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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN  
(Pakistan).**

### Address by Mr. Osvaldo Dorticós, President of the Republic of Cuba

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite His Excellency Mr. Osvaldo Dorticós, President of the Republic of Cuba, to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. Osvaldo DORTICOS (President of the Republic of Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Let me begin by congratulating the president on his election to the high post he occupies in this Assembly. I also wish enthusiastically to welcome to membership in the United Nations, the new States embarking upon the great adventure of national independence, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and to hail in advance and pay tribute to a great nation which will soon enter this Organization: Algeria, whose admission marks the culmination of the glorious campaign it has waged for independence. Algeria's triumph is doubtless the most striking proof of our historical good fortune as witnesses of the end of the era of colonialism and of the oppression of peoples.

3. I must also express here the deep gratitude of the people and Revolutionary Government of Cuba to the representatives who have shown their strong support and deep understanding in their references to our country, I wish to express our gratitude to those who have raised their voices here in defence of the legitimate rights of our people. We are also grateful to those who, without mentioning our country by name, have once again warmly and resolutely supported the principles of the self-determination of peoples and of opposition to every kind of foreign interference in the fate and decisions of nations.

4. This session is being held in the midst of intensified preparations for nuclear war and increased propaganda in favour of preventive nuclear war. We can, it is true, not with real satisfaction some hopeful signs amid these depressing circumstances, for example, the solution of the problem of Laos, the agreement on West Irian and the independence of new States; these events raise our hopes. At the same time, however, we must regretfully recognize that at this session, as in the past, the General Assembly is faced with unique and dramatic circumstances fraught with serious threats to world peace.

5. The problems of peace and, hence, those of disarmament, the cessation of nuclear tests and the liquidation of colonialism and all forms of oppression are essential questions which claim your attention today. Cuba has more than once clearly defined its position with regard to each of these questions which now concern the Assembly; our position was stated at the fifteenth session [872nd meeting] by our Prime Minister, Mr. Castro. Now as then, we can express here our support of all activities, measures, action and agreements which promote general and complete disarmament, not only because it would mean that war would become materially impossible but also, as has been said more than once in this Assembly, because it would be possible to use the great resources released by disarmament to further the economic and cultural development of all the countries of the world, especially the under-developed ones.

6. We have also made clear our views in favour of the cessation and prohibition of nuclear tests in outer space in the atmosphere, under water and under ground.

7. Our country, with its open economy, is highly dependent on international trade; for essential reasons of principle, therefore, we advocate here the widest freedom in trade and support the convening of an international trade conference to deal with all the measure, present and future which now limit and threaten to limit even further the free flow of trade in the world.

8. In addition, we reaffirm our stand in favour of the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations; that country's exclusion, which we consider absurd, greatly weakens the real effectiveness of the international agreements produced here.

9. We wish to lend our full support, together with other nations which have been heard in this hall, to promote a most rapid implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)] because we in particular have seen what foreign military intervention means; the withdrawal of foreign troops. . .

10. Interruptions of this sort do not worry us any more. During the few days which we have spent in this country, we have been constantly harassed, and this is clear proof of the fact that this is a country which does not offer adequate safeguards for the functioning of the United Nations.

[At this point there was an interruption from the public gallery.]

11. The PRESIDENT: If this kind of demonstration continues, I may have to direct that the galleries be cleared of all visitors. Will the President of Cuba kindly proceed.

12. Mr. Osvaldo DORTICOS (President of the Republic of Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I shall continue with the utmost patience. Of course we intend to say all that we came here to say. . .

13. We demand—I repeat—the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and South Viet-Nam. . .

14. I have no assurance that I can continue.

*[At this point there was an interruption from the public gallery.]*

15. The PRESIDENT: At the very next interruption, I shall adjourn the Assembly for five minutes until all the visitors are cleared from the galleries.

16. Mr. Osvaldo DORTICOS (President of the Republic of Cuba) (translated from Spanish): These are matters which concern you all. These matters are closely linked with the problems of peace and war. The delegation of Cuba, in keeping with the general attitude which we have outlined, must on every occasion state its position clearly and advance its arguments with conviction.

17. These, however, are not the only problems which threaten the peace of mankind today. We have come before the General Assembly precisely because so much has been made of the so-called Cuban question and such an atmosphere has been created that, despite our wishes and sincere desires, the question is being turned into one which involves the threat of war or an attempt is being made to do so.

18. Accordingly, it is advisable for us to explain the situation of Cuba and the transparently clear position of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in words based on facts, without speculating beyond the facts, and in the light of recent history and contemporary events. First of all, let us remember this: today it is asserted that Cuba constitutes a threat to the peace of the American continent because it promotes subversion, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the attempt is being made to turn this into the basic and fundamental issue.

19. It is advisable, I repeat, to bear in mind that the tension which surrounds our country, the situation which exists between the United States and Cuba, began long before our revolution had taken on the socialist characteristics it now displays.

20. It was enough for us to promulgate laws which affected the United States monopolistic interests in our country, it was enough to promulgate the land reform act at a period when our revolutionary development was not yet shaped by socialist principles, for aggressive action against our homeland to be undertaken by the United States Government.

21. That was the start of the insolent diplomatic notes and piratical flights over our territory. Then the Cuban sugar quota was eliminated from the United States market, supplies of petroleum to our country were stopped, and diplomatic measures were taken aimed at isolating Cuba from the continent. Finally there was a whole series of eminently aggressive activities which generated this tension, long before—I repeat—long before we proclaimed that our revolution was a socialist one.

22. And what has happened since?

23. It would be unduly tedious, I think, to recapitulate all the acts of aggression committed by the United States against Cuba. Suffice it to mention all the

efforts designed to subvert our country from within, the acts of sabotage, the attacks on persons and the espionage activities on our soil. In brief, suffice it to recall the armed invasion of our country by mercenary forces financed, trained in warfare, militarily protected and commanded by the Government of the United States; the invasion of Playa Girón. And what happened after Playa Girón, that ridiculous fiasco? Did they perchance learn a great lesson of history from it? Did they perchance have sufficient perception and knowledge to realize what immense forces can be marshalled by a nation firmly resolved to preserve its freedom and independence? That is not what happened. We immediately became the victims of further acts of aggression with the infiltration of agents landed on our coasts and trained by the Central Intelligence Agency, new attempts at sabotage, the military training of groups to carry out the hitherto unsuccessful internal subversion of our country and the increase of economic pressure on our homeland—tenaciously and doggedly applied in the hope that it would undermine our revolution and that, as a result, their sole objective would be attained: the downfall of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

24. Although they boycotted us from the United States sugar market, cut off our supplies of petroleum, and broke off completely and definitively trade relations between our country and the United States, expecting our economy to collapse, we are still able to come before the General Assembly today and we could spend some considerable time describing the successes which we have already achieved in our economic development, successes which are apparent and which constitute . . .

*[At this point there was an interruption from the public gallery.]*

25. With all due respect, Mr. President, I should like some assurance that I may continue.

26. The PRESIDENT: I request the President of Cuba to continue. Nobody can give a guarantee that someone may not behave foolishly, but we shall take every precaution to see that the President is not unduly interrupted.

27. Mr. Osvaldo DORTICOS (President of the Republic of Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I shall lose neither my calm, nor my patience.

28. Today we can show the General Assembly a long record of economic achievements: that of an industry criminally deprived of all supplies of spare parts, notwithstanding which—with the exception of our sugar industry—we have, in a short time and in the face of difficulties, now attained a growth of more than 7 per cent; the progress of our agricultural development and the organization and planning of our economy which shows promising signs of balanced and speedy development in the years to come. The fundamental purpose of this development is to ensure the nation's supplies, to build up stocks, chiefly of agricultural commodities, for export, and to expand our international trade. It is the necessary preparatory stage for future industrial development, which is to transform the entire structure and character of our under-developed economy.

29. Add to this the public health measures, which give our country a privileged position in this continent, and the fundamental achievements in our education policy, which now enables us to say, among other things, with pride and deep satisfaction, that in this continent swarming with uneducated people, in this

continent where some countries have alarming illiteracy figures, Cuba, thanks to its revolution, is now a country without illiterates.

30. But this we have had to achieve and carry out harassed at every turn by aggression from all sides while the literacy campaign was getting underway, it was marked by some dramatic and painful incidents, since the counter-revolutionary bands, organized and armed by the United States Government, even went so far as to murder young teachers, mere students, who had gone into our countryside to eradicate illiteracy.

31. All this progress, which has earned the acclaim of even those who may have ideological views different from ours, these successes and the failures of our enemies have not served as a lesson either. So the act of aggression continued; the provocations continued; the training of counter-revolutionary groups on the territory of the United States and Caribbean countries continues; the provocation from the United States naval base in our country continues; and violations of our country's territorial waters and air space continue.

32. For lack of time it would not be possible to give an outline of these violations here; but a list will be distributed to the representatives.

33. These aggressive acts continue, like the United States warships that lie near the coast off our harbours. Every day those of us who live in Havana must see with our own eyes these warships lurking around our island, making a show of war or of preparation for war.

34. This is the situation today but we can also say that it is qualitatively different from the situation which existed before the invasion of our country at Playa Girón, for the following reasons. Before Playa Girón, the Government of the United States had on more than one occasion stated that it had no aggressive intentions towards our country. It is obvious that after Playa Girón even the President of the United States publicly and officially acknowledged his responsibility and his sympathy and support for that invasion.

35. Today the situation is different, for while it is true that once again it is being asserted—as the Head of the United States delegation has stated here [1125th meeting]—that there are no aggressive designs on our country, on the other hand there are records, and there have been statements and official resolutions which authorize armed aggression against Cuba and seek to justify it in advance. The fact is that the object—as acknowledged recently in a statement by the State Department of the United States—of the foreign policy of the United States Government in regard to Cuba is clearly and obviously the overthrow of the revolutionary Government and the destruction of our glorious revolution.

36. This is happening in the midst of a press, radio and television campaign which is spreading a cloud of warlike hysteria over the political scene in the United States. Add to this the repeated insolent statements by United States senators and congressmen, and the most absurd misuse made of all the facts and circumstances to intensify the campaign of aggressive hysteria against our country, culminating in the ridiculous statement that the setting-up of a fishing base on our territory through friendly negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union also implies a danger of armed aggression affecting the security of the United States itself; in other words, they are making a war scare out of codfish and herring.

37. We are aware that this climate of hysteria, this campaign and the interminable slander and libel create a pressure which is being exerted on the United States Government to make it decide once and for all to launch direct armed aggression on our country. We know that such pressure exists; but we also believe that the Government of the United States itself first and foremost is responsible for the existence of that pressure. For in the last analysis it is the inevitable consequence of the policy of constant and permanent aggression which continued when the new Administration took over in this country.

38. There for all to see are the manoeuvres and activities which are being carried out in this atmosphere of anti-Cuban hysteria and aggressiveness. For example, the foreign ministers of the countries of Latin America are summoned, not to United Nations Headquarters but, with obvious disrespect, to the State Department, and they are summoned so they can be invited to plot subversion in our country. Again it is claimed that the so-called Inter-American System is being consulted, a system which the United States Government has deliberately ignored, since the system was not consulted in connexion with the aggression which took place, nor in connexion with the invasion at Playa Girón and obviously it will not be consulted in the event of further armed aggression against our country.

39. We have noticed that the United States Secretary of State has not come to this Assembly to talk about his concern for peace, disarmament or the cessation of nuclear tests. He has been outside this room, engaged in conspiracy and subversion against our country. We are also aware that, at the meeting of foreign ministers and elsewhere, respectable representatives of Latin American countries, despite their ideological differences with our revolution, have defended the principles of non-intervention and national self-determination. From this rostrum I challenge any of these Latin American foreign ministers to state here what was said to them at that meeting and what was said to them outside of it, so that it can be established here that it is not Cuba that is disturbing the peace of the continent and attacking brother countries, but that Cuba has been the victim of aggression and will certainly be the victim of further interference and aggression in its peaceful and creative development.

40. Outside the Organization of American States, without consulting any international body and in defiance of all, the United States Government by its unilateral decisions is engaging in activities which are a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. On the one hand, the policy of the so-called Alliance for Progress is launched—a policy of opportunism which is being tried out in this continent only because of the example of the Cuban revolution—and the decision to support the development of the backward countries is proclaimed, while on the other hand, in the case of Cuba, which has an underdeveloped economy and a people absorbed in its efforts to create and to promote economic and cultural progress, a whole policy is being pursued with the object of creating economic problems and sapping the strength of the Cuban revolution taxed as it is by these difficulties and by hunger.

41. In addition to all that has been done, further decisions have been taken, which have already been officially announced, to apply pressure, by means of

force and retaliatory measures, on the shipping companies whose ships carry goods to supply the Cuban people, raw materials for our industries, and fertilizers and equipment for the development of our agriculture, in an attempt to enforce a naval blockade of our island. Pressure is openly being brought to bear on the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to prevent their vessels from carrying goods to our country; and even if this cannot be achieved, another expedient is to be used immediately: the announced retaliatory measures against ships which carry goods to our country, even against the interests of shipping companies of countries friendly to the United States.

42. To begin with, this is the most obvious tacit admission of failure by those who predicted the economic ruin of Cuba. It has been said that our revolution, owing to the historical paths which it has chosen, must of necessity lead our country to disaster and to famine. The fact that these manoeuvres and retaliatory measures now have to be resorted to in order to prevent trade with Cuba reveals the folly of these forecasts and of the desire to destroy the Cuban revolution by artificially creating economic difficulties and by taking advantage of the fact that our country depends for its economic development on the expansion of its trade with other countries, and will continue to do so for a long time to come. In view of this pressure to create a blockade and of the unilateral action taken to enforce it in a time of peace, I ask myself, and I ask you, whether the blockade constitutes or does not constitute an act of war. I wonder if the United States Government is entitled to take such unilateral decisions outside this international Organization and in defiance of it.

43. I wonder whether this is compatible with the aims of improving and developing international relations which inspired the establishment of the United Nations. I wonder whether the United Nations can remain indifferent to a fact of this kind. I wonder, and I ask the representatives, whether this blockade which is being imposed against our country is or is not an act of war, or an act preparatory to or conducive to war, and whether the United Nations can conceivably remain silent in the face of it. Cuba calls for condemnation of these aggressive acts by the United Nations.

44. The cardinal principles of the freedom to trade, an old and historic triumph of mankind, are being attacked. Obviously they do not dare to submit to an international body the claim to exercise a right which is not theirs to boast. Yet, although they do not have that right, these acts are being carried out and of course the United States representative in this General Assembly has not told you about that. But it is our responsibility and duty to speak of these facts: the violation of the principles which guarantee the freedom of international trade; the commission of an act of war in times of peace, and the commission—which is arrogant and absurd in any case—of these acts by a great Power on a small country. But these attempts will fail again, as the previous ones came to naught.

45. Cuba does not stand alone; it has friends, it can count on the solidarity of other nations and relies on friendly countries which must enable it to carry on its international trade.

46. But there is something more, something to which I emphatically wish to draw the attention of the

Assembly. At the beginning of my address I said that the situation as regards Cuban-United States relations before the invasion at Playa Girón was qualitatively different from the present situation. And I said so because in the United States there have been statements and official resolutions designed to build up a case in advance for direct armed aggression against our country. By way of proof it is sufficient to take a brief look at the operative part of the joint resolution of the United States Congress.<sup>1/</sup>

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That the United States is determined

"(a) To prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms"—I repeat—including the use of arms—"the Marxist-Leninist régime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere."

47. This is very curious; now let us just refer to recent past history. Has Cuba perhaps been guilty of carrying out subversive or aggressive activities against any country of this hemisphere? On the contrary. Reflect for just one moment on the invasion at Playa Girón, supported and organized, as President Kennedy himself stated, by the Government of the United States. After the mercenary troops had been trained in one Central American country, they launched their invasion from another Central American country.

48. Was it perhaps Cuba that carried out subversive activities in this continent, or was it those Governments which supported that invasion in one form or another which were guilty of this international crime?

49. Cuba has said more than once—and I shall repeat it here—that it does not plan to carry out, nor will it carry out, any aggressive activity aimed at extending to other countries of the continent the ideology underlying its revolutionary movement.

50. But what does the resolution of the United States Congress say? The third operative paragraph reads as follows:

"(c) To work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination."

51. Let us interpret this. This sub-paragraph of the joint resolution of the United States Congress means that the support given to aggressive and subversive activities against our country is to continue; further piratical raids on our coasts are to be financed and protected; that further armed aggression against our country is to be financed and given military protection. In other words, it means the admission—this time the express, official and categorical admission—of the intention to interfere in the internal affairs of our country, thus avowed officially and publicly by the United States Congress. And, by an absurd contradiction, it is avowed in the very text of the resolution in which Cuba is accused of being the country which threatens the peace of the continent.

<sup>1/</sup> See United States of America, Congressional Record, Proceedings and debates of the 87th Congress, Second Session, Washington, 20 September 1962, vol. 108, No. 170, page 18951.

52. The second paragraph of the joint resolution of the United States Congress expresses the determination:

"(b) To prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States."

In other words, the United States Congress is giving prior sanction to the use of arms, to armed aggression against our country, in order to prevent in our territory the creation or use of a military capability endangering the security of the United States. Cuba, endangering the security of a great Power! Cuba, the attacked, Cuba, the invaded, fills the leaders of this great Power with panic! I do not think I need emphasize how ridiculous and how absurd such an assertion is.

53. In addition, in order to back this official statement of the United States Congress with action and, as a member of the House of Representatives put it, to face up to the Cuban question, among other purposes, 150,000 reservists are being called up, and units of Cuban counter-revolutionaries are being formed in the regular army of the United States. This, according to the terms of the joint resolution, is due to the danger that Cuba may become a military Power capable of disturbing the peaceful daily life of the people of the United States and endangering the security of this great Power. What shall we say in reply to this? We shall say that Cuba has indeed armed itself; that it has the right to arm itself and to defend itself. The important question is: Why has Cuba armed itself?

54. Of course we should have preferred to devote all those human and material resources, all the energies we have had to employ in strengthening our military defences, to the development of our economy and culture. We have armed ourselves against our wishes and contrary to our aspirations, because we were driven to strengthen our military defences lest we should jeopardize the sovereignty of our nation and the independence of our homeland. We have armed ourselves because the people of Cuba have a legitimate right, sanctioned by history, to defend their sovereign decisions and to steer their country on the historic course which, in the exercise of their sovereignty, they have chosen.

55. I ask you, so that you may answer in all sincerity to your own consciences: what would have happened if we had not strengthened our military defences when a division armed and trained by the United States Government invaded our country at Playa Girón? Our revolution would not, of course have been defeated nor the tide of our history turned back; but no doubt the struggle would have been long and bloody, and many more lives and more wealth than our country actually lost would have been destroyed. We wiped out this invasion, this unjustified act of aggression and arrogance towards our country, in seventy-two hours, because we had exercised in time the right to strengthen our defensive military capability in order to safeguard our sovereignty, our independence and our revolution.

56. That is why we armed ourselves. We hope to be able one day to throw these armaments overboard. We are a peace-loving people; we want peace, and not war. The people of Cuba aspire only to carry out the great triumphs of its future history in developing our country through peaceful and creative work. We have been obliged to arm ourselves, not in order to attack anyone, any nation, but only to defend ourselves.

57. We replied to the joint resolution of the United States Congress at the appropriate time with a statement approved by our Council of Ministers, the pertinent part of which I will read to you. Our Council of Ministers said:

"If the United States could give Cuba effective and satisfactory guarantees concerning the integrity of our territory and if it would desist from its subversive and counter-revolutionary activities against our people, Cuba would not need to strengthen its defences and would not even need an army, and we would gladly apply all the resources now employed in defence to the economic and cultural development of our nation."

58. If the United States could give assurances, by word and by deed, that it would not commit acts of aggression against our country, we solemnly declare that there would be no need for our weapons and our armies, because we want peace and we want to carry on our work in peace.

59. However, we are in no way obliged to account to the United States Congress for what we are doing to defend our territorial integrity. We are arming ourselves as we think best for the defence of our nation, and not in order to attack anyone; and, I repeat, we do not have to account for this to any Power or to any foreign congress.

60. We shall continue, as long as the tragic circumstances so require, to strengthen our military defences for our own protection, and not in order to attack anyone; and if we are attacked, the attackers will be met with the force of our arms, but also with the force of our patriotism.

61. Obviously, the most important and most serious aspect of this resolution of the United States Congress is that the United States claims to reserve the right—the alleged right—to decide unilaterally and on its own account when, in its judgement, these conditions laid down by the joint resolution as grounds for giving prior sanction to armed aggression against our country have arisen. This is the most serious point because, according to this resolution, the United States Government need only declare that any one of these conditions exists in order to feel itself entitled to make a direct armed attack on us. What remarkable contempt for international law, what remarkable contempt for international organizations, what remarkable contempt for the United Nations!

62. Thus artificially are pretexts for aggression fabricated in advance, just as attempts are made to use as a pretext for aggression the alleged possibility that Cuba may attempt, by force or by arms, to take over the territory occupied by the United States naval base at Guantánamo. We have indeed more than once asserted our right to recover this territory, which was taken from us by coercion and force on the occasion of intervention by the United States. Even international conferences, such as the Belgrade Conference,<sup>2/</sup> have expressly recognized this right of ours to recover the territory in question.

63. We are also aware of the use being made of that naval base at the present time. It is being used to recruit and train counter-revolutionaries, to carry out acts of provocation against our military posts

<sup>2/</sup> Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961.



at the frontier, to affront our citizens and to infiltrate into our territory agents of subversion, conspiracy and espionage.

64. However, we wish to take this further opportunity to state once more that we shall exercise this right at the appropriate time, but not by physical force or by arms. We shall exercise this right, at the time we deem appropriate, through the legal channels of international law and before the competent international bodies. We shall not present the United States with a pretext for aggression. We wish that this were a dispute that might one day be settled by peaceful negotiations; but so long as that does not come to pass, and so long as we postpone exercising this right through the channels sanctioned by international law, we here protest the possibility that a pretext for aggression may be engineered through an act of self-provocation at the Guantánamo naval base.

65. What is the Cuban position in the face of this aggressive conduct towards us? From the time of the initial worsening of Cuban-United States relations up to the present day, Cuba has always been prepared to negotiate the differences between the United States and Cuba, through normal diplomatic channels or by any appropriate means. For instance, as is proclaimed in the statement by our Council of Ministers, Cuba could have compensated United States citizens and interests affected by the revolutionary laws if economic aggression had not intervened and if the Government of that country had been willing to negotiate on a basis of respect for the wishes, the dignity and the sovereignty of our people. Our readiness for peaceful and negotiated solutions was stated more than once, and we declared these intentions clearly and repeatedly in official diplomatic notes to the United States Government. The United States Government's refusal, time and again, to negotiate has served to show that it pursues but one objective, which is the overthrow of the Revolutionary Government of my country, the destruction of the Cuban revolution, and interference with the self-determination of our people.

66. With the change of the Administration in the United States when President Kennedy assumed the presidency of that country, we again stated our willingness to resolve the existing state of tension by peaceful means. What were the replies to these words and these overtures of peace? The replies were a continuation of the aggressive policy of the previous Administration, an attack upon and invasion of our country, the execution by the present Government, as President Kennedy himself has admitted, of the plans for attacking and invading Cuba prepared by the former Administration. Cuba wanted peace and the United States of America wanted war.

67. Sometimes, however, the lessons of history are not learnt, and the great lesson of Playa Girón was not learnt. Even after that ridiculous fiasco, which so affected the prestige of those who had just been installed in power, there were further acts of aggression, further refusals to negotiate, and the situation today is the deplorable outcome of this contempt, this arrogance, these aggressive intentions towards our country.

68. Cuba, mark you, has been and is disposed to take any steps deemed helpful in easing this tension which envelops Cuban-United States relations, with their threat to world peace. Being thus disposed, Cuba

has the moral right to call upon the delegation of the Government of the United States of America, from this rostrum, to say whether the United States Government is also disposed to take the steps which would help to settle this state of international tension enveloping Cuba.

69. I am sorry to say that we do not feel very hopeful because, unfortunately, we know more or less what the answer will be. These steps in the interest of peace which we are disposed to take and which we are asking the Government of the United States of America whether it is disposed to take, will unfortunately—and you will be special witnesses of this—not be taken.

70. We should like these steps to be taken. We love peace, we want to work; we want to expedite the progress of our nation. We do not want to squabble and make war. Yet we follow the course dictated by patriotism, by cool-headedness and by the responsibility of government. Unfortunately the course taken by the Government of the United States of America is a different one; it is a course dictated by arrogance, by a desire to dominate and by panic at the example of the Cuban revolution.

71. Cuba is not an aggressive country, it is a peaceful country. Cuba has no monopolies in its territory devoted to the manufacture of weapons, and thus war is not good business for our country. Cuba does not want war. Cuba wants peace; it wants to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of this continent and of the world. It would have liked to live on peaceful terms with the United States, and yet despite this wish of ours, we have had to live with all our defences constantly on the alert, with our weapons ready, with our fighting forces on stand-by both day and night, always ready to go about our peaceful and creative daily work, but always ready, also, to engage in armed strife, which we do not want, but which, should it become inevitable, we shall face with all this historic courage of our people.

72. Cuba does not, as has been stated here, represent a problem between the East and the West. Cuba poses a problem of sovereignty and independence. The Cuban problem is a problem involving the sovereign decision of a people and the right of that people to self-determination. Cuba has not wanted to be drawn into the cold war. Cuba merely wants to pursue its economic and cultural development and to shape its own future in peace, and it is ready to demonstrate these intentions at any time. And if it is not true that there is an intention to attack our country—although we consider that such an intention certainly exists—we urge the head of the United States delegation specifically to guarantee before this Assembly that his Government does not intend to attack Cuba. We urge him, however, to back up these guarantees not merely by words, but more especially by deeds. Verbal guarantees were given before Playa Girón, and when the invasion took place, many Members of the Assembly heard the representative of the United States Government state that there was no such invasion and that his Government had not planned one; yet only a few days later, the President of the United States himself publicly and officially assumed the responsibility for that invasion.

73. Bearing in mind these precedents, we are consequently justified in requesting here in the United Nations that guarantees of non-aggression be given,

but they should not be merely verbal, but should also, and above all, be backed up by deeds.

74. Let no one tell us that the Cuban problem is not a question of bilateral differences between the United States and our country, but rather a problem that concerns the hemisphere.

75. We have repeatedly proclaimed, and we do so again, our respect for the principle of non-intervention, for the sovereignty and for the independence of all the other American countries. We do not represent a hemisphere problem. Cuba poses no problem for this hemisphere; the problem of the hemisphere is under-development. Cuba is not a problem of the hemisphere; the problem of the hemisphere is hunger in this continent. Cuba is not a problem of the hemisphere; the problem of the hemisphere is illiteracy and the lack of education on this continent. Cuba is not a problem of the hemisphere; the problem of the hemisphere is interference by the United States in the domestic affairs of the countries of this continent. A problem of the hemisphere and a problem of peace is the fact that the United States Government is making ready special armed forces in various countries of this continent in order to foster the suppression of popular movements, and this problem embodies nothing less than the threat of a new colonial war in America.

76. Cuba is not a problem of hemispheric concern, but the United States is because of its lack of respect for the sovereignty of the other States. Cuba poses no problem for the countries that respect it; Cuba can pose a problem only for the Governments that have cause to fear, not our subversive capacity or any hypothetical aggressive intentions on our part, but rather the example set by the Cuban revolution.

77. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, as was stated in the decision of its Council of Ministers, affirms once more that the foreign policy of our country is founded on the principle of non-intervention, on the right of all nations to self-determination, on recognition of the sovereign equality of States, on freedom of trade, on the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and on the will to co-exist in peace with all the peoples of the world.

78. Faithful as it is to these tenets of its international policy and to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, Cuba does not constitute the slightest threat to the security of any country in our continent. It has never displayed, nor does it now display, any aggressive intentions towards any of them, but rather the most absolute respect for the policy of non-intervention being convinced, as our own national history goes to show, that every people has the sovereign right to shape its own destinies without any odious interference from outside.

79. Far from infringing this international norm, Cuba, on the contrary—suffering a tragic loss of resources and of lives as a result—has persistently been the victim of interference in its internal policies and of aggression coming from the territories of other countries of the continent, not only from the United States but also from some Latin American countries whose Governments, indifferent to the true feelings of their peoples, have covertly or overtly joined in the chorus of imperialist slander led by the Government of the United States.

80. That is our policy: a policy of peace and co-existence, imbued with the firm and profound desire to

maintain the best possible relations with all the nations of this continent. But if, in spite of it, we are attacked, we shall defend ourselves. We are, I repeat, well equipped to defend ourselves, for while we can of course rely on our unavoidable weapons—weapons that we wish we did not need and that we do not want to use—we can also rely on the unyielding patriotism of our people and—as history has given great and eloquent proof—on the solidarity of other peoples. We can likewise rely, we are pleased to say, on friendly nations and Governments that are ready to offer us their solidarity and to defend Cuba's right to its independence and its territorial integrity.

81. We hope from the bottom of our hearts that past errors will not be repeated. We sincerely hope that the United States Government will not commit any further error. If it has not learnt the lesson of Playa Girón, let it at least pause in its arrogance and heed the insistent voice of international wisdom. If, however, to our great regret and against our wishes, it does commit such an error, then we put the United Nations on notice here and now that we are determined to fight. If this error is committed, we give warning that the aggression against Cuba, despite ourselves and against our will, could, as has been pointed out here, become the starting-point of a new world war.

82. We profoundly hope that that will not happen; we profoundly hope that this error will not be made. We hope as much because we are concerned not only for the fate of our people but also for the fate of all mankind. We are convinced of the sincerity and worth of international solidarity. That is why we believe in the sincerity and worth of the statements of solidarity that have been made by the Government of the Soviet Union. If the Government of the United States does not share this belief, that is because it does not grasp the meaning of a policy founded on principles. We place our trust in principles, we carry on our struggle under the guidance of principles, and all our work and creative endeavours are actuated by and founded on principles. We do indeed believe in principles, and that is why we believe in that solidarity.

83. We do not want such an error to be made. We want peace and I repeat here that we are ready to take all the steps that are required in order to guarantee peace. We only wish to give warning of the risks which we have brought to the attention of the world through the United Nations. Our position, then, is that we are willing to take the necessary steps to ensure peace. But if pride, the quest for domination, or panic in the face of the example set for the continent by the Cuban revolution should once again cause the United States Government to tread the path of error, the Cuban people, always ready and willing to live in peace, will also be ready to take up arms at any time and fight for their independence.

84. That is our position. In the course of the last few hours, the Press and radio of this country have taken it upon themselves to forecast the possibility that the United States delegation may make a statement in reply to our own. We are aware that that is not the usual practice in the United Nations, bearing in mind our position, but we do not object to that. In the final analysis, we do not care who speaks last in this Assembly; it is of no importance to us who has the last word here. The last word will be that of history as recorded in the future. The Cuban people places

its confidence in the future and is content to rely on the future verdict of history because for the first time that people is shaping its own history in complete freedom.

85. The PRESIDENT: I thank the President of Cuba for his address. Despite certain regrettable attempts at interruption, the Assembly has listened with attention to the address and I have no doubt will draw from it such guidance as it may be capable of yielding with reference to the subjects which the Assembly will be called upon to consider. I shall now, with the Acting Secretary-General, accompany His Excellency the President of the Republic of Cuba from the hall, and the meeting is suspended for the few minutes I shall be absent until I return to the Chair, when the Assembly will resume the general debate.

*The meeting was suspended at 12.30 p.m. and resumed at 12.35 p.m.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

86. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will resume the general debate. I recognize the representative of Jamaica.

87. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) (from the floor): Point of order.

88. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak on a point of order. I now recognize the representative of the United States.

89. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I have asked to speak on a point of order. For seventeen years we have come to expect that when a Chief of State asks for the privilege of this podium, he has an obligation not to abuse it and not to demean the United Nations and the dialogue of diplomacy, but to speak here in a constructive and statesmanlike manner. But the President of Cuba, speaking as Chief of State on a ceremonial occasion, has seen fit to use this rostrum to attack my country, with unparalleled calumnies, slanders and misrepresentations, for one hour and forty-five minutes. Yet I will not claim a right of reply from this platform this morning. Instead, I shall respond to his intemperate and false charges outside of this hall and at once, and with your permission, Mr. President, I will have my response placed before the Members of the General Assembly in printed form during the day.

90. The traditions of etiquette and of good taste which have been established here have built respect for the Organization, and for my part I do not want to descend even by reply to the levels of the Chief of State we have just heard here on this ceremonial occasion. He is right, however, on one point. The last word will be written by history.

91. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Mr. President, it is a pleasure on this first occasion on which I have the privilege of addressing this Assembly to offer my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. The progress already made in the business of the session bears eloquent testimony to your wisdom and experience and to the firmness of your guiding hand.

92. I wish also to extend cordial greetings to the people of the independent country of Algeria, scheduled to be formally admitted to this body tomorrow.

In their valiant and protracted struggle for mastery in their own house the people of Algeria and their leaders have commanded the respect and admiration of free men everywhere.

93. Jamaica is a country of over 2 million souls but we are a genuinely peace-loving people. Our way of life shows to the rest of the world that it is possible for men of different religious beliefs, different colours and different racial origins to live together in peace and harmony, merging their distinctions in a common nationality and according each to the other the respect which is due to him as a human being and as the citizen of a democratic country. We believe other people can find in our society features which are worthy of emulation but we are content that they should themselves conclude that this is so; we shall make no effort to persuade them. We make no territorial claims on our neighbours; we have no aggressive aims; we have no desire to export our particular views concerning what is the most desirable social system under which men should live. We scrupulously respect the integrity of all our neighbours and we expect all our neighbours to respect ours.

94. Whilst our attitude to all other nations is one of goodwill and friendliness, there are some with whom closer and friendlier relations have already been established. We have had special links with the nations of the British Commonwealth and we shall maintain those links. Our Government has expressed the desire that our country should become a member of the Organization of American States. We see no conflict between the obligations inherent in the one association and in the other; indeed, we know that we can bring to the counsels of the American States a valuable insight into the aims and attitudes of those diverse nations which make up the British Commonwealth, and we believe that in course of time we shall be able to bring to the counsels of the Commonwealth a helpful understanding of the outlook and aspirations of the nations of Latin America.

95. As a new Member of the United Nations we shall bring to its deliberations one more voice of sane reason and moderation, and whilst we fully support the objectives of the Charter and will never compromise on fundamental principle, we shall always be ready to seek practical solutions to the various problems which confront the United Nations from time to time.

96. I shall not burden this Assembly with a lengthy address. It seems to me, however, that the present world situation calls for an indication on the part of every nation of its attitude towards the urgent issues which claim our attention, and calls also for expressions of faith in the future of the United Nations.

97. Speaker after speaker has come to this rostrum in the course of the general debate and has described the problem of the arms race as the most momentous and urgent of all our problems. Weapons of destruction have grown to such frightening proportions that the menace of their accumulation has come home to every man and woman. We know now that we enjoy the present precarious safety only through an uneasy balance of terror between the opposing nuclear Powers, but we cannot banish the thought that some day some madman—for it would take a madman to release the terrors of nuclear war even upon his most hated enemies—might press that fatal button and unleash the catastrophe of nuclear war upon us. The overwhelming desire, indeed the will, to see the



armaments race brought to an end is everywhere in evidence. Ways and means of bringing this about cannot long continue to elude us. A solution to this problem should take precedence over every other subject on the agenda of this seventeenth session of the Assembly.

98. My Government is pleased to note the real progress which has been made at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. It is gratifying to discover that East and West are closer together in their attitude towards disarmament than ever before. My Government congratulates the non-aligned nations for their contribution to the narrowing of the area of difference, and my Government very strongly supports the proposal that the Conference should resume its study of this problem at the earliest possible date.

99. I urge that such attention as the appropriate Committee of this Assembly will give to the subject should be directed mainly at facilitating an early resumption of the Conference and at rendering it easier for the opposing Powers to adopt practical compromises.

100. The information now available to us indicates that there is one phase or sector of the arms race which can be brought to an end immediately—I refer here to nuclear testing. No one would wish to halt experiments if their purpose was to advance the peaceful uses of atomic energy, but the great Powers are asking us to put up with the threat to life and health, indeed to the eventual survival of the human race, from atomic fall-out, for no more useful purpose than the perfecting of more and more destructive weapons of war. My Government supports the proposal that the ban on tests in the air, on the surface of the ground and under water should come into effect on 1 January 1963, without machinery for inspection, and I shall recommend that a new date should be set, not more than six months later, by which underground testing will also stop.

101. Speaking as I do for a country which has newly come to independence, I publicly express my gratification at the work which the United Nations has done and is doing to put an end to colonialism. World opinion brought to bear in this Assembly has done a great deal in the past few years to make the position of the colonial Power indefensible, but in large areas of the world the people are still denied the fundamental right of self-determination, and my Government urges this Assembly to continue and intensify its efforts to secure for these people their freedom.

102. Moreover, there is one aspect of the emancipation process to which I wish to call special attention. I cannot join in praising those colonial Powers which have for generations monopolized the seats of authority in their dependent territories, denying the peoples of these territories even a rudimentary experience in the art of managing a country's affairs; and which, with a great show of enlightenment, suddenly relinquish their political hold with little concern that the people are unprepared for stable and efficient self-government. I do not advocate that the process of ending colonialism in the still-dependent countries should be delayed by even a single day. Rather I urge that the process of preparing the people of these countries for stable and efficient self-government should be resolutely and systematically pressed forward. The United Nations and the specialized agencies can give powerful aid in preparing dependent peoples to manage their

affairs efficiently, by expanding their training programmes and fostering the establishment of modern institutions in these territories. The remaining colonial Powers should be forced by world opinion in this Assembly to collaborate with the United Nations and with indigenous organizations in preparing the people of their dependent countries for stable self-government.

103. Other representatives have been expressing during this debate their pleasure at the emergence of four new nations to full independence, and they have been anticipating the early appearance of a fifth and sixth new nation. It is important, however, to bear in mind that political independence will fail to fulfil the basic desires of the people of these new countries unless it is supported by economic independence.

104. We are all agreed that political independence must stand on the firm base not only of stable but of expanding economies. For this reason, my Government welcomes General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI), which designated the current decade as the United Nations Development Decade, and I think I express the hope of all developing countries when I say that we expect concrete action aimed at accelerating the progress of the developing countries towards self-sustaining growth to emerge from the discussion at this session. I also endorse the plans to expand the United Nations activities in the field of industrial development.

105. In his address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank, the outgoing President made an earnest appeal that the funds at the disposal of the Bank and the International Development Association should be increased. Until such an increase is provided, a larger and larger number of necessary and basic projects in the developing countries will go by default for sheer lack of funds. I appeal to the Members of this Assembly to see to it that the needed expansion in the resources of the International Development Association is not refused.

106. Within the advanced countries complaints are heard from time to time about the burden of the demand from under-developed countries for technical assistance, long-term loans and grants. The heavy demands complained of represent, however, no more than evidence of the enormity of the problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease in these countries, and it is to the removal of such conditions that this Organization and its agencies are dedicated.

107. In my view, United Nations agencies are appropriate channels through which international economic aid should reach developing nations. For this reason, my Government also welcomes General Assembly resolution 1706 (XVI), on a United Nations capital development fund. We should like to see it established on a universal basis, and it is to me a matter of regret that so many potential contributors to that Fund are opposed to its creation.

108. The time is now ripe to revise our terminology as it relates to one aspect of international economic aid. I fail to see why the outflow of capital funds from one advanced country to another should be called investment, but the outflow of capital from an advanced country to a less developed one should be called economic aid. Where capital moves between countries on purely commercial terms, it should be identified simply as international investment.

The term "economic aid" should be reserved for the flow of funds which move on other than strictly commercial terms. This revision in terminology would establish that the performance of some capital-exporting countries is not as impressive as it now appears from some United Nations reports.

109. We have already been shown one obvious source of the needed increase in capital funds for developing economies. We have noted the information in the Secretary-General's report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament,<sup>3/</sup> and I am pleased that a programme for the use of the resources to be released by even partial disarmament is an item on the agenda of this session of the Assembly. [agenda item 33].

110. Let me not appear to minimize the problems involved, for developed and developing countries alike, in the reduction of expenditure on armaments. Clearly, such reduction can only be progressive, it must be taken in stages, but such spectacular results in economic, educational and other social improvements could be achieved if only a small fraction of the world's military expenditure were diverted into international lending to developing countries, that the consideration of a specific programme to that end is by no means premature.

111. I must now call attention to another aspect of the problem of providing international aid, one which affects countries at the stage of development in which Jamaica finds itself. Our experience is that the problems of countries in the earliest stages of economic development are well understood by those who provide economic aid. The techniques of reconstructing the productive sectors or expanding the economy of advanced countries are similarly well understood. What is not so readily understood is the technique of meeting the particular needs of countries which have moved beyond the first stages and are just on the point of attaining self-sustaining growth. It seems to me that in the further use of international resources, special attention must be paid to the form in which assistance can most profitably be given to countries which have already attained a rising level of per caput income but are not yet able to find all the external funds they need on commercial terms in the world capital markets.

112. In concluding this portion of my address, I turn now to the question of world trade in the commodities produced by developing countries. My Government supports the proposal that an international trade conference should be called in 1964 under United Nations auspices. This is without prejudice to the work being done by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We too in Jamaica have suffered by the adverse movement in our terms of trade. Between 1954 and 1960 the price index of the goods we import—and these are mainly manufactured goods—rose by 31.7 per cent, while our export price index—mainly of primary products—rose by only 9 per cent. The present trading terms for many of our commodities could not be better described than in the words of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Belgium. I quote from his address to this Assembly a week ago:

"The old system of aid to the under-developed countries, as it has been practised for a long time, is now finished. That system was to buy at low

prices the primary products of those countries and then, with a certain remorse, later to give gifts to those with whom we had not dealt honestly, but that is a thing of the past. We have now realized that that is not the way to treat people. . . ." [1138th meeting, para. 172.]<sup>4/</sup>

113. The preference of developing countries for trade instead of aid has been stated and restated and needs no further emphasis. It is intolerable that a small farmer in a primary producing country should toil for ten or twelve hours a day, all year round, only to find that his earnings are insufficient to maintain himself and his family at even a minimum standard of health and nutrition. It is time that international schemes for stabilizing the prices of the major primary products, especially tropical products, should be introduced, and I submit that it is the duty of the United Nations to take the initiative now in promoting such schemes.

114. There is no doubt whatever in the mind of my Government about the value of the United Nations to the world. We envisage this Organization as discharging responsibilities of increasing importance. We expect it to extend the area of its operations and we wish to see it becoming daily more effective in the discharge of the duties the nations entrust to it. It is important that the Secretariat should carry out single-mindedly the tasks assigned to it by the Councils and the Assembly, leaving political hesitations to the deliberative bodies. It is for this last reason that Jamaica could not support a proposal to make a triumvirate of the post of Secretary-General. Our experience leaves us in no doubt that a single administrative head should remain in charge of this organ. To divide his functions would in our view be simply to paralyse the United Nations Secretariat.

115. It is apparent that one of the great unsolved problems of this age is the translation into actual practice of the democratic ideal of fundamental concern for individual rights and for the basic freedoms with which man has been endowed by the Creator.

116. In this field of human rights, as it is aptly called by our Charter, the world lags far behind. Indeed, in many areas of the world, even in the so-called advanced civilizations, we are still groping in the darkness of centuries long past. This occurs even as our scientific and technological advances literally take us out of this world into the reaches of outer space.

117. The United Nations must continue to play a key role in the advancement of man's knowledge of man. The United Nations can and must serve as the instrument for bringing about the peaceful solution of all human rights problems. The United Nations cannot, of course, substitute for national policy itself. It can, however, seek co-operative methods of curing the denial of human rights whenever and wherever such a condition persists.

118. Jamaica is proud of its progress in this area. Our motto, "Out of many, one people", is actually a way of life as opposed to a mere shibboleth. I propose, therefore, that the United Nations concern in this area be intensified through an international year for human rights. The objective of such a world-wide co-operative endeavour would be the

pooling of talent, experience and knowledge to the end that the total world would be concerned for the total world. In proposing this revitalization of interest, I am not unmindful of the many gains already made in human rights under United Nations sponsorship.

119. If the world can benefit as it did from an International Geophysical Year—and many of the spectacular achievements we are now witnessing as a direct result of that effort—then surely we may expect that out of a world-wide human rights campaign there might come some equally spectacular gains in man's relationship to man.

120. Finally, in the name of the Government and people of Jamaica I urge upon the Assembly that a fresh approach be made to the problems of the international community. Let us deal with the areas of conflict between nations in a spirit of humility and readiness to compromise. Let us look at the ills of poverty, starvation and disease which afflict the majority of the people of the world in a spirit of generosity. If we can succeed in such a new approach to the problems before the United Nations, concrete and definitive results will flow from our deliberations and we shall indeed make this seventeenth session of the General Assembly a memorable one.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*