

The Chair now calls upon the representative of Liberia.

MR. SIMPSON: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: This opportunity to address the plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization is indeed a great privilege.

On behalf of the Liberian Delegation, I desire to say that we associate ourselves with other delegations in paying tribute to the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose foresight was chiefly responsible for the convening of this historic Conference in this delightful city of San Francisco.

The death of this great humanitarian and liberal is a severe loss not only to his country, but to all nations regardless of their size or potentiality.

I should like to observe that the Liberian Delegation cannot but have mingled feelings on an occasion such as this. Speakers who have ascended this tribune have had occasion to refer to the brutal warfare and carnage which their countries have undergone over a number of years. I allude in particular to the representatives of China, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippine Commonwealth, Yugoslavia. Ethiopia also has had her baptism of war.

Superior forces invaded, raped, and conquered their countries--our hearts and hopes went out for them, and we still have a feeling of the agony which they underwent and must still endure. But we now rejoice that ultimately their liberation has come and that meanwhile their souls still remained unconquered.

It is indeed a truism that might may at times seem greater than right, but in the final analysis right and justice must and will prevail. Mr. President, I cannot refrain from making an especial reference to the heroic struggle which China for eight long years has made for survival and the maintenance of world peace. Some day recorded history will correctly appraise the indomitable character of the Chinese people.

To Soviet Russia we are indebted for the victories of her mighty armies in Europe, and particularly the epic struggle at Stalingrad, which will ever remain fresh in memory.

To the Delegation of the United Kingdom may I observe that great praise and credit are due to your Government and people for your gallant struggle during the dark days of the war--I refer to the battle of Britain--when hope seemed lost, and a democratic world was then hanging in fateful balances. It was then that His Majesty's Government and the people of London were determined and resolved that Britons would never, never be slaves.

It was with this conviction that Prime Minister Churchill said: "We will defend every village, every town, every city . . . we shall tolerate no terms, we shall tolerate no parley, we may show mercy, but we shall ask none."

Last, but not least, the natural gifts of leadership and vision of the late President Roosevelt, and of his capable and wise assistants, the industrial power and resources of the United States Government, have contributed most effectively to the prosecution of the war, the last phase of which we are now happily witnessing in Europe. The United States of America has indeed and in truth been called the Arsenal of Democracy.

I crave forgiveness for the time utilized, but members of the Liberian Delegation are mindful of the narrow escape which their country had at the hands of Germany. We realize that the physical and economic servitude imposed upon other countries might have also been inflicted upon us, and it is for this reason that we are inspired to speak a word of praise to representatives of these countries whose struggles, whose sacrifices in toil and blood, have enabled us to survive and permitted civilization and democratic ideals to remain on the face of the earth.

It may be useful to state that at the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, the Government of Liberia assumed and consistently maintained an attitude of strict neutrality toward the respective belligerent powers. While Liberia originally endeavored to stand aloof from the conflict, yet the methods pursued by Germany to vindicate what she pretended to be her national rights and honor by the adoption of such means as the sinking, without warning, of unarmed passenger vessels of her enemies and neutrals, the bombardment of unfortified towns and villages, and the violation of the rights of small states, were such flagrant violations of the rules of civilized warfare as to justly create on the part of the Liberian Government grave apprehensions and fears of the eventual permanent establishment of the doctrine of might over right in the realm of international relations, which doctrine would only result in the complete subjugation and elimination of all small and weak states from the association of nations.

Hence, the Government of Liberia could not any longer continue to view with indifference and unconcern the great world conflict of arms.

Accordingly, it registered a solemn protest against the unlawful and inhumane acts on the part of the Axis powers by severing all relations with these governments.

A plan of collaboration between the Governments of the United States and Liberia was concluded and announced, whereby United States forces were stationed in Liberia, thus fixing the

Republic within the sphere of the activities of the United Nations.

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In some respects, Liberia's activities in this war against the Axis powers might be considered negligible, but we take some pride in the fact that we have been the largest contributor of cultivated rubber to the Allied cause. This, we believe, has enabled tanks and jeeps and motor vehicles to roll on faster and surer to the very gates of Berlin.

With reference specifically to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the labor these impose upon delegates at the Conference, I should like to say that the initiative on the part of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China in drafting a plan on world security and peace, prior to the conclusion of the war, is now unqualifiedly praiseworthy, and clearly indicates that the great powers who have had the means to wage wars and have not, when it seemed expedient, refrained from precipitating them, are not only determined and willing to solemnly bind themselves into a pact to keep themselves at peace, but to associate with themselves the rest of the peace-loving world in creating a structure for the common weal of mankind.

It is our sincere hope that the nations represented at this Conference will complete the structure in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding.

The Delegation which I have the honor to head would have me inform this assembly that, with the exception of a few amendments which are to be the subject of examination, the Government of Liberia is pleased to give support to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

With a view to giving the Security Council full powers to maintain international peace and security, the Liberian Delegation stands ready to support the recommendation contained in Article VI to the effect that representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The suggestion that the General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats should be amended to seven seats, and that the General Assembly should elect, from the panel of member states not entitled to permanent seats, alphabetically seven states, which would serve a term of two years, and this procedure should be followed until the panel of states is exhausted. This course would enable all member states of the United Nations to be represented on the Council at some given time. If this suggestion is adhered to, it is quite possible that some of the pitfalls which occurred in the former League of Nations might be obviated. Acceptance of the foregoing proposal would be a further test as to whether a truly democratic principle can be maintained between an association of democratic nations.

It is also the view of the Liberian Delegation that whatever study eventually may be given to the economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, relating to members of the United Nations, envisaged in Paragraph 3, Chapter 1, of the Proposals, the principle should emerge and be made crystal clear that this should not imply that a nation or the General Assembly may either interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of another state upon the assumption or decision that certain social or economic needs or reforms are desirable for that state. The state itself must reserve the right to determine the necessity for any such action; otherwise it would be relegated to the status of a dependency.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the people of all lands are with anxious solicitude hoping that as leaders and trustees of our respective governments our action in drafting a Charter for World Organization will not be dictated by mere individualistic or nationalistic whims, but by the realities of the situation confronting the world.

We must, therefore, seek to formulate and build a system of international peace and security sufficiently strong to be relied upon not only for the crisis of threatened war, but for all times. It must not be based upon nationalistic selfishness, or imperialistic concepts, but upon the principle of justice and law for all nations, whether great or small.

I must, however, point out that experience has demonstrated that lasting peace and security can be looked forward to only if the great powers are themselves united and remain united in peace as they were in war. The moral values must be given precedence in the future and the will to preserve the peace must be likewise dominant in the life of nations. These qualities pervade the thinking of small nations to a greater extent, perhaps, than that of great powers, for not possessing the means to wage war, the dreams and hopes of small nations are only of world peace and the security of their rights and independence. This Conference may utilize this spirit in completing the structure for the prevention of war and the maintenance of peace by integrating to a larger extent the voices, and I might add the wisdom, of all small nations. Nearly two thousand years ago, the world's wisest statesman and humanitarian remarked for the benefit and guidance of the philosophers that "A little child shall lead them."

Let us devoutly hope that in the interest of an ordered and peaceable world, these United Nations will now and forever work together in order that true democratic civilization and human values might not be blotted out of the lives of future generations of this earth. I thank you.

MR. STETTINIUS: Fellow Delegates, as our last speaker at this plenary session, I now present to you the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of Turkey.

MR. HASAN SAKA (speaking in French; translation follows): Mr. Chairman, Honorable Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish first in the name of the Turkish Delegation, to perform the pleasant duty of offering my sincere thanks to the Government of the United States for having taken the initiative of summoning this Conference on free and democratic American soil, and especially to the administration of this beautiful city of San Francisco which, in spite of all the difficulties to which a great war base is subject, has granted us the most cordial welcome and the most exquisite hospitality.

In mounting this platform, my first thoughts go out, with deep emotion, to the great man who is no longer amongst us and to whom we are all indebted for being gathered here. President Roosevelt was not merely a great national leader who inspired the love and the respect of his people, he was also a great human being whose whole thought and whose every effort were constantly intent on the creation of a world whose peoples would be free, happy, and prosperous, conscious of their rights and confident in justice.

In the name of the Turkish Delegation, I bow my head before the memory of President Roosevelt and offer him my tribute of gratitude and thankfulness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Turkish Delegation has already submitted to the Conference's General Secretariat a memorandum in which it discusses in general its considerations concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. I therefore wish to avoid wearying my listeners by repeating here our comments that have already been made public. Allow me, however, to summarize very briefly here the essence of these remarks, in order to explain their spirit and intention.