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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): First of all, I wish to congratulate Mr. Slim most cordially and sincerely, on my own behalf and on that of the Libyan delegation, on his election as President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. The unanimity expressed in selecting him to preside over the work of this session and the great confidence placed in him are a very great tribute to his devotion to the cause of the United Nations, to his experience and knowledge, as well as to his personal qualities, because his friendliness and courtesy have never failed him. I should also like to avail myself of this excellent opportunity to convey my greetings to his country, Tunisia, which is linked to Libya by so many brotherly ties and which, through him, is associated with this token of confidence shown by the international community. The Libyan delegation therefore trusts most sincerely that he will carry out this important international responsibility successfully during this session which seems to be meeting at a particularly delicate turning-point, so far as the peace of the world is concerned.

2. Let me also express to Mr. Boland the Libyan delegation's most earnest appreciation of the authority and distinction with which he presided over the delicate and difficult work of the fifteenth session.

3. The sixteenth session of the General Assembly has begun in the midst of mourning and introspection. The news of the tragic death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations came as a great shock to the Libyan delegation and plunged it in the deepest sorrow. The sudden disappearance of Mr. Hammarskjöld at a time when he was carrying out his mission of peace in the Congo was received in Libya with the deepest emotion and genuine feelings of anguish and grief. The world at large has lost, in him, the perfect example of the international civil servant who placed at the disposal of the United Nations his talent, his unflagging efforts, his integrity, his courage and boundless devotion to the principles and ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. For the whole world Dag Hammarskjöld personified the active conscience of this universe of the United Nations, of which he was the living symbol in its earnest desire for peace, justice and freedom.

4. The memory of Dag Hammarskjöld and of his death in the service of the United Nations will remain locked in the hearts and minds of generations to come as the finest example of sacrifice for the noble principles set forth in our Charter and of constant devotion to the sacred cause of the United Nations. We have requested an international investigation into the circumstances and causes of this accident in order to clear the matter up and to determine the responsibility, if such there be.

5. The controversy which has been raging since the beginning of the fifteenth session concerning the role and structure of the international Organization, together with the tragic and sudden disappearance of Mr. Hammarskjöld before the expiry of his term of office, place the United Nations at a decisive turning-point in its history. As it has always done in the past, Libya solemnly reaffirms, particularly at this difficult juncture, its eternal devotion to the United Nations. Having emerged as an independent and sovereign State under United Nations auspices, Libya has been guided since its independence by the earnest desire and resolute determination faithfully to abide by the ideals and principles of the Organization, because it was under its auspices the Libyan people were able to achieve the objectives of their long struggle for freedom, dignity and independence.

6. At this critical time for the United Nations, Libya considers that it is now more than ever its sacred duty to proclaim its unshakable faith in the United Nations, whose noble ideals and principles have been—and continue to be—a precious source of inspiration for men and nations of goodwill in building a better world.

7. Our attachment to the international Organization, which provided a fair and just solution in fulfilment of Libya's national aspirations and which has done so much since then to hasten the emancipation of peoples, is buttressed by the firm conviction that this Organization has become an essential instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for fostering co-operation and understanding among all the peoples of the earth.

8. The absolute necessity of upholding the United Nations in the stress-torn world of today is fully borne out by the precariousness of the present international situation and its disturbing and dangerous developments. The United Nations is the ideal authority to afford the necessary assistance in avoiding a clash that would mean the end of our planet. This forum is the proper place for addressing a final appeal to the world's conscience in order to halt the insane race towards nuclear warfare and to point to the path of reason in the interest of mankind's survival. This, then, is the right time to reflect seriously and carefully on the shape which our Organization should take in order to serve the true interests of the international community in the best conditions consistent with its institutions and structure at this stage of its growth and rapid advance towards universality.

9. The Libyan delegation considers that the United Nations should be the dynamic instrument of the international will as reflected in its deep-rooted aspirations. It must be the means of achieving the objectives of national sovereignty and equality, of the complete and final liberation of peoples and of establishing satisfactory levels of living. It must be the centre where the conditions are met for ensuring a lasting peace through the establishment of machinery for collective vigilance and security; it must also be the centre for proclaiming the moral code of a world in which the strong will be governed by justice and the weak reassured by the rule of international law. It is our fervent hope that the day will come when the United Nations will cease for ever to be the arena for fighting the cold war, for airing antagonism and ideological disputes, and will become a meeting place for building a world of peace, liberty and progress.

10. We also think that the United Nations Secretariat should be the administrative and executive instrument of this dynamic expression of the international will and that it should operate in the best conditions as regards efficiency, neutrality and integrity in the service of an international community where interdependence is within the realm of human achievement and solidarity can develop in the course of time.

11. Hence it would be difficult for us to agree to any structural reform of the Secretariat as a body based on the representation of blocs of interests, geographical groupings or ideological trends. If the administrative and executive organ, which the Secretariat is, is to operate properly, what is needed is rather a single leadership, in which decisions would be taken in the light of a well-determined responsibility and due reflection and with provision for a suitable consultation procedure.

12. The swift increase in the membership of the United Nations and its rapid advance towards universality make it even more imperative to carry out the institutional reform of the different United Nations bodies to bring their composition into closer conformity with present realities. More specifically, an increase is called for in the membership of the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice.

13. In regard to the pressing matter of selecting a new Secretary-General, we hope that the talks now in progress between the members of the Security Council with a view to finding a successor to Mr. Hammarskjöld will proceed in a spirit of understanding and in the interest of the continuity and efficiency of the Secretariat's work, and that they will soon be crowned with success. Should agreement prove to be impossible for the time being, in our opinion it would be wise for the General Assembly to take the necessary interim action required to ensure that someone is in charge of the Secretariat and to supervise its efficiency and continuity. We hope that the desire to see the United Nations develop in an orderly manner will triumph over the differences which are apparently setting the opposing blocs against one another on this important matter.

14. The United Kingdom of Libya, in its fervent and sincere desire to see conditions established in the world for a lasting peace, has followed the developments of the international situation since the closure of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly with the closest attention and the deepest interest.

15. The great anxiety caused by the deterioration in the relations between the East and West, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States of America after the summit conference broke down before it could begin its work at Paris in May 1960, gave way to a wide-spread surge of hope that these relations would improve following the coming to power of a new United States administration. These hopes were strengthened by the Vienna meeting,^{1/} whose results seemed to augur well for a rapprochement; this rapprochement seemed to have chances of success in view of the agreement in principle reached on the question of Laos, which was the chief cause of anxiety throughout the world because of its particularly explosive nature at that time.

16. But unfortunately these hopes were soon largely dashed as a result of the rising international tension in recent months. It is most regrettable that the Vienna meeting did not immediately produce results that would have enabled the two opposing blocs to resume the search for the desired solutions to their differences and thus to bring closer the era of mutual understanding and agreement, so essential for the achievement of world peace and security.

17. While most sincerely regretting that East-West relations have reached a critical stage, Libya does not despair of seeing good sense, reason, goodwill and tolerance triumph over animosity, quarrels and the destructive forces of discord and dissension. In this, we join with all peoples of the world in praying that the spectre of war may be banished for ever and the groundwork laid for a lasting peace. We say to the two Powers, which developments during this century have made primarily responsible for peace and war: on this small planet, threatened with total destruction by the distressing perfection of the weapons of mass destruction, it is more than ever imperative that every humanly possible means should be used to keep the talks between the two sides in progress in an effort to find, through persuasion and reason, solutions to the differences that separate East and West. To safeguard world peace and mankind's survival, it is absolutely essential that all peaceful means should be tried out in succession until solutions are found. It is also necessary that mutual concessions should be made, however important the interests at stake.

18. It is our view that the small and medium-sized Powers, which are becoming increasingly numerous in the United Nations and whose very independence and existence are threatened by this antagonism of the world's great Powers, should avail themselves of every opportunity and spare no effort to assert their resolute desire for peace. They should do their utmost and use their increasing moral authority to help the two greatest Powers in the world of today to find ways and means that may lead to peaceful solutions, to overcome, by the exercise of patience and understanding, their present difficulties and to agree, for the good and survival of mankind, to the necessary sacrifices in evaluating their interests and the rather vain considerations of their grandeur and prestige. Guided by the ideals and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the United Kingdom of Libya pursues a foreign policy based on independence and objectivity. Thus, while jealously guarding its sovereignty and upholding its spiritual and national values, Libya has succeeded in maintaining the friendliest

^{1/} Of 3 to 4 June 1961.

relations with the Western Powers and normal and correct relations with the Eastern Powers.

19. Within the African-Asian community, Libya is continuing its efforts, in the fullest understanding, harmony and solidarity, to foster co-operation with the independent States of Africa and Asia. African-Asian solidarity, based on a community of interests and principles, is developing and growing, thus setting an example of broad international co-operation dedicated to peace, progress and the achievement of the purposes specified in the United Nations Charter.

20. The number of members of the African family in the United Nations has recently grown with the admission of Sierra Leone to the community of free and sovereign nations. I avail myself of this happy opportunity to extend, on behalf of the King of Libya, his Government and people, my most sincere congratulations to the delegation of this young brother country and to convey my best wishes for its prosperity, peace and progress. In building the new Africa, my country is sparing no effort in helping to create conditions that will lay rational and lasting foundations, free of prejudice and passion, for inter-African co-operation. It is in this spirit that Libya has participated in all the inter-African conferences.

21. It is always a pleasure for the Libyan delegation to say that the noble values of human liberty and dignity, so gloriously upheld in the past and present by the valiant nations of Latin America, are being admirably maintained today by the emerging peoples of Asia and Africa. These values forge solid links between the African-Asian and Latin American communities and create similarities and sympathies which could be further developed in the service of peace, ideals and the principles of the United Nations. In the midst of the serious crises, through which the United Nations is now passing, and of the troubled times in which we live, these two communities should put their moral and spiritual values and the authority of their political potential to use for the greater benefit of mankind, in order to maintain, within the United Nations and in the world at large, a balance that would do more to promote peace and sounder international co-operation.

22. Bearing in mind its geographical position, Libya is following its natural vocation as a link between the eastern and western parts of the Arab world. Being perfectly aware of the importance of such a role, it has devoted its greatest efforts since the proclamation of its independence to the establishment of the closest and friendliest relations with all the Arab brother countries. Thus it is convinced that it is contributing, together with the independent Arab States and as a member of the Arab League, to fruitful co-operation in all sectors and hence to greater prosperity in the Arab world and a higher level of living for its inhabitants, who are fully conscious of their common destiny.

23. The friendly relations which Libya has managed to establish with the various political groups referred to are essentially governed, so far as it is concerned, by its overriding desire to strive by every peaceful means for the triumph of the principles of self-determination, dignity and understanding, for the maintenance of peace and for the strengthening of international co-operation.

24. The conventional armaments race, and more particularly the competition in weapons of mass destruction, have nowadays reached such proportions

that they seriously threaten peace and security. The increase in the arsenals of the great Powers, the accumulation of stocks of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and the dizzy speed with which the vehicles for launching these weapons are being developed add to the danger that a world conflict may break out by mistake, by chance or because of individual folly.

25. We wish to repeat most solemnly that it is the bounden duty of the United Nations untiringly to pursue its efforts to find an acceptable solution to the disarmament problem which nowadays is one of the chief responsibilities of the international Organization in maintaining world peace and security.

26. It is most regrettable that the General Assembly was unable to adopt any recommendation or instruction on disarmament during its fifteenth session and that there has been no substantial progress since then. But it is particularly important for the United Nations to continue, without feeling discouraged or weary, its efforts for the resumption, under its auspices, of the negotiations between the principal parties, with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Only a few days ago, one encouraging and comforting element emerged to revive the people's hopes that reason would prevail and facilitate a settlement as desired: the world heard of the agreement on the principles governing the negotiations on general and complete disarmament [A/4879] reached between the United States and the Soviet Union. That is another reason why the United Nations should redouble its efforts to hasten the conclusion of a definitive agreement on this important matter.

27. The sudden interruption of the Geneva negotiations on the control of nuclear tests,^{2/} which had been in progress for some time and in which real hopes had been placed, caused great disappointment throughout the world. In addition, there was the breaking of the voluntary moratorium on nuclear tests by the Soviet Union, which considered it in its interest to resume its atomic explosions in the atmosphere. Libya and all other peace-loving States were shocked by this decision of the Soviet Union, and we are surely entitled to challenge its wisdom and opportuneness.

28. We have severely condemned—and shall continue to condemn—the French nuclear experiments in the Sahara, which all Africa has earnestly deplored because of the danger which they represented to the health of its inhabitants and of the contempt which they displayed for the dignity of its independent States. But, without shirking our responsibilities, we must protest against all nuclear tests, especially those which are liable to poison even more the environment in which the human race lives. The Libyan delegation hopes that the final suspension of atomic tests, the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stocks will be agreed upon in the very near future. Such measures will protect mankind from total destruction and will confine the use of atomic energy to strictly peaceful purposes. While hailing the admirable feats of the brave Soviet and United States astronauts, the Libyan delegation believes that man's achievements in exploiting the vast outer spaces should be devoted to strictly peaceful purposes for the good of all mankind.

^{2/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, opened on 31 October 1961.

29. We listened with the closest attention to the statements by President Kennedy [1013th meeting] and Mr. Gromyko [1016th meeting] and we trust that the proposals made by the world's two leading Powers on disarmament will make it possible to find some common ground of agreement towards the solution of the crucial problem of disarmament.

30. The colossal amounts spent on the insane armaments race could be used to greater effect to promote the cause of peace and to help raise the level of living of many peoples suffering from the blights of hunger, disease and ignorance. The possibilities of the United Nations would be greatly enhanced and it would have adequate resources. Thus the United Nations could consolidate its admirable efforts to improve the living conditions of suffering humanity.

31. Allow me to express here my gratitude for the attention given to Libya by the United Nations in the matter of technical assistance. It is encouraging for us and, I am sure, for the United Nations also that the conditions for substantial economic progress are becoming increasingly apparent thanks to the efforts of the Libyan people and its successive Governments and thanks to the valuable aid of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and friendly countries. This development augurs well for the inhabitants of our country in the years to come.

32. I should like to try now, as briefly as possible, to outline the Libyan Government's views on a number of problems of special importance for international peace and security in various parts of the world: in Europe, the Middle East and Africa.

33. In Europe, as on the eve of the Second World War, the ominous clouds of tension are darkening the horizons of peace. The as yet unsettled sequels of the last world conflagration, the German question in general and the problem of Berlin in particular, threaten to engulf yesterday's Allies, and with them the whole world, in a catastrophe whose dire consequences for the survival of our planet were described here only a few days ago by President Kennedy in the most moving terms.

34. It seems to us that reason and the overriding concern to safeguard the human race should prompt the parties concerned, as indeed all of us, to do everything to avoid an insane and final clash, because such a test of strength would mean quite simply the suicide of all mankind.

35. The respective positions of the parties most directly concerned, as described from this platform, are indeed still wide apart, but it is also apparent that the door to peace and the path to realistic solutions have not been finally closed.

36. The considerations bearing on European security advanced by the Soviet Union and its allies and by the United States and its Western friends in connexion with the agreements signed and the commitments entered into must, if the cause of peace is to be saved, provide some ground for agreement and an honourable basis for a realistic compromise. Of course, it is readily understandable that the declared intention of unilaterally changing the situation created under inter-allied arrangements on Germany and Berlin must inevitably lead to the kind of tension which we are witnessing today. We hope that this situation will not provoke any action which would seriously jeopardize the peace, and we also consider that negotiations are called for in order to find an

acceptable solution which takes into account all the interests involved and, first and foremost, the interest of peace. Thus the United Nations must do its utmost and offer its co-operation in helping to bring the points of view closer together and bridge the gap separating the parties involved in this serious European crisis. If this crisis produces growing tension, this tension may precipitate a catastrophe on a world-wide scale. However, there is one position of principle which we have constantly defended: the challenge to the free will and self-determination of peoples, solutions based on ignorance about the unity of peoples and contesting their territorial integrity, the use of force and recognition of the fait accompli have from time immemorial been the causes of human tragedies and continuous threats to international peace and security.

37. These points bring me logically to the question of Palestine. There we have a situation which is the most heart-rending chapter in the history of mankind. The most heinous crimes have been committed against the fundamental rights of groups of human beings with no protection against mass expulsion, living under a reign of terror and banditry; the sacred rights to private property and to an eternal homeland have been scandalously violated. The tragic result is that more than a million Palestinian refugees—Arabs, Christians and Moslems have been living in exile in conditions of misery and want since the aggression launched against their homeland. The principles of the United Nations and the successive resolutions of the General Assembly have been trampled underfoot, and the most arrogant challenge continues to be levelled at the international Organization by those responsible for the aggression against the Arab homeland in Palestine.

38. The United Nations must find a just and fair solution which will amend the unspeakable wrongs done to the Arabs of Palestine and to their country's integrity. It is imperative for the United Nations to do everything within its power to execute the resolutions of the General Assembly and to enable the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, to their fields and to the land of their ancestors. It is also of the highest importance that our Organization should continue to shoulder its responsibilities in this tragic affair by unstintingly providing the Palestinian refugees with all the material and moral assistance which they are entitled to expect from it.

39. In occupied Palestine, the Arab minority continues to be the victim of extortion, discrimination and the most abusive and outrageous legislation. The urban and rural populations and the Bedouin of the Negev continue to suffer from unjust measures which threaten their very existence. Commenting on the reasons for the recent demonstrations by the Arab population against the tyranny and massacre of the occupying Power, the correspondent of The New York Times wrote the following article in the issue of 22 September 1961, and I quote in English in order to adhere to the original wording:

[The speaker continued in English.]

"Israeli Army officials declined to comment on the demonstrations. Some said privately, however, that although the situation was under control at the moment, it could only worsen in the long run.

"The dissatisfaction felt by Arabs in Israel, these officials said, is partly a result of frustration at their inability to find employment that pleases them.

Israeli Arabs rarely find good jobs outside their villages and towns.

"The bitterest pill for the Arabs by far is the military government. Perhaps 180,000 out of the 220,000 Arabs in Israel live under army rule. They are under curfew restrictions and are confined to certain areas.

"In addition, they are not given access to civilian courts under ordinary circumstances but are subject instead to courts-martial."

[The speaker continued in French.]

40. That is a situation on which no comment is necessary, and the United Nations is in duty bound to take all possible action to end this serious situation which violates the most elementary human rights.

41. In Algeria, in the very heart of the Maghreb, the war continues on an increasingly murderous scale. The sons of Algeria and France are falling daily in fights to the death. The sufferings and miseries of the civil populations beggar description. In the regroupment camps, over two million Algerians are living in the most wretched conditions. The outrages of irresponsible groups of extremists make life unbearable in the principal Algerian cities. The prospects of France and of democracy in Algeria are in the most serious jeopardy. Hundreds of thousands of Algerian refugees have been forced to seek asylum in neighbouring countries: in Libya, Tunisia and Morocco. But one vital fact remains. The Algerian people are irrevocably resolved to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to achieve human dignity and national independence. They have accepted and will continue to accept every necessary sacrifice however great it may be. Nothing will stop them on their triumphal march towards complete liberation. But the colonial war in Algeria is a serious obstacle to prospects of peace in Africa and to the normal development of North Africa.

42. After seven long years of heroic struggle, the Algerian nationalist revolution has taken firm root at the international level, because of the justness of its cause, and at the domestic level because of the simple fact that it has always represented the genuine will of the people and is the means for achieving its most earnest national aspirations.

43. Since 1955 the question of Algeria has appeared on the agenda of the regular sessions of the General Assembly, where each time it has formed the core of the important discussions of which we are aware.

44. Now that the General Assembly is about to take up this important question once again at its sixteenth session, it is appropriate to sum up the situation in the light of the conclusions reached by the international community as expressed by a very large majority at the end of the fifteenth session.

45. First of all it is recognized from now on that the situation in Algeria constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. It naturally follows from this that the myth to the effect that the question of Algeria is a French domestic matter is rejected once and for all.

46. Secondly, the United Nations recognizes that there are two parties to the dispute: the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and France. The General Assembly actually declared, at its fifteenth session, that the two parties concerned had accepted the right of self-determination as a basis for solving the Algerian problem!

47. Again, the United Nations has recognized the right of the Algerian people not only to self-determination but also to independence. In asking that territorial unity and integrity should be respected, the United Nations in fact condemned any French attempt to partition Algeria.

48. Then the international Organization has emphasized the overriding necessity of providing adequate and effective guarantees to ensure that the right of self-determination is exercised successfully and justly.

49. Lastly, the responsibility of the United Nations is engaged in the matter of guaranteeing the impartiality of the referendum; it has admitted that it was under an obligation to help ensure that the right to self-determination was exercised successfully and justly.

50. These fundamental conclusions arrived at the United Nations at its fifteenth session are, in our opinion, a positive contribution towards a just and honourable solution of the question of Algeria.

51. From the internal point of view, it is most instructive to note that the armed resistance of the nationalist movement has been strengthened remarkably by the overt action of the Algerian masses since the beginning of December 1960. This open and unequivocal support given to the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic emphasizes the unanimous desire of the Algerian people to become independent. The frequent mass demonstrations by the people brandishing the emblem of independent Algeria in front of the tanks of the army of occupation is an eloquent indication of the direction which the country is taking in freely choosing its destiny.

52. At the bilateral level—I mean at the Franco-Algerian level—the statement of 16 January 1961, in which the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic indicated that it was ready to enter into negotiations with the French Government concerning the conditions for a free consultation of the Algerian people, provoked a positive reaction, expressed in the communiqué of 15 March 1961. In it the French Government expressed its desire for the holding of talks, through an official delegation, on the conditions for self-determination. So the conferences were held at Evian and Lugrin. Unfortunately the negotiations have not yet led to conclusive results, having been impeded by the rigid ideas of the French negotiators concerning the Algerian Sahara, which they wanted to make an issue, and concerning the question of the European minority in Algeria. Mr. Thiam, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, made some clear and discerning remarks on these two problems in his brilliant statement during the present general debate (1012th meeting). We fully agree with his conclusions.

53. The sovereignty of Algeria over the Algerian Sahara and the generous offer made to the members of the European minority, under which they would be allowed to opt for Algerian nationality, are, in our opinion, important elements in any peaceful solution in Algeria. At his Press conference on 5 September 1961, General de Gaulle seems to accept the first point about Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara. We hope that an even more realistic view of matters on the part of France will make it possible to resume the talks with brighter prospects of success.

54. Now that my delegation wishes to reassure the Algerian people of Libya's full and unwavering support in their historic struggle for the fulfilment of their national aspirations in self-determination and inde-

pendence, I should like once again to express the most fervent hope that, thanks to the valuable co-operation of the United Nations, a new era will dawn in the relations between independent Algeria and France based on mutual respect, sovereign equality and the most fruitful co-operation.

55. As in the case of Algeria, Libya assures the valiant people of Angola of its closest support and deepest sympathy. The heroic struggle of the Angolan people to shake off the yoke of colonial domination and fulfil its national aspirations is part of the great liberation movement which is galvanizing the whole African continent. It is the duty of the United Nations to lend its support to the people of Angola and to carry out on their behalf the obligations set in the Charter of the United Nations. The Angolan nationalist revolution is the result of the oppression and exploitation of which the Angolan people have been the victims. We venture to hope that Portugal will harken to the voice of reason and of what is in its true interest by rapidly putting a stop to armed repression and proceeding as a matter of urgency, with the reforms called for by the development of the times. The era of colonization and exploitation is over for ever. International co-operation is possible only if based on the sovereign equality of nations and an understanding of their legitimate aspirations.

56. Since 1960 Libya has been following the developments in the Congo (Leopoldville) with particular attention. The Libyan Government and people have constantly advocated the need to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of this young African brother country. The meeting during the last few months of the Parliament and the formation of a central Government in accordance with constitutional procedures were welcomed in my country with the deepest satisfaction. We hope that after the trials and numerous sacrifices which their country has undergone, all the Congolese leaders will realize the urgency of doing their utmost to overcome the last obstacles in the way of their national unity and the integrity of their homeland. I should like, on this occasion, to convey to the Congolese Central Government the assurance of Libya's co-operation in the work of nation-building which it has undertaken. I should also like to repeat our appreciation of the efforts made, often under trying circumstances, by the United Nations representatives in the Congo in carrying out the mission assigned to them by the international Organization.

57. Being deeply attached to the fundamental human freedoms and to the inherent rights of the Africans to live in dignity on the land of their ancestors, Libya considers that the serious situation prevailing in South Africa constitutes a serious threat to peace and security and a permanent source of friction. Moreover, this situation is a most serious violation of the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. The systematic policy of racial segregation and discrimination, blindly pursued by South Africa, is a serious source of anxiety for us. Propounded as a policy in the national interest, the racial supremacy imposed by force on a large majority of Africans is creating a highly explosive situation in the south of Africa. Arbitrary action and the denial of fundamental freedoms seriously endanger the peaceful development of this part of Africa and harmonious co-existence in a multi-racial community.

58. Because of the complications and steadily deteriorating situation, the United Nations ought, now more than ever, to take the necessary urgent steps

to enforce respect for human rights. In view of the defiance of the United Nations by the Government of South Africa in the matter of its racial policy and its attitude to the problem of South West Africa, radical sanctions should be adopted.

59. The Libyan delegation will devote increasing attention and continue to make its contribution to the consideration of the matters relating to the Territories that are not yet self-governing. Encouraged by the results already achieved in this respect, we hope that the United Nations will be able to find felicitous solutions to these problems in accordance with the principle of the right of self-determination of peoples.

60. The peoples who have had the misfortune to bow to foreign domination have agreed to considerable sacrifices in their struggle to regain their freedom and safeguard the integrity of their national heritage. The founding of the United Nations strengthened the hopes of the dependent peoples in the triumph of their just cause. The United Nations, whose efforts in this direction have been crowned by the accession to independence of many countries, has passed a milestone with the adoption, at the fifteenth session, of the Declaration on the abolition of colonialism for ever and the granting of independence to all dependent peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. We are convinced that it will continue its efforts untiringly to ensure the systematic implementation of that Declaration until all the dependent peoples can freely determine their own destinies.

61. The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya is greatly honoured and very happy to greet, from this world platform, the delegations of the States Members of the United Nations. As we assure them of our most loyal co-operation, we should like to express the hope that the General Assembly will enjoy the fullest measure of harmony in its deliberations and the greatest success in its work.

62. This session is being held at a decisive turning-point in our current history. The eyes of the peace-loving peoples are turned, at this critical juncture, on this Organization in the hope that the conflicts dividing the world will be settled there. I conclude with the wish that these hopes may not be disappointed and that the United Nations may take upon itself unconditionally the solemn obligation to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to build a better world in peace, progress and co-operation.

63. Mr. SHEN (China):^{3/} It is my pleasant duty, on behalf of my Government and delegation, to extend to Mr. Slim, our sincere congratulations. His unanimous election to the office of President is the measure of the esteem in which he is held by his colleagues in the United Nations. As the representative of Tunisia since 1956 he has served both the United Nations and his country with courage and distinction. Now, under his able and wise guidance, the sixteenth regular session of the General Assembly, though begun under the shadow of tragedy in the death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, may yet end on a note of hope, as he himself has so well said in his inaugural address [1008th meeting].

64. The late Secretary-General had great faith in the United Nations. He had definite ideas of the direction in which the United Nations must move. In the introduction [A/4800/Add.1] to the annual report of the

^{3/} Mr. Shen spoke in Chinese. The English and French versions of his statement were furnished by the delegation.

Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, issued not long before his death, he had left us, as it were, his last will and testament. In this document he rejected the idea that the United Nations should be a "static conference machinery" apart but not basically different from conventional diplomacy. He preferred to think of the United Nations as a "dynamic instrument of Governments", a living expression of certain fundamental principles. He had no desire to give the United Nations "a position of power or control in a Member country". He was convinced, in short, that international order can be maintained only on the basis of law and justice.

65. In the past, nations of the world used conventional diplomacy to protect and, if possible, to advance what they conceived to be their national interests. In a world in which power politics played a decisive role, it was not always easy for small and weak nations to do so. All too often their vital interests were sacrificed to satisfy the ambitions of the strong and predatory. At the close of the First World War the League of Nations was created to maintain the rule of law in world affairs. A thrill of hope shot through millions of war-weary hearts, who believed that a semblance of law and order was at long last in sight. But these hopes proved ill-founded. The League failed. It failed because it did not live up to the promise of the Covenant, particularly Article 10, providing for the mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity of all member States.

66. Article 10 was an American contribution and constituted, in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, "the backbone of the whole of the Covenant" and the sine qua non of any valid system of collective security. The League signed its own death warrant when it capitulated in face of the invasion of the Chinese northeastern provinces—Manchuria—by the Japanese militarists, of Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia, and of Hitler's expansionist policies in Europe. Strangely enough, the League did all these things in the name of peace and for the sake of peace. It was too much in love with the easy doctrine of peace at all costs. It did not hesitate to bring pressure to bear on the victims of aggression to surrender "peacefully" so that war might be avoided. By so doing, it actually aided and abetted aggression.

67. What lesson can we draw from this unhappy episode in recent history? It is, I believe, this. Peace we must at all times cherish. But peace based on political expediency and appeasement rather than on law and justice cannot long endure. The kind of peace which the League of Nations sought so desperately to preserve was a sham peace which proved only to be the prelude to a war far more terrible and devastating than the First World War. By becoming in fact an accomplice in aggression, the League made war inevitable.

68. Are the mistakes of the League of Nations to be repeated by the United Nations? This is a question which we must face squarely and unequivocally. On the answering of this question hinges the fate of the United Nations.

69. The statesmen who met in San Francisco in 1945 to frame the Charter of the United Nations had had the sad experience of the League of Nations before them. They therefore set out to create an international Organization not only capable of taking effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, but also, according to Article 1,

to do so "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law".

70. Under the Charter, the Security Council is vested with full authority to apply all sanctions, including the use of force, against any nation that commits a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression. It is a well known fact that the Security Council has been seriously hampered by the obstructionist tactics of the Soviet Union. To date, its greatest achievement has been the decision taken in 1950 to counter communist aggression in Korea.^{4/} And that decision, it will be recalled, was made possible only by the Soviet walk-out from the Council as a gesture of indignation at the failure of its effort to unseat my delegation. Thus, the Soviet Union made a gratuitous contribution to the cause of collective security.

71. Since 1950 the Security Council has all but ceased to function. The "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)] of November 1950 transferred much of the Council's authority to the General Assembly. It was the General Assembly that dealt successfully with the Suez crisis in 1956. The General Assembly was not, however, so successful when it turned its attention to the Soviet Union's bloody suppression of Hungarian freedom. The sad fact is that the influence of the United Nations is mainly felt in the free world, where public opinion and respect for law and justice play an important role.

72. The present session of the General Assembly has been convened again, as I said, in an atmosphere of crisis. International communism is everywhere on the march, and everywhere it is riding roughshod over the dignity and worth of the human person. In Berlin, the Soviet Union and East German agents are threatening the security and freedom of over two million West Berliners, whose sole desire is to be left alone and to go about their daily pursuits in peace and without fear. The Berlin crisis is a deliberate Soviet creation designed to bring West Berlin under communist domination. In South Viet-Nam, infiltration and subversion carried out by international communism against the established Government have reached menacing proportions. The peaceful people of the Kingdom of Laos are in danger of losing their independence through a civil war precipitated by the agents of the communist régimes in China and North Viet-Nam. The three-year moratorium on nuclear testing has now come to an abrupt end with the Soviet resumption of detonations. The warlike and aggressive moves on the part of the Soviet Union have brought on a new armaments race which can well trigger off a thermonuclear holocaust.

73. Turning to the United Nations itself, we find that a constitutional crisis of the first magnitude has been brought into being by the sudden death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. For over a year, the Soviet Union has been campaigning for the reorganization of the Secretariat in accordance with the so-called "troika plan." The Soviet intention apparently is so to emasculate the Organization as to render it totally incapable of effective action. My delegation believes that if the United Nations is to meet the challenges of our age, it must have a Secretary-General capable of performing the duties of the office as defined by the Charter. Those of us who have the true interests of the Organization at heart cannot allow it to be destroyed by one Member, however powerful that Member may be.

^{4/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 15, page 18, document S/1501.

On an issue involving the very existence of the United Nations, there can be no neutralists or bystanders.

74. This brings me to the question of neutralism. Let me say at once that my delegation believes there is nothing wrong when a new and emerging State steers clear of power blocs by adopting a policy of neutrality or non-alignment. There is too much to do at home and too little time in which to do it, to allow involvement in power struggles. All this is understandable. But I submit that neutralism does not mean the repudiation of moral judgement on what is right and what is wrong, what is justice and what is injustice. Certainly, on such issues as Tibet and Hungary—issues that involve such Charter principles as self-determination of peoples, human rights and fundamental freedoms—no country can claim neutrality.

75. I may say in passing that the Communists do not in fact believe there is such a thing as neutralism. Mao Tse-tung, chieftain of Chinese Communism, declared in his book On People's Democratic Dictatorship:^{5/}

"...the Chinese people must incline either toward the side of imperialism or to that of Socialism. There can be no exception to this rule. It is impossible to sit on the fence..."

"Not only in China but throughout the world, without exception, one inclines either toward imperialism or toward Socialism. Neutrality is merely a camouflage; a third road does not exist."

76. In the New Terminology Dictionary published by the Chinese Communists, the term "neutralist line" is defined as follows:

"This is a day-dream and can never be realized. Even its theory is not correct. As the world situation stands today, there are only two roads—either to support capitalism or to support socialism—and there is no third road. Any vain hope to take on a third road is doomed to failure."

77. It is thus clear that neutralism is anathema to the Communists. Within their own camp, neutralism is equated with counter-revolution. In the eyes of the Kremlin the greatest crime committed by Imre Nagy was his declaration that the Hungarian Government was about to pursue a policy of neutralism and that he had dared to request the General Assembly of the United Nations to place the question of Hungary's neutrality on its agenda.

78. The Communists have thus no more love for neutralism than they have for capitalism. Yet, as a matter of tactics, they do not hesitate to recommend neutralism to countries on the fringe of communist power. In the communist propaganda of today the neutralist States have become "the peace bloc of nations" as distinguished from the "aggressive imperialist bloc" headed by the United States. Neutralism is being used to soften up the free world's resistance to communism. I trust that leaders of the majority of the neutralist States are far too intelligent and sophisticated to play into the hands of international communism.

79. So much for neutralism. Let me now turn to some of the important problems on our agenda.

80. All the world agrees that the most urgent problem of our time is disarmament. The United Nations has

been preoccupied with the problem ever since its founding. It is saddening to reflect that after fifteen years of negotiations there is nothing more inspiring to show than volumes upon volumes of tendentious speeches made by negotiators. It is not difficult to find where the responsibility lies. The Soviet Union, it should have become clear by this time, is not really interested in disarmament; it is interested only in scoring propaganda points. Khrushchev's grandiose proposal of "general and complete disarmament", unaccompanied as it is by any adequate system of controls or any workable plan by which it is to be carried out, cannot be regarded as anything but a propaganda device.

81. In his address to the Assembly [1013th meeting] on 25 September 1961, President Kennedy, in a spirit of conciliation, unfolded a disarmament programme of far-reaching importance. He has, as I understand it, accepted the idea of "general and complete disarmament" in principle. But, unlike Khrushchev, he has outlined the steps by which the programme is to be carried out. My delegation subscribes to President Kennedy's initiative and businesslike approach. We regret, however, that the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in his statement before the Assembly [1016th meeting] on 26 September, saw fit to reject off-hand President Kennedy's plan.

82. Another problem facing the General Assembly is the question of colonialism. It is heartening to observe that European colonialism is on the way out. Since the last war more than forty formerly dependent peoples have achieved political freedom and are now respected members of the world community. To be sure, there are still peoples which are struggling for freedom. But I am convinced that it is but a matter of time before they too will become free. The rising tide of nationalism will soon sweep away the last vestiges of colonialism the world over.

83. Memories of past wrongs do not die easily. Nor can the tremendous residue of suspicion and hostility left behind by European colonialism disappear overnight. It is natural that leaders of Asian and African nationalism should be impatient about the isolated pockets of colonial domination that still remain. We fully support their aspirations. For we have ourselves but recently emerged from semi-colonialism. In fact, we were among the earliest peoples in Asia to denounce and fight against colonialism. That is why my delegation has consistently supported the applications for membership in the United Nations of all new African States, and we will continue to do so. It is both astonishing and amusing to observe that the Soviet Union, the greatest colonial Power in the twentieth century, should thump its chest and pose as the world's greatest champion of the oppressed peoples. Let us refresh our memories with a few historical facts.

84. The Soviet Union once promised to "recognize without reservation" the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and "for all time abandon all sovereign rights over them". Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have now been gobbled up and incorporated into the Soviet State.

85. The Soviet Union once promised "to respect in every way the political sovereignty" of Poland. Later it struck a bargain with Hitler and partitioned that country.

86. The Soviet Union once promised, in a last minute declaration of war on Japan, that it had "no thought of

^{5/} English version published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1950, p. 11.

territorial expansion at the expense of that country". What it actually did was to annex by the force Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

87. Colonialism is colonialism no matter where it happens, no matter who is the perpetrator, and no matter what the colour of the skin of the oppressed may be. In struggling against colonial domination we cannot close our eyes to Soviet imperialism, the worst type of imperialism the world has ever seen. We cannot allow the Soviet Union to strike a cynical pose of superior rectitude and look noble.

88. Intimately connected with the liquidation of colonialism is the question of self-determination of peoples. A number of Asian and African peoples have already exercised this right in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. It is an act of great injustice that the peoples now under Soviet domination are denied the right. The German problem, which threatens to touch off a global conflagration, is essentially a question of self-determination. But it suits the Soviet purpose to keep the country divided against the true wishes of the German people. The dividing of a single and homogeneous country in two is a favourite Soviet device for expansion. So, in addition to the spectacle of a divided Viet-Nam and a divided Korea, there is now the danger of a partitioned Germany.

89. The Soviet challenge to human freedom is formidable indeed. The goal is no less than the eventual conquest of the whole world. Soviet leaders have never concealed what they intend to do. They believe that with tremendous growth of Soviet strength, the day of the final triumph of international Communism is near at hand. This has been made clear by the draft Programme of the Soviet Communist Party published in July 1961. This important document tells us that the world capitalist system is ripe for the socialist revolution of the proletariat; that socialism can be achieved only through revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; and that the high road to socialism has already been paved for the peoples of the world to travel. Marxist-Leninists, we are told, regard nationalism in oppressed countries as expressing "the ideology and interests of the reactionary exploiting top stratum"; if they support it, it is only because it is historically "justified at a given stage" of development. In other words, all present-day nationalist leaders are members of the "reactionary exploiting top stratum", and nationalism is useful only as a preparation for eventual Communist take-over.

90. Viewed in this light, the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" is neither "peace" nor "coexistence". How can Khrushchev, who has since 1956 made some 140 threats to annihilate more than twenty different countries, be regarded as a man of peace? It is obvious that to Khrushchev coexistence is only a passing phase in historical development. The declaration of eighty-one communist parties, issued in Moscow in November 1960, is forthright in its rejection of any genuine and lasting compromise. Let me quote:

"Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas." ^{6/}

^{6/} Statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, published in New Times, No. 50, December, 1960, supplement, p. 9.

91. We in China know from bitter experience what coexistence means. We tried to coexist with the Communists not once, but three times. The first was in 1923 when we accepted Soviet military and economic aid to complete Dr. Sun Yat-sen's programme of national revolution, that is, the overthrow of imperialist domination in China. At the request of Moscow, the Chinese Communists joined Dr. Sun's Kuomintang or Nationalist Party as members, on the promise that they would henceforth give up their own ideology and serve the Kuomintang with loyalty. After Dr. Sun's death in 1925, however, the Communists lost no time in trying to wrest the leadership of the national revolution from the Kuomintang, and turn it into a communist revolution. In 1927 this experiment in coexistence ended in disaster. The Communists then resorted to armed insurrection.

92. In 1937 the Communists proposed to co-operate with the National Government in fighting against Japanese aggression. They promised to incorporate their forces into the National Army. Events soon proved that, instead of fighting the Japanese, the Communists took the opportunity to expand their own influence. At the close of the war in 1945, they openly defied my Government and set up a rival régime in North China. Thus ended the second experiment in coexistence.

93. Toward the end of 1945, President Truman sent General George C. Marshall to China to mediate between the National Government and the Communists in the hope that a coalition government might be established. This was the third well-intentioned attempt at coexistence. The Communists again used the opportunity to expand their armed forces. Meanwhile, the Soviet troops in Manchuria delayed their withdrawal until the Chinese Communists could move into the north-eastern provinces to receive from the Russians the arms captured from the Japanese. Thus equipped, the Communists were ready to fight a civil war against the National Government. In 1949 they took over the Chinese mainland.

94. This is the story of "peaceful coexistence" between the Communists and my Government in China. The lesson of this tragedy should not be lost on those who today still think that they can co-operate with the Soviet Union and international Communism.

95. Twelve years have passed since the establishment of the Chinese Communist régime on mainland China. Under the tyrannical rule of the Communists, the like of which China has never, never known, the people have been plunged into the depths of despair. In 1958 the so-called "people's communes" were introduced. By this diabolical system, Chinese society has been transformed beyond all recognition, completely tearing it away from its ancient moorings of family loyalty and solidarity. Husbands and wives and their children are forcibly torn apart by having to work and live in separate localities. They work, eat and retire at the sound of the bugle. The vast country has become one gigantic slave camp. The horrors of the communes surpass anything ever conceived by George Orwell.

96. As a result of the communal system, agricultural production has declined. A continuing famine of unprecedented proportions stalks the land. Yet the Communists have never ceased to export grain to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in payment of loans and imports. For this and other more important reasons, the starving and suffering masses look to the Government of the Republic of China now based on Taiwan for de-

liverance. We shall not fail to respond to their call if the opportunity presents itself.

97. In Taiwan we have, under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, carried out successfully a land reform programme in three stages. About 80 per cent of the farmers now own the land they till. The economic aid extended to us by the United States has enabled us to place our agriculture and industry on a sound basis of development. We now enjoy a standard of living which is one of the highest in all Asia.

98. The Republic of China is more than the province of Taiwan. It is a symbol of free Chinese nationalism everywhere. It represents the spirit of the Chinese nation. Its very existence implies the eventual restoration of freedom to the 600 million Chinese people now under the domination of the communist régime.

99. Before closing, I should like to say a final word about the United Nations. The United Nations, created to preserve the peace in conformity with law and justice, as well as to promote social progress and better standards of life, is now in danger of being perverted to serve the interest of powerful warmakers and international bullies who have no respect for the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter. Those who stand for law and justice, for moral values and human decency, for resistance to force, are reviled for their courage and steadiness of purpose. Appeasement is very much in the air. There are delegations in the Assembly which are bent on strengthening the forces of evil by adding to the United Nations membership those who are clearly disqualified by the spirit and the letter of the Charter. They base their case on "realism" and on the so-called principle of universality. If they are allowed to have their way, then the era of collective aggression, not of collective security, will be upon us. This is a grim state of affairs indeed. Unless the majority of the Member States accept the reality of the danger and unite their efforts to meet it, the United Nations is destined to go the way of the League of Nations.

100. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The Government of the People's Republic of Romania attaches particular importance to the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, for this session is called upon to examine and help to find solutions to the problems on our agenda, problems which are of the utmost significance in the evolution of the whole international situation. In the present circumstances, when a new war would bring with it untold devastation and sacrifices, the defence and consolidation of peace must be the primary task of all the peoples of the world and the compelling duty of all Governments. The Romanian Government is convinced that the international problems now at issue are in no way insoluble, that they can and must be solved in the only reasonable way, that of negotiation, common sense and wisdom.

101. We must condemn and resolutely reject the advocacy of war as a means of resolving differences between States. In this respect, the United Nations is called upon to play a fundamental role, for in accordance with the basic principles of its Charter, it is its duty to act as an effective instrument in finding peaceful solutions for disputes among States in order to save mankind from the scourge of war.

102. Unfortunately, the United Nations has so far repeatedly failed to live up to the hopes of all peoples and has shown a passive attitude to the action of the

Powers members of the NATO military bloc, actions which have endangered world peace. It is high time that the United Nations should become a resolute and steadfast champion of international peace and security.

103. At present this requirement is all the more compelling since the international situation has worsened and the danger of a new world war has increased. The fact that from one year to the next solutions have been deferred to such basic problems as the liquidation of the sequels of the Second World War, general and complete disarmament and the final liquidation of colonialism has led to an immense accumulation of explosive material in the world and has brought about a situation in which all delays in the adoption of constructive solutions would entail most serious dangers for the peace and security of all States. The forces of imperialism persist in maintaining the sequels of the Second World War, in continuing and intensifying the armaments race and in keeping their colonial possessions; they cling to all that is antiquated, backward and obsolete; they obstruct the solution of major international problems so as to maintain an outdated situation that is hated by the peoples.

104. The events which have accumulated since the fifteenth session of the General Assembly show that the imperialistic Powers do not hesitate to resort to military ventures in order to attain their selfish purposes. The armed aggression organized by the United States against Cuba, the colonial war waged by Portugal in Angola, the continuation of the war in Algeria, the aggression committed by France against Tunisia, and the recent massacres in the Congo are but a few instances of acts which imperil international peace and security. If we turn to the documents of the Security Council for this period we shall find that in all instances the accused Power was a member of the NATO bloc.

105. A special cause for concern is the fact that, despite repeated proposals of the Soviet Union to remove the vestiges of the Second World War, the United States and its allies pursue their policy of encouraging a revanchist spirit and promoting militarism in West Germany.

106. The international situation had noticeably worsened during the past few months because, in reply to the new Soviet proposals regarding the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States, and the transformation of West Berlin into a free and demilitarized city, the Western Powers have resorted to military measures, have accelerated to the utmost the tempo of their armaments race, and have issued warlike threats.

107. In our view, the main breeding ground for war created in the centre of Europe can be eliminated only by the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. It is just because there is no peace treaty with Germany that the NATO Powers have been able to revive the Bundeswehr, to supply it with the most up-to-date weapons, including rockets, and to encourage the revanchist tendencies in Western Germany, the only European State which has made the aim of its foreign policy the revision of the boundaries drawn after the war. West Berlin has been transformed into a hotbed for acts of provocation and espionage, for the acts of militarists and German revanchists. Western Germany has become the main instrument in this policy of aggression aimed at the socialist States, and West Berlin is in the front line of this policy.

108. The Western Powers have increased the number of their armed military occupation forces in West

Berlin and have brought new troops and air units to the Federal German Republic. They are recalling reservists and are continuing to take emergency measures in an atmosphere of warlike hysteria.

109. During the statements made in this hall, the Western representatives took care not to mention these provocative acts which might, at any moment, lead to a disastrous conflagration. They prefer to speak of agreements and treaties. Treaties, it has been stated here, should be observed not only in the spirit but also in the letter. We fully agree with this view, but who can maintain that all the measures designed to create in the Federal Republic of Germany the most powerful war machine in Western Europe, to provide Western Europe, to provide the West Germany Army with the most modern weapons, to reinstate Hitlerian generals in the posts of command, and to rebuild the war industry are compatible with the Potsdam agreement^{2/} which, as everybody knows, was concluded precisely in order to guarantee the demilitarization of Germany and resurgence of German militarism? It is not strange that an agreement concluded for the purpose of demilitarizing a State should be invoked as the legal basis for the redemilitarization of that State?

110. As far as it is concerned, the Government of the People's Republic of Romania is convinced that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, with the participation of all other interested States, would be a major contribution to a relaxation of international tension in Europe. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany would help to improve relations between States. It would finally liquidate the sequels of the Second World War, arrest militarism and revanchism in West Germany, and pave the way for a peaceful and democratic development for the entire German people.

111. If we are to tackle realistically the solution of a peace treaty with Germany, we must recognize that there are today two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

112. The German Democratic Republic, the first truly democratic and peaceful State in the history of Germany, is steadfastly pursuing a policy in accordance with the national interests of the German people and the interests of world peace and security.

113. Revanchist forces in West Germany, and those supporting them, cannot accept the idea that a German State can exist which is devoted to the ideals of peace and democracy and which wants all Germany to pursue a policy of peace. In support of the policy of swallowing up the German Democratic Republic they invoke the noble principle of self-determination. This is indeed a record in political acrobatics. How can we reconcile the principle of self-determination with the Paris agreements concluded in 1954 by the United States, Britain, France and the German Federal Republic, which in effect provide that Western Germany will be occupied by foreign armed forces until the end of the century? Is it conceivable that any people would willingly agree to entrust their destinies to foreign occupants for three generations? As to West Berlin, it is clear that the United States, Britain and France mean one and the same thing by self-determination—the maintenance of the military occupation of that city.

114. If we add to this the fact that the Netherlands, while speaking of self-determination for West Irian, is dispatching new troops there; that the French Govern-

ment considers that the Algerian people are entitled to self-determination only in the presence of French troops; and that bases and garrisons of colonial Powers are maintained in many States that have become independent, we cannot but note that a new doctrine has appeared in the West, a doctrine according to which self-determination can exist only under foreign military occupation.

115. In these circumstances, the representatives of the Western Powers should not be surprised that this doctrine is regarded with a justifiable measure of reserve and distrust. Many countries represented in this Assembly have learned from experience what the right to self-determination under the yoke of foreign military occupation means.

116. As regards the Romanian Government, its position is quite clear. We wish to sign a peace treaty with both German States together with the Western Powers. But if these Powers refuse to take part in the conclusion of a peace treaty, Romania, together with the Socialist countries and other States wishing to do so, will sign a peace treaty solely with the German Democratic Republic.

117. We consider also that the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal German Republic to membership in the United Nations would check the freedom of action of the militarists and revanchists in Western Germany, would help to bring the two German States closer together, and would reduce tension in Europe and throughout the world.

118. Mankind's most fervent wish is that peace should be defended and strengthened and that a world should be created that was free from aggression and war. The United Nations was erected by the peoples on the ashes and ruins of the Second World War and its purpose was to preserve succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

119. The only course which can once and for all put an end to the armaments race and the dangers of a devastating nuclear war is that of general and complete disarmament. The demobilization of all armed forces, the prohibition of the re-establishment of such armed forces in any form whatsoever, the banning and destruction of all stocks of weapons, the halting of the production of all types of weapons, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, bacterial and other weapons of mass destruction, the liquidation of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the abolition of all military bases on foreign territory, the elimination of the military apparatus of States and of all military establishments under effective international control, all this would make it quite impossible to commit aggression or unleash a war.

120. In 1959, acting on a proposal of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution [1378 (XIV)], proclaiming general and complete disarmament and singling out this item as the most important question confronting mankind. The resolution appeals to all Governments to exert every effort to implement the terms of the resolution. However, despite the two years which have elapsed since then, no progress had been recorded toward the achievement of this goal, which represents the unanimous aspirations of all peoples.

121. The opponents of general and complete disarmament, those who promote a policy of force, have up to now prevented the conclusion of an agreement on this question, which is of vital importance for mankind,

^{2/} Concluded on 2 August 1945.

and have sought to reopen the debate on the objective itself which was laid down in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly.

122. The Romanian delegation has just noted with satisfaction that following the bilateral exchanges which have taken place during the past three months between the Soviet Union and the United States, an agreement has been reached on certain principles to be followed during negotiations on general and complete disarmament [A/4879]. Such a result can only be regarded as a constructive and a heartening one.

123. But the hopes awakened by the publication of the joint Soviet-United States declaration regarding the principles of general and complete disarmament have been dampened, for the Government of the United States, as is clear from its proposals at this session [A/4891], adheres to its former position regarding controls without disarmament, a position which would tend to institute a broad espionage network. This position undoubtedly stems from aggressive and military circles and shows that peace-loving countries must continue to exert every effort to promote the cause of general and complete disarmament.

124. As the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Romania, Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, stated from this rostrum at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [873rd meeting], the best criterion for determining how genuine and effective a disarmament programme would be is to consider how that programme, if it were carried out, would affect the armaments race and chances of war.

125. The new United States proposals would leave the military potential of States intact, or more or less intact, for an indefinite period of time and these States would continue to have nuclear weapons and missiles, that is to say rockets, aircraft, warships, submarines, etc. The new proposals do not provide for the elimination of military bases in foreign territories. Thus they are far from meeting this criterion and the requirements of general and complete disarmament.

126. To guarantee that a general and complete disarmament programme will be carried out, there must be effective international controls which must, at each stage, be on a scale commensurate with the scope and nature of the measures taken for disarmament.

127. The Western Powers have accelerated the armaments race and have intensified their military preparations, thereby increasing international tension and the dangers of the new war. In these circumstances, only the adoption of a disarmament programme, including in its first phase radical measures designed to reduce the military potentials of States with strict and effective international controls, could help to reduce the threat of war.

128. The programme of general and complete disarmament submitted by the Government of the Soviet Union begins by providing for a substantial reduction in the armed forces and armaments of all States as well as the destruction of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons and the elimination of all military bases in foreign territories. The Romanian delegation therefore considers that this programme can from the first stage of its application halt the armaments race and substantially reduce the danger of war and of aggression. The dangers of a nuclear war could be completely averted only by the total abolition of nuclear, chemical and bacterial weapons, by the cessation of their production and by the liquidation of

existing stockpiles, as provided for in the Soviet Union programme. The problem would thus be finally solved in the interests of all.

129. Debating the question of the cessation of nuclear tests separately would not reduce the danger of a nuclear war and could not constitute an effective safeguard for peace, for the stockpiles of atom and hydrogen bombs would remain intact. It follows that this question can be resolved only by the application of a broad programme for general and complete disarmament which would eliminate nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

130. The Romanian Government has declared and still declares its support of the elimination as quickly as possible of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of States, and implicitly, of the cessation of nuclear tests. If a treaty on general and complete disarmament were adopted as soon as possible, whereby the means of delivery of nuclear weapons and the nuclear weapons themselves would be eliminated, mankind would be the more speedily safeguarded from the danger of devastating nuclear war.

131. All peoples today expect the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt a decision conducive to a resumption of negotiations on disarmament, which would speed up the achievement of disarmament.

132. As a participant in the Ten-Power Committee for disarmament, the Romanian Government is well aware that the problem of general and complete disarmament is a complex one which can be solved only by means of thorough and detailed negotiations. These negotiations must take place in an appropriate setting which will enable the representatives of the three groups of States existing in the world today to express their points of view and to participate with all due responsibility in the achievement of general and complete disarmament, inasmuch as the solution of this problem as promptly as possible is of equal concern to all peoples.

133. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. By adopting this document the United Nations has ranged itself with the peoples who are fighting heroically to free themselves from colonial oppression.

134. The process of disintegration of the colonial system, which is a phenomenon of world historical importance, has become much more marked of late; it has dealt heavy blows to imperialism and reduced its sphere of influence. After the Second World War dozens of countries with populations of hundreds of millions have shaken off the chains of colonial subjugation and have played an active part in international life. This fact is having a beneficial effect on international relations and represents a great victory for the peoples and for the cause of progress in the whole world.

135. However, that does not mean that colonialism is dead, as the representatives of the colonial Powers are saying from this rostrum for reasons that are easy to understand. At the beginning of 1961, eighty-eight territories, with an area of nearly 15 million square kilometres and a population of over 71 million, were still under colonial rule. There are still 35 million inhabitants in the British colonial possessions alone. This figure, only 5 per cent of that of the former British colonial empire, may seem small from the colonialists' point of view, but it looms large in the eyes of the subjugated peoples.

136. If we look at what is going on in Algeria and Angola, in South West Africa, Kenya and Oman, we shall realize that the colonial system is not dead yet. In these territories, many armies, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, are exterminating the indigenous populations that are struggling for their independence, killing women and children, wiping out whole districts and villages, and imprisoning many thousands of men in concentration camps.

137. The whole world can see that the waging of colonial wars, the enlargement of the network of military bases and the plots and aggressive acts of the big monopolies that are trying to retain their ancient privileges and the positions they held in the past are not only ways of putting down the peoples' struggle for their liberation and of preserving the colonialist order, but also a source of grave international complications.

The Government and people of Romania support immediate abolition of the shameful colonial system in all its forms and manifestations.

139. The Romanian delegation considers that the General Assembly must, in the interests of peace and of the security of peoples, take effective steps to apply, with the least possible delay, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It supports the proposals presented by the Soviet delegation on that subject [A/4889], for it regards them as providing the necessary framework and the effective measures needed for putting into effect the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution.

140. We must act in such a way that the year 1962 will mark the end once and for all of colonial servitude and that the seventeenth session of the General Assembly will unite the representatives of all the nations that are still oppressed.

141. The existence of various States having different ideologies and social systems is a very characteristic fact in the world of today. In these circumstances, the only fair and reasonable policy that can govern the relations between these States is that of peaceful co-existence. The constant and steadfast promotion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and of the development of multilateral co-operation between States is the *raison d'être* of the United Nations. It is an undeniable fact that the principles of peaceful coexistence are gaining ever-increasing support throughout the world. But it would be wrong and it would endanger the cause of peace to close one's eyes to the fact that there are still forces hostile to the application of those principles, forces that oppose to them a policy that has nothing in common with international peace and co-operation.

142. One expression of this policy, which ignores reality and which is doomed to failure, is the prevention of the People's Republic of China from occupying its lawful place in the United Nations.

143. At a time when the United Nations is entrusted with complex tasks and great responsibilities, we cannot ignore the fact that the effectiveness of the Organization is greatly affected by the absence of the People's Republic of China, one of the great world Powers, without which the solution of any international problem would be inconceivable.

144. The Romanian People's Republic firmly requests that the People's Republic of China should be restored to its rights and that Chiang Kai-shek's clique of impostors should be expelled from the United Nations. We

shall firmly oppose any manoeuvre aimed at retarding the settlement of this problem. The injustice and illegality of this usurpation of the rights of the Chinese people are so flagrant that any delay in the restoration of those rights gravely affects the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

145. As regards the question of the United Nations Secretariat, the Romanian delegation considers that that question must be solved in accordance with the interests of all the groups of States that go to make up the Organization.

146. The latest events have aggravated the crisis which for some time has been hampering the activities of the United Nations and which has been brought about by the fact that the executive apparatus has been taken over and used by the group of Western Powers for selfish and one-sided purposes that are contrary to the interests of the United Nations. This state of affairs has led, among other things, to the situation in the Congo. There the Western Powers had recourse to acts which would dismember the territory of the Congo Republic; they armed those who were supporting them in Katanga and, using the United Nations emblem, engaged in bloody provocation and intrigues against the Congolese people.

147. The moment has come to draw the appropriate conclusions and to put an end to a situation when the carrying out of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly is distorted by the executive apparatus.

148. The United States delegation continues to invoke the argument that the Organization must be strengthened in order to justify its own rigid position on the question of the Secretariat. But how could the attempt to impose a solution dictated by the interests of one group of Powers and directed against other groups of Powers contribute to strengthening the United Nations?

149. Such attempts to impose a solution that favours one group of States and is detrimental to another are precisely what has weakened and is weakening the United Nations.

150. Obviously the proposal to appoint an executive head without having the most elementary guarantee that the errors of the past will be avoided can lead only to a situation in which the United Nations ability to act will be reduced to a minimum.

151. The Romanian delegation deems it its duty to draw attention to an extremely serious aspect of the question, namely respect of the provisions of the United Nations Charter which has been and remains the legal basis of all the United Nations activities. The United Nations remains strong as long as the Charter is respected and is weakened when the Charter is violated. The provisions of the Charter on the election of the Secretary-General are precise and no legal or political quibble can change the provisions of Article 97. Any move to prevent the question of the appointment of a new Secretary-General from being examined by the Security Council—the most important body of the United Nations—would be a grave violation of the Charter.

152. At this moment in the present international situation, when tension in the world has increased and when grave dangers are threatening peace, it is particularly important not to impose decisions that might make this tension still worse, poison the atmosphere and make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Member States to co-operate in ensuring the effective functioning of the United Nations in the service of world peace.

153. If the United Nations is to play an active part in reducing international tension and if it fulfils its major task as laid down in the Charter of being "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", then it is essential that the executive apparatus of the United Nations should be so constituted as to guarantee objectivity and duly reflect the interests of all Member States.

154. The Romanian People's Republic is sincerely attached to the cause of peace; it wants an atmosphere of relaxation and confidence and the development of good-neighbourly relations between States founded on mutual respect, confidence and co-operation.

155. Our country's peace policy reflects the fundamental interests and appropriations of the Romanian people which is concentrating on building an advanced economy and raising its material and cultural well-being.

156. Over a relatively brief historical period, the old Romania which was economically backward, an agricultural dependent State and source of raw materials for the imperialist Powers, has changed into a country with a flourishing and up-to-date industry and mechanized agriculture.

157. Industrial output is five times greater now than it was in 1938 and the rate of development, which is increasing was 17 per cent higher in 1960 than it had been in 1959. In Romania, important primary commodities are being manufactured today such as machinery for the petroleum industry, machine-tools, tractors, harvester-threshers and other agricultural machinery, trucks, electric and Diesel engines and a whole variety of chemical and petrochemical products. Our country is exporting industrial equipment for the complex process of extraction and refinement of petroleum, tractors and other products.

158. We have also made great strides in our agriculture.

159. The results achieved in the economic field have led to a rapid rise in the material and cultural level of our people. The growth in the consumption of industrial and food products, the building of new dwellings on a large scale, the ever growing number of school children and students, free education and medical care, and the remarkable developments in science, literature and art are striking evidence of this fact. As a result of steps taken by our State, real wages have increased during the last ten years by 85 per cent. Romania is at present carrying out a six-year economic development plan, as a result of which industrial production will have doubled between 1959 and 1965 and agricultural production will have increased considerably.

160. The Romanian people wishes to go on with this peaceful constructive work and to reap the fruits of its labour in a world free from the threat of a nuclear disaster.

161. The relations of the People's Republic of Romania with many countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and the two Americas have developed both in a spirit of mutual interest and of international co-operation. For our part we shall do our best to ensure that this favourable evolution pursues its course.

162. We shall also continue to promote the idea of pacts for peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between States on a regional level. We regard such pacts as an effective contribution to a sounder international atmosphere. The Romanian Government has directed its attention first of all to the geographical region in which the Romanian People's Republic is situated: the Balkan-Adriatic region. Unfortunately, the Government of the NATO States continue to reject the Romanian Government's proposals and have recently launched a campaign of incitement against the Socialist countries while conducting intensive military preparations.

163. The Romanian Government is convinced that if a denuclearized and rocket-free zone were established in the Balkans and the Adriatic region peace and security would be strengthened in Europe and international life in general would benefit. For that reason it maintains its proposals and will persevere in its defence of the principles of peaceful coexistence between the Balkan States.

164. The Romanian delegation wishes to express once again this year its opinion that the question of the education of young people in a spirit of peace, of mutual respect and of friendship between the peoples—a question which was discussed at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly—is of the utmost importance. It wishes to emphasize the urgency of taking measures to put this idea into practice.

165. The problems confronting us are by no means easy to solve. Nevertheless we think that as a result of the joint and persevering efforts of all Member States, the General Assembly will help to promote a relaxation in international tension. In that respect, the Romanian delegation attaches the greatest importance to the proposals made in the Soviet Government's memorandum concerning measures to reduce international tension and strengthen confidence between States.

166. We hope that the General Assembly will do its utmost to justify the confidence of the peoples and to fulfil the noble mission of the United Nations, which is to safeguard world peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.