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

In the absence of the President, U Thant (Burma), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): First of all, I should like to offer the most sincere congratulations on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation to Mr. Belaúnde on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its fourteenth session. The great honour conferred upon him by the General Assembly and the confidence it has shown in electing him to direct its proceedings are amply justified not only by his wide knowledge and his long and distinguished record of service to the international community but also by his personal qualities, his kindness and his courtesy.
2. It also gives my delegation great satisfaction to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to his great country and to Latin America in general, to its gallant peoples, their advanced civilization and their glorious struggle for the realization of human values, liberty and independence. The names of Bolivar and other illustrious figures of the American continent have gloriously resounded in the history of mankind and find their faithful echo in the present renaissance of Asia, the Arab world and the African continent.
3. In the similarity of our position and our problems, our common aspiration and ideals, we have found a source of inspiration for establishing and strengthening the ties of mutual understanding and fruitful co-operation which are so important for the future development of our peoples and for the firm establishment of world peace and security. My delegation therefore expresses the sincere wish that Mr. Belaúnde will perform these high international functions with his customary wisdom and serenity, thus ensuring the good conduct of the proceedings of this important session, about which he has expressed the hope that it may become an "Assembly of peace".
4. My delegation was deeply distressed to hear of the death in such tragic circumstances of Mr. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, and of the natural catastrophes which have befallen Japan, causing the loss of many lives and a considerable amount of

damage. To the delegations of these two friendly States, Ceylon and Japan, we should like to extend our deepest sympathy.

5. The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly is happy to greet the delegations of other States Members of the United Nations and, while assuring them of its closest and most loyal co-operation, wishes this session of the Assembly the greatest harmony in its deliberations and every success in accomplishing its purposes.

6. My delegation is honoured to have the opportunity of expressing from this world rostrum, on behalf of the King of Libya, his people and his Government, the most sincere good wishes for the progress, prosperity and peace of all the United Nations and of all those peoples of the world who cherish the ideals, purposes and principles which inspire and guide the efforts of men and nations of good will.

7. The United Kingdom of Libya, which is keenly anxious for conditions of lasting peace to be established in the world, has closely followed world events and international relations since the last session of the Assembly. The course of relations between East and West has been a frequent source of danger to world peace and security and has thus given all peoples justifiable cause for alarm and apprehension. These fears and anxieties have been shared by Libya, which, like all other peace-loving nations, hopes that wisdom and good will can triumph over obstinacy and tension.

8. The people of Libya would like the two opposing blocs to resolve their differences through the peaceful methods set forth in the Charter as essential for the settlement of international problems in a world which desires to be orderly and civilized. The Libyan Government therefore followed with interest the proceedings of the Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference that was held at Geneva in recent months. However slight the success of that Conference may have been, the Libyan Government feels that no effort should be spared to continue the discussions in an attempt to find a peaceful solution of the Berlin question and some means of reconciling the different points of view concerning the reunification of Germany. As progress in the relations between East and West depends essentially on the relations between the two dominant Powers in the world today, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom of Libya has been favourably impressed by the new phase apparently beginning in the relationship between these two Powers. The opportunities which, within the framework of the exchange of visits between the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, are offered to responsible statesmen of the two countries should bring about personal contacts and exchanges of views which may usefully serve the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world. My delegation hopes that this exchange

of visits will pave the way for an understanding beneficial to all sides, will facilitate the work of this session and will help to supply some of the elements which could lead to a solution of serious outstanding problems.

9. The United Kingdom of Libya, born under the auspices of the United Nations, has been guided since the proclamation of its independence, by a sincere desire and determination to adhere faithfully to the ideals and principles of the international organization within which it first saw the light of day as an independent and sovereign State. Our loyalty to the United Nations, which was able to find a fair and just solution to our own difficulties, is strengthened by the firm belief that as an international organization it is an essential instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security and for the promotion of understanding and co-operation between nations. Moreover, as a forum where international problems are discussed in all their aspects, the United Nations remains the final court of appeal of oppressed peoples and sustains their hope of enjoying their essential liberties and human dignity.

10. My delegation believes that the authority and survival of the United Nations depend primarily on the development of the universal aspect of the Organization and that any revision of the Charter would be justified if it tended to make the Organization more democratic and all its Members equal within its principal organs. These are, we feel, the considerations that should form the basis of our discussion of the agenda items relating to an increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council [agenda item 19], the members of the Economic and Social Council [agenda item 20] and the judges of the International Court of Justice [agenda item 21].

11. It is with full awareness of its international responsibilities and with the greatest respect for the spirit and the letter of the Charter that Libya continues to deal with and settle the many problems which have confronted it in the sphere of foreign relations in the first years following its entry into the growing family of nations. While anxious first and foremost to safeguard its territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, as well as its freedom of policy and actions, Libya wishes to maintain with the Western Powers relations based on understanding, mutual respect and propriety. These cordial relations are dominated, as far as Libya is concerned, by its unshakable determination to work for the establishment of the principles of self-determination and liberty which our Charter obliges us to promote, and by its unequivocal views on problems concerning human rights, a matter which I propose later to treat at greater length in stating my country's opinion on various relevant questions. I hasten to say that I shall endeavour to do so with complete detachment and with the sole aim of contributing as constructively as possible to the solution of problems that have an important bearing on the maintenance of peace and order in the world.

12. On this occasion I should like to say that the final abolition of colonialism in Libya has had the happy effect of creating a new relationship between the United Kingdom of Libya and post-war Italy, a relationship based on mutual respect and fruitful co-operation within the framework of the dignity, equality, independence and sovereignty of the two countries. These two States have successfully attempted to give an example of the peaceful, beneficial and lasting re-

lationship that can be established between the Powers of the Western world and the awakening peoples of Asia and Africa.

13. While preserving its own traditions and spiritual values and its Islamic outlook, the United Kingdom of Libya maintains normal and correct relations with the Eastern world, and thus gives evidence of its sincere desire to proceed dispassionately and without prejudice along the way of peaceful coexistence consistent with its international ideals.

14. With the other Arab States, Libya maintains the satisfactory and friendly relationship of a family of peoples with a common historical background of language, tradition and ideals. This relationship is dominated by a deep sense of unshakable solidarity and is inspired by a desire for close co-operation in order to achieve an economic prosperity which will raise the level of living of all Arab peoples and so contribute to the maintenance of peace and order in that part of the world.

15. This is the spirit in which Libya is carrying on with its regional obligations as a member of the League of Arab States. Within this regional organization, Libya is co-operating with the other Arab States to strengthen their ties of friendship and understanding and to establish conditions favourable to economic development in the whole region, thus contributing to the achievement of the united aims of all Arab peoples after their final liberation from the yoke of foreign occupation.

16. I would like to state once again in this Assembly our opinion that in view of what the League of Arab States has achieved in disseminating the ideals and principles of the United Nations within its own geographical sphere, it deserves recognition by the United Nations as a regional agency under Chapter VIII of the Charter concerning regional arrangements, for in this way it would be given a desired status in our Organization.

17. The United Kingdom of Libya, which participated in the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung, Indonesia, in the spring of 1955, maintains the most friendly relations with the independent States of Africa and Asia and is assisting in the implementation of the important resolutions adopted at that historic conference and aimed primarily at the dissemination and realization of the high principles and ideals of the United Nations. The solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa, which is based on their desire to work together for the achievement of their lawful aspirations and their moral and material welfare, is now growing and developing in the service of world peace and co-operation in harmony with the principles and purposes of our Charter. As an African State, Libya spares no effort to strengthen its fraternal relations with the other independent African States, and these relations are being developed in the most complete harmony and understanding.

18. The efforts jointly made by the independent African States since their historic meeting at the Accra Conference^{1/} in Ghana at the beginning of 1958 are being steadily renewed and strengthened in the service of African solidarity, the basic purpose of which is to give effect, throughout the continent, to the principles of self-determination, liberty and national inde-

^{1/} Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra (Ghana), 15-22 April, 1958.

pendence and, at the same time, to bring about the moral and material welfare of the African peoples in conformity with the principles of the United Nations.

19. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the King of Libya, his people and his Government, to salute all the African nations struggling for dignity and liberation and to welcome in advance to membership in this world Organization those African States on the threshold of independence, namely, Somalia, Nigeria, Togoland and the Cameroons. Against this background, the Libyan delegation will follow the debate on questions before the current session relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories with keen interest and special attention. It is its hope that the General Assembly will resolve them in accordance with the ideals of the United Nations and the principles of international trusteeship.

20. In the belief that the hateful practices of racial discrimination and segregation seriously jeopardize human values and are one of the major causes of friction and unrest in Africa and throughout the world, the Libyan delegation will continue to defend the principles of human dignity and equality, irrespective of race or colour. It will do so in the very sincere hope that man will ultimately be emancipated in law as well as in custom and tradition.

21. The Libyan delegation has been highly gratified to note that the General Assembly resolution adopted unanimously at its Third Emergency Special Session in August 1958 and relating to what was then called the "Middle East crisis" [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] is being carried out in a most reassuring manner. The relations between the parties concerned have finally returned to normal and now naturally reflect the lasting friendliness and brotherly feelings which are the very corner-stone of the family of Arab States. The bitter allusions made a few days ago from this rostrum by the representatives of Zionist aggression will merely have the effect of closing our ranks and strengthening our determination to exercise our right of self-defence against expansionist forces and subversive intrigues.

22. Moreover, the Libyan delegation regards the manner in which the United Arab Republic is discharging its obligations in the management of the Suez Canal as most satisfactory. Not only is it guaranteeing freedom of navigation through this important international waterway in accordance with the provisions of the 1888 Constantinople Convention, but it is bringing to that task a care and diligence hitherto unknown. What is more, work is under way along the entire length of this waterway to make shipping safer and to permit the passage of deep-draught vessels. I would add that the United Arab Republic has the full support of Libya for the policy it is following in effectively and reliably managing the Suez Canal in conformity with international rules and historical precedent.

23. The United Kingdom of Libya has welcomed with the greatest satisfaction the happy solution of the Cyprus question, which was given special attention by the United Nations at the last few sessions of the General Assembly. We are happy that one of the causes of tension in the Eastern Mediterranean has disappeared. In expressing our appreciation for the wisdom and vision exercised by the parties concerned in resolving this thorny problem, I should like, on behalf of my country, to congratulate most warmly the gallant people of Cyprus for their courageous and tenacious

struggle to win acceptance for their right to self-determination and independence. In saluting the Republic of Cyprus, the Libyan delegation should like to extend its best wishes that it will soon become a Member of the United Nations. The United Nations is also entitled to take credit for making a substantial and constructive solution to the successful settlement of this problem. May this success encourage us to intensify our aid to the parties concerned in another delicate question—this time in the Western Mediterranean—with a view to the achievement of a peaceful settlement.

24. This brings me to the tragic Algerian question. It is very sad to note that for over five years an agonizing war has been raging in Algeria. Not only is this disastrous war inflicting a whole series of unspeakable misfortunes and sufferings upon the peaceful population of the country, but it is also seriously jeopardizing peace in that part of the world and hampering the normal development of the neighbouring countries by disturbing their security and tranquillity.

25. The just struggle of the Algerian people to defend their legitimate rights to human dignity, self-determination and independence has been most sympathetically regarded in all parts of the world and in France itself. Meanwhile, at the last few sessions of the General Assembly, sincere efforts have been made to help France and the representatives of the Algerian rebellion to reach a peaceful settlement to end the bloodshed. Patient and repeated efforts have been made to convince France of the pointlessness of continuing a terrible war against a people determined to live in dignity and to exercise its universally recognized right to national independence and territorial integrity.

26. While deploring the war being waged by France in Algeria and the atrocities committed against the peaceful population, particularly the Algerians assembled in regroupment centres, the Libyan delegation considers that there have been certain developments which warrant special attention inasmuch as they might provide the basis for a just and peaceful solution.

27. The first event of importance was the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic last year. The United Kingdom of Libya has recognized that Government for two basic reasons. First because it reflects the true will of the Algerian people in their legitimate aspirations to self-determination and independence and, as the outgrowth of national groups in rebellion against French rule in Algeria, it has actual control over vast areas of Algerian territory in which it exercises all the attributes of sovereignty.

28. The second reason is that Libya, in the belief that the enlightened self-interest of the French people lies in the sound and realistic application of the principle of self-determination and independence to Algeria, regards the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, for purposes of a peaceful solution of the Algerian question, as the valid spokesman with whom France can enter into the necessary negotiations. These negotiations would be directed towards creating the conditions for a restoration of peace, the first step towards a solution which would serve the interests of the two parties and initiate an era of peace and co-operation throughout the area.

29. The second event of importance is the deep impact on France of the continuation of the Algerian war,

which led to the establishment of the Fifth Republic and the coming to power of General de Gaulle.

30. When that happened, the whole world was filled with hope that a stable Government would finally be established in France with the courage and authority to recognize, as an essential factor in France's recovery, the reality of an independent Algeria, thus putting an end to a futile war and inaugurating a new relationship between the two countries that would be characterized by friendship and co-operation based on the sovereign equality of two States, one French and one Algerian. Those expectations were all the more warranted as the new Head of Government was a man who had won prominence in his country and throughout the world by his heroic stand against the occupation of his country by foreign troops, by forming a Government in exile—a provisional Government in fact—which, despite the charge that it was not representative, helped to bring about the liberation of France and the restoration of its independence and sovereignty.

31. While the world waited for a realistic and generous gesture from General de Gaulle towards a peaceful solution of the Algerian question, there was no respite in the atrocious war. On the contrary, both sides had intensified their efforts with the result that its calamities, sufferings and atrocities reached indescribable proportions and outraged the conscience of mankind.

32. On 16 September 1959, in a statement delivered with the greatest solemnity, General de Gaulle finally revealed France's proposals for a settlement of the Algerian question. I shall briefly analyse and discuss those proposals. I shall do so dispassionately and with the sole objective of making a calm and constructive contribution to this debate. General de Gaulle said:

"Bearing in mind all the factors—Algerian, national and international—I deem it necessary that this recourse to self-determination be here and now proclaimed."

33. The Libyan delegation noted with gratification the recognition by France of the principle of self-determination for which the gallant Algerian people have patiently and courageously fought. This represents a starting point, the goal towards which the General Assembly has directed its efforts in recent sessions. General de Gaulle then stated:

"In the name of France and of the Republic, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Constitution to consult the citizens, if God grants me life and the people heed my words, I give my undertaking to ask the Algerians, in their twelve departments, what they want ultimately to be, and to ask all Frenchmen to endorse whatever choice they make."

34. The Libyan delegation questions the real value of self-determination by the Algerians if it is to be subject to the approval of all Frenchmen. What would happen if the French did not endorse the Algerian choice? In order to preserve the basic value of the principle of self-determination and to avert legal chaos, the Libyan delegation considers that self-determination for the Algerians should be the free and final choice of the Algerians and of the Algerians alone.

35. In his comments on the three possible solutions on which the Algerians are to be consulted, namely, secession from the French Community, integration

with France or autonomy, General de Gaulle described secession in the following terms:

"Or else, secession, in which some expect to find independence. This would mean that France would abandon the Algerians who had expressed the desire to break away. They would then, without France, organize the territory in which they live, marshal their potential resources and establish the Government of their choice. I am personally convinced that the result would be improbable and disastrous. Algeria being currently what it is, and the world what we know it to be, secession would bring in its wake appalling poverty, shocking political chaos, mass slaughter and, before long, the belligerent dictatorship of the Communists."

36. The Libyan delegation believes that any choice made as the result of a free consultation of the people should be respected as such. Moreover, how can it be predicted that the Algerians are not likely to choose secession or independence in so important a consultation, to be held by individual and secret ballot? Nor is it clear why the choice of secession should be disastrous. The least that may be said of an attitude which appears so prejudicial and impassioned is that it is imperative, not only to guarantee free expression by the Algerians but also to protect France against the temptations of its prejudices, that the consultation should be surrounded with all the necessary safeguards.

37. The United Nations can and must offer its assistance and assume responsibility for conducting and supervising the consultation of the Algerians on their final choice. Besides, only by a consultation held under such international safeguards can the validity of the predictions that the Algerians are unlikely to opt for independence be put to the test.

38. May I take the liberty of observing most respectfully that the gloomy and disheartening picture of the future of an independent Algeria painted by the President of the French Republic does not reflect the anticipated results of what is commonly called the "civilizing mission" which France has been carrying out in Algeria for over a century.

39. The Libyan delegation would further point out that the arguments warning against mass slaughter and Communist dictatorship have been invoked time and again with regard to the other countries of North Africa and all the newly-emancipated countries where order and stability prevail and where the handful of Communists lament their isolation and weakness and bitterly envy the power and wide public of their Western European masters and comrades.

40. After ascertaining that the question would be put to the Algerians as individuals, General de Gaulle declared:

"It goes without saying that, if such should be the case, those Algerians, regardless of origin, who wanted to remain French would do so whatever happened, and France would arrange, if necessary, for their regrouping and resettlement."

41. The Libyan delegation would like to point out that, in principle, the outcome of any consultation of the people should be determined by the choice of the majority of the people being consulted. In any event, the intention of France to arrange for a regrouping and resettlement of those who wanted to remain French

is expressed in ambiguous terms. Are they, for example, to be regrouped and resettled in metropolitan France? However complicated a process that might be, it would perhaps be motivated by a desire to offset the depopulation of France and to contribute to its economic recovery. Or are they to be regrouped and resettled in a particular area of independent Algeria? In that case such plans should be discussed between the French Government and the Government of an independent Algeria. In this connexion, I would recall that the Provisional Government of Algeria has consistently stated its intention to respect the fundamental rights and legitimate interests of the various minority groups in Algeria. Or else—and let us speak frankly—is it proposed to partition the country and to establish a political frontier between an independent Algeria and a French Algeria? Apart from the fact that there is no shred of justification for such a move, it would have the effect not only of complicating still more dangerously the Algerian question, but of creating a situation fraught with danger to world peace and security throughout North Africa. A review of the disastrous results of partition solutions in Germany, Palestine, Korea and South-East Asia should be sufficient evidence of that fact, not to speak of other examples which have already cost mankind two outrageous wars in a single generation.

42. I come now to a consideration of the time-limits fixed by General de Gaulle and of the conditions in which the proposed consultation is to be held. General de Gaulle said:

"As for the date of the voting, I shall fix it in due course, not later than four years after peace has effectively been restored, that is, once the situation is such that no more than 200 persons have been killed in ambushes and attacks within a year."

43. The Libyan delegation considers that not only is the period of four years after the effective restoration of peace very long in itself, but that also the whole concept is vague and in fact evaluated in terms of war. We believe that the real restoration of peace, as far as the Algerian question is concerned, means a situation in which the two opposing parties agree on a cease-fire and come to an understanding on the conditions and safeguards for the implementation of the principle of self-determination.

44. The third important event which will, we hope, facilitate the longed-for ending of the Algerian tragedy took place only a few days ago. On 28 September, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic made its position known. In a solemn declaration, the Provisional Algerian Government took note of the recognition by the President of the French Republic of the right of Algeria to self-determination. After reaffirming the national existence and sociological unity of the Algerian people, and the territorial integrity of Algeria, the Provisional Algerian Government declared that the independence which would arise out of the free and final choice of the Algerian people would safeguard individual liberties and guarantee personal security, and that the wealth of the Sahara would encourage wide and fruitful co-operation, in the general interest.

45. After listing the problems calling for discussion, the Provisional Algerian Government, which directs and controls the fight of the Algerian people, asserted that there could be immediate peace and that to that

end—and I quote—"the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was ready to enter into conversations with the French Government concerning the conditions...and the safeguards for the application of self-determination".

46. In view of this offer of peace, and the willingness of the Provisional Algerian Government to discuss these conditions and safeguards, it is difficult to find any justification for the French representative's statement at this rostrum, that "the rebels seek to impose secession by force" [814th meeting, para. 111].

47. Nearly all the conditions now seem to be present for a speedy and peaceful solution of the Algerian tragedy. No effort should be spared to persuade France to listen to the voice of reason and to make it possible, by accepting the Provisional Algerian Government's offer, to halt the bloodshed and give the Algerian people an opportunity of deciding their own future as rapidly as possible.

48. The birth of an independent State of Algeria would, we are sure, open the way to an era of peace and fruitful co-operation. This is a unique opportunity for General de Gaulle to contribute to the real glory and grandeur of France and its resurgence in an era of peace full of promise. It is to be hoped that this appeal will encourage wisdom and far-sightedness.

49. One of the most important causes of tension and instability in the Near East is the tragedy of the more than one million Palestinian Arabs, both Christian and Moslem, whose terrible fate it has been to be cast overnight into the blackest poverty and the most overwhelming privation. More than ten years ago, the Palestine refugees were driven from their homes and fields and their ancestral land after the frightful aggression committed against their country during those tragic events in Palestine which constitute the worst crime ever perpetrated in the history of mankind against the sacred right of private property, the sanctity of the fatherland and the elementary right of human groups to protection against mass expulsion through brigandage and terror.

50. Until a just and equitable solution is found for the Palestine question as a whole, it is the duty of the United Nations because of its responsibility in the matter, to continue moral and material assistance to the Palestine refugees through the appropriate United Nations agency. It is of the utmost importance that this United Nations assistance should continue by means of UNWRA. In this connexion, the Libyan delegation supports the Secretary-General's proposals [A/4121] regarding the need to continue UNWRA and the services it performs, in accordance with United Nations responsibilities in this field. The Libyan delegation believes that any solution envisaging the resettlement of the Palestine refugees must be looked for in the implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions relating to the return of the refugees to their country of origin, to their own homes and the fields plundered by the invaders.

51. The people and Government of Libya, being increasingly anxious at the race towards armaments of every kind, are following with the closest attention and the most fervent hopes the efforts now being made under United Nations auspices to find the long-sought answers to the disarmament problem. The technical talks on the control of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests give grounds for hoping that the Powers

concerned may at last reach a satisfactory agreement. The Libyan delegation trusts that the suspension, followed by the prohibition, of nuclear weapons will ultimately give all mankind reason to hope that atomic energy will be utilized for exclusively peaceful purposes.

52. One very important item on our agenda is the question of nuclear tests in the Sahara [agenda item 68]. In this connexion, the Libyan delegation shares the grave misgivings that are felt in Libya and in the countries bordering the test area, and by the people of the African Continent as a whole, at France's intention of testing its first atomic bomb in the Sahara at a fast-approaching date. The Libyan delegation hopes that the General Assembly will examine this item as a question of urgency so that France can be made to see the gravity of its atomic plans in the Sahara and be convinced of the need to renounce them. At their recent Conference^{2/} at Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, the independent African States protested vehemently on this matter and decided to appeal for United Nations help in eliminating the serious threat which now hangs over the Sahara in particular and the peoples of Africa in general.

53. The colossal amount being spent on the armaments race could contribute effectively to the development of the world's natural wealth and the raising of the level of living of peoples in the under-developed countries. We therefore noted with great interest the plan for complete and general disarmament laid before the General Assembly [799th meeting] by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

54. The Libyan delegation also feels that man's great victories in the exploration of outer space should be pursued solely with a view to putting scientific progress at the service of mankind as a whole.

55. The Libyan delegation is firmly convinced that it is the poverty, ignorance and disease plaguing a large part of the world's population which breed despair and disorder throughout the world, hindering the genuine emancipation of individuals and nations and impeding the establishment of friendly relations among peoples. The Libyan delegation therefore feels compelled to pay a warm tribute to the efforts of the United Nations to wipe out these plagues which are mankind's most formidable enemies. I am happy, on this occasion, to express the Libyan people's appreciation and gratitude for the technical assistance which Libya receives from the United Nations. The Libyan Government hopes that the projects which it has submitted to the Special Fund will receive due consideration. The United Kingdom of Libya, as it perseveres in the difficult task of placing the country's economy on a stable foundation and raising the intellectual and material standards of the population, is sure that the United Nations will continue to give support and encouragement to a State which was born under its auspices and will not fail in its responsibilities towards Libya.

56. Libya is deeply anxious for peace, security and international co-operation based on a solid foundation. We believe, therefore, that causes of world conflict should be kept constantly under review by the United Nations.

57. In Europe, a just, free and democratic solution of the German question would enable the German people to regain their unity and would at the same time eliminate one of the most serious causes of tension and conflict now threatening world peace.

58. The Libyan delegation also hopes that Italy and Austria will be able to find a peaceful settlement of the problems which now seem to be dividing them and that order and friendly relations will be restored along their common frontier.

59. The violence that is rife in the Middle East, and particularly in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, is quite incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations. A solution should be sought by peaceful means for the problems of Ornan and southern Yemen, taking into account the real wishes of the inhabitants and their right to self-determination.

60. In Africa, the internal troubles in the Cameroons under French administration are a source of great anxiety. We have always maintained that the holding of general elections prior to independence would contribute to the tranquillity and domestic peace of this new African sister State.

61. Lastly, in connexion with the recent developments in South-East Asia, the Libyan delegation hopes that the Security Council's action will help to maintain peace and security in this important part of the world, particularly within the boundaries of Laos. However, events in Tibet and the excesses committed against the Tibetan people have been a serious source of anxiety to the whole world.

62. I should like to address my sincerest congratulations and thanks, on behalf of the Libyan delegation, to the Secretary-General and his assistants in the Secretariat for their consistent and devoted efforts in the service of the United Nations. In conclusion, I should like to assure the General Assembly of the unswerving attachment of the United Kingdom of Libya to the principles and ideals of the United Nations and to wish it the greatest possible success in its work at this session.

63. Mr. DELGADO (Philippines): May I be permitted to begin by joining with those who have preceded me in expressing the wish and the hope of my delegation, and mine personally, for the prompt recovery of our President, Mr. Belaúnde, so that he may rejoin us and let us have the benefit of his leadership.

64. Also, may I publicly express our most heartfelt condolences to the Government and the people of Ceylon for the irreparable loss that they have suffered in the untimely death of their late great Prime Minister.

65. Finally, may I be permitted to publicly reiterate our most sincere sympathy to our friendly good neighbour, Japan, to her Government and her people, for the terrible ravages that the typhoon has caused to their country.

66. The General Assembly has convened this year in an atmosphere of hope. Not since 1946, when this body held its first session, have there been such happy auguries of peace and understanding among the nations.

67. The cold war, which has divided the world for more than a decade, is today being subjected to the warmer winds of conciliation, mutual accommodation and neighbourly living. In the very middle of an armaments race that has created weapons capable of anni-

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, held from 4-8 August 1959.

hilating mankind and destroying this planet, we have suddenly come to realize that the old historic struggles among nations for power, wealth and influence, based on military might, have lost all meaning or relevance.

68. The message which the artificial satellites and the rockets to the moon have written across the heavens consists of the fateful words: "Learn to live in peace—or die."

69. Love is a better counsellor than fear. But since the love of peace has, in the past, availed little to deter mankind from making war, we may hope that the common fear of universal death will now impel humanity to discover the means of living together in a condition of tolerance, justice and peace.

70. We must believe that humanity has the necessary will and ability to do this; that man will, in time, be able to hold in check his age-old propensities to selfishness, greed and cruelty, and allow his better instincts to fashion a suitable response to the iron necessity of survival.

71. The most auspicious event since the advent of the cold war is surely the exchange of visits between Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower. When the plan for this exchange was first announced, our President, Carlos P. Garcia, of the Philippines, warmly hailed the news in a public statement in which he expressed the fervent hope that the exchange of visits between the heads of the world's two most powerful States would contribute to the establishment of a just and enduring peace for all mankind.

72. We are well aware that this kind of peace cannot be made by one single act, however dramatic, nor achieved by wishful thinking through Utopian means. We understand clearly that ideal objectives must be subjected to the test of realistic solutions. The heavy burden of accumulated wrong, the age-old heritage of suspicion and hate, oppression and injustice cannot be suddenly wished away by waving a magic wand. We must work with these unhappy realities of the world as they are, and strive patiently to let man's generous instincts provide an eventual and effective healing.

73. The task before us is long and hard, but the important thing is to make a beginning. And an honest beginning can only be made if, first of all, we stop adding to what I have already described as man's heavy burden of accumulated wrong and age-old heritage of suspicion and hate, oppression and injustice. This means, in effect, that even while we strive to remedy the evils of the past we must earnestly determine to prevent new evils from arising.

74. I represent here a small country whose people love freedom and justice as much as they desire peace. For the sake of peace and human survival, they would wish sincerely that the spirit of conciliation, which is moving amongst us, will continue to improve the relations among the great Powers. At the same time, loving freedom and justice as they do, our people equally fervently wish that no country will ever try to use its capacity to wage war, including nuclear war, as an instrument to intimidate others into surrendering their just rights and their cherished liberties. For this would be the surest way to incur the very risk of universal death and destruction which, by the methods of conciliation and accommodation, we are endeavouring earnestly to avoid.

75. Our country has never had a military tradition and could ill afford one. We live under a Constitution which, when it was promulgated in 1935, became the first in history to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. If we now take up the question of general disarmament, it is only because small countries like ours have at stake not only their own prospects of survival but also their hopes for a more abundant life.

76. It has, therefore, been immensely heartening for us to observe the great military Powers come closer to an agreement on what has been called the great imperative of our time. It would not seem impossible to reconcile the proposals advanced in this Assembly by Mr. Khrushchev [799th meeting] with those advanced by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom [798th meeting], France [814th meeting], and the United States [797th meeting]. Total disarmament in four years has to be, with all due respect, regarded as Utopian. Four years is too brief a time within which to sweep aside the habits, instincts, and inherited fears of the whole of human history, and complete and general disarmament is, for the present at least, only the ultimate goal to which all men of peace and good will should strive.

77. But I trust it is not mere wishful thinking to perceive positive progress toward disarmament by stages and under adequate international control and inspection. The tacit understanding among the nuclear Powers to suspend further tests, the exchange of proposals on the limitation of conventional armaments, the slow but thorough discussion of protection against surprise attacks; all these give us reason to hope that the great military Powers are developing a habit of agreement.

78. We derive particular satisfaction from the approach suggested by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd when he pointed out that "if we can get political settlement it will make agreement on disarmament easier; if we can get an agreement on disarmament, it will make political settlements easier" [798th meeting, para. 41]. This, it seems to us, is the most sensible resolution of the vicious circle in which the disarmament question has for so long been caught.

79. For our part, we feel that a country like the Philippines can best contribute to progress toward disarmament by helping to create and maintain a world opinion favourable to it. It is for this reason that we cannot welcome any addition to the number of States now possessing nuclear weapons. What does it add to the security of either camp in our divided world to have four instead of three, or five instead of four, among them equipped with these devices, when either of the two principal Powers can now condemn us to annihilation? What will it profit mankind to put more poison into the air that we and our children breathe?

80. We begrudge the vast treasures that have been spent on being able to kill more men, women and children at one blow, because we believe that all this vast expenditure could better have been spent on being able to keep millions of men, women, and children alive.

81. We would not appear too demanding. We realize that, in the present situation, great Powers must give priority to their own security. We appreciate the assistance that the Philippines and other countries have already received under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. We are impressed by the activities of the ILO, of FAO, UNESCO, UNICEF and other

specialized agencies, and we are particularly pleased that the regional office of WHO has been established in Manila.

82. Perhaps this is not an entirely inappropriate occasion to suggest at the same time that the benefits of these technical assistance programmes to the peoples who are their beneficiaries could be substantially increased if, without sacrificing efficiency, the expenses of their administration and operation could be reduced.

83. It might be desirable to assign and recruit technicians for service under these programmes from among the nationals of the recipient country or region concerned. In the Philippines, at least, we feel that, at the present time, there are sufficient technicians among our own people, properly trained at home and abroad, who could be used for the purposes of these programmes so long as sufficient funds are made available to them.

84. The Special Fund established at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1240 (XIII)] is now in actual operation. The less-developed countries, including the Philippines, look to it with hope because it attempts to carry into the new field of economic and financial assistance the measures of technical aid which were provided under the previously existing programmes.

85. One of the two outstanding achievements of our time, no less important than the progress in the nuclear and inter-space sciences, is the accelerated pace of the liberation and emancipation of subject or dependent peoples everywhere. In a little over a decade since the end of the Second World War, the resurgence of the peoples of Asia and the emergence of the peoples of Africa has led to the liberation in rapid succession of no less than six hundred million dependent peoples, or approximately one-fourth of the human race. The trend of developing events would indicate that sooner or later, perhaps within the next five or ten years, some two hundred million more who still remain under political subjection will be set free.

86. The truly revolutionary element in this movement is that, in nearly all cases of national liberation since the end of the Second World War, the result was achieved by just, peaceful and democratic means. The Philippines, which was the first country in modern history to win its freedom and independence by peaceful agreement with the sovereign Power, is thus committed by its own historic experience to support the just aspirations of all peoples to have a life and destiny of their own.

87. In the same spirit, the Philippines wishes to express profound concern over the fate of two countries of Asia, namely Korea and Viet-Nam, which continue to be divided and partitioned. We would like to express the hope that the peoples of these countries will be afforded a just opportunity to achieve national unification by peaceful and democratic means, and that they may soon be permitted to join us as Members of the United Nations.

88. The Philippines will continue to lend its support to all measures that will enhance the "dignity and worth of the human person" and to help ensure that men may live in larger freedom and in full enjoyment of fundamental human rights. To this end, my delegation will co-operate toward the early conclusion of

United Nations action on the draft International Covenants on Human Rights. We adhere, as heretofore, to our well known position that freedom of the Press and of information is the "touchstone of all the other freedoms" for which the United Nations has always stood.

89. We, therefore, welcome the decision to discuss the draft Convention on Freedom of Information [resolution 1313 C (XIII)]. Furthermore we welcome the inclusion in the agenda of the fourteenth session of the item on the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child [agenda item 64].

90. The Philippines will continue likewise to support the programme of the Secretary-General in the matter of advisory services in the field of human rights [A/4132, p. 49].

91. In the legal field, my Government has always viewed with favour the establishment of a multilateral convention on diplomatic intercourse and immunities. The present usages and practices vary from country to country, thereby at times causing confusion. A convention will not only help secure the greatest possible uniformity in those usages and practices, but will also help to promote better relations among States.

92. Subject to certain reservations, the draft Articles on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities which were prepared by the International Law Commission during its tenth session are considered by my Government as a sufficient working basis for the formulation of a convention on the subject.

93. We in Asia and in the other less-developed regions hope and expect that the sun of peace that is dawning on the summits of power will eventually warm and comfort the humble and the poor of the world.

94. We are happy to join our President, in hoping that this will come to be known as "the Assembly of peace". We welcome the growing agreement of the principal military Powers to co-operate in making that noble wish come true.

95. We are ready, within the limits of our modest resources, to work with all for a peace of reconciliation, a peace of general progress and a peace of justice and liberty.

96. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): The fourteenth session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when progress is being made in the efforts to give a new orientation to international relations and to put an end to the cold war, and to bring about an easing of tensions. In the opinion of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania the United Nations cannot but be gratified by this state of affairs which permits it to take more effective action to attain the purposes and principles of the Charter.

97. All these years of cold war have poisoned the international atmosphere and sown the seeds of distrust and suspicion among States. The arms race, especially in the case of nuclear weapons, has assumed fantastic proportions. The world has come to the edge of the abyss and the danger of a nuclear war with all its disastrous consequences is still not averted. The efforts of the instigators of the cold war, of the policy of strength and of aggressive blocs and bases intended to prevent the development and consolidation of the socialist countries and frustrate the struggle for national liberation of the dependent countries, have failed.

The socialist countries, utilizing the vast possibilities afforded by their system and by fraternal mutual assistance, have achieved magnificent results in their economic and cultural development, at a pace hitherto unknown.

98. The Soviet Union is in the forefront of scientific and technical progress. All mankind acclaimed the launching of the first sputniks, the first artificial satellite of the sun, and the first rocket on the moon. These great achievements of the genius of Soviet men have inaugurated a new era in our knowledge and control of the universe, and have opened up brilliant perspectives of progress and peaceful co-operation among nations.

99. The Albanian people, which has pursued the same path of struggle, hailed with enthusiasm the victory of national independence won by the many peoples of Asia and Africa which are now active Members of our Organization, and expresses its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the valiant people of Algeria and the other peoples of Asia and Africa which are still struggling against the intolerable colonialist system. We have unshakable faith in the victory of their just cause.

100. During this period new problems were added to those arising from the Second World War, complicating the situation still further. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the People's Democracies and other peace-loving countries have made sincere efforts and taken concrete measures to bring about a gradual negotiated solution of the outstanding problems, with a view to paving the way for the elimination of blocs and military bases and for disarmament and peaceful co-operation among nations.

101. We note with satisfaction that these efforts are beginning to bear fruit, and that the Western Powers, having made a realistic appraisal of the present situation, the forces involved and the deep aspirations of peoples, are also turning towards negotiation and collaboration.

102. The Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference held at Geneva, with the participation of the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, did not reach a concrete agreement on the problems discussed, but it did mark a notable advance towards understanding and the peaceful solution of the major problems of our time. The peoples expect that a summit conference of the same countries will lead to tangible results in this field.

103. We believe that the exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Nikita S. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, indicates a turning point in the present disquieting international situation. My country and its Government welcomed Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States as a victory of the forces of peace, and a historical event marking a new phase in international relations. In all parts of the world the visit of the Head of the Soviet Government and his talks with President Eisenhower are considered to be a useful contribution to the cause of peace and a most hopeful augury for the future. There is no doubt that President Eisenhower's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union will serve to consolidate and extend the positive results already achieved in the efforts to improve Soviet-American relations and to solve the international problems still unsettled.

104. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the world's two greatest Powers, cannot but be welcomed by other countries, particularly the smaller States. The existence of friendly relations between these two countries is a guarantee of peace promising greater security for smaller nations, the easing of international tension and good prospects of abolishing armaments, which in various ways impose a heavy burden on the economies of every country. It is desirable in our view that such exchanges of visits should take place more frequently, and that summit meetings between the leaders of the Eastern and Western States should become a regular practice in international relations. It would be an effective method of arriving at mutually acceptable solutions of the disputes and problems which now divide the world. It is surely preferable to have patient and friendly negotiations rather than the threat of force, and conferences, even if they last for many years, rather than the explosion of a hydrogen bomb.

105. We do not imagine that the distrust, the differences of opinion and the complexity of the problems left unsolved during the cold war will disappear overnight, but we feel justified in affirming that the time is ripe and the need imperative to make a new start in international relations. All nations hate war, whatever their way of life may be, and peaceful co-existence, that is to say, peaceful co-operation between countries, on the basis of equality, non-interference and mutual respect and advantage, is the only alternative to the threat of a nuclear war. The frantic arms race must give way to peaceful economic competition between the socialist and capitalist systems. In negotiations between States and their discussion of problems there must be a new approach, an understanding of the interests of the other party and a willingness to reach a solution. Reason, not force, should guide Governments and statesmen.

106. The present session of the General Assembly has an important part to play in this connexion and will be a milestone in the history of the Organization. The remarkable statement made from this rostrum [799th meeting] on 18 September 1959 by Mr. Khrushchev, is rightly regarded as the outstanding event of this session. The extremely important programme of general and complete disarmament which Mr. Khrushchev proposed has been welcomed enthusiastically by all peoples and viewed with a keen and largely favourable interest by most Governments. Both the people and Government of Albania warmly welcomed and fully support the Soviet Union's programme of general and complete disarmament as a new and striking expression of the consistently peaceful policy of the Soviet Government, as the only effective means of breaking the present deadlock in international affairs, and as the best way to solve the major problem of our time, to free mankind from the fear of war and inaugurate a new era of peace and progress for all peoples. This bold and realistic programme, inspired by the highest humanitarian ideals and a sense of responsibility towards the peoples, offers a complete and radical solution to the problem of disarmament.

107. The essence of the Soviet proposals as defined by Mr. Khrushchev is that "over a period of four years, all States should carry out complete disarmament and should divest themselves of the means of

waging war" [ibid., para. 71]. They are proposals which could enable us to solve once and for all the crucial problem of disarmament, to ensure lasting peace and international security, to create a completely new international climate based on mutual trust, peaceful co-existence and unrestricted co-operation in the economic and other fields.

108. What great things could be achieved for the welfare and progress of human society if we halted the arms race which drains our material and financial resources and the skills of our scientists, research workers and technicians, if, in a word, we disarmed! At a time like this, of inconceivable advances in science and technology and infinite possibilities for the development of productive forces, vast areas of the world are still without the basic necessities of life, and tens of millions of infants and young children die each year for lack of food and medical care. In every country diseases like cancer take the lives of hundreds of thousands of human beings each year. Even in the highly-developed countries there are shortages of houses, schools and hospitals. With the expenditure of only a fraction of the enormous sums devoted to armaments many of these problems could in great part be solved. The urgent problem of the under-developed countries, which is a matter of justifiable concern to the United Nations, could be solved by comprehensive and practical schemes instead of being the subject of interminable discussions and of half-measures; the level of living of the peoples everywhere could be raised considerably, man's work would be easier and human civilization would make greater progress.

109. The arms race delays progress and causes tension, poverty and wars of extermination. General and complete disarmament opens up dazzling prospects of peace, security and happiness. This places a heavy responsibility on those Governments which persist in the policy of the arms race and gives tremendous significance to Mr. Khrushchev's proposals for general and complete disarmament.

110. There are those who maintain that the establishment of the Ten-Power Committee recently agreed upon by the great Powers might remove the disarmament problem from the purview of the United Nations, but the Soviet Union's proposals, made before the General Assembly by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union himself, not only demonstrate the Soviet Union's attachment to this Organization and the importance it attributes to it, but also offer the Organization an opportunity of resolving the basic problem of our age and of achieving thus the principal aim of the Charter: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

111. My Government considers the establishment of the Ten-Power Committee an important step towards the solution of the disarmament problem. The great merit of the programme of complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Union in the statement in the Assembly is that it breaks the deadlock reached after fourteen years of discussion of the problem and points the way to a concrete and radical solution. Hitherto the Western Powers have frequently tried to justify their refusal to consider the many proposals and concrete measures suggested by the Soviet Union for the solution of the disarmament problem by raising the question of control. It is a well-known fact that the Soviet Union has always had a realistic and constructive approach to this question. It is obvious that there

cannot be control without disarmament; what is needed is controlled disarmament. The Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament provides a complete answer to this question also, since it proposes the establishment of an international control organ in which all States would participate. The system of control envisaged will cover all disarmament measures and will operate in conformity with the stages in which disarmament is general and complete; then, once it is accomplished, control will also be general and complete.

112. The Soviet Government, realizing that a certain time will be required to work out the programme, and for the necessary negotiations, suggests that in the meantime a series of suitable partial measures should be taken to ensure disarmament and to strengthen security. World opinion expects that all Member Governments will give their support to this programme, which is the major question at the present session of the General Assembly and on which the attention of all nations is focussed. The attitude of each Government to the problem of disarmament is the touchstone of its devotion to the cause of peace.

113. We know that in the United States and other NATO countries there are strong forces which oppose the relaxation of tension and wish to continue the cold war and the arms race, but they cannot stop the march of history. In the new climate of relaxation we believe that if the great Powers truly demonstrate the same desire for agreement as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries it will not be difficult to agree as a first step upon the partial measures for disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union. Moreover, as every prerequisite now exists, it is to be hoped that the United States will abandon its negative attitude in the three-Power Conference at Geneva^{3/} and that an agreement on the complete and unconditional cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests will be concluded in the near future.

114. The French Government's proposal to hold nuclear tests in the Sahara at the very moment when total cessation of these tests has become an urgent necessity has aroused indignation in the countries of Africa and among all peace-loving nations. As a Mediterranean country with a direct interest in this matter, the People's Republic of Albania wishes to state that it opposes the proposed tests in the Sahara and supports the attitude of the African countries in the matter. It hopes that the French Government will not proceed with a pernicious project, which has provoked such a well-founded reaction.

115. The cause of peace is extremely dear to the people and Government of Albania and they stand wholeheartedly behind it. In the past, my country has greatly suffered because of wars. On 7 April 1939, it became one of the first victims of fascist aggression. For centuries, the Albanian people, at the cost of untold sacrifices, has fought foreign invaders and national tyrants for the sake of liberty, independence and social justice. These objectives were not fully achieved until fifteen years ago, when, on 29 November 1944, the Albanian people triumphed in their struggle for national liberation against the Italian fascist and German Nazi invaders and popular democratic rule was established in their country.

^{3/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, convened 31 October 1958.

116. Fifteen years is not a long period in the history of a nation, but for the Albanian people these last fifteen years mark an historic epoch—the transition from occupation to independence, from tyranny to liberty, from darkness to light. Once a semi-dependency of the imperialists, Albania has now become an independent and sovereign socialist State with a sound international standing. It is a Member of the United Nations and maintains normal relations with many countries. The Albanian people are proud of the unshakable friendship which links their country to the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies. In the great united family of free and equal socialist countries, and in alliance with the Soviet Union and the other signatories to the Warsaw Treaty, which is a powerful instrument of security and peace, the Albanian nation has regained its national dignity and obtained security for its sovereignty, for the building of socialism and for a prosperous future.

117. Before liberation, Albania was a poor, backward agrarian country, without industry and modern communications, and with an illiteracy rate of 85 per cent. What is the situation now?

118. As I do not wish to take up the time of the General Assembly, I wish merely to say that in less than fifteen years that deplorable situation has been banished forever, thanks to the efforts and self-sacrifices of our people and our Government as well as to the generous and disinterested help of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. We have, for instance, established industries and a modern communications system and undertaken the exploitation of oil wells, chromium, ferro-nickel and copper mines for our own benefit. Industrial production is more than eighteen times higher now than it was in 1938 and is increasing at the same pace. Agriculture, which has been mechanized and collectivized to a great extent, now covers a larger area and produces about twice as much as it did before the war. In 1958, the national income was three and a half times greater than in 1948. Illiteracy has been abolished. There is a primary and secondary school system throughout the country, and we have founded our own university. At present, more than 500 young people complete advanced studies each year, whereas during the last fifteen years of the former régime, a total of only 300 persons were able to obtain a higher education. At present, one-fifth of the population is attending school. Art, culture, and science are flourishing.

119. The people's standard of living is much higher than before the war. Unemployment is unknown, and there are nine times more workers than there were in 1938. Salaries and pensions have been raised repeatedly, while prices have been decreasing yearly. A complete system of social insurance protects workers and their families. Less than 3 per cent of all revenue in the national budget is derived from taxation of the people. A significant indication of the rise in the standard of living is the annual growth of the population: the birth rate, which was 16.9 per 1,000 in 1938, climbed last year to 31.9 per 1,000.

120. The Albanian people are preparing to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of their liberation, and the great achievements of which they are legitimately proud. Socialism has completely transformed the face of our country and holds out hope of a glowing future for our people. The progress we have already made

bears witness to the transforming power and superiority of the socialist system, for it shows that even a small country, once it is free of imperialist domination and exploitation, once it is independent and master of its national resources, can, with the disinterested assistance and solidarity of the socialist countries, safeguard and consolidate its national independence, develop its economy and its culture for the well-being of its people and become a factor for peace and progress.

121. The path which we have travelled since liberation has not been an easy one. We have had to overcome the grievous heritage of the past and the appalling destruction of the Second World War and to restore our economy, while simultaneously frustrating the hostile intrigues and activities of certain foreign Powers who have spared no effort—though in vain—to overthrow the people's government and return our people to slavery. It is to be noted that the ruling circles of certain NATO bloc countries have still not renounced their foolish dream of putting the socialist countries back under the bourgeois imperialist yoke, and that the United States Government has not ceased preaching its provocative policy of so-called "liberation" with regard to Albania and other socialist countries. Only recently, the United States Congress adopted an insolent resolution along these lines as a contribution to the cold war. Is it not high time that these gentlemen understood once and for all that the Albanian people, as well as the people of the other socialist countries, have attained true freedom once and for all, that no force in the world could induce them to deviate from their freely chosen path of socialism, and that they will not permit anyone to interfere in their domestic affairs? Would they not do better to attend to their own affairs and to base their policy on existing realities rather than on their unattainable hopes? A realistic attitude on their part would be in the interests of their own country and in keeping with the principles of the Charter, and it would serve the cause of peace and international understanding.

122. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania remains faithful to its policy of peace and friendship with all countries and is doing its utmost to further the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is wholeheartedly in favour of peaceful co-existence and co-operation among all countries, regardless of their social and political systems, on a basis of equality, non-interference, and mutual respect and benefit. These are the principles underlying the relations which it has established with a number of countries and which it is ready to extend to others.

123. By its policy and by its acts, the Albanian Government has always endeavoured to avert the threat of war and maintain peace. At the present time, it considers it essential to check the course of the "revanchist" German militarism which has made its appearance in West Germany and which constitutes the most serious threat to peace in Europe. My Government completely concurs with the proposal of the Soviet Union to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and to confer upon West Berlin the status of a free, demilitarized city.

124. The People's Republic of Albania, which is particularly interested in safeguarding peace and friendly co-operation among the Balkan and Mediterranean countries, wishes to maintain and develop with all these countries relations of good neighbourliness and

active co-operation in the common interest and in the cause of peace. Rightly considering that the establishment of United States atomic weapon bases and missile launching stations in the territory of neighbouring countries like Italy and Greece constitutes a direct threat to the security and sovereignty of Albania and gives rise to tension in this area, the Albanian Government has taken active steps to forestall such a situation. In the light of the agreement concluded between the Italian and United States Governments on the installation of such bases in Italy, the problem has become particularly important.

125. During his visit to Albania in the spring of this year, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, proposed the establishment, on the basis of mutual control, of a peace zone in the Balkan and Adriatic region where there would be no atomic weapons or missiles. This proposal, which was favourably received by most of the Governments and by all of the peoples of the Balkan countries was hailed as a great contribution to the cause of peace in this region and in the world. Only the Italian and Greek Governments took a negative position with respect to it.

126. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania expressed full support for the Soviet proposal, and indicated its readiness to begin immediate negotiations with all Governments concerned. It further stated that if such bases were established in Greece, the People's Republic of Albania would be obliged to take similar measures in its own territory in order to defend itself against this threat. Our attitude remains unchanged. The establishment of a peace zone in the Balkans and the Adriatic is still timely and in keeping with the long-term interests of all the nations of this region. We would like to hope that, with the change in the international situation, not only will such bases not be established in Greece but all existing military bases in foreign countries will be abolished.

127. The Balkans used to be known as the powder keg of Europe. The People's Republic of Albania and the other People's Democracies in this region are striving incessantly to make the Balkans an example of co-operation and peaceful co-existence, an active and influential factor for the preservation of peace in Europe. The Albanian Government will continue to pursue its good neighbour policy and its efforts in this connexion. We have given our complete support to the proposal made by the Head of the Government of the Romanian People's Republic that a meeting should be convened of the Heads of Governments of the Balkan countries and that a treaty of mutual understanding and collective security should be concluded among the countries of this region. We still consider this a very timely proposal. We are convinced that, given good will on the part of all parties concerned, the Balkan countries will find the way to understanding and co-operation.

128. The items on the agenda of the General Assembly at its fourteenth session are numerous and call for very careful attention. Our delegation will state its position in respect to them at the appropriate time, but it would like to stress here and now that the most important problem before this session is the Soviet plan for general and complete disarmament. The peoples of the world are waiting for the General Assembly to reach a positive decision in this matter.

129. We feel that the General Assembly should take active steps to further the thaw which has begun in international relations. We note with regret, however, that certain representatives are attempting to convert the Assembly into a bastion of the cold war. Thus, as a result of the negative attitude and the selfish designs of a single Power, and contrary to common sense, justice and the urgent interests of the United Nations, the question of reinstating the People's Republic of China in its rights in the United Nations has once again been postponed. Although we have already indicated our position [801st meeting] on this matter, we feel compelled to stress it once again.

130. On this first day of October 1959 the Chinese people celebrate the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. This event marked a turning point in the long history of the Chinese people and an important date in the history of mankind. On the occasion of their national holiday, I congratulate the great Chinese people, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, on their splendid achievements in all fields and on their great contribution to the cause of peace and international co-operation, and wish it even more striking victories on the path to socialism. We believe that, both in international relations and in the General Assembly, the right course at present is to explore the points on which we agree and not those on which we differ. We should more than ever avoid any action which impedes such a course, as for instance the proposal to include on the agenda the non-existent question of Tibet, which constitutes gross interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China and a deliberate act of provocation. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will refuse to play the game of the enemies of international co-operation and the easing of tension.

131. The forces working to prevent the relaxation of tension and to maintain the cold war have provoked a state of tension in Laos and, to that end, even the Charter provisions relating to the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council have been disregarded. Our delegation believes that the matter of Laos should be examined and resolved in accordance with the Geneva agreements of 1954, as was proposed by the Soviet Government in its statement of 14 September 1959 [S/4222].

132. We consider that respect for the provisions of the Charter and existing agreements is essential to the normal functioning of the United Nations organs and to the attainment of its objectives. One of the principles on which our Organization is based is that of equitable geographical distribution in the membership of United Nations organs. For years, the seat of a non-permanent member of the Security Council belonging to an eastern European country has been arbitrarily occupied by representatives of other geographic groups. We believe that the rights of all groups, including those of the socialist countries, should be respected. The same principle should be observed with regard to the election of the President of the General Assembly at different sessions. Our delegation supports the proposal of the Czechoslovak delegation on this matter [A/4182].

133. We welcome the proposal by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [A/4233] relating to the control of cancerous diseases, and we hope that this humanitarian proposal will find widespread support among delegations.

134. I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that this session of the General Assembly, as a result

of the spirit underlying its works and of the resolutions which it adopts, will contribute effectively to the elimination of the cold war and to the easing of international tension, and that it will go down in history as "the Assembly of peace".

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

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