take upon

themselves the conduct of international affairs. All States are entitled to participate in the conduct of international affairs and we must all do so in accordance with the authority granted to us and with our responsibilities.

51. This is a historic session also because mankind is now expecting concrete and tangible results. The United Nations must live up to its great responsibilities, and it would be distressing and highly disillusioning if the entire fifteenth session produced only florid speeches and high-sounding statements, all of them lacking the vital element—sincerity—which must be present if at both the individual and the international level, specific and definite results are to be achieved, through sacrifices and compromises on both sides. How distressing and disillusioning it would be for the world and for the Assembly itself to see the world leaders go away from the session leaving only a wake that fades away as the days and months go by, a trail of mere propaganda, entirely devoid of real content! The prestige of the United Nations and of these great leaders and guides of world opinion is at stake at this fifteenth session of the Assembly, and we must speak to them frankly. We must tell all these eminent persons and all the delegations of the countries represented here that the world is being suffocated by the cold war, that winds are already blowing which are the harbingers of tragedy, that it is essential for all of us to join together whole-heartedly in the solution of those problems which are the constant concern of peoples and of nations.

52. The time has come to join forces and make a common resolve to find or initiate the solution of the world's problems. If a solution is not forthcoming perhaps we shall be too late. More serious still, a sort of pessimism is paralysing peoples' minds and gaining a hold on the citizens of every country; and this pessimism can easily lead to impotence and inaction.

53. This is a historic session because of the degree of frankness, objectivity and realism which the various leaders have shown in putting forward their ideas and thoughts. Here in this meeting there has been talk of the troubles, worries and aspirations of peoples everywhere. I might say that at this fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the first in which I have had the honour to take part and represent my country, the old white-glove diplomacy has been cast aside and replaced by the diplomacy of the calloused, horny hand, which is more human, more sensitive and more sincere.

54. All the countries represented here have to speak frankly. Problems are not solved by keeping silent about them; nor by hiding them. Problems have to be brought out into the open and laid bare in a dignified, honest and clear manner.

55. Before I begin to analyse briefly the problems which in my delegation's view weigh most heavily on the conscience of mankind, I should like to say a few words to explain on whose behalf I am speaking.

56. I am speaking on behalf of a small country, that is, small in size, but one whose way of life is democratic, that practises and preaches democracy, a country in which people and Government constitute a unit, in which the representative of the Government expresses the genuine feelings of the people. I am speaking, in fact, of a democratic country which though

under-developed, none the less lives by ideals and raises the banner of spiritual values. It is a country which has faith in itself and is confident that it will achieve progress and greatness through the efforts and sacrifices of its own sons.

57. I am speaking as the representative of a country which is proud of its past, which has great confidence in its present and an unshakable faith in its future. I speak for a country which is not and does not feel colonized, a country which determines the lines of its international policy in accordance with its national interests, and for which national interests come before continental and world interests. I speak for a country that has entered whole-heartedly upon the process of changing its economic and social structure with a view to abolishing the system of large estates and putting an end to all outmoded methods of production and forms of organization.

58. But at the same time I am speaking on behalf of a country that is making progress in a material sense, while protecting human dignity and the basic principles of social life; a country that respects property and does so on social principles. It is a country that seeks the friendship of all, that wants to trade with everybody without political and ideological distinctions. It is a country which in this continent has rightly earned the title of "apostle"—the apostle of a realistic Pan-Americanism, of justice and law. Even here in the United Nations, Ecuador, small but strong in its convictions, has been a valuable force for moderation, conciliation and self-restraint.

59. Thus, secure in the independence given to it by its people and its status as a sovereign State, my country feels that the most urgent international problems at this time are four in number, and I shall analyse them briefly. They are, first, disarmament; second, the abolition of colonialism; third, the fight against under-development; and lastly, justice, as an essential requirement for peace.

60. The colossal and growing arms race, which has become more complicated recently as a result of technological progress, no longer constitutes a threat to a single nation or a group of nations; it is a threat to the very existence of mankind on this planet.

61. Despite all the declarations and demonstrations of goodwill made by large and medium-sized countries, the truth is that countries continue to make preparations for war and to devote their energies to the manufacture of the means of their own destruction.

62. The arms race, apart from constituting a threat to civilization and to man's survival on this planet, is a constant and permanent violation of democracy; and this because it prevents the resources of the economy, and technical knowledge itself, from being used to protect democracy, to benefit the individual and to eradicate the social diseases of pain, destitution, poverty, disease and ignorance. The arms race is a threat to man and to the human species, a threat to the ideals we all profess to believe in—the ideals of democratic and civilized society.

63. But up till now it has been held that the arms race is a problem for the great Powers and that we medium-sized and small States have nothing to do with it, notwithstanding the recognized fact that the arms race is obviously a disease, a contagious disease from which not even the small States are immune.

64. And if the arms race is a problem which concerns us all and threatens us all, it is obvious that the disarmament problem cannot and must not be relegated to a group of great Powers, possibly assisted by neutrals.

65. The problem of the arms race is one that concerns all mankind, as represented here in the General Assembly hall; and although it would be ingenuous and childish to imagine that the complex process of disarmament can be dealt with and discussed in all its aspects and details here in an Assembly of ninety-eight nations, yet I cannot imagine what explanation this fifteenth session would be able to give to mankind if all we did was, as on so many other occasions, to pass the problem on to others and set up a small group ostensibly to deal with the disarmament problem.

66. This Assembly has at least one sacred duty which it cannot shirk—to lay down directives, principles, guidance and policy; in short, to establish the philosophy of disarmament, so that later on a small group comprising the nations most deeply concerned in the problem of the arms race can take charge of the details, the technical problem and the problem of negotiation. But in my delegation's view it is the duty of this Assembly to lay down guiding principles so that the approach to the disarmament problem can be a sound and fruitful one.

67. Disarmament, make no mistake about it, is not merely a technical problem. There has been a tendency recently to emphasize the technical aspect of disarmament. Disarmament is, first and foremost, a question of confidence, a moral issue. There can be no disarmament without confidence—hence we get and shall continue to get the never-ending dispute as to which should come first, disarmament or inspection. This is indicative of a lack of confidence, and just as it would be absurd to speak of disarmament without inspection it is also quite absurd and fantastic to think that inspection must precede disarmament.

68. It is my delegation's view that disarmament should proceed side by side with inspection and control, like the shadow and the body. This should be one of the fundamental principles to emanate from this fifteenth session of the Assembly. But along with the problem of physical disarmament, which is a vast and complex subject, we must also take up and dwell for a moment on the subject of moral disarmament.

69. Let us remember that at the end of the First World War that great Frenchman Clemenceau spoke very wisely of the disarmament of minds. The negotiators of the League of Nations at that time were not so much concerned with physical disarmament. Their main concern was disarmament in a moral sense; and how can we attack the problem of disarmament whole-heartedly and harbour any real hope of a solution if the very political problems which cause international tension are left untouched and remain in all their acuteness and complexity?

70. The arms race and the cold war are effects, the fundamental causes being the political problems; and if this Assembly does not deal with the political problems, if it thinks they can only be dealt with by summit conferences, it will have failed to do its duty because, as a legislative body representing humanity, it has the obligation to lay down directives and provide guidance for the solution of these political problems.

71. Let us stop deceiving the world; let us not make the masses believe one day that there will be disarmament when the next day we are thinking of inventing new weapons and using them as a threat. To talk of disarmament, to hand the work over to a committee, and meanwhile to let the political problem remain insoluble and to grow more acute and intense, would be to act illogically and irresponsibly.

72. Now I come to the abolition of colonialism. Humanity, which has had to live through this difficult post-war period, has been able to find consolation in observing an occurrence which holds out great promise for the human race and infinite promise for the world Organization. I refer to the process of decolonization that has brought free and sovereign nations into being—and at this point I should like on behalf of my country to welcome the sixteen new States which have become Members of the United Nations. These sixteen new countries, many of them from Africa, will bring to the community of nations the vigour and the potential spiritual qualities of a strong race. These nations will bring new blood, a new spirit, new optimism, new faith to the world Organization. Ecuador welcomes them and is happy that the countries which have now been freed from the colonial yoke are now joining us as Members of the United Nations and will share our responsibilities.

73. No one has the right to speak for Latin America, but in this case may I say—and I believe I am expressing the views of our continent—that Latin America is neither fearful nor distrustful regarding future African development. On the contrary, it hopes that the progress of the African continent will be of direct benefit to the cause of civilization and democracy. It can surely be assumed that countries which have fought for years to free themselves from the colonial yoke are not going to turn round and allow their national sovereignty to be mortgaged. The African countries, by vocation and their instinct for survival, must continue to be, as they are now, bulwarks of democracy. Moreover, the good sense and wisdom of the African leaders give us cause to hope that Africa's policy in the future will be to develop branches of production which will not cause dis-equilibrium and disturbances in Latin America. How can we imagine, for instance, that in their efforts to increase production the African countries will turn to products in which there is at this very time a world surplus? It would be an insult to the perception and wisdom of the African leaders to believe that they are likely to devote their energy and efforts to serving a cause that is already lost, since there is already over-production at the present time.

74. The presence of the New African States also highlights the vitally important role of the United Nations. We all have a moral responsibility to help and back the new States which are beginning their independent life. It is the duty of all of us to co-operate with them economically, technically and morally; but the United Nations has just rendered a service to one of those States which transcends technical and administrative co-operation—it has co-operated in order to ensure the State's continued independence. Here the delegation of Ecuador feels that it should reaffirm the position stated in the Security Council by supporting and commending the work of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for Ecuador, being a small country, is most anxious that each and every one of the organs

of the United Nations should be strengthened. As a peace-loving country with faith in justice and law it is especially anxious to see the United Nations gain strength, earn the confidence of public opinion and acquire sufficient power to enable it to translate its principles into practical deeds and living realities.

75. It is a saddening spectacle for the Ecuadorian delegation to see, instead of efforts to make the United Nations more democratic and more liberal—as we trust it will become one day with the abolition of the veto, which the Latin American nations, including Ecuador, have always opposed—attempts actually being made today to create a veto where there was none before, in other words to impede the work of the United Nations.

76. I am sure that this could not be the intention underlying the proposed changes in the structure of the United Nations Secretariat, but I should like, with all due respect, to make one comment: anything which has the effect of hampering or limiting the powers of the United Nations or placing obstacles in the way of its operation can only lead ultimately to one thing: it will make the machinery of peace more difficult to operate. Since peace is the great objective we are all seeking and the goal for which we are all striving, anything which helps the United Nations and its organs to fulfil their task should be most carefully safeguarded and championed by all who are associated with the Organization.

77. The problem of the Congo, which for months now has been a source of worry and concern to us all—indeed in the last few weeks it has completely monopolized world attention—has not only served to emphasize the importance of the United Nations Secretariat; it has also served to define the responsibilities incumbent upon the nations which still hold colonial possessions. Failure to create suitable conditions for the natural evolution towards independence, failure to train personnel to take the lead in this difficult task of creating a nation and making it viable, not only damages the prestige of the metropolitan country; it also harms the international community by endangering the cause of world peace.

78. The lesson we have been given in the Congo recently should make us all think seriously and realize that the birth of a nation to independent life means a difficult labour, but the event must nevertheless always take place in a peaceful manner, with due respect for the rule of law and—in this case particularly—respect for the legitimate right of peoples to self-determination.

79. We must reflect that the case of the Congo has been a matter of conscience for us all, and that it must be settled with the co-operation and assistance of all countries.

80. I turn now to economic under-development. Our present-day world offers a flagrantly contradictory picture. The rich industrialized nations are growing richer, their reserves are increasing and their peoples' standard of living is rising. What has happened to the under-developed countries in the meantime? What has happened to the nations which need to develop and make headway? In most cases, these under-developed nations have stood still; what is even worse, they are losing their economic and monetary reserves, and in many cases their standard of living is declining.

81. Among the factors conspiring against the under-developed nations is one against which we can make no stand: the population explosion. This phenomenon, which is of great concern to sociologists, should be of even greater concern to politicians and statesmen, for it is one of the primary causes of this state of world economic under-development.

82. On the other hand, the formation of economic blocs among the highly industrialized nations is causing apprehension and misgivings among the under-developed countries. In the past we had the notorious Holy Alliance, allegedly formed to defend the colonial interests of the great nations on the American continent. I cannot, will not, must not believe that the formation of these powerful economic blocs in Europe is intended to produce a kind of economic "Holy Alliance" with the object of reducing the under-developed countries of Latin America to colonial status. I have to believe that all these fears that the free movement of goods will be impeded are unwarranted, for Europe must understand that it cannot consider or regard itself as a watertight island of democracy. Democracy needs certain basic elements, and one of the elements fundamental to the maintenance of world democracy is the prosperity, advancement and progress of the 200 million people of Latin America and many millions of Asians and Africans.

83. Trade discrimination and the reduction and hampering of commerce does not promote democracy; in fact, it forms a barrier to understanding between the peoples and thus impedes the general advance of civilization, the relaxation of tension and the transformation and moral disarmament of men's minds. The fears of Latin America are based on genuine suspicion of these economic groups which have been established in Europe under the name of Common Market or Outer Seven, and it is our fervent hope that the interests of Latin America will be borne in mind, for Latin America is an essential factor in the maintenance of democracy and freedom in Europe.

84. While I am on the subject of under-development, may I refer to the realistic and practical way in which Latin America is facing this problem. We all know that until recently "Pan-Americanism" was nothing but a high-sounding phrase. You all know that for years and years the people of Latin America had lived on words. We were intoxicated with oratory while Pan-Americanism remained just a commonplace of polite conversation. But today, thanks to Brazilian sensibility, thanks to the skill and nobility of Brazil, we have a new policy and a new philosophy of Pan-Americanism, a philosophy of Pan-Americanism embodied in Operation Pan-America.

85. The political solidarity of the hemisphere has been referred to and proclaimed by us on many occasions; but it was a frail, forlorn plant, for it lacked the support of economic solidarity, and the central or key idea of Operation Pan-America is precisely that political solidarity should go hand in hand with economic solidarity. Thus we have a new process and a new doctrine in motion, a doctrine which began in November 1958 and is already yielding concrete and positive results.

86. Operation Pan-America is a joint programme, a multilateral programme to combat economic under-development, and it is divided into a number of sections, such as public and private investment, the

question of protection for commodity prices, the battle against illiteracy and disease, and the co-ordination of technical assistance.

87. Operation Pan-America has already borne fruit; we already have in operation our Inter-American Development Bank, the first regional experiment with a bank whose capital consists of contributions from all the countries and whose aim is the development and encouragement of each and every one of the member countries. A few weeks ago, at the Bogotá Conference,^{2/} Operation Pan-America received new impetus from the "programme for social development" drawn up by the United States. In Bogotá we were extremely pleased, and it is worth while to welcome most warmly, in the United Nations, this change of United States international policy towards Latin America. We Latin Americans had grown used to hearing only of the Marshall Plan and the millions that had been spent on the timely reconstruction of Europe. We Latin Americans were hoping too that the hour would come when we should not be left alone and when economic solidarity would fight against the effects of economic under-development. Today poverty, ignorance and destitution are not local but universal diseases, common diseases which must be tackled in common and under a joint programme; and it was just such a plan of social development that the United States laid before the Conference of Bogotá.

88. Thus, we countries of Latin America are entitled to say at this fifteenth session of the General Assembly that Pan-Americanism has entered a dynamic phase which holds out great promise and it is to be hoped that with the help of Operation Pan-America, which we all support, carried out in good faith and sincerity in a joint effort, we Latin American countries shall be able to fight more vigorously and more effectively against the evils of economic under-development.

89. Of course, we must now wait for Europe's reply; we Latin American countries must ask the highly industrialized Powers of other continents what their reaction will be to the efforts of the Latin American countries to fight against and overcome the consequences of economic under-development, the classic enemy of the democratic stability of our institutions.

90. A stable and honourable peace can only come out of justice. Whenever we look back over the history of the world, the theory is confirmed that injustice, plunder and encroachment upon the freedom and integrity of nations have always sown the seeds of strife. I would go so far as to say that the history of wars is nothing more than the history of injustice; and just as Bolívar once said in one of his great declarations "Without justice, the Republic cannot exist", so we too can say: "Without justice, peace and international friendship cannot exist".

91. At this historic moment, the peoples of the world are demanding justice, justice within their frontiers, within continents and throughout the world.

92. The Governments of today, the democratic Governments, have breathed in the air of justice demanded by the people, and this is why in each of

^{2/} Third Meeting of the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Co-operation (Committee of 21) convened at Bogotá (Colombia), 5-13 September 1960.

our countries and in each of our continents we are witnessing profound changes initiated by Governments in the social and economic spheres. This is being done in order to secure justice, to wipe out privilege and patronage, and political, racial and economic discrimination.

93. A start has been made in establishing justice within frontiers, and this internal justice will inevitably have repercussions on international justice. Yet, what good, I wonder, will all this internal justice do? What purpose would be served by the internal justice for which all our peoples are yearning if the notorious international injustices were to remain intact and unassailable? In the last analysis, to speak of justice is to speak of the supreme cause of solidarity among nations.

94. Having mentioned the word "solidarity", may I take this opportunity, solely in the interests of promoting that regional solidarity which is so much sought after by all peoples, enhancing international awareness, and helping to increase the knowledge of the problems that are a danger to general peace, to give from this world forum a short, factual and dispassionate account of a problem which is troubling one people, which is threatening the future of one people. This is a problem which is bound to touch the juridical sensibility of the world, for it concerns a people who believe that the time of force, of threats and of coercion has gone, irretrievably, from the world and given place to another far more permanent and tangible force: the force of conciliation, of equity, of constructive harmony and mutual co-operation.

95. This America, of which we are so proud, is juridically built up on certain immutable principles which constitute the pride of the civilized world. In this America of ours we have doctrines and principles which have by now been assimilated and incorporated in the United Nations and the legal organizations established throughout the world.

96. Aggression confers no rights. Aggression must be rejected. Wars of conquest are no justification whatever for territorial acquisition. These are the basic principles upon which the edifice of inter-Americanism has been constructed.

97. We have proclaimed on many occasions in our charters and documents that international problems must be solved on the basis of negotiations directed towards peaceful and legal solutions. Yet, in the midst of this great edifice, amid the vast columns of jurisprudence evidenced by charters and conferences, amid stacks of declarations, we discover that here in America there is a problem which is wounding the sensibilities of a whole people, jeopardizing the future of a whole people and undermining Pan-Americanism.

98. May I quote here a few words to which I listened yesterday with great sympathy and great enthusiasm. The President-Elect of Uruguay said: "This doctrine decrees that any act of aggression whether from inside or outside the continent, against any American State, shall be considered an act of aggression against the entire continent" [875th meeting, para. 24]. On the basis of the same doctrine, I would say that injustice towards one country and detraction from the rights and fundamental guarantees which are inherent in a country's sovereignty constitute an attack, not on one particular country, but on a whole continent.

99. Let me go on to the facts of the matter and make an unequivocal act of faith: it has been said that international problems should not be referred to in the United Nations General Assembly hall, because we are not here to trouble the peace of the world's conscience. It has been said that it is better for problems to be kept hidden and hushed up; but the diplomacy of Ecuador today believes that the General Assembly is precisely the place for the world to learn the facts, believes that problems should be stated and exposed, dispassionately, clearly and temperately, but at the same time quite realistically. And since I believe that I have the same right as any other representative of any other country to state here the anxieties, aspirations and woes of the peoples of the world, I too will recount my tale of woe though without sighs and tears. It has been said that one does not seek justice on one's knees. I will disclose my troubles not because I hope for anything concrete or definitive from the Assembly, but simply in order to inform international opinion, to awaken the public conscience and to fulfil an elementary duty as a member of this Assembly.

100. In 1829 a treaty^{3/} was signed which definitively, clearly and categorically established the frontier between my country and the neighbouring country to the south, Peru. This solemn treaty, the fruit of the Marshal of Ayacucho's magnanimity, for the first time gave Peru access to the Amazon. This solemn, flawless treaty finally settled the old frontier question between the two countries. I shall not weary the Assembly by relating all the attempts made from 1829 to the present, to solve the problem. What problem? That created by the fact that the neighbouring country to the south crossed the Amazon, broke the treaty and continued to advance into the Amazonian region of Ecuador. All the attempts, all the negotiations carried out in an endeavour to find a mutually acceptable solution to this problem after the treaty of 1829 failed. And so the American countries came together in 1938,^{4/} in the beautiful and modern city of Lima, and declared:

"That the peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance, and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of the equal sovereignty of States . . ."

The Conference of American States also said:

"That it reiterates, as a fundamental principle of the Public Law of America, that the occupation or acquisition of territory or any other modification or territorial or boundary arrangement obtained through conquest by force or by non-pacific means shall not be valid or have legal effect. The pledge of non-recognition of situations arising from the foregoing conditions is an obligation which cannot be avoided either unilaterally or collectively."

101. Thus in 1938, America said that it was a duty not to recognize the acquisition of territory by means of force. Then, to our surprise, only three years after 1938, when the world was shaken by the aggression

^{3/} Boundaries Treaty of 1829, between Ecuador and Peru, signed at Guayaquil (Ecuador).

^{4/} Eighth International Conference of American States, held at Lima (Peru), December 1938.

at Pearl Harbor, when all of us were hastening to help our brothers of the United States to defend democracy against the totalitarian Powers, the small and peaceful country called Ecuador was the victim of aggression, of occupation, of invasion; its cities were destroyed and part of its territory was devastated. Why? For committing the sin of being peace-loving, of believing in the rule of law, of believing that international problems, particularly among members of one and the same family, must be solved by calm and peaceful means, and not be perpetrating a Pearl Harbor on America, that is, a Pearl Harbor against Pan-Americanism—which is what the occupation of Ecuadorian territory represented.

102. The world does not know these details, and the world must know them; for I am not indulging in slander—these are facts. Here in the newspapers of the United States, in The New York Times, and I can show you the issues of that newspaper—there are records of the invasion and occupation of Ecuador by Peru in 1941.

103. Of course, the Peruvians were well armed, well trained and well organized, and the Ecuadorians, who had never dreamt of war but had thought only of peace, were defeated. We were not at war, we had no thought of fighting, and, I want you to know, several provinces of my country were occupied by Peruvian soldiers and our very national existence was endangered by the establishment of a blockade of all its ports.

104. This happened in 1941, after a whole series of declarations opposing the use of force, rejecting aggression and all the consequences following upon aggression. On this basis, with Ecuadorian territory occupied, though my country had neither declared nor provoked war, and had put its faith in the legal elements on which civilized society is founded, with its territory occupied and its cities devastated, my country was compelled to sign a protocol, the notorious 1942 Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries.^{5/} This Protocol, quite regardless, provided that Peruvian forces would not leave the territory until fifteen days after the signing of the Protocol, as if to demonstrate and to record for history that Ecuador did not sign the Protocol willingly but was forced to sign it only when the dagger was held at its heart.

105. And now we are faced with a situation and a Protocol which are the product of force, of coercion, of violence; a Protocol which deprives my country of almost half its territory. This Protocol not only deprives my country of 200,000 square kilometres of territory; what makes the case particularly serious is that it is the country which discovered the Amazon, which shed its blood in the Amazon, the blood of colonizers, of discoverers. This country has been hurled from the crest of the cordillera and deprived of all access to the Amazon. This being so, the country in question has come here to tell its story and to explain that the Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries was not a protocol of peace, nor of friendship, nor of boundaries. It was not a protocol of peace because no protocol based on injustice can be a protocol of peace. As Sánchez de Bustamante said: "Only justice produces real peace. Injustice creates only temporary peace, suspicion and insecurity."

^{5/} Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries, between Ecuador and Peru, signed at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1942.

106. As for friendship, what friendship could there be now between countries which in the ordinary course of events ought to be giving each other brotherly aid because they have many things in common, countries which might be furthering the progress of our continent side by side? What friendship can there be where there is flagrant injustice, injustice not against Ecuador alone but against Pan-Americanism and against all the precepts which constitute the foundations of the United Nations? This boundary treaty is not a boundary treaty, because when an attempt was made to apply the Protocol despite the constant protests of the Ecuadorian people, it was found unworkable and the frontier could not be demarcated in several sections and over a considerable distance.

107. Today, Ecuador has raised a cry of protest and is proclaiming to the world—without asking anyone's consent, because Ecuador is a free and independent country and acts in accordance with the dictates of its own conscience and the rules of inter-American law—that it cannot respect an invalid protocol which is the consequence of force, of occupation, of coercion, of pressure. Now we are told that we are violating the international legal order because we are apparently attacking the sanctity of treaties. My delegation must tell this Assembly that the sanctity of treaties should apply to valid treaties, such as the Treaty of 1829, but the principle of the sanctity of treaties cannot be applied to those which have been concluded without the consent of the parties and in violation of the fundamental principles of law and of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

108. My country could not remain silent on this problem and it was right that, in speaking here and giving our views on the problems troubling the world, specific reference should be made to this problem in the heart of America. Fortunately for us, there are four countries—the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile—which, as guardians of the peace and executors of a moral obligation arising out of the Organization of American States and out of their duties as impartial, brotherly States, have hitherto been entrusted with the responsibility of guaranteeing the celebrated Protocol of 1942.

109. I wish to take this opportunity to state publicly our gratitude to the countries which have assumed responsibility for this guarantee, a guarantee not of a country nor of a worthless piece of paper but of the maintenance of international peace, solidarity and justice.

110. We in Ecuador believe, and with some justification, that these problems must first be solved on a regional basis, but since our country is also a Member of the United Nations, it was our duty to state the case here, clearly and simply.

111. I have been faithful to the historical facts. I have not referred to other details in the Charter of the Organization of American States because I did not wish to weary you or to insult your intelligence.

112. In a word, Ecuador wishes to say to the world: because we were peaceful and because we trusted in law and the rule of law—and we shall continue to trust in them—we were invaded, we were occupied, and a large part of our territory was devastated. Under these circumstances we signed a protocol, a so-called Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries,

which did not make peace, cannot foster friendship, and was unable to establish boundaries; a protocol which constitutes only a wound, a deep and throbbing wound, in the heart of the Ecuadorian people; a protocol which is contrary to Pan-Americanism. And here it is America as a whole which is threatened.

113. The United Nations may say, "Let us see what Pan-Americanism will do in a case such as the one presented in the United Nations today". In due course my country will take the legal steps appropriate to the circumstances. For the time being, it has confined itself to proclaiming the invalidity of the Protocol, hoping and trusting that international influences and legal sensibility in America and throughout the world will find an appropriate way to achieve a just and peaceful solution.

114. Peoples do not die. The principles of justice may often be flouted and the charters men write violated. But peoples do not die, particularly peoples who have faith in their destiny.

115. My country will go forward, despite the injustices of which it has been the victim, raising the banner of justice and seeking conciliation. We shall not indulge in hatred or revenge. My country calls only for conciliation, justice and equity, and no one will silence us. Neither legal sophistry nor the threat implicit in the troops now concentrated along neighbouring frontiers will silence us. To meet force—as the United Nations has proclaimed—we have justice and equity. While there exists a flag like that of the United Nations, countries like ours will have a right to speak, and we shall speak, with conviction, with strength and with feeling. While there is a flag which blazons forth justice and freedom, countries like ours will have a right to bring their troubles and their problems here. This is Ecuador's contribution to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly: to make known the existence of a problem, a situation of conflict which presents a threat to our very existence as a nation.

116. We want to settle the problem in such a way that the Amazon will not be a source of discord or a barrier of hatred but a channel which will lead to the transformation of that whole area and unite and bind together all the peoples of that part of America.

117. There are many problems before the United Nations General Assembly. Today, this is not another problem for the United Nations; it is another world problem, another problem for inter-Americanism.

118. I do not think I have been lacking in loyalty to the United Nations, or have carried out a "diplomatic Pearl Harbor", by coming here to disturb this peaceful atmosphere. Only saints can hide their pain, silence their griefs and hide realities. I am not a saint but a diplomat, and it is my duty to say that I neither hide griefs nor keep silence about injustices. Injustices must be revealed when the goal is justice.

119. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Peru having expressed a desire to speak in the exercise of his right of reply, I give him the floor at this point.

120. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I am sorry that the representative of Ecuador has seen fit to add a speciously dramatic conclusion to an interesting discourse on world problems.

121. On each of his points, the representative of Ecuador has given us a totally inaccurate statement

of the facts. He has told us a fantastic tale, in which Peru, a country of the loftiest principles, is presented to us as an aggressor and a violator of certain treaties, concluded in 1829, by which, he says, a frontier was established. Ancient history, indeed!

122. I come to this rostrum with the confidence of truth and the serenity of justice; passion and emotion I leave entirely to others. In 1942, almost twenty years ago, my country signed with Ecuador a Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries designed to settle an old frontier question—a very complicated question, but one in which there was one overwhelming reality in Peru's favour: its sovereignty over and possession of the Amazon basin, which has had links with Peru since the latter's discovery—that is to say, since the Inca empire. Peru signed this Protocol after there had been border incidents provoked by Ecuador. This is a matter of established fact, and my country will have the documents circulated everywhere, even though it is not necessary to do so, there being a guaranteed treaty in force between Peru and Ecuador. These border incidents took place in violation of the status quo existing between Peru and Ecuador.

123. Peru, which is a peaceable country, which has committed no aggression against any country, which has a tradition of Pan-Americanism; Peru, which in 1847 convened a congress to defend Ecuador against a possible act of aggression from outside the continent; Peru, which in 1853 defended Central America; Peru, which in 1860 defended the Dominican Republic and protested against European intervention in Mexico; Peru, which was the first in America to recognize the belligerency of Cuba; Peru could not commit aggression against any country. All it did was defend itself; and of course, in repelling aggression, its forces advanced and a peace treaty had to be signed. It goes without saying that Peru did not keep an inch of the territory its advance had covered. Why should the territory which was the theatre of the unexceptionable military operations Peru was compelled to carry out be wilfully confused with the Amazon basin, which was Peru's possession?

124. And now I am going to relate, not an adventure story, but the true story of this affair. As you know, Pizarro had a successor, his brother, Gonzalo. Gonzalo wished to discover El Dorado, and from Cuzco organized an expedition, which, after traversing all the various parts of Peru, found on arriving at Quito that the best route at that time, and the easiest, was the Napo river. A lieutenant of Pizarro, the Governor of Peru, discovered the Amazon. How can it be said that Ecuador, which did not even exist (for Ecuador did not exist in 1539) discover the Amazon? There are some things which cannot be said, even in the tolerant forum of the United Nations.

125. The Viceroyalty of Peru sent its Governors, Diego de Vaca and Martín de la Riva Herrera, and established the Missions. The fact that for a mere sixty years, from 1740 to 1802, these Missions were under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé did not deprive the King of Spain of the right to change a doubtful boundary line.

126. And an eminent man, Francisco Requena, said to him: "Sire, you cannot govern the Amazon from territories beyond the Andes. You must form a

government in the Amazon region itself, where there are pioneers from the Viceroyalty of Peru."

127. Then the Government of Maynas was established, with all the Amazon tributaries; and the Government of Maynas was annexed to Peru in 1802, by a decree recognized by that venerable man Simón Bolívar, to whom I have had the honour of devoting part of my life. In one of his letters, which I can produce, it is at the disposal of the Assembly, Simón Bolívar said: "That territory has now been added to Peru by the recent Decree of 1802". Thus, in 1802 the Viceroyalty of Peru was in possession of the territory of Maynas.

128. But then came the hour of independence. And what happened during the struggle for independence? Who freed Maynas? Who were the liberators of the Amazon? Were they from Quito, or were they citizens of Riobamba—very pleasant, agreeable and beautiful cities, by the way, like all Spanish American cities? No! It was the Peruvian-Argentine army, the army which had proclaimed the independence of Peru, which mobilized, and there, in the capital of Moyobamba, proclaimed the independence of Maynas on its march through the Amazon region.

129. And when Bishop Rangel began a counter-attack from Brazil against the republicans and patriots, another Peruvian army, coming from Chachapoyas under the command of Commander Egusquiza, established the independence of Maynas and so travelled through all the towns of the Amazon region and the ancient towns of Borja and San Antonio, and afterwards Nauta and Iquitos, to proclaim solemnly the independence of Peru.

130. How can I fail to mount this rostrum and ask, not with high-sounding phrases but with the measured voice of the truth, how it can be that an attempt is being made to persuade the United Nations General Assembly that the independence of the Maynas region was won by citizens of Quito or Riobamba, and was not won back by the Peruvian-Argentine army? Can we disregard the oath of independence, which is the manifestation of self-determination?

131. Maynas was united with Peru of its own free decision, a fact which is proved by unassailable authorities, against which Ecuador can cite no reply, proof or fact.

132. Then what happened? In 1822 Maynas was liberated. The Peruvian-Argentine armies received Bolívar's call for co-operation, traversed the territory of the "Audiencia" of Quito and fought the battle of Pichincha, which liberated that region. At the time when the Pichincha region was liberated, the independence of Maynas had already been proclaimed and Peru had attained its independence.

133. But there is another point; allow me to deal with it because the historical truth must be re-established. Truth possesses inalienable rights, and justice can be founded only on the truth, not on misrepresentations. After this, then, came the promulgation of the Peruvian Constitution of 1823. Ecuador was then not even in existence; there was a State of Gran Colombia. And the Constitution of 1823 was ratified by the people of Maynas and not the Constitution alone, but the principles of 1822. Representatives of Maynas always attended the Peruvian congresses; they took part in the Congresses of 1827, 1828 and 1832; they swore loyalty to the permanent Constitution; and Bolívar, as ruler

of Peru, governed Maynas as Peruvian territory, and Jaén as well, despite the fact that Jaén still remained attached to the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé; however, of its own free choice it continued to be part of Peru, and Bolívar said: "I respect Jaén's decision".

134. In 1832 the province of Quito separated from Gran Colombia. And I ask you: was Maynas summoned to the Convention of Riobamba, which established Ecuador? It did not occur to anybody at that time that representatives of Maynas might be summoned to that Convention. Maynas was represented in the Peruvian assemblies.

135. Mention has been made here of the Boundaries Treaty of 1829. I have given this point much study. The war of 1829 between Colombia and Peru was a civil war between supporters of Bolívar and his enemies. There was no boundary line; no line at all was established. A document called the Spurious Pedemonte-Mosquera Protocol was produced. That has been proved to be a forgery; there was no such line in 1832. But naturally, since 1832 Ecuador has persisted in its Amazon claim.

136. Peru succeeded in signing an arbitration agreement with Ecuador. The arbitrator was the King of Spain; and what did the King of Spain declare? That the provinces of Jaén, Tumbes and Maynas belonged to Peru by their own free decision.

137. What did the Great European international jurists Renault, Lapradelle and Politis say? That established sovereignty is inviolable. The Peruvian Amazon was not only discovered by a lieutenant of Pizarro, with Peruvian money and an expedition organized by Peru, but was also exploited by Peru. It was the scene of the achievements of men like Salinas, Vaca, Martín de la Rosa, Herrera, and Francisco Requena. And later, when free navigation was established under the Treaty with Brazil, a population was settled there, a population which today probably amounts to 500,000 inhabitants. The capital, Iquitos, has 140,000 inhabitants. I ask you: What populations did Ecuador settle in the Amazon basin? The Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1942 did not take a single city from Ecuador. The Protocol of Rio de Janeiro did not make any Ecuadorian citizen change his nationality. Whatever there is on the frontier, whatever has been achieved in the Amazon region, is the work of Peru, and all that the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro did was to sanction the sovereignty and the long-established possession of Peru. That that possession should be opposed by a dream, an aspiration, a desire I can perfectly well understand; there was an aspiration and a desire, but an aspiration and a desire do not constitute a right.

138. It would be an affront to such great nations as the United States of America, Argentina, the United States of Brazil and Chile, to think that they would give their guarantee to a Protocol which sanctioned an act of spoliation. They gave their guarantee to a Protocol which sanctioned the reality in the Amazon region, the long-established position. Peru had demarcated the boundaries of that territory with Brazil; it had concluded with various nations commercial treaties which had their effects in the Amazon region. All countries, including Ecuador, maintained consular representatives at Iquitos.

139. Thus, the assertions which have been made here are completely arbitrary.

140. Mr. Velasco Ibarra, President of Ecuador, has said, in documents which Peru has circulated, that he will recognize the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro; that he does not ask for a revision of the Protocol. Only now—doubtless because of certain electoral campaign promises—has this explosion occurred, after an interval of almost twenty years, against a Treaty executed with the co-operation of the United States of America, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. All the posts have been set up, and marks have been put in place over a distance of 1,600 kilometres; only a short distance of seventy-eight kilometres remains to be demarcated. So this is a treaty which has been put into effect and carried out, and it is a treaty which reflects historical, legal and political realities in America.

141. Mention has been made of a declaration by the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima. At that Conference, it was said that respect for the personality of States and respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constituted the essence of international order. The personality of Peru is that with which Peru emerged in 1821 and 1822, the years of independence; and at that time Jaén and Maynas were part of Peru. Maynas is bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of Peru. It may have been an object of Ecuadorian dreams and desires; but reality is one thing and dreams another.

142. This is a serious matter, because it involves a treaty which has been put into effect and carried out—a treaty, moreover, which reflects historical and legal realities. Nothing has been taken from Ecuador, for Ecuador has lived for 120 years without these territories. Moreover, the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro granted it other territories, a fact which it has forgotten to mention. The Protocol recognized as belonging to Ecuador the territories of the upper river basin, to which Peru might have laid claim under the Decree of 1802, and the Protocol does not debar Ecuador from traffic on the Amazon river; it authorizes such traffic in the broadest form permitted by international law.

143. It is an extremely serious matter that, because a treaty conflicts with election propaganda or with certain interests of very recent date, it should be called null and void. Treaties cannot be abrogated unilaterally; treaties must be carried out. One of the fundamental rules of law is *pacta sunt servanda*. All that Peru asks is that the treaty should be carried out; all it wishes is that the demarcation of the boundary should be completed, that the international personality with which it attained independence, and the work of the liberators, the work of that army which freed Maynas, the work of liberation which Bolívar respected, should continue to be respected.

144. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Ecuador has asked to speak in reply to the representative of Peru. I am very anxious to be strictly fair to the representative of Ecuador; but I am also very anxious to be fair to the three speakers who have inscribed their names on the list for this afternoon and who are waiting to speak, and to the Assembly, which I feel does not wish to be diverted from the general debate into a discussion of a matter which is not on the agenda at all. I would therefore ask the representative of Ecuador not to persist with his request. If, however, he feels that he must, I am prepared to call upon him

at the end of today's meeting. I now call on the representative of Libya.

145. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): Once again, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya. The signal honour which the General Assembly has conferred upon you and the great confidence it has placed in you by choosing you to preside over its work show its respect for and appreciation of your experience, wide knowledge and personal qualities of tact and courtesy.

146. I should like to take this opportunity to assure you of Libya's deep respect for your great country, Ireland, and to pay a sincere and warm tribute to it for its sound policy in world affairs and for the effective and helpful part played by the Irish delegation in the United Nations. You have told us most eloquently of your hope that this Assembly will be the Assembly of humanity: the Libyan delegation sincerely hopes, Mr. President, that you will exercise this important international function with your customary authority, dignity and wisdom, so that this Assembly may successfully carry out its tasks.

147. I should also like to express again the Libyan delegation's deep gratitude to the President of the last session of Assembly for the distinguished way in which he discharged his duties.

148. The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly is honoured and pleased to greet the distinguished delegations of Member States from this world rostrum. We are very happy to assure them of our loyal and sincere co-operation. We hope that this Assembly will carry on its debates in complete harmony and that its work will be crowned with brilliant success. It is the Libyan delegation's pleasant duty to welcome the eminent Heads of State and other important figures who have taken the trouble to demonstrate, by their presence here, the importance they attach to this session of the General Assembly. This is indeed a turning-point in history.

149. It is also our privilege to express, on behalf of the King, the people and the Government of Libya, our best wishes for the progress, prosperity and peace of all the nations united in the love of freedom, justice and the noble principles of the United Nations Charter, for the fulfilment of which men and nations are working to strengthen world peace and to promote harmony and co-operation among the members of the growing family of nations.

150. Libya was delighted to welcome the admission of sixteen new States to the United Nations. This auspicious event is an important milestone on Africa's hard road to freedom and also marks the final settlement of the Cyprus problem, which has been a cause of instability and insecurity in the eastern Mediterranean. The family of independent African States, with its numbers increased, can now make a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations and help provide a stronger and more consistent foundation for world stability. The family of independent African States is also called upon to assume its responsibilities in securing the application in Africa and throughout the world of the principle of self-determi-

nation to all those peoples who are still dependent and often oppressed, thus speeding their final liberation and helping them realize their legitimate aspirations to human dignity, national independence and territorial integrity.

151. Once again, on behalf of the King, the people and the Government of Libya, we pay a most heartfelt tribute to the peoples and leaders of the newly-admitted States for the efforts and sacrifices they have made to attain their national objectives. On their admission to the United Nations, we wish them every success in international co-operation, combined with peace, prosperity and progress.

152. The United Kingdom of Libya, in its fervent desire for the creation and maintenance of world conditions conducive to lasting peace, has observed the deterioration in the international situation over the last few months with grave anxiety. The failure of the Paris Summit Conference, which collapsed before it began, blighted all men's hopes that the two opposing blocs which now cover two large sections of the world's surface, would have an opportunity of trying to put their relations on a more normal footing, find the right solutions to their disputes and thus usher in the era of harmony and understanding required for the maintenance of international peace and security. Libya deeply regrets the abrupt breaking off of the discussions between East and West, and joins with all the other peace-loving nations of the world in hoping most fervently that wisdom, common sense and good will will prevail over the forces of discord, strife and tension. In a world threatened by the terrifying perfection of instruments of total destruction, it is more necessary than ever that everything humanly possible should be done within the United Nations to bring about a resumption of the East-West discussions, in order that the two parties whom history has made responsible for world peace may try to settle their differences by negotiation and peaceful means.

153. Libya believes that the growing number of small Powers in the United Nations should spare no effort to assert their will for peace. They should use all their strength and their increasing moral authority to help the two super Powers of the world of today to overcome their present difficulties and to sacrifice empty considerations of prestige for the sake of the safety of mankind.

154. The United Kingdom of Libya takes every opportunity to affirm its unswerving devotion to the United Nations. Libya, as an independent and sovereign State, was born under the auspices of the United Nations, and since its independence was proclaimed, it has been guided by an unshakable resolve to abide faithfully by the ideals and principles of the international Organization which enabled it to realize the aspirations of its long struggle for dignity, freedom and independence.

155. At a time when the United Nations is going through a difficult period, which some have even called a United Nations "crisis", Libya feels it more necessary than ever to proclaim its undying faith in the United Nations. The Libyan people's devotion to the international Organization which found a just and equitable solution in Libya's own case, is now strengthened by its firm conviction that this Organization is an essential instrument for the maintenance of peace and security and for the establishment of world understanding, harmony and co-operation.

156. The alarming and dangerous developments in the international situation over the last few months have provided irrefutable proof of the necessity of keeping the United Nations alive in the tortured world of today. One can easily imagine what would have happened after the break between the two opposing blocs, if there had been no final appeal to the conscience of the world in the Assembly.

157. Apart from and above the duel between the two super Powers of the world of today, the United Nations is still the last resort of the oppressed peoples, sustaining and strengthening their hopes that they will one day enjoy their fundamental freedoms, realize their natural aspirations to self-determination, and enjoy their right to freedom and human dignity. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the Secretary-General and his assistants the Libyan Government's gratitude, encouragement, and good wishes for the success of their efforts on behalf of the United Nations.

158. Inasmuch as its major concern is to defend its territorial integrity, independence and national sovereignty and to preserve its ideals, its traditions and its spiritual and national values, the United Kingdom of Libya is doing everything in its power to maintain the friendliest relations with the western Powers and the most correct and normal relations with the eastern Powers. These relations are based on mutual respect and understanding, in order to protect the interests of both sides and further international co-operation. This is how Libya proves its heartfelt desire to work dispassionately and with an unprejudiced mind for understanding and harmony, as is implicit in honest acceptance of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, for the sake of an improvement in international relations. I would add that Libya's international relations are governed above all by its resolve to work tirelessly for the triumph of the principles of self-determination, dignity and freedom in the interests of world peace and tranquillity.

159. Libya is continuing to work in complete harmony and solidarity with the independent States of Africa and Asia to extend their co-operation and so help realize the principles on which the African-Asian community is based. The principles and resolutions of Bandung, Accra, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and, more recently, of Leopoldville, bear eloquent testimony to the solidarity of the independent countries of Asia and Africa and to their common desire to work together for the greater moral and material well-being of their peoples. This African-Asian solidarity is strengthened by their joint action to fulfil the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations and to secure broad international co-operation for peace and security.

160. In these troubled times, and in the crises which beset the world, the independent countries of the African-Asian group are uniting their efforts to bring about a stability favourable to peace and better international co-operation. The moral and spiritual values of Asia and Africa, and their rich heritage of wisdom, which light the way before their independent States, are a precious guide to a better future. I should like to add in this connexion that the principles of freedom and dignity and the noble human values which are and always have been the glory of the valiant nations of Latin America, are shared by the re nascent peoples of Africa and Asia, and thus link the African-Asian

and Latin American communities together with firm ties which should be further strengthened for the sake of peace and in the interests of the principles and work of the United Nations.

161. Libya has worked hard to establish the close and most cordial relations with its brother Arab States. These relations are based on a common belief in brotherhood, friendship, mutual respect and the fulfilment of a common destiny. Libya is therefore committed to working with the other Arab States to strengthen co-operation for the good of all, to maintain peace and tranquillity in the whole region and to spread understanding of the obligations of good neighbourliness. Because of its geographical position, Libya is playing its natural role as a link between the eastern and western parts of the Arab world. Libya fully understands the importance of this role, and has endeavoured to maintain cordial relations and ties of brotherhood with all Arab countries.

162. In order to attain these ends more systematically and effectively, Libya joined the League of Arab States, immediately after gaining its independence. Within this regional organization, Libya loyally and consistently faces its responsibilities and fulfils its obligations, in the firm conviction that it is thus working for greater unity among the Arab peoples in the future and for ever more fruitful co-operation between member States in all fields in order to make the region more prosperous and to raise its inhabitants' level of living. The League of Arab States is a regional organization dedicated to the maintenance of peace and security. As such, and because of its efforts to enable the region to develop in every way and of its achievements in spreading the principles of the United Nations, the League of Arab States deserves to be recognized as a regional agency, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter dealing with regional arrangements.

163. One of the essential reasons for instability and tension in the eastern part of the Arab world, the Near East, is that the principles of the United Nations and successive resolutions of the General Assembly have been trampled underfoot, and that those who perpetrated the aggression against the Arab homeland in Palestine continue to hurl defiance most arrogantly at the international Organization. The tragic result is that over a million Palestine Arab refugees, Christian and Muslim, have been living, since the assault on their homeland, in the most appalling conditions of exile, poverty and hardship. The land of their ancestors, their homes and their fields were despoiled by foreign invaders.

164. That was the most painful episode in human history, when the most unpardonable crimes were committed against the fundamental right of human communities to protection against mass expulsion by methods of banditry and terror, and when the sacred right to private property and to the enduring existence of one's country were scandalously violated. Pending the attainment of a just and equitable solution capable of repairing the indescribable wrongs done to the Palestine refugees and to their country and permitting them to go back to their homes, their fields and their native land in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, it is of the highest importance that the United Nations should continue to assume responsibility for the Palestine refugees and to

provide them generously with the material and moral help they need.

165. The Arabs in occupied Palestine are subjected to the most excessive extortions and extraordinary legislation. In the Negev, they are the victims of unjust measures which threaten their very existence. It is the duty of the United Nations to take action to put an end to this serious situation, which is contrary to human rights.

166. Everyone has been gladly proclaiming from this rostrum that 1960 is the year of Africa. That is true in so far as it is admitted that 1960 can and must be the year in which the United Nations, convinced of the justice and legitimacy of Africa's aspirations to dignity and freedom, decides to espouse Africa's cause once and for all, and to intervene in order to root out altogether the causes of the evils which are shaking and troubling it. The Africa of 1960 is the Africa of victimized and despised Algeria, which is making heavy sacrifices to recover its dignity and freedom to choose its own destiny and is heroically facing injustice, terror and inhuman repression by colonialist aggressors. The Africa of 1960 is that of the African people of South Africa in revolt against segregation and racial discrimination and undergoing savage repression for the simple reason that it is claiming its natural right to live on its African land in dignity and equality. The Africa of 1960 is the Congo torn apart, mutilated and thrown into chaos, and undergoing physical suffering to protect its newly acquired national independence, its unity and territorial integrity which are threatened by manoeuvres and intrigues. The Africa of 1960 is that of numerous African peoples still dependent and often oppressed, who claim the enjoyment of their natural right to self-determination and to liberation from the yoke of foreign occupation and rule.

167. I should now like to present briefly the views of the Libyan Government on these questions which, in our opinion, place this year of Africa in its true, but unhappily tragic, context. Hard by our Western borders, the war, more deadly than ever, is still raging in Algeria. To the heavy and sinister toll of victims of military operations on both sides must be added the unspeakable sufferings and miseries of the civilian population which is subjected to extortion, arbitrary treatment, repression and revenge. More than two million Algerians, uprooted and displaced, are living herded together in reassembly camps under the most distressing conditions. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have been forced to seek shelter in neighbouring countries, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco, leaving behind them their villages in ruins and their fields laid waste. But the Algerian people is steadfastly determined, in the face of these injustices and privations, to stake its all and to meet every obstacle with fortitude in order to assert its natural and legitimate right to live in its own country in freedom, dignity and independence. Nothing can stop the Algerians in their march towards liberation. Moreover, the frightful war waged by France in Algeria is a grave threat to peace in Africa and seriously hinders the development of the young neighbouring countries whose security and tranquillity it disturbs.

168. This session of the General Assembly is the sixth successive session during which the Algerian question has been the subject of a full-scale debate within the United Nations. Each time, the advocates

of a certain doctrine put forward the prudent advice that it was absolutely essential to give the two parties concerned the opportunity to settle their differences and that United Nations intervention would tend to obstruct a generous solution of this problem by France. This way of thinking is in fact nothing but a reflection, whether involuntary or engineered, of French tactics, which each time have merely sought to gain time in the hope of stifling the Algerian nationalist revolt by force of arms and dealing a decisive blow to check the urge towards liberation which has aroused the whole of Algeria.

169. For our part, while explaining over and over again that the Algerian revolt was an irrevocable decision of the Algerian people, we have constantly recommended that it was the duty of the United Nations to intervene seriously and positively with a view to enabling France and fighting Algeria to arrive, under United Nations auspices, at a peaceful negotiated solution of the Algerian conflict in the overriding interest of peace and in the ultimate interest of France itself. We were all the more emphatic in putting forward this view at the last session because we thought that an encouraging starting-point had finally been reached, namely the agreement of both parties on the right to self-determination as the basis of a negotiated settlement for the restoration of peace in Algeria. This starting-point, we thought, gave the United Nations the desired opportunity to throw the weight of its authority into the balance in order to provide the necessary means for the consultation of the Algerian people on their ultimate destiny in conditions of freedom and with all due safeguards.

170. Some delegations, well-intentioned, certainly, but unfortunately ill-informed as to our tragic and bitter African realities, were convinced by the persistence, not to say the intrigues, of those who loudly proclaimed that any intervention by the United Nations, whatever form it took, would be both ill-timed and dangerous, and that this time France must be given the opportunity to find her own solution for the Algerian conflict. It was therefore impossible to adopt a resolution which quite simply expressed universally accepted facts, that is to say, the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and an appeal for "pourparlers" for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution based on the right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. Representatives will remember the strange circumstances of the vote on a draft resolution which, after gaining the requisite two-thirds majority in the voting on separate paragraphs, did not obtain the same majority when voted upon as a whole.

171. But the evolution of the Algerian question during 1960, the year of Africa, has clearly shown the futility and danger of the wise and prudent advice that the United Nations should not intervene and that France should be given an opportunity to find the desired solution to the conflict.

172. It may be worth while to review these developments briefly. In accepting the principle of self-determination as the basis for a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic insisted that it was essential to ensure its fair and loyal implementation. To this end, it offered to enter into "pourparlers" with the French Government with a view to determining the conditions of a cease-fire as well as the necessary

safeguards for the honest and genuine execution of a free consultation. At the same time, it appointed a delegation to begin the "pourparlers".

173. The provisional government of the Algerian Republic explained clearly that it had no intention of negotiating about the political destiny of Algeria, but would leave the decision on that subject to a vote by the Algerian people.

174. Not only did France refuse categorically to enter into discussion with the appointed representatives of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, but French leaders, including General de Gaulle himself during his famous "tour of the mess halls" after the tumultuous riots at Algiers in January 1960, stated clearly that France alone would determine the conditions of the referendum, even adding that the French Army would supervise the future elections!

175. Without losing heart, and in spite of the deadlock caused by the French Government's attitude, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic has constantly asserted that it was anxious to enter into negotiations at any time with France with a view to settling the conditions for a cease-fire and to reach a peaceful negotiated solution of the Algerian conflict.

176. Not wishing to let slip any opportunity of putting an end to the conflict and finding a definitive solution, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic sent an affirmative reply to the invitation which General de Gaulle finally decided to send it on 14 June 1960, that is, only a few months before the opening of the General Assembly session.

177. On 20 June, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic announced that it had decided to send a delegation led by Mr. Ferhat Abbas to meet General de Gaulle and was instructing two emissaries, Mr. Boumendjel and Mr. Ben Yahia, to go to Paris to prepare for the Algerian delegation's journey. Thus, from 25 to 29 June 1960, at Melun, the first official meeting was held between the accredited representatives of the two parties to the Algerian conflict. This gave rise to a ray of hope; a large section of French opinion favouring peace and the Algerian nationalists as well as the peoples of the whole world, could dare to hope that the process of restoring peace in Algeria was beginning. Unfortunately, the world, anxiously awaiting the end of these preliminary discussions, was soon to be sadly disappointed. On 29 June, the French Government issued a communiqué stating peremptorily that its representatives had made known the conditions under which "pourparlers" could be arranged. This high-handed and intransigent attitude taken by the French Government was tantamount, in the circumstances in which the Algerian side was situated, to a refusal to negotiate. All the proposals and suggestions put forward by the Algerian emissaries were categorically rejected. Under the conditions stipulated by France, the Algerian delegation would have been in a position totally incompatible with honour, freedom and dignity, that is to say, incompatible with the status of negotiator.

178. On 4 July 1960, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic issued a communiqué in which it explained the reasons for the failure of the preliminary conversations at Melun and clearly demonstrated the French Government's responsibility in the matter. But it left the door open, and asked only

that the conditions should be compatible with the principle of negotiation.

179. The whole world was then expecting to see General de Gaulle intervene with a noble gesture to save the situation in accordance with the demands of realism and good sense. Unfortunately, in his statements during his tours of the French provinces, General de Gaulle confirmed France's position as announced at Melun. His subsequent statements on the Algerian question have been no more helpful to the process, which had seemed about to begin, of moving towards a negotiated settlement of the conflict. What is worse, the French Government has initiated a process of so-called evolution in Algeria by means of Commissions d'élus, (Commissions of Elected Persons) under a system of French administration far removed from the real will of the Algerian people. This policy can only result in complicating the situation in Algeria still further.

180. This discouraging development led the provisional government of the Algerian Republic to draw the obvious conclusions. On 22 August 1960 it announced:

"The provisional government of the Algerian Republic has taken note of General de Gaulle's refusal to negotiate on the conditions and safeguards for a free consultation of the Algerian people. French policy is depriving self-determination of all democratic content and seeks to impose by force a status which would tend to 'Balkanize' Algeria. In these circumstances, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic considers that the consultation of the Algerian people must be conducted by means of a referendum organized and supervised by the United Nations."

181. The war in Algeria has cost too dear in victims and in misery. The sons of Algeria and of France are falling in thousands in this senseless and futile war which France is waging against the Algerian people. The war is continually increasing the threat to peace in Africa in particular and in the world in general. In the awakening African continent, the danger is that it will spread, with incalculable consequences for the future of Africa's relations with the Western world. It is time, therefore, that the United Nations fully shouldered its responsibilities and settled once and for all the difficulties preventing the sound implementation of the principle of self-determination for the Algerian people, by means of a referendum organized and supervised by the international Organization. It is also time for the allies and friends of France, if there is to be any meaning in calling this year "the year of Africa", to bring their authority and influence to bear in favour of settling the Algerian question through the arbitration of the United Nations. Otherwise it will be too late to win the friendship of the African peoples, who are bound to draw inferences from what is liable to be regarded as proof of complicity and connivance on the part of the Western leaders and their henchmen in what is called the free world.

182. Only a few days ago, President Eisenhower said in his remarkable speech, which was largely devoted to Africa:

"In the developing areas, we must seek to promote peaceful change as well as to assist economic and social progress. To do this—to assist peaceful change—the international community must be able to

manifest its presence in emergencies through United Nations observers or forces." [868th meeting, para. 50.]

183. If there is any region in Africa where peaceful change ought to be promoted and where there is a typical case of emergency, it is certainly Algeria. This is an additional reason for the United Nations to take its responsibilities in the Algerian crisis seriously.

184. Now that France has recognized the Algerian people's right to self-determination, the competence of the United Nations in the matter and its duty to help in arriving at a peaceful solution of this conflict can no longer be in the slightest doubt, either in the realm of law or in that of political expediency.

185. On this point Mr. Gabriel Marcel, a distinguished member of the Institut de France, commented, in an article entitled "Splendid Isolation" published by the newspaper Le Monde on 27 September 1960:

"There is one observation to be made. Are not our opponents, and even our friends, justified in saying that there is a contradiction between admitting the right of the Algerians to self-determination and declaring that the Algerian question is a domestic matter? It is difficult to see, in fact, how these two propositions can be reconciled. To speak of a purely domestic matter is to say that Algeria is a French province, and in that case it is no more entitled to recognition of the right to self-determination than is Brittany or Provence.

"To admit that right, on the other hand, is to acknowledge that Algeria cannot be likened to a French province, and in that case the claims of the United Nations no longer appear inadmissible. Quibbles designed to evade this dilemma will convince no one."

186. While voicing the absolute and unfailing support of Libya for the Algerian people in their heroic struggle to realize their national aspirations, I should like to express once again the most fervent hope that through United Nations arbitration a new era will dawn in the relations between France and an Algeria which has freely and genuinely determined its own policy so that these relations may be based on renewed friendship, mutual respect and truly fruitful co-operation.

187. The deterioration of the situation in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) causes Libya the gravest concern. The Libyan Government, which severely condemned Belgium's military intervention in the Congo, considers that it was the ensuing secessionist movements which plunged the new State into the maelstrom of difficulties now besetting it and created serious threats to its unity and territorial integrity.

188. Actuated by feelings of fraternal solidarity with this new African State, Libya hastened to offer everything in its power and within the limits of its capabilities to assist the United Nations in the fulfilment of its responsibilities in the Congo. The Libyan delegation wishes to assure the United Nations and the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo of Libya's desire to give its unconditional support and make its contribution in keeping with the true national aspirations of the Congolese people. The people and the Government of Libya, while affirming the necessity

of preserving the Congo's unity and territorial integrity, wish to assure the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo of their fullest solidarity and to express the hope that all the Congolese leaders will realize the urgency of doing everything possible to safeguard unity, mutual understanding and co-operation in the higher interests of the Congo and of Africa as a whole. This is the only way to protect their young homeland from secessionist threats and neo-colonialist machinations designed to dismember it.

189. It is in that spirit that Libya took part in the work of the recent African Conference^{6/} at Leopoldville and gave its full endorsement to the resolutions adopted there, with the overriding aim of ensuring African solidarity and world peace. Also in conformity with this attitude, and in order to give full support to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, the United Kingdom of Libya will do all it can to help carry out the provisions of the resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] adopted at the end of the fourth emergency special session recently devoted to consideration of the Congo crisis by the General Assembly.

190. Libya is deeply concerned at the explosive situation in the Union of South Africa. The systematic policy of segregation and racial discrimination exalted into a "raison d'état" by the Union Government, the domination exercised by a minority of whites over an overwhelming majority of Africans and the denial of fundamental human liberties constitute a grave danger to the peaceful evolution of the southern part of the African continent and for harmonious co-existence in a multiracial society.

191. Being profoundly attached to the fundamental freedoms of the human person and to the innate right of Africans to live in liberty and dignity on the soil of their ancestors, Libya considers that the present situation in South Africa, besides involving the most flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, constitutes a grave threat to peace and security, not to mention the alarming international frictions to which it is continually giving rise. We all remember the dramatic situation created last spring by the wholesale killings of unarmed populations, who were peacefully demonstrating against the violation of their elementary right to move about freely in their own country. There is a more pressing need than ever for the General Assembly to devote its most earnest attention to the question of "apartheid" in South Africa, and to recommend measures as effective as possible, including the appropriate sanctions, if necessary, to put an end, during this year of Africa, to the most flagrant violations of the elementary liberties of Africans in their own African territory.

192. The Libyan delegation will follow with the greatest interest and with close attention the discussion of the questions relating to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, in the hope that the General Assembly will find a speedy solution in conformity with the right of peoples to self-determination. In this spirit the Libyan delegation will support to its utmost any United Nations declaration in favour of the final abolition of colonialism and the immediate granting of independence to all peoples who are still

dependent. Such a declaration would eloquently express the true significance of this year of Africa.

193. The United Kingdom of Libya wishes to reaffirm its conviction that it is incumbent on the United Nations, in view of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and security, to continue to work tirelessly in quest of an acceptable solution to the disarmament problem. Libya is deeply concerned at the general armaments race and is following with great interest and fervent hope the efforts being made under United Nations auspices to seek a satisfactory solution in the field of disarmament. The Libyan delegation profoundly regrets that the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament was not able to continue its work. We consequently consider it extremely important that the United Nations continue its efforts, undismayed and unwearying, to bring about the resumption of international negotiations for a constructive solution, under the aegis of the United Nations, leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

194. The Libyan delegation, besides wishing to express its satisfaction at the voluntary *de facto* suspension of nuclear tests, considers that the technical negotiations on the control of nuclear tests give grounds for hope that the bodies concerned may eventually reach a satisfactory agreement in this sphere. The Libyan delegation hopes that the suspension, and later the final prohibition, of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, besides protecting mankind from total destruction, will usher in an era when atomic energy will be used solely for peaceful purposes.

195. It is nevertheless very regrettable that France, in spite of friendly pleadings, protests, condemnation and appeals by the United Nations, should have persisted in carrying out the first atomic tests in the heart of Africa. All Africa was profoundly shocked by, and condemned, these acts so dangerous to health and wounding to the dignity of its peoples and independent States. We shall continue to voice our vigorous protests against these attacks on the integrity of Africa in defiance of the unanimously expressed will of its peoples. The United Nations, for its part, should shoulder its responsibilities with regard to these acts, which were condemned in the General Assembly resolution [1379 (XIV)] on the French atomic tests in the Sahara.

196. The Libyan delegation also maintains that the remarkable achievements of man in the exploration of outer space should be used for peaceful purposes, for the good of mankind and scientific progress.

197. The vast funds expended in the armaments race could more profitably be devoted to the cause of peace; they could greatly aid the exploration of the world's natural resources, and serve to raise the standards of living of populations at the mercy of such scourges of mankind as poverty, ignorance and disease. The Libyan delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to express its appreciation of the efforts being made by the United Nations, in the shape of technical assistance, to combat these scourges and thus help improve the lot of their victims.

198. Situations representing a latent threat to peaceful progress now exist in various parts in the world. We therefore consider that these situations should continue to receive the constant attention of the United Nations, in the discharge of its permanent responsi-

^{6/} Conference of Independent African States, Special Session held at Leopoldville 25-30 August 1960.

bilities for the maintenance of stability, peace and security in the world. Libya, being deeply anxious that conditions conducive to the consolidation of peace should prevail, considers it of the greatest importance that at the critical points in Europe, the Middle East, the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, Africa, South East Asia and the Caribbean, disputes should be settled by peaceful means with due regard for the real and genuine aspirations of the populations concerned. The Libyan delegation believes that, to this end, the United Nations must remain the supreme arbiter before whom all international disputes should find their peaceful solution.

199. In assuring the other delegations of our close and sincere co-operation, I should like to conclude by expressing the unshakable resolve of Libya to work with other Member States for the triumph of the ideals and principles of the United Nations, and by once more wishing the General Assembly every success in its work during the present session.

Mr. Adeel (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

200. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): It is my honour and privilege, first of all, to convey the greetings and salutations of the people and Government of Nepal and the best wishes of our Sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra, for the success of the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly.

201. I should like to express to Mr. Boland our congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this session. His experience in the work of the United Nations, combined with his intrinsic merit, amply qualify him for the post which he now holds. I have no doubt that under his wise guidance this session of the General Assembly will not only be able to accomplish its work, but will also achieve lasting results—beneficial to the cause of peace, prosperity and the progress of mankind.

202. I would also like to take this opportunity to associate myself wholeheartedly with those who have already paid a tribute of welcome to the new Members from Africa and elsewhere. Their admission has undoubtedly brought the United Nations very close to its cherished goal of universality, and we have no doubt that the Organization will greatly benefit by their contribution to and participation in its deliberations.

203. May I also express the hope that, in the international situation of today, which is singularly dominated by what might be called a "big Power complex", not only among great Powers, but also among Powers that aspire to the role of big Powers and in so doing develop a complex of the same kind, the new Members will bring a certain freshness of outlook on world events, and throw in their weight with those forces in the United Nations which have no complex of any kind. In welcoming the new Members, I feel that we are welcoming nations which have a similar approach to the basic problems of the world today. I speak on behalf of a small uncommitted nation which has no pretensions of any kind. In welcoming the new Members, we are conscious of an accession of strength to our point of view.

204. I must point out, however, that there are still many countries that are not yet Members of the United Nations for some reason or other. We hope and believe that those countries in Africa and elsewhere that are not yet free and are still under colonial domination

will soon become independent and take their rightful place in this council of nations. No Power, however great or strong it may be, can resist the march of history and time, both of which are, fortunately and definitely, on the side of the countries that are struggling for their birthright of freedom and independence.

205. There is another category of countries that are not Members of this Organization for altogether different reasons. I have in mind such countries as Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam, which remain artificially divided as a result of circumstances or conditions of power politics obtaining at the end of the Second World War. We hope and pray for improvement in the climate of international relations and power politics, so that these divided nations may achieve unity in freedom and take their seats among us.

206. In this connexion I cannot help referring to the question of the representation of China, which stands in a class by itself. In our opinion, the United Nations can neither become universal nor can it reflect the political realities existing in the world today until the People's Republic of China is given its rightful place in the Organization. The United Nations will not be able to fulfil effectively some of its most important purposes and functions until the People's Republic of China is brought in. The United Nations Charter speaks of "the peoples of the United Nations", and it cannot be fully representative of the peoples of the world when 630 million people have been deprived of the beneficent and constructive influences of the various activities of the United Nations. In questions like this that are vital to the effectiveness and growth of the United Nations itself, I feel that greater imagination and foresight are needed than the United Nations has thus far shown. In this connexion we feel that the Mongolian People's Republic too has a rightful claim to membership of this Organization.

207. Perhaps it is not necessary for me to repeat that we have always stood for Algerian independence. When the President of France made a solemn declaration on 16 September 1959, we had hoped that the new French policy would lead to Algerian self-determination and to the solution of the Algerian question once and for all. But looking back over the progress of the past year, we find that the constructive move initiated by the President of France was not carried to its logical conclusion, certainly not because of Algerian failure to respond, but because of the unrealistic conditions with which the French sought to hedge around the original offer of negotiations on the basis of self-determination.

208. With regard to the Middle East situation, we are of the view that the solution of the problem confronting the Middle East lies in the direction of recognizing and accepting the political realities that prevail there today. In other words, prospects of peace in this area, as well as in the world in general, would be strengthened if some realistic and practical solution could be devised to end the Arab-Israel conflict.

209. The authors of the Charter had hoped that the great Powers would continue to move ahead and strengthen the United Nations with a sufficient measure of unanimity. But this hope has not always been realized and serious deadlocks have arisen between the contending power blocs on many international issues of peace and security. Under the impact of new demands,

the functions of the United Nations have undergone some transformation and the role of the General Assembly has acquired a new dimension, as was proved by the part it played in resolving the crises in Egypt and Lebanon. Nowhere is this fact more clearly evident today than in the affairs of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), where the United Nations has taken upon itself the responsibility of restoring order in an otherwise chaotic situation.

210. For the past two months the United Nations Security Council has been dealing with the affairs of the Republic of the Congo, which is still suffering the birth pangs of independence. We have nothing but sympathy for the people of the Congo who find themselves in a state of political and economic chaos caused by a complete breakdown of administrative machinery of every kind. We feel that the greatest help the United Nations can and should render to the Congo is in the field of the restoration of normal economic and political life by providing for a dependable administrative machinery. Unfortunately, the humanitarian question of helping the people of the Congo to resume their normal life and economic activity has become mixed up with political questions of a national and international character. Even the role and the activity of the United Nations in the Congo has been subjected to controversy and bitter attack from certain quarters. As my Government has already expounded its stand on the Congolese question at the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly, I shall for the present be content merely with briefly outlining the considerations that have influenced our approach to the Congo problem.

211. These considerations are: first, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the Congo should be preserved; secondly, every assistance to the Congo of a military nature should be channelled through the United Nations agency. This is the only way in which the Congo can be kept out of the cold war and the ramifications of power rivalries so as to enable the Congolese people to pursue their economic and political destiny in accordance with their wishes and without external pressure of any kind; thirdly, financial assistance should be made available through voluntary contributions by Members, and placed under United Nations control to help the Congolese people back on their feet.

212. African statesmen and leaders who are assembled here at this session of the General Assembly can play a constructive role in helping the Congo if they direct their efforts toward devising a method by which internal differences between the Congolese leaders can be resolved. What the African leaders should bear in mind at this critical juncture is that regionalism, or even nationalism in this context, must not be carried to the extreme so as to imply complete exclusion of others.

213. Recently, there has been an attack on the person and office of the Secretary-General. It has been said that the Secretary-General has acted in the Congo situation as an instrument of the policy of a certain power bloc in the Congo. For ourselves we do not have any part in this criticism, and we reject it altogether for the reasons which my delegation advanced while speaking on the subject during the fourth emergency special session [860th meeting], and which are on record. As to the suggestion of turning the office of the Secretary-General into a triumvirate,

this, to my mind, would not only incapacitate the United Nations for quick and effective action in the face of grave crises, but would also hinder it in the discharge of its normal functions and duties. The Secretary-General is not merely a highly-placed official in the United Nations: he is also, under the Charter, head of an organ of the United Nations.

214. It is really heartening to hear the spokesmen of African countries themselves, in addition to others, defend with zeal and vigour the impartiality and dedication shown by the Secretary-General in implementing the United Nations decisions in the Congo. I would like to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for raising the status of the United Nations during his term of office to such a high level as to make the United Nations the only alternative in a situation such as that in the Congo to the filling of the vacuum by one or the other of the two great power blocs.

215. The primary objective of the foreign policy of every country is to secure its own political independence, sovereignty and security, and to promote international peace and co-operation. The foreign policy of Nepal is wholly inspired by the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. We regard the United Nations not only as a bulwark of our independence and security, but also as the protector of our rights and freedom. We look upon the United Nations as an instrument for promoting peace and justice among nations. It is our firm conviction that an enduring peace and a stable world order can be achieved only on the basis of freedom and justice. To this end we wish to cooperate with other nations within the framework of this Organization.

216. Nepal is a small country in terms of economic and military resources and strength, but it is fully conscious of its responsibility and the role it has to play, in the deliberations of the United Nations as one of its Members. Our role in the United Nations will always be governed by the principles and considerations we have outlined above. We believe in the independent exercise of our judgement in considering international issues.

217. If we believe in a policy of non-alignment with any one of the power blocs, it is because we do not wish to commit ourselves beforehand to support one side or the other, and we wish to retain our independence of judgement in assessing international issues as they arise. In our humble opinion, this is the only way in which we can really be objective and detached in the examination of the issues that may confront the world community from time to time. We have never hesitated to pronounce ourselves clearly and unequivocally on what has appeared to be right to us. Our refusal to align ourselves with one power bloc or the other does not stem from any desire on our part to sit on the fence and shirk our responsibility in judging the issues as members of the international community. There is nothing passive or immoral about this attitude of ours. If we have hesitated to take a clear stand, it has been only when the choice itself was not very clear. However, it will be realized that the choice in this respect does not always offer itself in terms of clear black or white.

218. We have judged every international issue on its merit without consideration of anybody's fear or favour. Our stands in the Suez and Hungarian crises,

and on the situation in Lebanon and in the Congo, bear testimony to the above fact. We have consistently and conscientiously adhered to this policy in the United Nations because we think that this is the only way in which a country like ours can make a useful contribution to the work of the United Nations. We are perhaps less hampered in the exercise of our judgement because we have no disputes and very few commitments as compared to the other bigger Member States. This is not to claim any kind of superiority for our judgement, but merely to give an indication of our desire and efforts to be impartial and constructive in our participation in the work of the United Nations.

219. We are also conscious of the fact that as a small country we can play but a limited role in the great and grave issues that confront the world Organization today, issues such as those of cold war and disarmament. In this respect, we feel that we can play a constructive role for peace and the reduction of tensions in the world only by acting in concert with other like-minded countries within the United Nations itself.

220. The smaller nations, it is being said, are acquiring a new voice in world affairs. Certainly in this Assembly, where each of us has a vote equal to that of a great Power, our role and our responsibility have acquired a significance without precedent in human history. The great question before us now is how we shall fulfil that role. Are we going to be pulled in this direction or that, or are we going to stand on our own feet? Are we going to attach ourselves to one or another power bloc in an already deeply and dangerously divided world, or are we going to form our own judgement? Shall we be guided by expediency in an atmosphere of intrigue, or by the true aspirations of our own peoples, our own reasoning, and our own sense of justice?

221. I, for one, believe that we should say frankly and openly what is in our hearts, without fear or favour. My country is fiercely proud of its independence, which we have never wholly lost. Ten years ago we shook off the internal bondage of a feudal autocratic régime. A year and a half ago we held our first national election and as a free people we are now moving ahead on a new road of reconstruction and new development. While we welcome and are grateful for the help that is being given to us by friendly governments—those of India, the United States, China, the USSR, the United Kingdom and others—as well as by the United Nations, we do not want any country to tell us how we should think, or how we should conduct our internal affairs.

222. We should be happier if the aid which we receive were channeled very largely, if not entirely, through the United Nations, which has scrupulously refrained from any interference whatsoever in our domestic political concerns. Like other countries now represented here, we prefer to estimate ourselves the strengths and weaknesses of other social systems and to choose our own. We do not wish to be battered by propaganda or to have our minds made up for us, or to reach our decisions in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred. We do not want to be absorbed into the cold war, or to become a tool of any power bloc. This is not only because, if a hot war should occur, we should prefer not to be embroiled in it. There is another and, I believe, a deeper reason. We

should like to join with other peoples that feel, as we do, that the smaller nations which follow a truly independent course can become a force for peace in the world.

223. The United Nations is composed of many small nations. These small nations can, if they like, play a very responsible and very positive role in the world of today. For this, however, mere negative reactions to the cold-war strategy of the big Powers are not enough. We should cultivate the habit of developing a positive and constructive response to each political and economic question of the world, which is divided politically and economically in different ways.

224. The main function of the United Nations at the present moment is the creation, or re-creation, of a climate of confidence and trust. When we met here in the General Assembly in 1959, we were looking up with great hope and expectation to the Summit Conference of the great Powers in Paris. But the Conference, which the statesmen of the world had planned and built up so very painfully, ended abruptly in a fiasco, landing us once more in a world of mistrust and suspicion. As a result of this failure of the Summit Conference, the world, including our own part, has been required to exercise a greater measure of vigilance than would have been necessary otherwise.

225. While the failure of the Summit Conference disappoints us, the new attempt made by the statesmen of the world to come together at the United Nations during the current session of the General Assembly gives us some hope. As the world gets smaller, owing to the revolution in modern technology, the need for the statesmen and leaders of the world to meet and face each other around a table to discuss outstanding issues among them becomes all the more imperative. It may be hoped that all the possibilities and opportunities presented by the gathering of so many Heads of Government here at United Nations Headquarters will be fully exploited in the interest of world peace without unnecessary prejudice and without any false notion of prestige. In my opinion, this is a unique opportunity for making serious attempts to resolve differences, an opportunity which is not likely to present itself again in the near future.

226. I take this opportunity to endorse wholeheartedly the proposal made to the Assembly by President Nasser [873rd meeting] for an immediate meeting between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev, in an effort to ease tensions, if for no other purpose.

227. Small nations can play a very constructive role in these circumstances. Whether they actually do so remains to be seen. It is not a very easy task, we know. Despite all of our differences in history, language, tradition and culture, we are suddenly faced with a new, imperative need for some measure of unity. Unless we find that unity, our strength will be dissipated and wasted.

228. How can we achieve such a measure of unity? I myself do not think that we shall find it on the basis of geography or race, or of any ideology of the right or left, but in our common adherence to the principles of this Organization, including the equal rights of nations large and small, and in a common determination that our growing influence shall be used, with a cool head, not to widen, but to narrow, the dangerous division that now exists between the two great power

blocs of the East and the West. Our physical strength may be negligible, but our moral strength, if we are true to ourselves and to the peoples for whom we speak, may be great. Whether we wish it or not, we are called upon to participate in confronting the issues before this momentous session of the General Assembly.

229. There is also the overriding issue of disarmament. We have set forth our views on this question on different occasions. We are of the opinion that general and complete disarmament with effective controls should be possible between the two groups of Powers. The tragic record of past negotiations has not been alleviated by what we have heard during the opening days of this session of the General Assembly. Is there anything new which we of the uncommitted nations can contribute to the solution of this vast problem in which we have so little voice but so large a stake? I believe that there is. All are agreed that a continuation of the accelerating and fantastic armaments race is suicidal. Yet any basis of agreement between the power blocs, riveted into their hostile positions, seems as distant as ever. Certainly the efforts to reach some agreement should be continued through any means that the General Assembly can devise.

230. But I believe that there is also another approach which is in the interest of all parties and which has not yet been given the attention that it deserves. It is that progressive disarmament should be linked with the creation and development of a world police force, or peace force, a force accountable to all humanity, which will gradually become more and more powerful than any national Power or coalition of Powers, a force whose one and only task will be to preserve world peace against infringement by any nation, great or small.

231. I come now to the question of the organization of the United Nations itself. On this issue, we of the uncommitted smaller nations must have our own opinions. On this our votes will count. We cannot afford to allow this agency to become in itself a football between the power blocs. In the opinion of my delegation, the United Nations must be strengthened to include, among other things, a world police force or security agency, and a vastly expanded programme for the administration of economic aid, without any semblance of political interference, to the three-quarters of the world in which poverty is a rising danger to the peace and prosperity of all.

232. The political and military problems confronting the world are extremely challenging. They are very complicated problems involving the basic beliefs and values of life obtaining in either part of the world. My country has adopted the liberal values of life to be preserved by the will of the people expressed through free elections. But political aspirations alone, however strong and genuine, cannot work in a vacuum. For this reason we would like the United Nations to turn its attention increasingly towards the solution of the pressing economic problems in various regions. As we look at the world, we find that the economic disparity between countries, as between the rich and the poor people within the nation, is the source of much friction and tension. Is it necessary for some people, as for some nations, to continue to be poor in order that other people, as other nations, can continue to be rich? Must the starvation of a part of humanity

always stare us in the face? It is our humble opinion that, owing to the revolutionary advances in technology and its extremely rapid rate of growth, it is possible, with concerted effort, to raise the living standards of the peoples of under-developed countries without lowering the standard of living of those in the advanced countries. Is it too much to hope that the United Nations will pool all the human, material and technological resources available at present and use them most effectively to raise the living standards of the peoples of the under-developed countries?

233. President Eisenhower, when he spoke before the General Assembly [868th meeting], pleaded eloquently for the diversion of resources to these constructive ends. Disarmament, if it materializes, will release a vast amount of material and technical resources for such constructive purposes. Mr. Khrushchev, too, while stressing the need for disarmament, suggested in his speech [869th meeting] that disarmament will mean a diversion of the vast fund of money and skill towards overcoming the backwardness of under-developed countries.

234. This, we believe, is a much more serious and constructive challenge than the political one, and we hope that in the years to come the United Nations will have to its credit as many economic achievements in different parts of the world as it has political achievements today.

235. It follows that the real solution of the world's problems, including the problem of world peace and prosperity, lies in the direction of strengthening and extending the authority of the United Nations. This authority will be strengthened and fortified if the decisions of the United Nations are respected faithfully and loyally by all Powers, great and small. In the implementation of these decisions, we should be true only to the spirit of man, irrespective of his race, region and nation. His Majesty's Government of Nepal would like the United Nations to develop along these lines, and will support policies which it thinks will promote these objectives.

236. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): I extend to Mr. Boland, on behalf of the Liberian delegation and myself, congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. I am sure that with your wisdom and unique experience the work of this session will be conducted in a harmonious, orderly and impartial manner.

237. The United Nations General Assembly is meeting for the fifteenth consecutive time, and many of the questions on the agenda have occupied our minds for a period of years. It is to be hoped that we will have made some changes in our attitudes and approaches to enable us to make progress in their solution so as to reduce the tensions and relieve the anxieties of people.

238. In a world where our problems tend to increase rather than diminish, and the differences between nations, political, ideological and religious, widen with the passage of time, the Liberian Government feels that the best hope of meeting the challenge to peace and security is the United Nations and we should give the Organization wholehearted support. Nations have at times tried to circumvent or by-pass this Organization in seeking a solution to some of the problems that vex and try our patience in a world beset with fears, suspicions and anxieties. Invariably such

meetings or gatherings have not yielded the expected or desired results and in the last resort we have had to return to the conference table of the United Nations.

239. The discussions and decisions of the Assembly have ranged over many problems—problems that have had an effect on the destiny of man wherever he lived. The United Nations has never turned a deaf ear or refused to consider an appeal from any country, however small, or from any people however backward, despite stubborn resistance by some. In many cases the aggrieved parties have not obtained the satisfaction desired, but they nevertheless have left this hall with less rancour and bitterness, taking with them the hope and aspirations of all peoples as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

240. The Assembly might have become the most powerful instrument for peace, but in some decisions taken or actions contemplated there has been interjected the East-West conflict, known as the cold war. The greatest obstruction or hindrance to the implementation of its resolutions come generally not from the small Power mainly concerned, but from the support given by some of the great Powers to one side vis-à-vis the other in direct opposition to the decisions taken by the United Nations.

241. When the Security Council, with its veto powers, had been created and made responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, the world had hoped that peace would be assured, but unfortunately this has not been the case.

242. Many times matters are not considered and advanced on their merits, with due regard to rights and justice, but rather with regard to the political and international expediency of the particular case. Under such circumstances, resolutions of the United Nations are often obstructed if not nullified. The Organization can only become an effective instrument for peace when its decisions are honoured, respected and obeyed by all—small and great Powers alike. This will be possible if there is a "rapprochement" between East and West.

243. It was therefore with much hope and expectation that the world looked forward to the much-publicized Summit Conference, the collapse of which on the first day of its meeting in Paris came as a great disappointment and shock.

244. I am very pleased to express on behalf of the Liberian Government and its delegation warm greetings and sincere wishes to all the new African States and Cyprus which are represented here for the first time in this Assembly. The African States are Cameroun, Dahomey, the Niger, the Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Chad, Togo, Madagascar, Somalia, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Central African Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Senegal and Mali.

245. We look forward to welcoming to this Organization Nigeria which is on the threshold of obtaining its independence and sovereignty and any other States which may be welcomed into this Organization before the Assembly's adjournment.

246. The new Africa which is being created by the emergence of more and more independent nations possessing vast human and material resources must be prepared to make recognized contributions to the general, scientific and technological progress and prosperity of the world community, thereby reflecting

credit to our continent, to our race and to our culture. We shall have to avoid the pitfalls which have brought sufferings and misery to the world.

247. We heartily welcome these nations into our fold and hope that they will, through their own experience, bring a new and reviving spirit and approach to the problems of the United Nations.

248. In assuming the mastery of our own destiny, that is, the control of our own political affairs, the modelling of our own social system, the development of our own culture, the right of worship at our own altars—in short the pursuit of our happiness and prosperity, I should like to recall the words of an eminent African statesman:

"In the hour of our triumph, we Africans must remember that what we seek is justice and not revenge. There is no time for us to brood over the grievances and the sufferings of the past. We look to the future—a future which we hope to see cleansed of the racial hatred which brought such misfortune upon our own people. We must extend to the white man the hand of forgiveness and fellowship. We must invite him to join us in burying misunderstandings and in working for a better and happier world."

249. The sword of Damocles still hangs over mankind, and it appears each year as we witness the improvement of old, and the creation of new and more powerful weapons. The necessity for a disarmament agreement is therefore pressing. It is ironic that the more we talk about disarmament, the more we invent powerful instruments of destruction. Through fear, mistrust and suspicion, we still cling to the old conception that the surest way to prevent war is to be fully armed. This theory did not prevent the two last major conflicts.

250. However, disarmament in itself will not bring us the peace and security we desire. It will be necessary for us to find solutions to problems and causes which bring about fear and suspicion by adjustments which will bridge the gap between the great Powers. Having eradicated from our minds the old principle of settling differences or disagreements by force, it is necessary that we should try to implement this in good faith. The world cannot afford to continue to regard war as another means of pursuing policy.

251. Man is by nature inclined to fight to maintain a principle or to uphold what he thinks is right and fair, or sometimes for self-aggrandisement and power. The type of weapon he has may have a restraining influence, but we can never be sure that it will have a deterrent effect. For over fourteen years we have been trying to arrive at some form of agreement on disarmament. Whenever we have reached a stalemate or deadlock, we have tried to overcome the difficulty by creating new bodies. The only thing which has changed has been the body discussing the problem. It is no wonder, then, that we have not made much progress in finding a solution to the disarmament problem.

252. In spite of disappointments we cannot afford to despair. We have got to continue our efforts to reach an agreement, for our very survival is hanging in the balance. We must seek to end the arms race by approaching this intricate problem on the basis of right and justice and in the interest of humanity

rather than for narrow national self-interest. It is only then that the dark clouds on the horizon can be dispelled.

253. The Liberian delegation still entertains the hope that a peaceful, democratic and just settlement will be found to end the Algerian war, and that that solution will be based on the legitimate right of self-determination in conformity with the principles of the United Nations. That both parties to the conflict have accepted the principle of self-determination shows that this problem is not beyond solution.

254. We congratulate the leaders of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, who, motivated by a sincere desire to achieve peace, sent a delegation to France to start negotiations with the French Government. It was not out of weakness or the hopelessness of their cause that these leaders made such a journey, but rather to meet the requirements often expressed in all resolutions on Algeria that "pourparlers" or negotiations should be entered into between the parties to determine the conditions necessary for the implementation as early as possible of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people, including the conditions of a cease-fire.

255. Colonialism in any form dies painfully and slowly. It leaves a scar on every phase of the life of a dependent or subjugated people. So deep-seated are its roots in the social, economic and political life of a people that they cannot be completely uprooted without much pain and suffering and, at times, without violence both to the colonizer and the colonized. It leaves in its wake sadness, bitterness, and sometimes almost perpetual hatred. Africa is the last bulwark of such colonialism. Overnight the face of this continent has undergone a remarkable change. It is no longer spotted with multitudinous colours representing the possession of each foreign Power. It is assuming a uniform pattern representing the common people, a common interest and a common goal. There are still a few dark stains where the African suffers the most cruel form of humiliation, suppression, torture and even death, but these too will be eradicated, for nothing can withstand this new dynamic force of nationalism that has penetrated the remotest part of this continent.

256. In most cases the transformation from colonial rule to self-government and independence has been orderly and peaceful. As Africans we must record our appreciation and gratitude to those who have assisted in making such a smooth change. However there are cases where the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial Power to those of the subject peoples has been accompanied with strife, bloodshed and even death—as we witness today in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

257. The difficulties afflicting the Congo are dangerous and may be a threat to international peace. But there is no need for gloom. The threat can be overcome if all States Members of the United Nations will relinquish personal and selfish ambitions for the general interests of peace through support to the United Nations. It would be futile to search for a solution which is biased or one-sided. In our opinion, the problem cannot be approached, from East or West, save in the interest of peace on earth amongst men and nations and in the interest of the Congolese people as a whole.

258. While it regrets the unfortunate state of affairs in the Congo, the Liberian Government believes that this is not the time for accusations and recriminations but a time to find a satisfactory solution so as to prevent fratricide. We feel that the responsibility for restoring peace and order in the Congo is incumbent upon the United Nations under the terms of reference given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council. The United Nations is the only organization able to act in the Congo without the risk of a general conflict. Consequently, my delegation wishes to register once again that the Liberian Government feels the most implicit confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations and in his impartial, faithful and objective execution of the resolutions of the Security Council with regard to the Congo.

259. Because the issue of the Secretary-General's conduct in implementing the resolutions of the Security Council was considered during the debate at the recent emergency special session, when a resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] was passed without any dissenting vote, thereby endorsing the action of the Secretary-General in the Congo, the reopening of this question is contrary to generally accepted parliamentary practice.

260. Having this in view, the Government of Liberia was one of the sponsors of the resolution adopted by the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly, which forbids unilateral action to be taken by any nation in the present situation in the Congo for the purpose of exploiting an unfortunate situation for selfish ends.

261. The Liberian delegation regrets the state of affairs in the Congo, but is unable to endorse the suggestion of a purely African command for the United Nations Force in the Congo. This suggestion appears to us to violate the fundamental principles of the United Nations, which should operate without regard to race, colour or creed. Moreover it would establish a precedent which might undermine the future effectiveness of the United Nations.

262. No Member of the United Nations has a right to determine who should or should not be in charge of the Congolese Government or how it should be composed. That is a matter for the Congolese people to determine. Our duty is to assist the Congolese people to resolve their differences, not to seek to impose or support a settlement merely because of political or national interests.

263. However, it seems to our delegation that an impasse has been reached in the Congo, and that is perhaps not due to the action or attitude of any one person. In spite of the impartiality and good intentions of the Secretary-General in implementing the resolutions of the Security Council, this impasse continues to exist and tends to obstruct the efforts of the United Nations in arriving at a solution of the problem.

264. As we have already said this is not the time for recrimination. Our whole effort should be directed towards finding a speedy solution to the Congo situation in the interest of all the Congolese peoples, without any particular emphasis being placed on which individual should head the Government of the Congo. In these circumstances it seems to us that the United Nations must adopt other measures not only in support of its previous resolutions, but also to overcome this impasse and give more effect to these resolutions.

265. For our part we envisage some United Nations commission, in consultation with the Secretary-General, which could go to the Congo, study the situation, consult with all concerned and endeavour to resolve the differences in keeping with the resolution passed at the fourth emergency special session on 20 September 1960.

266. It is our opinion that no useful purpose will be served by nations, and particularly the under-developed nations, attempting to by-pass the United Nations or to flout its authority. The United Nations supports the independence and defends the sovereignty of all nations and, as many States are gaining independence today, especially the African States, it is the Organization to which we look for protection and defence in times of crisis.

267. Under-developed nations need all the money, resources and manpower for development purposes and cannot afford the luxury of armaments. It seems sheer folly for us to follow a course of organizing and maintaining great armies like the bigger nations, first because it would be a strain on our resources and also because it would deprive us of means of development. The cost of armaments could be applied to a more useful purpose. The great Powers are themselves greatly concerned, if not fearful, of the consequences that would be involved in the use of these instruments and are frantically trying to reach agreement on the destruction and abandonment of armaments. The Liberian Government's point of view is that the smaller countries should come forward with proposals which would emphasize the necessity for the settlement of international disputes and differences in the United Nations.

268. The Union of South Africa has continued its opprobrious policy of "apartheid" and in March, 1960, there was an unwarranted slaughter of defenceless Africans at Sharpeville which touched the conscience of the world. Any situation based on a master race theory is a serious threat to peace. Governments which fail to recognize this may have to be saved from the consequences of their reckless policy. This state of affairs cannot continue without endangering international peace and security. In such an instance it cannot be a matter of domestic jurisdiction. My delegation therefore hopes that this Assembly will express its opinion on such lawlessness and take necessary action to prevent such repulsive acts by a Member State.

269. The question of South West Africa continues unsettled, and the people of that Territory are still without relief. As may be recalled, the Second Conference of Independent African States, meeting at Addis Ababa in June 1960, reviewed General Assembly resolution 338 (IV) covering the legal action open to Member States to refer the dispute with the Union of South Africa on interpretation of the application of the Mandate for South West Africa, to the International Court of Justice for adjudication in accordance with Article 37 of the Statute of the Court. My delegation wishes to notify Member States and the United Nations that in order to bring to an end this long and vexing issue, the Government of Liberia, in association with the Government of Ethiopia, intends to bring a case against the Union of South Africa before the International Court of Justice and it is our sincere hope that the Court will give this great matter the serious

attention and consideration it deserves and that a decision will be rendered as speedily as possible.

270. Multilateral assistance administered by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to under-developed countries is often preferred to unilateral aid. But the present technical assistance programmes of the international agencies do not appear to be adequate. My delegation therefore hopes that some plan of expansion can be worked out, because it is necessary for the preservation of peace that the gulf between the developed and under-developed countries be narrowed as rapidly as possible.

271. With the emergence of such a considerable number of new States in Africa, my delegation strongly feels and recommends that membership in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council should be expanded because of the large increase in membership of the Organization. Undoubtedly, the participation of these States could be useful in creating a balance by contributing in a substantial manner to the progress and activities of the Councils of the United Nations.

272. Into the Charter of the United Nations was written the principle of unanimity among the five permanent members of the Security Council. We have witnessed on several occasions how operations of the United Nations have been paralysed by this procedure.

273. The Liberian delegation feels that any revision of the Charter which abolishes the position of Secretary-General in favour of an executive triumvirate operating on the basis of unanimity or predicated on regional alignments or blocs would only contribute to the total and complete destruction of the United Nations and would travesty the principles on which the Organization was founded. Instead of creating new blocs, my delegation feels that we should strive to do away with all blocs and seek to create one brotherhood among men.

274. I think we are at a critical turning point in modern history; an era of political and economic transformations, of social upheavals and international tensions. This period marks the beginning of the liquidation of the concept of power politics, imperialism and colonial empires. It is, in short, an era of the recognition of the dignity and worth of every individual human being, and of the right of self-determination of all peoples.

275. The changes taking place in the world in general and in Africa in particular in this age impose upon the Members of this Organization, especially the great industrial Powers, the responsibility of underwriting the peace and happiness of mankind.

276. The United Nations is a purposeful Organization. Its aim, as I understand it, is to unify peoples of divergent cultures and political ideals towards new expressions of their creative mind in all aspects of existence, and in the exercise of their potentialities beyond narrow national conceptions and material standards. It is designed to enrich man's taste and, by association, open to him unlimited frontiers of the mind, so that his energies may be channelled from crude physical indulgence and sterile competition for the sake of competition only, and from all ingenious contrivances of mutual destruction, to loftier heights and ideals.

277. All Africans know that if it were not for this Organization the changes in world affairs which have made 1960 the year of Africa would have been improbable if not impossible. We therefore implore all friends of Africa to accept and embrace the United Nations, notwithstanding its seeming imperfections, as the palladium of our liberties and as the source of our political peace in the years ahead.

278. The Liberian delegation sincerely expresses the hope all action will be avoided which may tend to make the United Nations impotent and unable to fulfil the functions envisaged in its Charter. We are not prepared to take any action which would have such an unfortunate result.

279. It is the hope of my delegation that at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, Member States have come prepared to make a bold, just and serious attempt to resolve some of the burning issues which plague the world today, bringing in their wake disappointment, frustration and tension, and not to intensify existing conflicts. We appeal for a new realistic approach to our diplomatic thinking, so that the peoples of the world will be given the assurance that peace and tranquillity will prevail.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

280. The PRESIDENT: Earlier this afternoon the representative of Ecuador asked for the floor to reply to the representative of Peru. Since then the representative of Peru has informed me that if I give the floor to the representative of Ecuador he would wish to be given the floor after him. I propose to call on the representatives of Ecuador and Peru in that order, after which I propose to adjourn the meeting. If I may be allowed to do so, I would appeal to the two representatives to endeavour to limit their interventions to the shortest possible duration consonant with their purpose, out of consideration for the Assembly, which has now been sitting continuously for four hours.

281. Mr. CHIRIBOGA VILLAGOMEZ (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): In speaking for the second time from this rostrum I shall take up only five minutes of the Assembly's time. I regret that my previous statement of Ecuador's position should have prompted the Peruvian representative's vehement outburst. He saw fit to reply to the legal arguments and hard facts adduced by the Ecuadorian delegation with a Peruvian romance, a Peruvian Arabian Nights' tale, which must surely have astonished those who are familiar with Latin American history and who know that the Ecuadorian delegation, in coming to this rostrum, did not seek to falsify the truth but spoke on the basis of facts and figures.

282. I must thank the Peruvian representative for having been good enough throughout his tirade to confirm the two facts submitted by Ecuador. First, there was an invasion of our territory and it was an armed invasion. The Peruvian representative described it as defence measures provoked by Ecuador. In other words, a garrison of 160 men ventured to provoke 30,000 Peruvian soldiers drawn up under the command of Admiral Ureta.

283. This is a statement from the Peruvian side which I do not think anyone in this Assembly is going to believe, namely, that 160 almost unarmed frontier soldiers would provoke a garrison of 30,000 men, prepared and organized, with tanks and aircraft, who

sowed destruction, death and desolation over whole provinces of Ecuador.

284. Secondly, the Peruvian representative confirmed the obvious fact that the so-called Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries of 1942 was signed at a time when Peruvian troops were occupying extensive provinces of Ecuador. In other words, he brought out what the Ecuadorian delegation has maintained and asserted, namely, that the Protocol was a direct result of force, aggression, coercion and pressure. These facts have been confirmed for us by the Peruvian representative and I therefore express my gratitude to him because the Assembly has learned from his own lips that Ecuador was attacked and that, having been attacked and having its territory occupied, it was forced to sign the so-called Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries.

285. The Peruvian representative has accused me of bringing up ancient history because I went back to the Boundaries Treaty of 1829. What shall I say to him, who went back to 1539? The truth is that I am a modern historian, referring only to a Treaty of 1829, whereas he sought to go even further back, to the sixteenth century. What surprises me, however, is that he denied the existence of the 1829 Treaty, which was recognized by Peruvian authorities like Arturo Garcia and Pardo y Larrera, while Mr. Belaúnde himself in the allegations he made in Washington in 1938—not against the validity but against the present applicability of the 1829 Treaty—recognized the existence of this Treaty. In other words we see Mr. Belaúnde disclaiming in 1960 what he said in 1938.

286. It has been said that electoral considerations and pledges compel Ecuador to adopt this new attitude. In other words, when my country comes to inform the Assembly that we have been victims of aggression and that, as a result of that aggression, we were compelled to sign a treaty with a dagger at our back, we are accused of electioneering.

287. My country, fortunately, is a democratic one and not one in which twenty-four families control the national territory. It is not a country in which twenty-four families possess the whole national patrimony. It is a profoundly democratic country, in which people and Government are of one mind. If that were not so, why, in a country so interested in electioneering, do the opposition parties applaud the Foreign Minister for defending the legitimate rights of Ecuador? Why does the opposition applaud and support the firm attitude of the Ecuadorian delegation and the firm policy of its Government?

288. This is no question of electoral pressure in Ecuador. We are not dealing with the problem of nationalizing petroleum. When there is a problem of nationalizing petroleum an attempt is usually made to divert public opinion towards international problems. In my country, fortunately, we have no problems of this kind. In Ecuador we are all united as one man in a single thought and desire, that of defending our patrimony and the principles of inter-Americanism. How shall we defend them? Once and for all, by law and justice.

289. One final clarification: in submitting its case to the United Nations, my country has not come to ask anything or to make any accusations. It has come to expose a situation which could undermine Latin American solidarity, world solidarity and peace in

general. We have not come to make accusations; we have not come to make any requests; nor have we come to start a controversy. Hence, whatever may be the reply of the Peruvian representative, Ecuador will not take the floor again. The case is already known to all. Why should we insist? We were invaded; we were compelled to sign a treaty, a treaty which was not one of peace, friendship, boundaries. If Pan-Americanism is to live and if the fundamental principles of this Organization are to remain valid, then something which is basically null and void and which offends the legal conscience of the world cannot continue.

290. I thank the President for allowing me to speak and I can assure representatives that I shall not take up any more of their time.

291. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): How glad I should have been not to have to come up to the rostrum this afternoon! The Assembly has urgent problems before it, but my country was the victim of a violent and explosive attack. I have come to this rostrum to exercise a right, the most legitimate right of all, that of self-defence. I am going to speak for five minutes only.

292. The representative of Ecuador states that I have admitted that Peru committed an act of aggression, when in fact I came to this rostrum to protest against such an assertion and to request your indulgence in order to remind you of my country's clean record.

293. The events of that time were provoked by Ecuador. There was a status quo frontier and this frontier was violated by Ecuador, which occupied the Island of Noblecilla, today called Matapalo, between the Quebrada de Las Lajas and the Quebrada Seca, and further to the south the Meseta del Caucho, both situated some kilometres to the west of the status quo line and right inside Peruvian territory.

294. These are the facts. On the morning of 5 July 1941—we are very far from 12 December 1941, which was the date of Pearl Harbor—the Ecuadorian garrison at Huaquillas attacked the Peruvian post of Aguas Verdes, crossing the frontier and trying to surround a small garrison, which fought valiantly. There were many troops on the Ecuadorian side and there were also troops on the Peruvian side. In Ecuador it was announced everywhere that this frontier incident was to conclude with an Ecuadorian victory and that Ecuadorian troops were advancing over Peruvian

territory. Peru did no more than defend itself; naturally it defended itself. There was a military operation in which Peru was successful, but it did not take undue advantage of its success.

295. The Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942 was ratified by the Ecuadorian Congress after the normal frontier situation had been restored. Hence the Ecuadorian Congress ratified the Protocol without any material pressure being placed upon it.

296. I cannot refrain from calling the Assembly's attention to this fact, because Peru did not cry, "Vae victis, here is the Protocol." But this has never been Peru's policy. This matter gave rise to Marshal Castilla's dispute with Ecuador in 1860. As soon as Ecuador recognized the Decree of 1802, Marshal Castilla withdrew, proclaiming friendship with Ecuador.

297. Peru has always made gestures like this; such has been its history. In 1942, it left Ecuador in freedom and the Ecuadorian Congress approved the Protocol. The ratifications of the Protocol were subsequently exchanged in Brazil, with the intervention of President Vargas of that country, who stated in a speech that the Protocol set the seal on peace in America.

298. Nor can it be denied that, besides being ratified and the ratifications exchanged, the Protocol has been executed. The joint Peruvian and Ecuadorian frontier commissions have agreed upon the location of each frontier mark over a distance of 1,600 kilometres of frontier, in many cases with the assistance of the guaranteeing Powers. The Protocol is therefore an actual fact. Peru has not acquired any territory by a temporary and restricted occupation. The territories which Peru holds are those with which it was constituted.

299. I am absolutely confident that when the time comes, calm will return to the statesmen of a nation so illustrious as Ecuador. I hope that they understand that it is not the best policy to come here and make violent attacks on a country which has always behaved correctly in the United Nations and has always been scrupulously respectful not only towards individual representatives but also towards the sacred personality of all the American nations.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.