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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, I should like to congratulate Mr. Slim on his unanimous election to the office of President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

2. At this time of serious tension in international relations, the peoples of the world are turning to the General Assembly with concern but also with hope, expecting the United Nations to live up to its responsibilities and to leave nothing undone to safeguard world peace.

3. This era is one of revolutionary changes in the social field, in international relations, in science and in technology. Mankind has entered upon a period of unprecedented developments in all spheres. One-third of the world has rid itself of all oppression and exploitation and is successfully building socialism. For the first time in history, the Soviet Union has blazed the trail into outer space and the fantastic travels of the Soviet cosmonauts have ushered in a new age. We are happy to note that in the brief post-war period peoples have scored brilliant victories over imperialism and colonialism. Yet it is obvious that imperialism still bars the way to the liberation of peoples, to their social advancement and to peace, and that it remains a source of oppression, exploitation and war.

4. Facts show that in an attempt to retain its position and win back its forever vanished hegemony, imperialism does not shrink from the cruelest actions, and even from the unleashing of a third world war with its incalculable consequences.

5. It has created centres of tension in various parts of the world. German militarism, resuscitated in West Germany, is preparing for war. In Africa, the blood of peoples struggling against the colonial yoke flows unabated. In the Far East, Taiwan, South Korea and South Viet-Nam, which are under the heel of the United States, are being built up into bases for aggression against socialist countries. In Latin America, after the aggression of April 1961 which ended in

utter defeat, the United States is preparing for a renewed attack on Cuba. In answer to the Soviet Union's efforts and endeavours to achieve a peaceful solution of the German problem, the United States and its allies have been brandishing arms and taking serious military measures.

6. It is undeniable that the aggressive policies of the United States of America and the other members of the North Atlantic bloc represent a serious threat to peace. However, the peoples are now more than ever determined to preserve peace; the forces of peace are stronger than those of war and it should be possible to prevent war and safeguard peace. Meeting at such a time, the United Nations General Assembly would make a valuable contribution to the cause of peace if it could help to stem this dangerous trend of events and to assist in bringing about a peaceful solution of the major problems of the day.

7. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which is pledged to the sacred cause of peace, would welcome an opportunity to play its modest part in the efforts for the preservation of world peace.

8. The German problem, a legacy from the Second World War, is the most acute problem we face today and is causing deep concern to all peoples. Sixteen years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, and still no peace treaty has been signed with Germany. That country is now divided into two States with totally different social systems and trends of development; the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. In the former, the Potsdam Agreement^{1/} has been fully implemented and authority lies with democratic forces, while in the latter, power is wielded by the very groups which had brought Hitler to power and even by some individuals directly responsible for unleashing the Second World War.

9. The United States of America, the United Kingdom and France, whose actions and policies in West Germany and in Berlin have nullified the Potsdam Agreement, have consistently opposed all efforts on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States to conclude a peace treaty with Germany. They bear full responsibility for the division of Germany, for the resurgence of revanchist militarism in West Germany and for the latter's transformation into a dangerous focus of infection in the very heart of Europe.

10. Lying deep inside the territory of the German Democratic Republic and occupied by the Western Powers, West Berlin has become a hotbed of provocations against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries and has been turned into a veritable powder keg.

^{1/} Signed on 2 August 1945.

11. Unwavering in its peace-loving policy, the German Democratic Republic has consistently tried to bring about the peaceful unification of Germany as a democratic and peace-loving State, in accordance with the interests of the German people, of peace and of European security. To that end, it has suggested, inter alia, the creation of a confederation of the two German States and the settlement of their problems by negotiation.

12. By contrast, the Federal Republic of Germany has not only rejected all these proposals, but has been pursuing a policy of revenge and aggression. As a member of NATO, re-armed and equipped with the latest weapons, West Germany with the support of its allies seeks to annex the German Democratic Republic and openly pursues expansionist designs against other countries.

13. A hysterical campaign has been launched in the West: there is talk of the so-called "Berlin crisis" which in fact was engineered by the United States of America itself and by other NATO Powers when the German Democratic Republic took certain legitimate measures designed to safeguard its integrity and sovereignty, and when the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries decided to end the state of war with Germany by signing a peace treaty with it this year.

14. For our part, we would like such a treaty to be signed, on the one hand, by all the countries which took part in the war against Nazi Germany, and on the other by the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

15. In reply to the Soviet Union's proposal to negotiate this peace treaty, the Western Powers are engaging in hostile actions fraught with serious consequences. If they persist in their opposition to the conclusion of such a treaty, the socialist countries will sign a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, which has expressed its willingness to do so. In that event, the question of West Berlin would be solved: it would become a free and demilitarized city, retaining both its social system and its right of free communication with other countries.

16. The peace treaty, which is an act of peace, will put an end to the state of war and guarantee the boundaries and national sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, together with the freedom of the population of West Berlin which now lives under an occupation regime; it will deal a decisive blow to the aggressive plans of the Bonn militarists and their NATO allies; it will consolidate peace and security in Europe.

17. The peoples of the world will hail the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and will regard as enemies of peace those who oppose the treaty and engage in sabre rattling.

18. The people of Albania, which fell a victim to Nazi aggression and suffered very heavy losses in the war against Nazi Germany, has a direct interest in the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, together with the Governments of the other socialist countries, is ready to sign a peace treaty with both German States; alternatively, if the Western Powers and the Bonn Government refuse to sign a peace treaty, we are prepared to sign it with the German

Democratic Republic alone, for we are convinced that the conclusion of this peace treaty will solve the difficult German problem, greatly improve the international atmosphere and pave the way towards the settlement of other issues.

19. We further believe that the General Assembly would act wisely and serve the cause of peace by endorsing the suggestion made to it by the USSR delegation [1016th meeting] to admit both German States to membership in the United Nations—a suggestion which has our wholehearted support.

20. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania views disarmament as one of the key problems of our time. The proposal^{2/} for general and complete disarmament made by the Soviet Union in 1959 aroused great hopes among the peoples of the world, but in practice not a single step forward has been made to this day, because the NATO Powers, led by the United States of America, oppose disarmament and favour only control over armaments and an unrestricted armaments race.

21. Recently, within a period of a few months, the United States has several times raised its military budget. The complement of every service of its armed forces has been increased, the term of active military duty has been lengthened and many reservists have been recalled. The production of weapons of all categories has been stepped up; measures have been taken to consolidate and further to equip both the United States military bases spread over more than thirty foreign countries and the NATO, CENTO, and SEATO military blocs. The other Western Powers have joined in these feverish preparations for war. The United States of America has turned to overt acts of provocation, such as the dispatch of further reinforcements to West Berlin and West Germany and the dispatch of United States military personnel and weapons to South Viet-Nam, Laos and elsewhere. Facts reveal the full hypocrisy of the statements made in favour of disarmament by the very same NATO Powers which have systematically obstructed all the efforts and the numerous proposals of the Soviet Union in that field.

22. The Soviet Union, together with the other peace-loving countries, pursues its untiring struggle for general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition of nuclear tests, a question about which there is now so much talk in the West. It should be recalled, however, that it was precisely the Soviet Union's decision in 1958 unilaterally to stop these tests which forced the United States of America and the United Kingdom to follow suit and to begin negotiations in Geneva for the purpose of stopping these tests for all time. Three years of discussion, however, have shown that the United States and United Kingdom Governments are opposed to an equitable agreement on this subject. In the meantime, their NATO ally, France, has continued its own tests in the Sahara, with the knowledge and support of the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States of America, for its part, while drawing out the Geneva talks, had long since been preparing to resume underground nuclear testing and has now done so. These preparations cannot be separated from the other measures and the many military steps of a clearly aggressive nature taken by the Western Powers.

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 70, document A/4219.

23. The Albanian people and its Government have no desire ever again to experience the horrors of war, but they are convinced that the continuing preparations for a new world war by the United States of America and its allies create a serious danger to peace and to the fate of the human race. That is why they fully support the defensive measures recently taken by the Soviet Union. The resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union is fully justified, for it not only promotes the security of the Soviet Union and of all socialist countries, but also contributes to safeguarding peace throughout the world. It represents a warning to those who are preparing to set the world on fire and an appeal to all peoples to be on the alert. The prohibition of nuclear tests must be considered and solved as an integral part of the over-all problem of general and complete disarmament. This is the only fair and possible solution.

24. We have noted the joint USSR-United States statement [A/4879] on the principles to be followed in disarmament negotiations. In our opinion this is a step in the right direction. The peoples of the world are now looking forward to the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control and to the adoption of appropriate measures designed to achieve disarmament. Yet we cannot overlook the following fact: while in the statement I have just mentioned the Government of the United States advocates general and complete disarmament, the programme submitted by its delegation [A/4891] calls for only partial disarmament measures which cannot possibly bring about general and complete disarmament. This indicates once again that the United States Government is opposed to general and complete disarmament. This fact cannot fail to escape the attention of the United Nations and to incite the peoples of the world to greater vigilance.

25. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania remains resolutely in favour of general and complete disarmament. That is why it has always fully supported the well-known proposals of the Soviet Union in this regard, as they alone could lead to an equitable solution of this vital problem.

26. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania believes that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is of vital importance to the prestige and authority of the United Nations itself. It has now been clearly established—and this is recognized by even the bitterest foes of the People's Republic of China—that without its co-operation there can be no successful solution to the most crucial problems of our day, such as disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism.

27. Twelve years ago, on 1 October 1949, the Chinese people, 650 million strong, proclaimed the People's Republic of China, acceded to dignity, freedom and national sovereignty, and chose the path of socialism. The People's Republic of China is a great world Power, making rapid progress towards socialism and undeniably exercising a growing influence on the evolution of the international situation and on the course of history. It is steadfastly following a policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is broadening its diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with other countries; it has consistently played a major part in the settlement of disputes in the Far East and it pursues a very active policy designed to strengthen international peace and security. It has always met with exemplary fore-

bearance the incessant provocations and aggressive policy of the United States of America, whose armed forces have occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan and other Chinese islands and which continues to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations.

28. The question of China's representation in the United Nations is perfectly clear. China is a Charter Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. In fact this is not a question of China's representation, as suggested by New Zealand [A/4873], but rather one of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. It cannot be concealed that the aim of the item submitted by New Zealand is to promote the new tactics of the United States Government, which is pursuing the same objective, namely, to continue depriving the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations. For many years now the United States Government has been endeavouring to spread the fallacious theory of "two Chinas" and, as pointed out in the United States Press, it may use New Zealand's proposal to raise the question of which China should be represented in the United Nations and to propose the creation of some committee or other to study this matter and report on it to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. In this way, China's seat would remain occupied by Chiang Kai-shek's man.

29. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania feels that this shameful farce must cease forthwith. There is but one China, one and indivisible, in this world—the People's Republic of China—and its Government alone is entitled to speak for the great Chinese people, to represent it in international organizations and to assume responsibilities on its behalf.

30. We strongly support the proposal of the USSR delegation calling for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We feel that the General Assembly should consider and rapidly settle this matter, so as to oust without further delay Chiang Kai-shek's henchman from this Organization and to invite the representatives of the People's Republic of China to occupy their rightful seat and to make their very valuable contribution to the United Nations.

31. The Albanian Government fully supports the application for membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Mongolia^{3/} and believes that the systematic blocking of its admission is contrary to the principles proclaimed in the Charter and to the interests of the United Nations.

32. The events of the last few years—and especially the serious events in the Congo where the name, the resources and the troops of the United Nations have been used against the lawful Government of that country, against the freedom and the national integrity and unity of the young republic, and where blood continues to flow—have shown that the composition and organization of the executive machinery of the United Nations, particularly the concentration of all responsibilities concerning the implementation of United Nations decisions and policies in the hands of one individual, the Secretary-General, are neither equitable nor appropriate. Already at the fifteenth

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1961, document S/4953.

session, the Albanian Government expressed^{4/} its support for the USSR proposal to replace the post of Secretary-General by a collective organ; our position is unchanged and we feel that such a change must be made.

33. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is of the opinion that the inclusion in the agenda, under pressure from the United States of America, of imaginary items, such as the so-called Hungarian and Tibetan questions, merely intensifies the cold war and does injury to the United Nations. Our delegation expresses the hope that the General Assembly will denounce these harmful and provocative attempts.

34. The Albanian people and Government have always sided with peoples who fight for freedom and national independence, against colonial domination. In our era the abolition of the colonial system has become imperative; it forms an integral part of the struggle for peace and social progress. Through their heroic battle for national liberation which without any doubt will end in total victory, the peoples of colonial countries are acquiring the fundamental right to freedom and national sovereignty; they promote the cause of peace by weakening the bases and positions of imperialism. The People's Republic of Albania has hailed with the warmest sympathy the accession to independence of dozens of countries in Africa and Asia in recent years. At the same time our thoughts and our hearts go out to our Algerian brothers who for the last seven years have been waging a heroic struggle against colonial domination; to the gallant people of Angola who are sparing no sacrifices in their armed fight for their freedom; to the peoples of Oman and West Irian and to all other peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke. Recent events at Bizerte, in the Congo, in Laos and in South Viet-Nam go to show that colonialism, in its former shape or in the guise of United States neo-colonialism, still oppresses peoples and constitutes a threat to peace.

35. In his statement to the General Assembly [1013th meeting] the President of the United States of America ignored the historical process of national liberation of colonial peoples which has been going on for many years of grim and bloody fighting, and preached "peaceful ... movement" towards a "partnership of equals" between the oppressors and the oppressed; in fact he condemned the armed struggle of the peoples of Algeria and Angola which he did not even mention. The colonial peoples and all other freedom-loving nations will obviously draw the necessary conclusions from such an attitude, for they knew full well that the colonial Powers are members of NATO, and that the weapons used to kill Arab patriots in Algeria, at Bizerte, and in Oman, and Negropatriots in Angola, in the Congo and elsewhere, are NATO weapons, hence United States weapons.

36. We note with regret that no specific measures have been taken to implement the Declaration on the independence of colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. We welcome the initiative taken by the USSR delegation in proposing that the present session should consider the situation with respect to the implementation of that Declaration [A/4859]. In our opinion the General Assembly must speedily

take steps to render direct assistance to the peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke in abolishing now and for ever this shameful system and acceding at an early date to freedom and national independence. Our delegation will give its wholehearted support to any constructive effort in this direction.

37. At a time when the world situation is strained and the peoples expect international disputes to be settled through the peaceful process of negotiation, it behooves responsible statesmen to display a sense of reality and respect for other countries, be they Members of the United Nations or not. It is to be regretted that the President of the United States of America saw fit to use the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly to utter statements which were both unfounded and insulting to the countries of the socialist camp of which my country, the People's Republic of Albania, is a member.

38. It is easy to understand why the ruling circles in the United States of America and other imperialist countries have never been able to stomach the triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of countries of Europe and Asia; history, however, follows its own laws and not those of the United States Congress. The socialist camp is a community of free, equal and sovereign peoples which have rejected all oppression and exploitation for all time, which are guided by the most progressive and humanitarian concepts known to history and which, united by identical ideals, objectives and interests, are building a new prosperous and happy society—socialism and communism.

39. The Albanian people chose the road to socialism seventeen years ago, after its victorious war for national liberation against the Italian fascist and German Nazi invaders and after a popular revolution. For the first time it became truly free and master of its own destiny. Before its liberation the People's Republic of Albania had been a backward agricultural country under the heel of imperialist concessionaires, medieval oppression, hunger, illiteracy, and malaria. Now, thanks to the tireless exertions of its people and the brotherly assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist nations, it is making rapid progress towards prosperity and building socialism. Already it has an agricultural-industrial economy. Our third five-year plan, covering the years 1960 to 1965, opens the stage of Albania's transformation into a country with an advanced agricultural and industrial economy, the stage at which building of a socialist society is to be completed. Our industrial output today is twenty-five times greater than it was in 1948; the mines have become the property of the people and we are discovering new deposits of oil, copper, iron-nickel, etc. Under the present five-year plan we shall lay the groundwork for the metallurgical and chemical industries in our country. Collectivized agriculture, which is being mechanized, has doubled its production and is in full development. Our national income has greatly increased. The living conditions of our people are infinitely superior to those obtaining before our liberation. Unemployment is non-existent. Since 1955 illiteracy has been unknown. Compared with 1938, we now have five times as many physicians and agricultural experts and twenty-five times as many engineers; by 1965 these figures will have doubled and some even tripled. Malaria and other endemic diseases have been completely eradicated. A comprehensive social security system provides our workers and their dependents with all the services they require,

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 872nd meeting, para. 19.

free of charge. The net increase in population has grown from 16 per 1,000 in 1938 to 32 per 1,000 in 1960: in other words, it has doubled. I believe that this is the highest index in Europe and it is proof of the higher level of living enjoyed by our people. The popular government and socialism have brought the Albanian people freedom, dignity and prosperity. They hold the promise of an even happier future.

40. We have never interfered and we shall never interfere in the affairs of others; nor shall we allow anyone to interfere in our affairs. Those who wish to teach self-determination, liberty and democracy to other countries, would do better to promote them in their own country.

41. Nowadays socialism is a world-wide system which forges ahead and acquires ever increasing importance and influence. It is an inspiration for all peoples seeking freedom and social progress. The short-sighted policy of the United States of America, which aims at reversing the course of history, is doomed to failure. We are convinced that the only reasonable policy, and one that corresponds to the true interests of the peoples and of peace, is to establish peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries: at this stage in history, this is the only possible and equitable form of relations between countries with different social systems.

42. The People's Republic of Albania is devoting all its efforts and energy to the peaceful building up of the country and to the maintenance of peace. It steadfastly pursues a peaceful foreign policy, which stems from the very nature of its social system and meets the vital interests of its people. No one has a greater stake in the maintenance of world peace than the Albania people, for it has experienced all the misfortunes that war entails. That is why it wholeheartedly supports the policy of its Government and watches closely over the defence of its country, of socialism and of peace.

43. Acting in friendship and in constant harmony with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries of the socialist camp—that bulwark of peace—the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in line with its policy of peace, firmly applies the principle of peaceful coexistence with countries living under different social systems. It observes the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, and on that basis constantly seeks to maintain normal relations and fruitful co-operation with other nations, particularly with its neighbours. We maintain friendly relations with many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our foreign trade and cultural exchanges with other countries are increasing from year to year.

44. The Albanian Government attaches special importance to the implementation of the proposal^{5/} which it made in 1959, in agreement with the Soviet Government,^{6/} that the Balkans and the Adriatic should be transformed into a peace zone free of nuclear weapons and rockets. That proposal still stands and we believe that its adoption by all countries concerned would, in the present circumstances, play a positive part in relaxing international tensions.

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 816th meeting, paras. 125-127.

^{6/} Proposal contained in a speech delivered by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the spring of 1959, on the occasion of a visit to Albania.

45. Furthermore, we support other proposals for the creation of similar nuclear-free zones in Central Europe, in the Pacific and in Africa, as representing important contributions to the cause of peace. At the same time, we cannot fail to note the intensive aggressive activities carried out in the Balkan and Mediterranean areas, particularly in recent times, by the United States of America and some of its NATO partners: for instance, the large-scale military manoeuvres recently held in the Mediterranean and in northern Greece, in conditions simulating "atomic warfare", which were obviously aimed at the socialist countries in the Balkans and at the entire socialist camp.

46. In our times, peace is the prime requirement of all peoples. Throughout the world, the peoples are denouncing the policy of provocations and imperialist wars; they are rising in defence of peace and clamour for peaceful international co-operation. If we wish to maintain peace and save mankind from the scourge of nuclear war, all Governments conscious of their responsibilities must contribute to that end by making real efforts in favour of peace.

47. The present situation is serious, but not desperate. We sincerely believe that the United Nations, at this sixteenth session of its General Assembly, will take effective measures to safeguard international peace and security, and thus answer with deeds the hopes that the peoples have placed in it.

48. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania. Before calling on the next speaker I should like to make the following announcement: the members of this Assembly know that we have a very heavy agenda, and I should like, therefore, to close the list of speakers in the general debate on Friday, 6 October, at 6 p.m. Consequently, I invite all members who wish to take part in the general debate to inform me as soon as possible.

49. I now call on the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Paraguay.

50. Mr. GODINOT DE VILAIRE (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): The tragic death of that apostle of peace, Dag Hammarskjöld, was a source of profound shock to the Paraguayan nation. There is no more eloquent testimony to the grief which this dramatic occurrence produced among my compatriots than the following words used by our President, General Stroessner, in his message to the President of this Assembly:

"The people and Government of Paraguay are profoundly grieved at the tragic fate of the illustrious Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose death in line of duty casts a pall of mourning on that high international organization, as well as on all peoples of the world, because of his tireless efforts on behalf of the strengthening of world peace and his noble attributes. These words are the expression of our deep sorrow."*

With these just and fitting words my delegation pays its tribute of admiration and respect to the memory of one who gave his life for the purest ideals of mankind.

* All messages of condolence received on the occasion of the death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld were collected in a document circulated under the symbol A/4894 and Add.1 and 2.

51. Even long before attaining its political independence, Paraguay waged a constant battle in support of the principle of self-determination of peoples. Its history is marked with events testifying to something that is rooted deep in our ethos, namely, dedication to this principle which we continue to uphold today with unwavering devotion. This is the source of our firm traditional anti-colonialist position.

52. We believe that the problems which arise from colonialism must be fearlessly resolved, for it is obvious that they have a profound effect on the efforts to maintain world peace and that they sow the seeds of discord in international relations. We therefore hail the birth of new States and their admission to the United Nations and trust that, as the natural obstacles are overcome, more peoples will attain their full and sovereign independence. We take this opportunity to reiterate the position set forth by my country in the Trusteeship Council during consideration of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV):

"The exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination is not and cannot be dependent upon the prior establishment of ideal conditions. The peoples have within themselves permanent, dynamic forces impelling them towards the continual perfecting of their political institutions, the strengthening of their economic structures, the raising of their levels of education, the improvement of their living standards and the development of their own cultural values; but, first and foremost, their supreme virtue is their passion for freedom and a will to use their knowledge to further their own ideals."

53. It is on the basis of this criterion that we have urged and shall continue to urge that increasingly more rapid and effective steps be taken to reduce to the reasonable minimum the time which must elapse before each of the dependent peoples, constituted as a clearly defined political entity, can decide, as it must decide, its own national destiny.

54. In 1958, at the General Assembly's thirteenth session, Paraguay was elected a member of the Trusteeship Council for a regular three-year period, to end on 31 December 1961.

55. During these years, in conformity with the policy which my country follows and has always followed in colonial questions, we have given our support in the Council to every more designed to intensify and make more speedy and dynamic, the preparation of the peoples of the Trust Territories for the attainment of the goals of the Trusteeship System. We have spared no effort to ensure that the Powers administering Trust Territories give the greatest possible attention to the preparation of the dependent peoples in political, economic, social and educational matters. We are pleased to note that the Trusteeship Council, that important organ of the United Nations, has persuaded the Administering Authorities, especially in the last few years, to show greater concern for the peoples of Territories still under trusteeship.

56. In a few months only three Trust Territories will be left, all of them situated in the Pacific—the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which is considered strategic, Nauru and New Guinea—and the process of emancipation of the former Trust Territories in Africa will have been completed. The Council will then be in a position to concentrate its efforts on the three Territories which I have named,

and the results of such a concentration of energies are not difficult to conjecture.

57. As we near the end of our term in the Council, we can state emphatically that Paraguay, in carrying out the delicate mission assigned to it by the majority vote of the General Assembly, has striven with devotion, application, equanimity and impartiality to further the general interests of the peoples of the Trust Territories.

58. To the Latin American countries which supported the candidature of Paraguay for election to the Trusteeship Council, we once again offer our thanks for the opportunity which they gave us, and we also assure them of our firm conviction that, faithful to continental policy, we have participated in the Council's work in a manner befitting our hemisphere, our civilization and our continental culture, and that we have at all times stressed the aspirations of the Latin American countries for a world consisting exclusively of independent and sovereign peoples.

59. Paraguay is following with great attention the problem of the division of Germany. Because of this division a section of its people is enduring a shameful oppression incompatible with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The German nation has the legitimate right to form itself into a single State through the exercise by its people of the right of self-determination. Until this right is exercised, a problem will remain which will lead not only to crises like the one now centred around Berlin but to others of still graver consequence. Here is a constant threat to world peace and security. We firmly believe that the citizens of Germany alone have the right to decide their destiny. We therefore consider that the most just and equitable solution, which we fervently support, would be to consult the wishes of the German people regarding their future.

60. My country is not categorically opposed to a revision of the United Nations Charter, but it considers that this should be done at a time when conditions are favourable and the international situation makes this possible, always provided that any revision of the Charter will in no way entail a weakening of our Organization. In the meanwhile, Paraguay supports faithful compliance with the Charter, which is a sufficiently flexible instrument to fulfil its purposes so long as Members agree that it must be strictly observed.

61. The vacancy occasioned by the death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations creates a further problem which has already arisen in the past regarding this important post, in addition to the problems which are causing grave concern throughout the world at the present time, since they have the makings of an international crisis. The election of a person to fill this executive post is a matter which cannot be postponed; otherwise the possibilities of action provided for in our Charter may be obstructed. In this regard Paraguay is opposed to any change involving a division of responsibility. We do not agree with the proposal that more than one person should hold the office of Secretary-General. This proposal is completely unacceptable, in our view, since it would weaken the functions of the office, to the detriment of the solution of the world problems, and, consequently, to the detriment of the Members of the Organization. This essentially executive office cannot be used to obstruct the implementation of resolutions emanating from the Security Council itself,

as will happen if the post is shared among a number of persons, who will inevitably come from geographical regions with conflicting points of view.

62. "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought sorrow to mankind"—this, according to the Preamble of the United Nations Charter, is one of the basic purposes of our Organization, yet the behaviour and deeds of men up to the present time make the achievement of such a purpose seem remote.

63. Until there is a sincere and honest determination to apply international principles and standards, mankind will remain at the fatal crossroads and will continue to live in terror and despair.

64. The resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere by one of the great Powers, which thus destroyed the status quo has made the world's hopes for peace and the possibility of living free from fear seem once again threatened.

65. My delegation will support any draft resolution aiming at the abolition of nuclear tests, for it is not the preparation and carrying out of such tests that will bring about peaceful coexistence; this will never be achieved through intimidation. The goal of using atomic science to further the peaceful ideals of human progress is attractive to the scientific spirit and holds out unforeseeable possibilities for the happiness of the world's peoples. This is the objective towards which we must strive: science in the service of man and not for mankind's destruction.

66. The Charter of San Francisco, in pursuit of the goal of world peace, established human rights as one of its corner-stones. Paraguay has acceded to all the international conventions and agreements which have been concluded in this matter, and the Paraguayan Government, loyal to its engagements, and in the implementation of its programme, has constantly endeavoured to improve its laws and to bring them into harmony with the democratic yearnings and social aspirations of its people. President Stroessner recently promulgated an Act of the Republic granting women the same political rights as men. It is only a few years since my country, in recognition of all that it owes to its daughters—the mothers of our race—accorded civil rights to them. Now, by virtue of a just and timely decision, all rights have been conferred on the Paraguayan woman, in order that she may no longer be a silent spectator of the community's acts but may be a lawful participant, with a voice and a vote in great national decisions.

67. Besides this highly important event, there is another to which I must refer, if only in passing; it relates to land reform.

68. For my people—primarily a farming and cattle-raising people—this reform is of such importance that, in the minds of the present rulers of Paraguay, its execution is synonymous with the question of human rights.

69. Without fanfare or demagogic propaganda, and without harming private interests, but simply by making use of its own reserves, the State has distributed land to the peasants, established settlements, and opened up roads into every corner of its territory, in order to bring out of isolation and to integrate into the national economy areas which until yesterday were neglected and forgotten. A few days ago the President of my country personally handed to a humble

rural worker the 15,000th title—deed to be distributed during the period of his progressive rule, at a ceremony organized by the Land Reform Institute. A study of FAO data will serve to bring out the significance of this figure, especially if the population of Paraguay is taken into account and comparisons are made with other nations of the hemisphere.

70. The "Alliance for Progress", that happy plan conceived by the President of the United States of America, Mr. John Kennedy, was given concrete form in the Charter of Punta del Este. This document, by focusing attention on economic and social problems, constitutes an important advance towards overcoming the difficulties which confront our countries and will lead to renewed endeavours by Governments and peoples, resulting in substantial reforms in taxation, agriculture, health and education.

71. The United States of America has promised a considerable increase in its technical and financial assistance in the preparation and execution of short-term and long-term national development plans.

72. The campaign waged in every region against evils of economic and social origin will, owing to the close relationship of these vital questions with politics, necessarily help to strengthen internal peace in the various countries and this will be reflected in international relations.

73. The economic interdependence of the various regions of the world makes the provisions of adequate aid to the under-developed countries, with due regard for the complexity and nature of their economies, a matter of supreme urgency. Such aid must be accompanied by efforts to stabilize the prices of raw materials and to provide opportunities for the industrial use of the products of these countries.

74. Loans to agricultural nations must be provided on more flexible economic and financial terms, since such loans will be of no use to them if the same terms are applied to them as to economically strong countries such as those whose industries guarantee them a relatively higher level of living.

75. Spurred on by the desire to overcome their difficulties, and inspired by the European common market, several countries of our continent—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay—have signed the Montevideo Treaty, setting up the Latin American Free-Trade Association. The Treaty seeks to bring about the complementarity of the economies of the member nations, and, in a true spirit of brotherly solidarity, provision has been made for according special advantages to nations which are at a relatively less advanced stage of economic development.

76. The system which, within twelve years, will exempt products circulating within the area from duties, thereby extending national markets to the whole area, will enter into force on 1 January 1962. The spirit of justified optimism in which this step towards unity has been made has infected neighbouring republics which, like Ecuador and Colombia, have already announced their intention of joining the Latin American Free-Trade Association.

77. Another happy development—the establishment by the Central American Republics of their own common market—makes it still more important for the Latin American Free-Trade Association to become a working reality. The day is not far off when, with

opposing interests reconciled, the whole of America will be bound together by the strong tie of economic co-operation.

78. Here is tangible evidence of the way in which the present generation in our hemisphere approaches the great problems of the day. On the one hand, there is the Alliance for Progress, which will enable our peoples to advance in the economic, cultural, health and social fields; and, on the other hand, the Latin American Free-Trade Association, which is gradually abolishing the artificial frontiers of duties and tariffs, in order to create a united country for the purposes of trade in its agricultural and industrial products. This, without any shadow of doubt, constitutes a positive encouragement to our proletarian masses in the urban and rural areas, who are yearning for a better life.

79. Mr. President, my delegation has the greatest pleasure in associating itself with the congratulations already offered on your election to preside over the discussions of the United Nations General Assembly during its sixteenth session. Your outstanding personality, which for many years we have appreciated at its true value in this international forum, where you have given proof of a high sense of justice, prudent judgement and a keen insight into the problems which trouble the world, makes you a particularly appropriate choice for the high office of President of the Assembly; and we are confident that, in the exercise of your duties, you will display those qualities which we have learnt to admire in you.

80. May God enlighten our deliberations in this Assembly, that we may be worthy of the mandate given us by our peoples to find ways and means of banishing, if possible for ever, the spectre of war.

Mr. Schurmann (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

81. Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): We associate ourselves with the representatives of the other Member States in expressing our deep satisfaction that Mr. Slim has been unanimously elected to preside over this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The very close and friendly relations that have throughout subsisted between Tunisia and Pakistan make his election a matter of particular gratification to our delegation and our Government. On behalf of Pakistan, its Government and its people, I have the honour to offer him our sincere felicitations. We pray that he may be rightly guided in all matters in the discharge of the heavy responsibilities of his exalted office and that, under his guidance, the Assembly, during the course of this session, may be enabled to grapple successfully with the outstanding problems with which it is faced and to arrive at conclusions which may prove truly beneficial for all concerned.

82. The sixteenth annual session of the General Assembly has opened under the shadow of a poignant tragedy. Dag Hammarskjöld personified the spirit of the United Nations and the ideals embodied in its Charter. From the moment of his assumption of office as Secretary-General, he dedicated himself to the service of mankind through his constant endeavour to uphold the authority of the United Nations, to expand its activities, to strengthen its authority and to exalt its status. His life was a shining example of singleness of high-minded purpose regardless of grave risks and menacing threats. In death he has bequeathed

to us a sacred trust: that we continue to hold aloft the banner of peace, freedom, justice and the dignity of man, rising above the conflict of ideologies, the rivalries of nations, the ambitions of individuals and all that may seek to divide mankind into sections, grades and classes. We must resolve that we shall discharge that trust to the uttermost.

83. Our first task is to provide that the direction of the Organization be committed to the charge of one who, by reason of his capacity, experience and temperament, shall be deemed worthy of being invested with that high responsibility and who may be trusted to discharge it without fear or favour. That decision must be speedily made. The Organization, the centre of mankind's hopes for the preservation of peace and the fostering of human welfare, must not be permitted to drift along exposed to the mercy of every wind that blows, nor to become an arena of great Power conflicts. Rather must it be strengthened, to discharge with increasing success and in progressive achievement the purposes of which it was created. To that end, it is necessary that its direction shall be committed into the hands of a single individual who must take his directions from the Organization and from no single Power or group of Powers.

84. While on this subject, I might be permitted to add that my Government views with extreme disfavour and apprehension any classification of Member States of the Organization apart from that expressly recognized by the Charter itself with reference to the Security Council, which is composed of permanent and non-permanent members. The broad regional distribution of membership is obvious and has to be taken into account for certain purposes. Beyond this, any classification or grouping would be arbitrary. Any attempt at arriving at such a classification, for instance into "non-committed", "non-aligned" or "neutral" States and "committed" or "aligned" States, would run counter to the sovereign equality of Member States, would be mischievous, would set in motion strains and stresses which might threaten the very existence of the Organization and would, in any case, seriously discount its effectiveness. We wish to make it quite clear that we are not prepared to recognize or countenance any such classification, and we trust that no such distinction would be sought to be imported or recognized for any purpose whatever so far as the Organization is concerned.

85. We are at this session faced with many grave problems, some of them old, others new. It is not our purpose to attempt a review of all or most of them at this stage. We shall confine ourselves on this occasion to a brief expression of our views concerning such of them whose immediacy presses heavily upon us.

86. The very first is the situation created by the resumption of nuclear tests. While every other problem or situation that might constitute a threat to the maintenance of peace leaves some room for reflection, discussion, negotiation and adjustment, the resumption of nuclear tests constitutes a present, operative and progressive danger to human health and welfare and the very continuation of human life upon earth. As President Kennedy reminded the Assembly the other day [1013rd meeting], test ban negotiations need not and should not await general disarmament talks. We urge, therefore, that the two items relating to this subject on the agenda of the Assembly should receive priority of discussion over all other items in the First Committee, to which they have been allotted.

87. The international situation is tense. International peace is precariously balanced and hangs by a slender thread. Mankind at large is caught up on a vortex of crises endlessly chasing each other and constantly increasing in volume and complexity. While every effort must be continued towards easing and resolving international tensions, it appears to be agreed that the ultimate and effective solution of the problems that threaten peace is to be found in total disarmament. It is a happy augury, but we feel no more than an augury, that an agreement has been reached on the principles [see A/4879] upon which a disarmament agreement could be constructed, and that this makes it possible to resume negotiations towards that end.

88. We welcome the outlining by President Kennedy, in his statement of 25 September, of the first six stages of the disarmament programme. We do not consider that there need be much controversy with regard to them, so far as they go. In this context we would wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the statement issued by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers on 17 March 1961, setting out the aim and principles of disarmament and urging that:

"The principal military Powers should resume direct negotiations without delay in close contact with the United Nations, which is responsible for disarmament under the Charter. Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other nations should also be associated with the disarmament negotiations, either directly or through some special machinery to be set up by the United Nations, or by both means." [A/4868, para. 5.]

89. The statement, which has been made a United Nations document, constitutes, in our view, a fair and workable basis for a disarmament agreement. We trust, therefore, that a fresh start can be made on negotiations for reaching agreement on disarmament. We recognize that the problem has many interlocking facets and that its solution may be found as difficult as it is essential for the security and indeed for the survival of mankind. We venture to submit that the approach to the problem should not be confined to the consideration and evaluation of the technicalities bearing upon national and regional security, but should also take into account the fears, suspicions and misunderstandings relating to each other's policies, designs and motives. Both sides must make an earnest effort at understanding and satisfying each other's needs and allaying each other's apprehensions. In other words, each side should be concerned not only to safeguard its own position but also to endeavour that the other side should feel that there is a real desire to safeguard it also against undue risks and uncalculated hazards. This would entail a realistic appraisal of all aspects of the problem, and an all-out effort by each side to put itself in the position of the other and to help the other to appreciate all aspects. The issues involved are so tremendous and so fateful that we earnestly hope that all concerned will succeed in carrying out what amounts to almost a revolution in their approach and methods in dealing with this life and death problem.

90. We would venture to suggest further that efforts at resolving concrete disputes not only between the great Powers but also those between other States, whether Members of the United Nations or not, must be intensified, inasmuch as the settlement of every difference, whether great or small, would generate greater confidence between the parties and in the

Organization, and would in turn facilitate and forward the process of settlement of other disputes. Lack of trust and confidence is the most serious handicap against which we have to contend. The restoration and maintenance of trust and confidence is the most important single factor which can help to bring about agreement on the major issues and help resolve the major conflicts. Trust and confidence are delicate plants and need careful nurture. To create confidence one must have confidence, to create trust one must be prepared to trust. The first requisite is that each of us must carry out, in the letter and in the spirit, that which we have undertaken to do, in full assurance that the Organization and the Member States will see that if one party to an agreement is ready to do its part in carrying it into effect, the other party shall not lag behind.

91. The United Nations and Member States must all seek to strengthen their moral authority by bringing their policies into accord with the principles and purposes of the Charter and conforming their conduct to those principles and purposes. Peace and security will not be achieved merely through disarmament. That is only one step—though a very important and essential step—in the process of safeguarding peace and security. Security will be achieved when our word in effect becomes our bond, not only in the sphere of private relations but also in public affairs and in international dealing with each other. That is an aspect to which adequate attention is not yet being devoted.

92. Our most pressing and concrete problems at the moment are the Berlin and East German questions. The first essential there is that existing agreements must be scrupulously honoured. Any desired modification must be achieved through consent and agreement. It must, however, be recognized by all concerned, governments as well as peoples, that in a dynamic world, insistence on the maintenance of static positions ties down progress and becomes a source of friction and conflict. Where new factors have arisen, they must be recognized and provided for. The machinery for making such provision, however, must be that of negotiation rather than of ultimatums and faits accomplis. Here, too, perhaps, a fresh appraisal is necessary and new approaches to problems, resulting from such appraisal, would be helpful. But, as we have stated, it must be recognized and agreed that any change must depend upon consent and agreement.

93. The issue of colonialism is fortunately moving towards solution. We have had the great pleasure and satisfaction of welcoming Sierra Leone into the membership of this association of sovereign States [1019th meeting]. We hope to be able to welcome Tanganyika to our fellowship by the middle of December. There are strong indications that negotiations will soon be resumed for recognizing and giving effect to the independence of Algeria. We earnestly hope that these negotiations will move speedily to the consummation of that most desired and urgent objective and that we may be able to welcome Algeria as a Member of the United Nations before the close of the sixteenth session of the Assembly. Nevertheless, several difficult hurdles remain to be negotiated before the colonial problem can be regarded as having been completely resolved.

94. One of the many lessons that our experience in the Congo has taught us is that along with the insistence that colonialism shall be terminated and

wound up as early as possible, we must also require that the peoples of the territories and areas still under colonial administration should be rapidly trained in the exercise of political authority and in the due discharge of the responsibilities pertaining to sovereign States, so that the transfer of sovereignty can in each case be smoothly achieved and the newly sovereign States can set forth upon a course of consolidation, reconstruction and nation-building in confidence and security.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

95. It is a matter of profound regret for us that the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands over West New Guinea has not yet been settled. Were it not that that difficulty still persists, we would acclaim the proposal put forward by the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands in his speech on 26 September 1961 [1016th meeting] as a landmark in the progress towards resolving the colonial problem. We consider that the procedure that the Netherlands has proposed with regard to West New Guinea deserves to be carefully studied as a model to be adopted in the case of all colonial territories which have not yet arrived at the threshold of independence and the people of which have to be prepared for the assumption and exercise of the manifold responsibilities of statehood. That procedure is well designed to meet the need to which we have just made reference.

96. On the main issue of the winding up of the colonial system, Pakistan will, as always, continue to lend its support to all proposals of a practical nature designed to help the rapid march of dependent peoples toward the attainment of sovereignty.

97. These are only some of the problems that press heavily upon us at this moment. There are others, the existence of some of which is recognized, and progressive effort is being directed towards achieving their solution. We have in mind the economic and social needs of a vast section of mankind. The intensity of these problems is increasing daily, but the efforts hitherto assembled to deal with them are not only inadequate but are progressively falling behind while the problems race ahead. The crucial struggle here is against poverty, disease and ignorance. The thousands of millions afflicted by these ills are becoming increasingly conscious of the privations and distress which they and theirs are called upon to endure, while a small fraction monopolizes the enjoyment of the fat things and fruits of the earth and access to infinite bounties of knowledge, learning and skill in every field.

98. I trust we shall be forgiven if we give expression to the feeling that, with all that is being said and done in this context, the attitude towards these grave problems is in many cases still one of comparative complacency. We much fear that the matter is treated more often than not as one of benevolence or charity and not one of obligation. It is true that the obligation involved is moral, as indeed are all obligations in the international field, but it is not, for that reason, any the less binding. If the problem were approached in the right spirit it would be realized that it is one of upmost urgency even from the point of view of

what has been described as "enlightened self-interest" and indeed is one of self-preservation. It might sound a paradox, but is a truism, that the prosperity of the few is fed and supported by the needs of the many. The choice before the many is being rapidly reduced to deciding that life is not worth living on the terms on which it is offered to them, or bestirring themselves to appropriate for themselves through violence that which they lack and which they feel they are entitled to share in. Either choice would destroy all present values, the just along with the unjust, and the beneficial along with the injurious. If the thousands of millions of the "have-nots" were to embark upon a course, either of self-annihilation by giving up the hopeless struggle for existence, or of violent appropriation, humanity and all that it holds dear in the fields of art, culture, science, knowledge, learning and moral and spiritual values would be disrupted and destroyed as effectively as by the use of nuclear weapons of war.

99. It is time that not only this Organization but also Governments and authorities around the globe recognized their inescapable obligation in this field. Those that are already contributing much must prepare themselves to give more out of their plenty and those that are contributing little must yield up progressively more even out of their penury. We cannot all contribute in the same measure or in the same kind, but we can all make valuable contributions at various levels. Service of our brethren around the globe should be one of our major concerns, as this is the only way of serving God and rendering thanks to Him for all His bounties, material, moral and spiritual. Let us then take heed that we devise speedily adequate measures to meet this vast and seemingly unlimited need before destitution, disease and ignorance have time to ferment into a devouring madness consuming and destroying all. It is this field that calls for the application of nuclear energy for the purpose of curing these ills which afflict humanity so sorely and of leading it into the sunshine of health, prosperity, knowledge and wisdom. We are glad to note that, in the words of the late Secretary-General, in the introduction [A/4800/Add.1] to his annual report on the work of the Organization:

"... the General Assembly will have before it proposals initiated by the Scientific Advisory Committee and endorsed by the Economic and Social Council, for a conference under United Nations aegis, intended to provide possibilities for a breakthrough in the application of the technical achievements of present times to the problems of the economically less developed countries".

We trust this proposal will meet with the unanimous approval of the General Assembly.

100. Let us resolve here and now to divert our daily augmenting stores of knowledge, science, technology and energy from destructive uses and purposes to the beneficent service of our fellow beings so that life here below shall become for every one of us a full, rich and happy experience, rather than remain an unending vista of suffering, misery and frustration for the vast majority of mankind as it is today.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.