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*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KAMBONA (Tanganyika): Mr. President, by happy circumstances you have been called upon to preside over the proceedings of the eighteenth regular session of the General Assembly. On behalf of my delegation, my Government and myself, I extend to you our warmest and sincere congratulations. My delegation notes with pleasure that in this session of promise and opportunity the General Assembly in its wisdom has chosen in your person so competent and distinguished a diplomat to fill the high office of its Presidency. This is a sign of honour not only to you personally, but to your great country which shares with our own a common interest in the growing and marketing of coffee. We hope and trust that the promise and opportunity which marked the inception of our business here will culminate in the success which we are entitled to expect at the conclusion of our endeavours. To this end, Mr. President, I hasten to assure you that you can rely upon the ready and constant co-operation of the delegation of Tanganyika.

2. The issues before this eighteenth session of the Assembly might be reduced to three broad categories. First, the general disengagement of international tension and cold war politics; secondly, the continuous and rapid liquidation of colonialism in a manner consistent with the United Nations historical Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and thirdly, the satisfaction of the expectations of our respective populations that the great wealth of the world, actual and potential, will be used to secure maximum development, increased social and economic benefits and a richer and fuller life for all.

3. In a certain sense, disengagement of international tension in all its manifestations must be the primary objective of this Organization. This must be so because we are pledged, in the language of the Charter, to practise tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. If we are able to dwell together in peace, avoiding areas of conflict as much

as we can, then I submit we shall bring within the realms of possibility the first article of faith enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, that is, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

4. Since its inception, Tanganyika's policy has been one of non-alignment. We prefer this description to the term "neutralism", because the latter carries a connotation of not caring. In these times of shifting friendships and agonizing reappraisals of former policies, it seems wisest for us—and, to tell the truth, it accords most with our national character—to be friendly towards all and to be the enemy of none. This does not mean, however, that we have no position on the great issues that at present divide mankind.

5. "We do care passionately", as our President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere said on another occasion, "about the development of justice, of well-being and of peace throughout the world. We do care about the rights of man, about the independence and self-determination of nations or groups of nations. And we do care about having peace, both in Africa and in other parts of the world".

6. For these reasons, my Government welcomes the almost daily news bulletins announcing further agreements by the nuclear Powers on the restriction of the use of nuclear weapons. Since the beginning of the summer and the signing at Moscow of the test ban treaty on 5 August 1963^{1/} the atmosphere of concord has been indeed encouraging. It might be well to recall that there have been serious warnings for years about the dangers of nuclear fall-out, including strong protests by the peoples of Africa during the times of nuclear testing in the Sahara by France, as well as scientific pronouncements by the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. We congratulate the major nuclear Powers on taking this first step in the interests of the peoples of the world, and we call upon France to be guided by this present trend against global suicide.

7. While we are very pleased about these initial steps towards the abolition of nuclear war, my Government's favourable reaction is modified somewhat by several disquieting thoughts which others have already mentioned but which, we feel, need definite re-emphasis.

8. In the first place, those people who experienced obliteration bombing in Europe during the Second World War, those people in Africa and Asia who have had their villages bombed and faced Saracen tanks even up to the present day have learned, at a tremendous cost of suffering, that nuclear warfare is not the only military horror facing mankind. Therefore, we respectfully urge the Member States of the Eighteen-Nation Com-

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

mittee on Disarmament to intensify their efforts to reach decisions on general and complete disarmament, thus reducing the possibilities of aggression by armed might to the absolute minimum. Secondly, there are murmurings in the background that the new spirit of accord now in evidence among the nuclear Powers does not represent a genuine trend towards world peace, but rather a new alignment of military Powers within the United Nations to overwhelm an external Power.

9. When we recall that experts from many nations have been trying for so many years to abolish the threat of war by achieving general disarmament, and when we consider the events that have taken place in the world during that period, we might well remember how much remains still to be done. Some of the newly emerging nations and the people of countries not yet free are experiencing their own disturbances and conflicts, which makes us realize that great patience and long-term effort are necessary if people are to achieve the lofty goals to which they aspire.

10. However, lest anyone should point to the troubles within less developed countries as evidence that the people are not ready to rule themselves, in order to put such a fatuous observation in its proper place it is only necessary to recall which Powers have caused the havoc, chaos, brutality and destruction in two world wars and in innumerable colonial expeditions.

11. No, this is not the time to snipe at one another. It is a time for each country to be ready to sacrifice, to pay the greatest possible price in prestige, sovereignty, or whatever is necessary to achieve world peace. To this end, my Government is prepared to see the implementation of a resolution on the denuclearization of Africa by means of the establishment of a supervisory authority for this purpose such as the International Atomic Energy Agency. For the same reason, we would support proposals for the denuclearization of Latin America.

12. We realize, of course, that disarmament poses far more complex and serious problems for some nations than for others. Special devices and arrangements may be required to deal with particular situations, and we believe that in certain areas, for example, Viet-Nam and Korea, disarmament coupled with guaranteed neutralization may ease problems which hitherto have proved intractable.

13. My delegation welcomes the partial test ban treaty for another very important reason. We hope that the spirit which enabled it to come into force will prevail to bring about further treaties abolishing all tests and the manufacture of nuclear armaments. By so doing, we hope too that the energies, finances and human resources thereby released will be converted into peaceful uses for the constructive advancement of the welfare of mankind on this planet. For every one of us is agreed that there exists a gap between developing and developed countries. Everyone is agreed that this gap is widening and that something must be done to correct this trend. My country believes that, in this respect, both the developed and the developing countries have specific parts to play. The initiative must come from both the developing and the developed countries.

14. The developed countries must create conditions which will make it possible for this gap to narrow. The developed countries must make sure that in their dealings with their less developed partners they will show justice and fairness. Indeed, since they are developed, they have a duty towards the developing countries.

15. There are very few developed countries that can say in honesty that they have reached that position without the help of the developing world—Africa, Asia and Latin America—either through the slave trade or through colonial exploitation or neo-colonialism. As was noted by the representative of the USSR when quoting the learned leader of the British Labour Party, Mr. Harold Wilson [1208th meeting], the entire expenditure of the Western Powers on "assistance" during the last ten years has been more than compensated by the reduction in export earnings of under-developed countries as a result of falling prices of primary commodities. This is only one aspect in illustration of my contention that most of the developed countries, where development means a high degree of industrialization, owe their position to the developing countries. Especially do they owe a debt to Africa, as well as to Asia and Latin America.

16. May I tender a few suggestions which I hope might help the developed countries in their endeavours directed towards uplifting the lot of the developing countries? First, the practices of the mercantile system must come to an end; secondly, we need capital for development. But very often the donors of capital say: "I am making you the loan. You must not only repay the loan, plus interest on it, you must also use the loan to buy my goods." Sometimes the donors go so far as to say: "I want your vote in the United Nations." This is neo-colonialism.

17. The danger of neo-colonialism is also present when private investment is entirely relied upon to provide capital for development. Because of preoccupation with a satisfactory return in profits, and apprehension concerning possible expropriation or nationalization, private investment is not a sure source of capital for development. Government-to-government capital agreement is more respectable, more secure and free from the uncertainties that go with private capital.

18. It must not be understood from anything that I have said that the poorer nations are relying exclusively on grants-in-aid from the richer nations. Far from it. The poorer nations on their initiatives are constantly trying to improve their method of agriculture and raise their rates of agricultural productivity. By specialization and improved methods of husbandry and marketing, the developing nations are trying to produce more raw materials and semi-manufactured goods at lower production costs. But the greatest danger of all to the primary producing countries is a lack of stabilization of the prices of their primary products. Falling prices and production costs remaining constant present a continuous threat to our agricultural economies, not to mention the danger of over-production, the building up of surpluses and price-cutting. The industrial countries must be prepared to pay more for their raw materials and to reduce the levels of their profit margins on their manufactured goods. This would help in due course to stabilize prices of the primary products, or at any rate to move to a position of minimum price levels for these raw materials. To this extent we welcome the recent United Nations Conference on Coffee which resulted in the International Coffee Agreement between producing and consuming countries. But we feel that both the Conference of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, due to convene next year, must pay special attention to these problems which are peculiar to the developing countries and tend to delay their ascent into the realm of industrialization.

19. Considering the importance of the problems of world peace and disarmament and of measures to secure the social and economic well-being of all peoples, it will readily be understood how my delegation feels about the present inequitable composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. This deplorable state of affairs was considered at the Summit Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 22 May to 25 May 1963. Among the resolutions passed by the Conference was the following relating to this inequitable representation:

"Believing that the United Nations is an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

"Reiterating its desire to strengthen and support the United Nations,

"Noting with regret that Africa as a region is not equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations ...

"1. Reaffirms its dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and its acceptance of all obligations contained in the Charter, including financial obligations;

"2. Insists that Africa as a geographical region should have equitable representation in the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and its specialized agencies ..."

20. My delegation had occasion to state its views quite firmly regarding Africa's representation in the Security Council during the Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly.^{2/} There we argued that African States had very good reasons for being disenchanted with the Security Council as it is currently composed or by its method of composition. The fact that today no provision exists for the participation of thirty-two African Member States, in their own right, in the deliberations of the Security Council eloquently explains the inequitable imbalance of the Security Council itself and the grave injustice that the big Powers intended towards the continent of Africa by failing to contemplate that Africa should ever be represented as such on the Security Council. A completely new world has emerged since the London Accord of 1946. Africa has a right to demand its rightful place in the new scheme of things. We make that demand now.

21. We appeal particularly to the Western Powers and to the Soviet Union to assist us in removing this inequity. Many of us in the African countries remember with appreciation particular countries which gave us great support during previous years when our struggle was for the independence of our countries. Now that that struggle has been successful for us, we expect, and would find it strange not to receive, the same sympathetic support for our equitable proportion of representation.

22. In the view of my Government, the Assembly would have failed in its duty, if, at the conclusion of our business here, we did not succeed in redressing this grave injustice which had been deliberately perpetrated against the continent of Africa in the Organization for the last eighteen years. My delegation appears to detect

a certain attitude prevailing among certain Powers. They would appear to agree publicly in principle with the view that our representation on the Security Council should be increased, but they are not prepared to agree to that increase in the Assembly, nor to allow that increase to reach the proportion in our representation on the Security Council which would be consistent both with our membership in the Organization and the millions of people which we represent.

23. My delegation does not envisage that a comprehensive review of the Charter is necessary to repair the damage that has been done to the continent of Africa throughout the whole life of the Organization. We can amend the Charter, during this session, to ensure that the continents of Africa and Asia, in their own right, will have permanent seats and non-permanent seats in the Security Council, and that there will be an appropriate extension of the Economic and Social Council.

24. Two methods have been canvassed for effecting this. The principle of redistribution has been advanced on the one hand, and the more equitable doctrine of extension has been put forward on the other hand. My delegation prefers the principle of extension mainly for the reasons I have alluded to above, but more particularly because Africa, as a continent and with the largest single regional membership in this Organization, is entitled to be recognized as such by its proper representation on all the important Councils and agencies of the Organization. The principle of extension places the purpose of extension unmistakably in sharp focus. The whole world must know why we extended the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. This position is consistent with the mood of the historic decision at Addis Ababa in May of this year, which saw the birth of the Organization of African Unity.

25. The principle of redistribution, on the other hand, contemplates the reduction in representation, indeed the replacement, of the representation of certain other regions of the world by two seats for Africa. But we reject this argument, because we do not feel that Africa should attain its lawful rights by the creation of injustice to other regions of the world, except in the particular case, where those certain other regions are in fact over-represented on the Councils. So that if redistribution, for one reason or another, becomes the acceptable principle, then my delegation would agree with the position taken by my colleague, the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Mr. Wachuku [1221st meeting].

26. My delegation still adheres to the view that the Security Council itself might be effectively extended by three non-permanent seats for Africa without unduly impairing the regional balance of the Council, and indeed it would be improved. Nor could there be an argument that extension would make the Council unwieldy.

27. Another argument against extension has been canvassed: the argument that no amendment of the Charter can be contemplated without at the same time contemplating the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Sympathetic though we are to the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese people, I venture to submit that this is a separate argument. The two positions can and do exist apart. They are not necessarily interrelated. The restoration item has been on the agenda of the Assembly for several years, long before any Member State thought of raising the question of the lawful rights of Africa on the Secu-

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Special Session, Fifth Committee, 1001st meeting.

rity Council. My delegation can see no justification for linking these two items. They are separate and distinct. Here we are arguing for the legitimate representation of Africa on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In the other case, some would argue that the People's Republic of China is the effective Government of China and succeeds to the rights, privileges and duties of the Chinese Government. We have no quarrel with this argument. Indeed we support it. My own Government and delegation have consistently held this self-same position whenever this matter has been raised. The existence of the People's Republic of China is a fact which neither legalisms nor arguments based on ideology can refute. Sooner or later all ostriches must raise their heads from the sand and face the existence of approximately 650 million Chinese inhabitants, occupying an immense portion of the world's land mass, over which the present Government has exercised effective dominion for the past decade or more. The Government of my country has recognized these facts and enjoys trade, diplomatic and cultural relations with the Government and the people of the Chinese People's Republic.

28. But this item, I repeat, is not directly connected with Africa's and Asia's representation on the Councils. We are asking for an amendment of the Charter through a resolution passed by the requisite majorities, as provided in the Charter, which would enable an extension of the Security Council by three seats for Africa and three seats for Asia as well.

29. In this General Assembly there is a concert of powerful forces for the final assault on two of the greatest causes of international tension. The universal condemnation of colonialism and apartheid has acquired living expression through the Special Committee of Twenty-four^{3/} and the Special Committee on apartheid^{4/} as well as other related Committees, through the unflinching dedication of the independent African States meeting at Addis Ababa and the formation of the Organization of African Unity, and through representatives of those nations which have taken an unequivocal stand on these basic issues affecting human freedom and world peace. The Tanganyika delegation has confidence in, and will remain faithful to, this great concert of forces which is gathering momentum every passing day and which will soon uproot the remaining pockets of colonialism and apartheid and completely wipe them out from the community of nations.

30. After many decades of bitter experience under colonial and racist oppression, Africa has rediscovered itself, and it spoke its mind on these issues in clear terms during the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May 1963. This rediscovery was admirably expressed by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I in his address to the Assembly last Friday, 4 October 1963 [1228th meeting]. At Addis Ababa, His Imperial Majesty had spoken equally inspiring words—and I quote from his speech at the Conference:

"Africa has been reborn as a free continent and Africans have been reborn as free men.

"The blood that was shed and the suffering that was endured are today Africa's advocates for free-

dom and unity. Those men who refused to accept the judgement passed upon them by the colonizers, who held unswervingly through the darkest hours to a vision of an Africa emancipated from political, economic and spiritual domination, will be remembered and revered whenever Africans meet."

31. We in East Africa are at present engaged in serious discussions for the establishment of an East African Federation, which we believe will, if realized, serve as a further practical demonstration of the march to full African unity.

32. A Committee of Nine was formed at Addis Ababa to co-ordinate the liberation movement in the whole continent. Tanganyika was honoured to be a member of that Committee, whose headquarters is now at Dar-es-Salaam. Let no one make a mistake about our determination to see the final and prompt liquidation of colonialism and its associated demon of racial discrimination or apartheid not only in Africa but everywhere in the world. It would be most welcome, if these evils would disappear by the time this Organization celebrates its twentieth anniversary, as proposed by Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting].

33. My delegation congratulates the Government of the United States on its current efforts to end racial discrimination. By the response of the American people to these efforts the people of Africa judge their commitment to democracy.

34. The Special Committee on apartheid, established by the General Assembly under resolution 1761 (XVII) and so ably presided over by our friend and brother, Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea, has worked out a coherent programme for the abolition of apartheid. My delegation pays special tribute to the work of that Committee and will call for the endorsement of its recommendations.

35. On behalf of my delegation, I also wish to put on record our great admiration for the bold steps taken recently by the Scandinavian countries and peoples directed against apartheid in South Africa. The declarations of the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries deserve appreciation for the service they render, not only to Africans, but to the whole human race. It is my sincere hope that these courageous measures against apartheid will convince the partners of South Africa to withdraw from that unholy alliance.

36. Free Africa, now consisting of over two thirds of the continent, will not remain indifferent to the perfidious actions of certain States and interests which aid and abet the Government of South Africa in the commission of this crime against humanity. Mr. Verwoerd and Mr. Salazar no more speak for Christianity or civilization than Hitler spoke for socialism. The lessons of history are there for all of us to heed. The United Nations cannot afford to ignore the warning on colonialism and racialism, as symbolized by apartheid for South Africa.

37. Some arguments have been advanced to the effect that we should not envisage the expulsion of South Africa from the world Organization. While not wishing to embark on a detailed debate on expulsion at this moment, my delegation strongly submits that the Organization was created for high purposes and aspirations which are clear and unambiguous. The Preamble to the Charter states clearly that we are determined:

"to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the

^{3/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

^{4/} Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

It would be the highest form of hypocrisy and folly to allow membership to a State which is determined to undermine the high principles of this Organization.

38. The Republic of South Africa has stubbornly flouted the world conscience and has defied decisions of the Organization on the question of apartheid. It is illogical and repugnant to argue that South Africa should be retained here indefinitely in spite of its wicked pursuits aimed at destroying the United Nations itself and the principles of the Charter from within. The supporters of South Africa base their arguments on a narrow concept of universality. They forget that the universality to be defended is that contained in the Charter and the principles of the United Nations.

39. The United Nations has a limitless role and destiny in the movement for human freedom. The Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contain the embodiment of the highest ideals of mankind. The people of Tanganyika deeply appreciate the advantage which their struggle for freedom derived from the fact that Tanganyika was a Trust Territory of the United Nations.

40. The historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) has enhanced the role of the United Nations in the liquidation of colonialism.

41. Tanganyika was highly honoured to be a member of the Special Committee of Seventeen established under resolution 1645 (XVI), and later of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four established under resolution 1810 (XVII), charged with the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Tanganyika was privileged to be host to the Committee during its African tour last year. My delegation has found the work of the Committee to be challenging, inspiring and fruitful. In its two years of existence so far, the Committee has compiled an irrefutable indictment of the colonial system. The Committee has passed various resolutions and recommendations on many territories which form the last vestiges of colonialism. The appeal by the victims of the Portuguese colonial and military dictatorship in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea has been put in clear black and white for representatives to heed, so that they may rally the support of their respective States to the cause of human freedom.

42. The Security Council has already been called upon to act on the real threat to peace and security created by the convulsions of colonialism in Portuguese territories and in Southern Rhodesia, where a tyrannical European settler régime is being heavily armed by the United Kingdom, in defiance of the warnings of free Africa and after having applied the veto to the request of the Security Council when it was recently asked by the African States to act on the explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia.

43. Here I wish to refer to the statement made from this rostrum by the representative of the United Kingdom [1222nd meeting] that his Government intends to build societies in which majorities rule. I take this opportunity to invite Her Majesty's Government to confirm that this principle of majority rule will also apply to Southern Rhodesia.

44. The present Government of South Africa, with its diabolic doctrine of apartheid, has extended this repugnant doctrine to the international territory of South West Africa and has turned the inhabitants of that territory, like those of South Africa, into virtual prisoners or slaves in their own country—and this in 1963. That Government is also showing evidence of designs on the three British High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. As the nominal protector, the United Kingdom has the primary responsibility for ensuring the security of those Territories until they attain independence. But in case there is an impossibility or an unwillingness for this primary responsibility to be discharged, the United Nations should reaffirm and safeguard the right to independence of the peoples of these High Commission Territories, if necessary by establishing its presence there. Many of our brothers from these pockets of colonial European settler régimes continue to come to Dar es Salaam, which is a haven of peace to them, and to other independent African States in order to obtain refuge or further support for their struggle.

45. The Government and people of Tanganyika rejoice at seeing that their brothers and neighbours in Kenya, Zanzibar and Nyasaland are now on the threshold of independence. Indeed, my delegation looks forward happily to the admission of some of those countries to the United Nations during this session. In Northern Rhodesia, too, the African peoples have organized themselves and are determined to achieve independence, following the dissolution of the obnoxious European settler Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. To these and other freedom fighters, Tanganyika will continue to do its utmost to lend brotherly assistance in their struggle until they are free.

46. We know that these issues will receive the earnest consideration of the representatives here assembled. The Tanganyika delegation, for its part, will continue to work for the fulfilment of the high aspirations of mankind embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

47. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The United Nations has no measuring device to determine the depth of the influence of international events on people's minds and hearts. However, we can say without risk of error that changes in the international situation, whether in the direction of an increase or a reduction in tension, give rise to corresponding reactions and a lively response among the people. The peoples playing a direct part in the great movement and struggle for peace angrily condemn all intrigues designed to exacerbate relations between States, and they rejoice when the clouds disappear from the international horizon.

48. The Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, however much some isolated mouthpieces of irritated sceptics inspired by negative motives have belittled its positive significance, has been welcomed with a sigh of relief. Indeed, the working people, the creators of material and spiritual wealth, have always rejected the policy of atomic sacrifice supported by those whose highest value is the road to a world graveyard and who shield themselves by professions of devotion to peace which are nothing more than loud and empty phrases.

49. Although the influence of the Moscow Treaty on international relations is limited in scope and although this Treaty cannot, of course, of itself guarantee that war will be averted, it is, as a step away from the dug-

outs of the cold war a means of widening the frontiers of mutual understanding and of clearing the way for the conclusion of further and more substantial agreements. If observed by all countries, it will to some extent put a brake on further intensification of the arms race.

50. The Soviet Union—as has been frequently stated by the head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev—is prepared to take further steps towards reducing international tension. The United States of America, for its part, apparently also wishes to embark on the necessary measures for reaching other agreements, as was stated from this rostrum by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy [1209th meeting].

51. If this is so and if practical measures for eliminating the danger of world war can live up to words and desires, then this session of the General Assembly should take advantage of the favourable circumstances in order to make progress in the solution of questions affecting peace and international security. Today, the General Assembly speaks in the name and with the voices of all continents. The more than a hundred States represented here, regardless of whether they are large or small, developed or developing, can all contribute to the solution of urgent problems.

52. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, on behalf of its Government and people, would like to express its feeling of profound satisfaction at the conclusion of the agreement banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. We say this because we feel that the treaty has in the main disposed of the problem of the cessation of nuclear tests, and this is what the Ukrainian SSR, together with other States, has always worked for on the international scene.

53. The conclusion of an agreement in a field as sensitive as that of nuclear weapons strengthens respect for the method of negotiation in solving controversial problems, a respect which had been shaken as a result of the frequent failure of international negotiations, this in turn being due to the tendency of some participants to "grind water in their mortars", as a Ukrainian proverb so neatly puts it, without any thought of reaching this or that agreement at the same time. It is not so important whether these negotiations are conducted under the auspices of the United Nations or outside it, or whether the participants meet in Moscow, at Washington or on the beautiful shores of Lake Geneva; what are important, first and foremost, are the results of the agreement, which further the cause of peace and lead to the isolation of those forces which favour the use of arms to settle issues in dispute. The fact that the negotiations resulting in the ban on nuclear weapon tests in the three environments were concluded by the three nuclear Powers outside the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in no way detracts from the authority of the United Nations or runs counter to its purpose of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

54. On the contrary, in the conditions of today, when the matter of paramount interest is not the platonic desirability of peace but how best to ensure peace and avert nuclear catastrophe, the Moscow Treaty can with full justification be regarded as a political achievement of the United Nations. The majority of the States present here have taken a direct part in the search for a test ban agreement within the framework of the United Nations so as to restrict the harmful effects of radioactivity on human, animal and plant life. Thus the invi-

sible war of the atom against man which resulted from nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water has now been halted.

55. It is no accident that the attention of the General Assembly has been drawn to the Moscow Treaty, for this was to be expected. The energetic support and approval of the Treaty from the rostrum of so lofty an international forum as the United Nations has changed—and this too we are happy to note—the very content of the discussion: irritation, animosity and unwillingness to co-operate in the solution of pressing problems is giving way to reason and a realization of the need to listen to the pulse of international life.

56. In any event, the eighteenth session of the General Assembly has begun its work in an atmosphere of change and hope. The engine driving the cold war has slowed down somewhat. Yet its exhaust gases are still poisoning the political reality which surrounds us. Against this background, the turbulent course of the arms race stands out particularly sharply. The arms race is near and dear to the hearts and pockets of certain circles which, under cover of talk of national security, lay stress on weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, the enemies of peaceful coexistence act as though they were lovers of peace, a fact which cannot be overlooked in evaluating the present international situation. Therefore, the struggle of the peace-loving peoples for a relaxation of tension in no way implies that they are slackening their vigilance against the intrigues of those who support a militarist policy of disaster.

57. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that general and complete disarmament, and this alone, is the most important and the decisive condition for peace and a guarantee of peace. The way to a durable peace lies through disarmament, and not through the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, the real solution of the problem of disarmament urgently requires not only our strictest devotion to the idea of general and complete disarmament but also our recognition of the need for further practical measures to achieve it.

58. In order to get the disarmament talks moving again, the delegation of the Soviet Union has proposed the convening, in the first quarter or half of 1964, of a conference of the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament with the participation of political leaders at the highest level [1208th meeting, paras. 130–132]. We are in favour of convening such a conference.

59. The success of the disarmament talks will also be fostered by the Soviet Union's new proposals for a so-called "nuclear umbrella" [*ibid.*, paras. 133–138].

60. As our delegation understands it, the present position is that during the disarmament process a limited number of intercontinental, anti-missile and anti-aircraft missiles would remain in the hands of the Soviet Union and the United States of America on their own territories not only until the end of the second stage of disarmament (as had been envisaged earlier), but also until the end of the third stage: that is, until the completion of the whole process of general and complete disarmament. In his statement on 1 October of this year, Lord Home called this proposal constructive [1222nd meeting]; he recognized that it disposed of one of the objections of the Western Powers to the earlier proposals of the Soviet Union on the so-called "nuclear umbrella".

61. The General Assembly expects that other Powers too will not be slow in showing their desire to eliminate any obstacles to general and complete disarmament. Perhaps the elimination of these barriers should begin with such measures as the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the States members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, measures for the prevention of sudden attack, a reduction in the number of troops in the territories of the two German States, cuts in the military budgets of States and the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

62. The reports on the success of the negotiations between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom concerning a prohibition against the placing in orbit of objects carrying nuclear weapons are very encouraging. If some kind of agreement could be reached in this matter, it would undoubtedly have a favourable effect on international co-operation in the use of outer space and would create conditions favourable to various other agreements in this field within the framework of the United Nations. The Soviet Union has indicated on various occasions that for the attainment of the lofty goal of a lasting peace, it is prepared to do everything in its power, not in words, but in deeds, in order to reach agreement on peace and international security.

63. The peaceful settlement of the Caribbean crisis has shown that the idea of a reasonable compromise in the interests of peace is infinitely more powerful than a headlong rush to the brink of war. The first green shoots of confidence which appeared in the world after the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests have not as yet, unfortunately, spread to Central Europe.

64. Germany continues to be the apple of discord between East and West. The policy of one of the German States—the Federal Republic of Germany—is, as is well known, inspired by ideas of revenge and has as its goal a revision of the results of the Second World War and of the existing German frontiers. A fanatic hostility towards the socialist State—the German Democratic Republic—makes the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany provocative in character.

65. The Adenauer Government has even tried to use its adherence to the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests as an opportunity to make statements which do nothing to promote a peaceful settlement of the German question. Bonn has also taken steps to prevent an exchange of views concerning a non-aggression pact between the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. Obviously, Mr. Adenauer hopes that the Treaty will be the first and at the same time the last step towards a reduction of tension and, with his former intransigence, is trying to ensure that the Bundeswehr gains access to the nuclear weapons of the North Atlantic bloc.

66. The people and Government of the Ukrainian SSR take a very serious view of the plans for giving the Bundeswehr access to nuclear weapons. In this connexion what is important is that that State in Europe which is openly seeking a revision of its frontiers, namely the Federal Republic of Germany, would directly or indirectly gain access to these lethal weapons.

67. At the present time, nuclear weapons (the prohibition and complete annihilation of which are, incidentally, at the basis of the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament) are concentrated

for the most part in the hands of two or three Powers. It is not difficult to see how complicated the attainment of an agreement on disarmament would become if the fatal process of transferring these weapons into many hands was encouraged.

68. A policy which opens the door to the nuclear arming of the Federal Republic of Germany, at least in the form of a nuclear pool with the other members of NATO, is a grossly misguided one which is fraught with the gravest of dangers to peace. The acquisition by the Federal Republic of Germany of nuclear weapons in any form will be regarded by the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR and the other socialist States as a direct threat to their vital national interests and as an open violation of those interests and the rights of the States which were victorious in the Second World War against Hitler Germany, and they will be compelled to take all necessary measures to ensure their own security.

69. The objectives of the peace-loving States in regard to the German question are very clear and definite: they want to write "finis" to the Second World War; they want the boundaries of the European States, including the two German States, to be defined in due legal form in a peace treaty; and they want the situation in West Berlin to be normalized through the termination of the occupation régime there. Finally, they wish to prevent the Federal Republic of Germany from gaining access to nuclear weapons.

70. A German peace treaty is the direct road to peace and European security. The attempts of the West German revenge-seekers to bring about a revision of the frontiers erected in Europe after the Second World War must be ended once and for all.

71. A political reality which the Western Powers obstinately refuse to face is that there are two German States, not one, and that each of them is developing along its own lines within its own boundaries. The German Democratic Republic is in the vanguard of the countries striving for the strengthening of European security.

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

72. The problems which the Soviet Government insists must be solved—namely, general and complete disarmament, and a peaceful settlement of the German question—are not local problems affecting the great Powers alone; on the contrary, they are sources of discord, whose ramifications, whether we like it or not, directly affect the hearts of people everywhere, whether they live in Asia, Africa, Europe or America.

73. The cause of peace would be considerably impaired if problems of this kind were considered, so to speak, from a purely geographical angle; in other words if interest in them diminished with the distance from the source of the gathering tension or if these unsettled problems were regarded from some special European, African, Asian or other vantage point.

74. If the world is indivisible, responsibility for eliminating the hotbeds of tension is also indivisible. Take, for example, Cuba; Cuba is of course a part of Latin America, but at the same time it is a part of the world, which is indivisible so far as the preservation and strengthening of security is concerned. At the time of the crisis in the Caribbean region, the United States gave an undertaking that it would not attack Cuba and that it would restrain its allies from doing so in the future.

75. These undertakings, together with those given by the Soviet Union, made it possible to surmount the most dangerous international crisis that has erupted since the end of the Second World War. The Members of the United Nations have expressed the hope that the overcoming of this crisis will serve as an incentive for the establishment among the States in the Caribbean region of relations which will preclude interference in the internal affairs of Cuba.

76. We observe, however, that the long-outmoded methods of dictation and pressure being applied to Cuba are fraught with the most serious dangers to peace. These methods, as Mr. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, so rightly said:

"... have been dangerous wherever attempts have been made to use them. It is far from superfluous to emphasize this at this time. The Soviet Government is doing so in the hope that no one will attempt to change by force the order in another country, even a small one, and that all States will strictly observe the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries" [1208th meeting, para. 118].

77. One of the principal results of present world development has been the collapse of the colonial system. On the ruins of the world's colonial empire have been built some fifty new, sovereign national and multinational States. Colonialism, however, is not yet dead and, what is more, is trying to ward off its ultimate demise. One of the most striking examples of this is the situation in the Portuguese colonies. Portugal's rulers are trying by barbarism, terror and murder to keep the people of their enslaved colonies in their former bonds of slavery, obviously unaware that the calendar shows that we are already in the second half of the twentieth century. Vestiges of colonialism also persist in other Territories, and not only in Africa.

78. The struggle for national freedom and independence has become a mighty torrent engulfing all Territories where colonialism and oppression still prevail. This struggle cannot be confined to any region or continent. Human rights cannot be subdivided into the rights of the black, white or yellow races.

79. We do not recognize racial antagonism, which is the creed of the colonialists. All people must be free and equal. Our ideal is the equality of all races and nationalities without exception as exemplified in the law and practice of our Soviet State, where all peoples live as a single brotherly family.

80. The Ukrainian delegation takes this opportunity to support, on behalf of its Government, the resolutions which were adopted at the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments held at Addis Ababa, and which call for the quickest possible eradication of colonialism and the provision of practical assistance to the peoples fighting for their national independence.

81. The success of that Conference confirmed once again the great efforts being made by the African people for unity in the struggle against colonialism, and for the complete emancipation and liberation of all Africa. We fully support, in particular, the unanimous demand of the Conference for the discontinuance of all assistance to the Governments of colonial Powers which might use such assistance to crush the national liberation movement in Africa.

82. The representatives of the Western Powers have recently been making quite a few speeches criticizing the old colonialism. However, words alone are not the answer. Why is it that, whenever the discussion turns to specific coercive measures in regard to the "classical" type of colonialist, this militant enthusiasm immediately vanishes?

83. It is precisely the policy of certain States which allows the racist Government of South Africa to continue, despite everything, its inhuman policy of apartheid, under which the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population of that country is being persecuted.

84. It is high time for the allies of the colonial Powers to make a choice: either support for the African States striving for national independence and freedom, or friendship with the countries which are oppressing the African peoples. In this matter there is no middle ground.

85. Taking the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] as its point of departure, the General Assembly must even at this session prepare and adopt specific resolutions on the liquidation of colonial régimes in the Territories where they still exist and must compel the colonialists to bow to the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the earth.

86. Co-operation in the solution of cultural, economic and social problems is an activity of the United Nations which in its differing but related forms reflects conditions in the world of today. And in this more than in anything else, the firmer the foundations of peace, the better are the prospects for all peoples to work in peace.

87. The Ukrainian delegation notes with satisfaction that items concerning economic and social development occupy a prominent place on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR has from the very beginning supported the proposal for the convening of an international conference on trade and development.^{5/} Now that a resolution calling for the convening of such a conference in the coming year has been adopted [resolution 1785 (XVII)], we confidently hope that this Conference will successfully carry out all its tasks and will, on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit, contribute to the normalization of trade among all States, without any kind of artificial barriers or discrimination.

88. We support the idea of establishing a world trade organization which would work in the interests of all countries and would contribute to the development of trade among all States and thus also promote their economic development.

89. The agenda of the present session of the General Assembly includes an item entitled "Planning for economic development". It is a source of gratification to our delegation that, at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, it was one of those which drew the Organization's attention to this problem, which thereupon became a subject for discussion in the Economic and Social Council, the regional economic commissions and other United Nations bodies.

90. I should like to point out in this connexion that the material prepared on this problem by the Secre-

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 12, 34-37, 39 and 84, document A/5219.

tariat ought to have facilitated an exchange of experience on effective economic planning, especially in so far as the people of the under-developed countries are concerned. We note with regret, however, that this material does not entirely comply with the letter and the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1708 (XVI).

91. The Ukrainian delegation was a sponsor of resolution 1824 (XVII) concerning the role of the United Nations in training national technical personnel for the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries. That resolution drew the attention of the United Nations to one of the most important factors in industrial development, namely, the provision of trained technical personnel to man the new national industries in the developing countries.

92. We are glad that our concern with this problem which is so important to the developing countries met with understanding at the previous session of the General Assembly and was embodied in the above-mentioned resolution. The task now is to implement this resolution in a suitable manner. We know from the Secretariat's memoranda,^{6/} that this problem is engaging the attention of the specialized agencies, and we hope that it will continue to receive the attention of the appropriate United Nations bodies.

93. It was not so long ago that the Ukrainian SSR, together with a number of Asian and African countries, submitted to the United Nations the question of the eradication of illiteracy throughout the world.^{7/} In accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session [resolution 1677 (XVI)], UNESCO prepared a study which can serve as the basis for a joint United Nations-UNESCO policy in the campaign against universal illiteracy, the goal of which would be to bring the 700 million illiterates in the world into the active political and social life of their societies. Naturally, we are also interested in many other items on the General Assembly's agenda.

94. The maintenance of a lasting peace is a topic of special concern to the United Nations, Governments and peoples. In the contemporary world the unswerving application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between States is the only possible and sensible policy.

95. As I mentioned at the outset, the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests has strengthened people's faith in the soundness of the principles of peaceful coexistence. No one will any longer be able to deny that the application of these principles by the socialist as well as many other countries on various occasions during the past ten years has been the key factor in averting international conflicts which threatened to erupt into a world war. The fruits of peace spring from the soil of peaceful coexistence. We disagree with the view that radioactive ash is the best possible soil on which to build a new world.

96. To eliminate world war from human society is a difficult and complex process. That is precisely why the Government of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, has combined unwavering steadfastness of principle with flexibility in seeking practical solutions to international disputes and why it makes use of various ways and means for the preservation of peace.

^{6/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 14, agenda items 54 and 55.

^{7/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 12, document A/5032, para. 36.

97. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR assures the General Assembly of its sincere desire to contribute to the best of its ability to the solution of the questions on the agenda of this eighteenth session.

98. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Mali and speaking for myself, to offer you my most sincere congratulations on the confidence and esteem displayed by the General Assembly in entrusting to you the duties of President at the eighteenth session. I am sure that, with your high personal qualities and great experience of the problems confronting us, you will direct our debates with impartiality and ability.

99. It is usual at each session for the Governments of States Members of the United Nations, through their representatives, to exchange views on the ways and means of achieving the fundamental purposes of the Charter. My delegation deems this a good occasion to recall those purposes, which are clearly expressed in Article 1 of the Charter and may be summarized as follows:

"1. To maintain international peace and security ...

"2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

"3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;"

100. The people and Government of the Republic of Mali are profoundly attached to the achievement of the purposes I have just quoted. I would therefore, on this occasion, reiterate our confidence in the United Nations as an instrument for progress and for the promotion of international understanding and co-operation among peoples with philosophies and social systems which are different but are founded on respect for human dignity and the principle of racial equality.

101. Speaking of the problem of peace, or to be more exact, of what is known as the cold war, the speakers who preceded me rightly pointed out that our current session is taking place under better auspices. The Government of the Republic of Mali shares the widely-held optimistic view that the signing in Moscow of the agreement for a partial ban on nuclear tests creates favourable conditions for a fresh approach to other problems, such as disarmament, in an atmosphere conducive to discussion and understanding. Yet our optimism, like the Moscow agreement itself, is limited. Our fears and anxieties remain, because underground nuclear testing continues. Furthermore, not all the nuclear Powers have as yet signed the Moscow Treaty. Consequently, the risk of future nuclear explosions in the atmosphere is not completely ruled out.

102. For all these reasons, the Government of the Republic of Mali, while welcoming the Moscow Treaty as an important psychological advance, considers that the fundamental problem of general and complete disarmament remains untouched. The threat of thermonuclear war still exists; for the nuclear Powers continue to manufacture, perfect and stockpile weapons of mass destruction. So long as these

weapons exist, the temptation to use them in case of a conflict in order to ensure victory, or even for self-preservation, may triumph over reason.

103. As you know, the Government of the Republic of Mali is not a nuclear Power and, militarily speaking, it has no ambition to be one. Nor does the Government of Mali have any foreign military bases in its territory. Nevertheless, the Government of Mali has acceded to the Moscow Treaty, and it welcomed the establishment of the "hot line" between the White House and the Kremlin, in the conviction that these two developments—the Moscow Treaty and the establishment of the "hot line"—are very important factors in the easing of tension between East and West and should be used as a starting point or base for achieving further progress and for ridding humanity of any threat of nuclear or thermonuclear war. The Government of the Republic of Mali believes that, since the survival of mankind is a matter of concern to every people, all Governments, whether or not the States they represent are Members of the United Nations, should have a proper opportunity to express their views on problems connected with the total prohibition of any nuclear explosions in any environment. Again, all Governments have an interest in the question of general and complete disarmament. The great Powers, which by pursuing the arms race are keeping all mankind in a state of terror and under the threat of total destruction, should view their responsibility more objectively and should bear in mind the legitimate aspirations of all peoples to a better life. Instead of recriminations and propaganda speeches, there should now be a search for genuine solutions which would lead to the cessation of all nuclear testing and to general and complete disarmament.

104. Enough has been said of the political, but more especially the economic and social, benefits of general and complete disarmament, at this and previous sessions. I would not, therefore, weary the Assembly by repeating them. Formulae for achieving general and complete disarmament have also been put forward at the many patient meetings of the Committee of Eighteen^{8/} at Geneva, and other apposite formulae have been proposed by Heads of State, speaking in their own capitals or elsewhere. The base for which the President of the United States asked in his splendid address on 20 September 1963 [1209th meeting] has also been found; it is the Moscow Treaty, which has been signed by over 100 States Members of the United Nations. If, therefore, the will to disarm is sincere and in conformity with the statements we have heard, a solution may be considered very near. In the present atmosphere of relaxation of tension, the Committee of Eighteen, on the basis of the various formulae put forward at Geneva and in certain capitals, could prepare recommendations for submission to the broadest possible summit conference, open even to States not members of the United Nations but desirous of contributing to the success of the conference.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

105. The hope which many States expressed when signing the Moscow Treaty will thus have proved a real base for the solution of problems that have haunted mankind since the last world war—namely, the cessation of nuclear tests in all environment, and general and complete disarmament.

106. In the context of relaxation of international tension—if by that expression we mean relaxation of ten-

sion between States, and not merely between the Soviet Union and the United States—an event as important to my country as the Moscow Treaty has occurred in the continent of Africa: the Addis Ababa Conference. Four months ago, the people of Mali hailed the birth of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa as an event without precedent in the history of our continent. Last May, Africa, divided by centuries of colonization, achieved a great triumph over its characteristic diversity of peoples, languages, and religions, and decided to pool its actual and potential resources in order to go forward while respecting individual freedom of choice. Thus, the Organization of African Unity lists among its foremost concerns the total liberation of Africa, the restoration of the dignity of the African, and the promotion of close economic co-operation, African and international.

107. The Organization of African Unity does not derive its unprecedented historic importance from the fact that African groupings, which but yesterday were rivals, have met and merged into one, or from the climate of relaxation of tension and co-operation created in Africa; the most important and most positive aspect of the birth of the Organization of African Unity is the unanimous resolve of the African Heads of State to do everything possible to rid the African continent of the scourge of colonialism, the eradication of which is one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations. In deciding to pool all the means at their disposal in order to liberate the African peoples still under foreign domination, the African Heads of State sought to discharge a duty both to themselves and to the United Nations, whose Charter stipulates the equal rights and self-determination of all peoples.

108. We have said in the past, and we reaffirm, that the colonial system is a threat to international peace and security. It is a denial of the basic principles of the Charter, namely, respect for human dignity and the self-determination of peoples. It is also an act of violence, since the administering Power and the ruling foreign minority can maintain their domination over an oppressed people only by the use of force.

109. The acts of violence perpetrated against the African peoples by the champions of the colonial system in Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea, or Southern Rhodesia—to name only those territories—have been depicted year after year to this Assembly and to the Security Council. The Assembly, appreciating the urgent need to liquidate the colonial system, therefore adopted resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and later resolution 1654 (XVI), setting up a Special Committee on decolonization which now has two years' unremitting effort to its credit.

110. In spite of our disgust and indignation, my delegation does not now intend to initiate a debate on the more acute and intractable of the colonial conditions which confront us. We reserve the right to do so when the report of the Special Committee on decolonization comes up for discussion. I should like, however, to point out to the more notorious colonial Powers, and particularly to Portugal, that the peoples they are oppressing in Africa or elsewhere are no longer alone. Those oppressed peoples are now assured of the effective solidarity of the thirty-two independent African States in particular and, more generally, of all States profoundly committed to respect for human dignity and for the self-determination of peoples. Every colony

^{8/} Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

will be liberated, with or without the consent of the administering Power, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are not, and will never be provinces of a backward metropolitan country in Europe which is out of step with the times. These territories will be independent African States, because logic and history demand it. Southern Rhodesia too will be an independent African State, and its destiny will lie in the hands of the true representatives of the people of Southern Rhodesia who are today oppressed by the racist Government of Mr. Field. This is inevitable, because the conditions which allowed the United Kingdom to cede South Africa and its 15 million Bantus to the Afrikaners are gone for ever. Today there are thirty-two independent African States, and they will not agree to Southern Rhodesia's being a racist police State like Mr. Verwoerd's South Africa.

111. The United Nations, in keeping with its Charter, must shoulder its responsibilities and put an end to the colonial system, which is a real threat to international peace and security. The responsibility of the great Powers for the liquidation of the colonial system is a very heavy one, and quite as heavy as their responsibility for general disarmament or for the banning of nuclear tests. The African Heads of State recognized this in Addis Ababa when they declared:

"The Conference informs the allies of colonial powers that they must choose between their friendship for the African peoples and their support of powers that oppress African countries."

112. We appreciate the position of certain great Powers, in that they are bound by political and military alliances with colonial Powers; but we would venture to point out that even the indirect aid they are giving Portugal enables the Salazar Government to intensify its savage repression of the African peoples fighting to regain their independence. Everyone knows that without the considerable facilities available to it under NATO, Portugal, which is at present one of the most backward countries in Europe, would be in no position to continue its colonial war in Africa. Thus, the NATO Powers share the responsibility for the crimes committed in Africa by Portugal. We therefore ask them to cut off their assistance to the Salazar Government so long as it persists in its aberration of regarding African territories as provinces of Portugal. Most of all, we ask the great Powers, friendly to Portugal, which are permanent members of the Security Council to make Salazar understand that history is a graveyard of defunct empires and that the Portuguese colonial empire can be no exception.

113. Because of their special responsibilities with respect to the maintenance of peace, we urge those great Powers to stand by the peoples who are fighting to regain their right to dignity and independence, and not to take refuge in an abstentionist attitude when decisions are taken on the problems raised by colonialism. We ask them to apply their friendship and influence to persuading Portugal to enter into immediate negotiations with the true representatives of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. That path, which has led to reconciliation in other similar cases, is the only realistic way of ending the state of war now existing in the African territories under Portuguese administration. I am sure that the African nationalists, upon whom the Salazar Government has inflicted harsh years of hatred and violence, are prepared to meet it half way.

114. I cannot dissociate colonialism from another shameful practice, apartheid; for both stem from the same outlook, based on the inequality of races. The practice of apartheid, which is the most arrogant violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter, has been raised to the level of a system of government by South Africa, and in this house we rub shoulders with the representative of that system. My delegation wonders by what anachronism the representative of a Government which does not recognize the principle of racial equality, and which, moreover, violates the most sacred principles of the Charter, namely, respect for human rights, has been able to gain admission to this Organization.

115. The behaviour of the South African Government, the defiance and maledictions which it hurls at our Organization, are disgusting. Besides, how can it be claimed that the Verwoerd clique represents the people of South Africa? No one can make such a claim, because the 15 million Bantus who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa have nothing in common with the Afrikaners who oppress them.

116. Thus, the Government of South Africa is a foreign minority Government, and it is both racist and colonialist; consequently, the question of its representation must arise. The descendants of the Boers, who through the complicity of the United Kingdom have succeeded in seizing power in that part of Africa, have discovered and applied in the African continent a philosophy which victimizes the Africans. According to that philosophy, the whites are a master race with a divine mission to take supreme charge of the destiny of the black Bantus, who are considered to be of an inferior race.

117. I said a moment ago that the South African Government was also a colonialist Government. The first victim it selected was the internationally mandated Territory of South West Africa. In that Territory, the administration of which was entrusted to it by the League of Nations, the Government of the clique of Voerwoerds and Malans has introduced all the racist laws that are in force in South Africa. Despite United Nations resolutions on the subject and warnings by the African States, the Government of South Africa considers the annexation of the Territory a fait accompli. That is why it cynically resists a United Nations presence in the Territory. The Government of Mali, which like the other African Governments undertook to implement the decisions adopted at Addis Ababa, asks the United Nations to accept the South African Government's challenge and to take all necessary steps to bring about a United Nations presence in the Territory of South West Africa, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the people of the country. Fortified by its impunity, the Government of South Africa has recently carried its audacity to the point of voicing claims to the protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

118. The feelings of the African peoples are exacerbated by the provocative attitude of the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian Governments. Recent debates in the Security Council showed that the international community disapproved of the attitude of those Governments, but they also showed that the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council had different views on the urgency of the settling of the problems of the liquidation of colonialism and apartheid. We ask them to try to understand us, in the interest of peace and friendship among nations. In any event, we cannot agree to any com-

promise at the expense of the freedom and dignity of our oppressed brethren. The Head of the Government of the Republic of Mali expressed his views quite unequivocally at Addis Ababa, when he told the other African Heads of State:

"It would be a mockery indeed for us responsible leaders to try to play the part we hope to play, while close at hand, sometimes on our very borders, our brethren are reduced to slavery or set on a level with beasts, simply at the will of the South African racists and the latter-day colonialists who have learnt nothing of history.

"We know that the path we have taken with a will is thorny and strewn with pitfalls, but it is the only path to peace and happiness for our peoples."

119. As I had occasion to recall last month during the debate on Southern Rhodesia in the Security Council [1065th meeting], the peoples of Africa fought on every front to prevent the enslavement of mankind by Hitlerian facism. Now, the peoples of Africa are appealing to others for help in ridding Africa of the twin scourges of colonialism and apartheid. We cherish the hope that that appeal, which was made at Addis Ababa by the thirty-two independent African Heads of State, will be heard at this session, because international peace and security depend on it.

120. While the African States are infuriated by the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, they are also disquieted by the racial discrimination to which millions of Negroes are subjected in the United States of America. The people of Mali, true to the provisions of the Charter and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, expresses its sympathy with the Negroes of the United States in their struggle to obtain respect for their human dignity. The Government of Mali also supports President Kennedy's endeavours in his valiant fight to restore the rights of the Negro in United States society.

121. I should like now to refer to some other political problems which represent real threats to international peace and security. Only recently, our attention has been focussed on Viet-Nam, because of the Buddhist question. We condemn any encroachment upon freedom of conscience, but we believe that the real threat to peace in that part of the world is the failure to apply the Geneva Agreements.^{2/} It is therefore time for the Governments responsible for the implementation of those agreements to reflect upon their responsibilities, so that the war hysteria in that region may be dispelled and the people devote themselves to the tasks of national construction. In passing, I should like to point out that the presence of foreign troops, both in Viet-Nam and in South Korea, is not conducive to a solution of the problems arising from the partition of the peoples of those countries.

122. Another problem which detracts from the universal character of our Organization is the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Government of Mali believes that the absence of the People's Republic of China is a serious impediment to the settlement of the major international problems. Its Government, which represents 700 million persons, is the only Government representative of the people of China. It should therefore occupy the seat which is its by right

in our Organization and in all international bodies. To oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is unrealistic; nor does such an attitude promote the peaceful settlement of the problems with which mankind is preoccupied.

123. Another question which so often reappears on the international scene also claims our attention—the question of Cuba, which at the seventeenth session led to a dangerous confrontation between the two great nuclear Powers. The Government of the Republic of Mali, which is strongly committed to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with full respect for individual freedom of choice, believes that the domestic régime of any country is entirely within the sovereign jurisdiction of the people of that country.

124. In the interest of international peace and security, the Government of Mali hopes that the Governments of the United States and Cuba will find a peaceful solution and establish neighbourly relations, thus preventing a recurrence of such situations as we witnessed last year.

125. I should like now to turn to another question of concern to all the African delegations, which was also discussed at the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa, namely, the representation of the continent of Africa in the principal organs of the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. When the Charter and the Gentleman's Agreement in London (1946) were drawn up, there were only three African States; today, there are thirty-two. The African States feel frustrated because they are not represented in the Security Council as a continent, but through ways and means which do them no credit. We therefore place before the Organization the question of the equitable representation of the continent of Africa in all organs of the United Nations. In our view, the best means of ensuring such representation is to amend the relevant articles of the Charter; but we are aware that one permanent member of the Security Council is opposed to any amendment of the Charter because the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as a founder Member have not been restored. We therefore ask all Member States to consider the problem of the equitable representation of the continent of Africa in the various organs of the United Nations objectively, in the interest of the Organization itself. In any event, the African States reserve the right to employ any means available to them under the Charter and rules of procedure of the United Nations in order to obtain respect for the rights of the continent of Africa.

126. As a developing country, the Republic of Mali attaches particular importance to the problem of international co-operation in trade and economic matters. There is at present a large imbalance between levels of living in the industrialized countries and those in the primary producing countries. The United Nations Development Decade must contribute to bridging the gap which increasingly separates the so-called wealthier countries from those described as poor. The Government of Mali appeals to the highly industrialized countries to make the United Nations a true centre for harmonizing the actions of all nations, in order to assure for all men the well-being they are entitled to expect as a result of advances in science and technology. We believe that greater collective effort by the technically advanced States would enable the specialized agencies of the United Nations to meet the needs of the developing countries more effectively.

^{2/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

127. The Government of the Republic of Mali also wants increased bilateral co-operation, but it is strongly opposed to any interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Bilateral aid should be an act of solidarity, and not a means whereby the great Powers can impose their political, economic and social preferences on the countries they assist. Certain great Powers have very often been seen to intervene indirectly, and sometimes indeed directly, in the domestic affairs of small countries, either through economic pressure or by instigating opposition movements to overthrow Governments which they do not find sufficiently tractable. This kind of interference and, in many cases, this desire to control the economic and commercial mechanism of the younger States, are what we mean by neo-colonialism, and it is this that we condemn.

128. In conclusion, I should like to say that Africa expects much of this session of the United Nations, which opens in an atmosphere favourable to dialogue. The incipient relaxation of tension between East and West, of which so much has been heard, will be meaningless to the African peoples unless it helps to settle the problems of primary concern to them, namely, the liquidation of colonialism and apartheid and the fight against under-development.

129. The African States, for their part, decided at Addis Ababa to work in a spirit of solidarity and respect for the human person, and to make this eighteenth session a session at which the decisions adopted would strengthen the prestige of the United Nations.

130. Mr. LECHUGA HEVIA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I should like to begin with a word of thanks to those representatives preceding me to the rostrum who made a direct reference to the complex circumstances of the so-called Cuban case and have warned of the dangers to peace resulting from the constant and unceasing military and economic pressure on our homeland. Our thanks also to those who, without naming Cuba—harassed and besieged, but more alive than ever—have proclaimed its right to live in peace.

131. Our delegation would like to be able to add unreservedly its voice to the predominant trend of opinion in the Assembly, which is highly optimistic about today's international situation. Nothing would be more welcome to the people of my country, who are still constantly on the alert, ready to defend with millions of lives their right to work in a society organized for their full enjoyment and benefit. However, the realities before us do not allow of so much optimism. The atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy which, now as last year, envelops the Caribbean region leads us to a different viewpoint, based on tangible facts and deplorable circumstances which involve nothing less than the defence of our independence and sovereignty. These are no mere speculations or fantastic imaginings. Cuba, a State Member of the United Nations, is the victim—continues to be the victim—of a desirous policy of interference in its domestic affairs and large-scale aggression on the part of another Member State, the United States of America, in violation of the fundamental precepts of the Charter signed at San Francisco.

132. That is why we are here once again to lay bare the lies and hypocrisy and to show up the flagrant contradictions between the lip-service paid to the Organisation's constitutional documents and the deeds which make a mockery of its principles. Nor shall we neglect our duty to give our opinion on the other problems

which have brought us together, for they all affect us in one way or another.

133. From the over-all point of view it can be said that the subjects included in the heavy agenda for the present session cover, almost without exception, the problems which give concern to the world. During their examination and discussion our delegation will join in the efforts to achieve a genuine and stable peace for mankind, making no concessions to the exploiters and aggressors, to misery and oppression. We shall encourage all efforts to ensure that peoples control and enjoy their own wealth. We shall labour to end the domination of foreign monopolies in the under-developed countries, to speed up the historical process of wiping out colonialism, to unmask and put a brake on neo-colonialism, to end foreign military bases, which are centres of provocation, subversion and dangerous tensions, to bring about full freedom of trade, and to ensure that men are not discriminated against because of their race.

134. In our agenda, the problem of peace is, of course, the one which attracts the deepest attention and arouses the greatest interest, because in fact it embraces all the others. It is an item which recurs on the agendas of every Assembly, and although a few steps towards a partial solution have now been taken, it is equally true that we are still far from having reached a situation that would allay our fears. Armed aggression and economic exploitation, coercion, blackmail and threats have taken an acuter form in many parts of the world, and that is scarcely the kind of background that is conducive to tranquillity and harmony. Obviously, no road has more obstacles in it than the road that leads to peace. To overcome those obstacles is a difficult and complicated task which calls for sacrifice, courage, deep-rooted convictions and time.

135. Where Cuba is concerned we know full well the difference between peace in the abstract—the peace invoked by the imperialist Powers, the peace of speeches or the peace mentioned in the Charter, since it is ignored—and a peace which will permit Cuba to work constructively without the daily fear of attack from abroad. For we wonder if there can be peace for the Cuban people while it is under siege by a great Power anachronistically set on destroying the revolution that has freed us. Is there peace for our workers who toil with gun at hand, for our peasants who till the soil with gun at hand, for our students who along with their books must have guns to defend their country with?

136. What we cannot lose sight of is that the peace which must be fought for without respite, the true peace in the last analysis, the peace for which so many millions of human beings have died, for which the masses of all continents are yearning, which all Latin Americans want, is a peace marked by the complete emancipation of peoples and the rooting out of all traces of economic injustice, territorial ambition and cultural deformation.

137. Decolonization and economic development—the two other major themes of the agenda—are bound up with the question of peace. They are also closely related and interdependent. There is no need to prove that the stubbornness of the colonial Powers in blocking the people's road to independence is a source of conflict or that the hunger which is a permanent feature in countless homes all over the planet is, beyond question, a fertile soil for the seeds of war. One example is the tragedy of the people of Viet-Nam, those victims

of United States armed intervention, and another is the insatiable economic cartels, whose intrigues to secure positions of advantage in the exploitation of peoples aggravate already dangerous areas of tension. These are sensitive focal points in the precarious balance between a false and disguised peace and an open conflagration of incalculable consequences.

138. In our view the United Nations remains a forum of exceptional importance in which to air the vital problems of our times and the new blood injected into it through the admission of dozens of countries which have attained their independence since the Second World War is a most dynamic factor which should open up increasing opportunities for the Organization to discharge its mission to the full. The imperialist Powers, and the Government of the United States in particular, can still pull enough strings in the United Nations to hinder, block, slow down or adulterate, depending on the circumstances, the justified desire for economic development or independence of the peoples still under the colonialist yoke, but it is obvious that the positive forces in the United Nations are now breaking that machinery. The road has been long, and it is still full of obstacles, because the imperialist countries refuse to recognize a world that is not made in their own image and likeness and arranged for their benefit; but some of the obstacles have already been removed and there is no resisting the trend working against them and for the peoples.

139. A striking example of the means which the United States Government still obviously has at its disposal to prevent the United Nations from operating freely is the case of the lawful representation of the Chinese people. Seven hundred million human beings have no say in our deliberations, despite the fact that everyone knows that until the Government of the People's Republic of China occupies the place to which it is entitled it is impossible to speak of the universality of the United Nations or to state flatly that it is a centre for promoting international co-operation; yet the fact is there, unresolved, and crying out year after year that the principles of the Charter are being thwarted.

140. Do we not have another piece of evidence in the case of our sister nation of Puerto Rico? We all remember the manoeuvres of the United States to withdraw the tragic case of this Latin American people from consideration by the United Nations, culminating in its ceasing to transmit information on the territory as required under Article 73 of the Charter, despite the fact that Puerto Rico has not attained full self-government. Let us look the truth in the face, let us not deceive ourselves with sophistry, for outside these precincts we shall deceive nobody. In Puerto Rico there is a colonial rule that has all the characteristics of foreign domination. Is not a people that has been absorbed economically, to pervert whose nationality every means is used, a people which has no foreign service, no defence, no postal, customs, emigration or immigration services and no currency of its own, appeals against whose courts must go to the Supreme Court of the United States, to make laws for whose island is an unrestricted right of the Congress in Washington—is not such a people a colonial people? Is not a people whose youth is subject to the compulsory military service of a foreign Power a colonial people? Any comment is obviously unnecessary.

141. In Cuba's case the contempt of the United States for the basic principles on which the United Nations rests has been carried to incredible extremes. Our

people make war only on illiteracy, and have won a notable victory on this score; we make war on unemployment, and there we are on the verge of victory; we make war on ill-health, and have made much progress in the main areas. We are at war with economic under-development, to which we give no quarter; with race discrimination, which has now been buried forever; with the *latifundia* system, which we have wiped off the face of our country; and with foreign monopolies, the victory over which is now a thing of the past. This is the just war waged by our people with matchless courage, while living at peace with other peoples; yet we are subjected constantly to violent and bitter attacks on the part of the Government of a powerful nation which uses its military and economic resources, a gigantic machinery for defamation in all parts of the world, intrigue and blackmail on a global scale and its perfidious alliance with the most notorious and corrupt elements in Latin America to achieve its sinister designs.

142. The insincerity of United States policy, its deceitfulness and lack of respect for principles which it constantly claims to be upholding can perhaps be best observed in Latin America where traditionally United States aggression has made itself felt through armed intervention, wanton exploitation of natural resources, control of external trade and many of the public services, undue pressure on Governments which, if they did not yield to Washington's pressure exercised by means of force and corruption were faced with slander and with weapons, wielded either by the Marines or by hired traitors.

143. Today, with the resounding failure of the Alliance for Progress—Washington's recipe to counteract the attraction of the example of the Cuban revolution on the other peoples of the continent—there is a return to the dark period of military dictatorships and military coups, backed by Thompson machine-guns and Sherman tanks, which have been responsible for so much bloodshed, suffering, misery and backwardness in Latin America over the years. The farce of democracy staged by most of the Latin American Governments has not helped them resolve the problem of how to stifle the demand of the impoverished masses in our continent for justice and, as in the past, those Governments take shelter behind the wall of bayonets provided by the military, and call to their aid mercenaries avid for gold and power increasing numbers of whom, by strange coincidence, have been trained in the military schools and camps of the United States.

144. The greed of the monopolists and their fear lest our peoples emancipate themselves from political tutelage and economic exploitation have cast their latest adventure in Latin America into a familiar mould. This scandalous state of affairs brings to light the internal contradictions of United States imperialism. Charges and counter-charges are made within the United States Government itself, which is unable to explain to the general public why the moral and political values it is supposed to be defending are being destroyed. In the Senate in Washington, where so many slanderous statements have been made about Cuba, facts are coming to light to belie the pompous pronouncements and demagogic speeches, and last week it was revealed that the United States Government in the current fiscal year had proportionately given far greater military assistance to the Dominican Republic than to any other Latin American country. That assistance amounted to no less than \$1.26 per capita, or

\$3,981,000 in all, thereby deliberately favouring the overthrow of the constitutional Government elected only seven months before. Another revelation in the Senate concerned the participation of United States monopolies and military men in preparations for the coup, and although familiar to Latin American countries—constantly recurring as they are—these facts are of topical interest and, with a similar coup taking place a few days later in Honduras, possibly foreshadow future achievements of the Alliance for Progress—the alliance of Sherman tanks and Thompson machine-guns with the executive boards of powerful corporations and with various agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

145. The bloody results of these attacks on Cuba, in their impact and volume, loom larger than the dossier of the different accusations made at the United Nations against the aggressor Government. From this hall one cannot see, as the inhabitants of Havana see every day, the outlines of the United States warships off our coast, engaged in their work of provocation, subversion and espionage. From your seats you cannot hear the sound of the motors of the private aircraft which fly over our territory, manned, armed and paid for by the United States Government. From this building it is impossible to assess with accuracy the infiltration along our coast of traitors trained by the CIA and equipped with the latest technical devices for murder and sabotage.

146. Scarcely ninety days remain until the fifth anniversary of our revolution, and in these five years our people have not had a single minute's respite from the constant harassment of this illegal, disgraceful and ferocious behaviour. Five years of an unequal struggle in which our people have shown exceptional spirit, overcoming incredible obstacles, advancing with giant strides and winning the fraternal solidarity of all peace-loving peoples.

147. That dangerous and explosive situation remains unchanged. To be more exact, it has become worse in recent months. At the end of April, to go back no more than half a year, an aircraft coming from a northerly direction attacked an oil refinery in the city of Havana, but did not hit its objectives owing to the failure of the bomb detonators. In the early morning of 15 August a small private aeroplane fired several times on the Bolivia sugar mill in the province of Camagüey, dropping two 50-pound bombs, one of which exploded. On 19 August a bomber flew over the town of Casilda, in the south of Las Villas province and fired several rockets, one of which hit and set on fire a railway oil tank car.

148. Within hours of this attack, two landing crafts from a ship standing off the entrance to the Santa Lucia estuary on the north coast of the province of Pinar del Rio approached a metallurgical plant, opening fire with 30-calibre machine-guns and bazookas, and managed to pierce several oil tanks and one tank of sulphuric acid.

149. The death of the teacher, Fabric Aguilar Noriega, and the wounding of his three small children were the results of a raid by two unknown aircraft on the town of Santa Clara on 4 September last. Two jets which made off when pursued by Cuban aircraft were also observed in the same area. A week ago in the morning hours a pirate ship attacked and destroyed a sawmill on the north-east coast of Oriente province.

150. It is impossible here and now to describe all the aggressive acts which have taken place. It is no secret that groups of mercenaries, recruited and paid by the CIA and in many cases trained in camps of the United States regular army, are concentrated in Central American countries; nor can the movement of military equipment in that area or the counter-revolutionary activities in United States territory be covered up.

151. It is evident that the United States takes no notice of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, which states that all Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, or of paragraph 3 of the same Article, which states that all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means; neither does it fulfil one of the main purposes of the Charter, which is to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. The United States Government fails to observe all these injunctions and many others. It prefers "positions of strength", particularly when dealing with a small country like Cuba. And apparently it does not learn from experience, since it has forgotten how the Cuban people in seventy-two hours defeated the invasion it launched at Playa Girón; an invasion which, as everyone will recall, had the complete and avowed sponsorship of the Washington Government.

152. One of the most repellent aspects of the United States Government's Cuban policy is the attempt to starve our people into submission by an economic blockade which, as is well known, extends beyond the frontiers of the United States and the bounds of the Western hemisphere, and seeks to control almost all imported and exported goods and even the seas crossed by merchant ships with their peaceful cargo of food-stuffs and medicine for our people, raw materials and spare parts for our industry, and fertilizers and seed for our agriculture. The United States rulers think that our people will yield because they would prefer the disgrace of surrendering their independence and sovereignty rather than face the material difficulties caused by economic aggression, despite the fact that every day the Cubans give convincing proof of their unshakable resolve to defend the revolution and of the pride which they take nowadays in having completed the work of our liberators.

153. I shall not recite the long list of attacks against our economy ever since the United States oil companies refused to refine our oil in 1960. It is a familiar story: cancellation of the sugar quota; a total embargo on trade, and official attempts to induce Europe to join in the embargo; a ban on the entry into the United States of any product manufactured, either wholly or in part, of products of Cuban origin, even if manufactured in some other country; representations to other countries to prevent their ships from carrying goods to Cuba; pressure to secure the ending of commercial agreements with Cuba; threats to cut off financial aid to countries that trade with us; reprisals against ships which bring us goods; a financial embargo; freezing of the Cuban assets in the United States and a ban on dollar transfers to other countries. Not even the funds of the Cuban delegation to this Organization and the personal bank accounts of its members were exempt from that misguided, unprecedented policy, which is contrary to the Charter and unquestionably doomed to failure!

154. Truly, this behaviour is shameful, brutal and grotesque. And the astonishing thing is that when the United States Government interferes with other countries' trade with Cuba, carries out reprisals against shipping companies or forbids its own citizens to travel to our country, it is at the same time denying the fundamental interests of third countries, not to mention its own.

155. The speech given at Los Angeles on 20 September last by Mr. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, reveals the downright immorality and also the stupidity of this policy of economic strangulation, which, let us not forget, violates the United Nations Charter. He stated that the object of the United States policy of isolating Cuba was to deny our Government the means to win and to consolidate its gains, and that as a result of this policy of pressure, our trade with the capitalist countries has dwindled, many airlines had suspended their flights to Cuba, shipping had declined substantially and access to the international system of finance had been largely closed to us. He added without blushing — on the contrary, with satisfaction — that the anti-Cuban policy had led to food rationing, and that today the Cuban people consumed some 15 to 25 per cent fewer calories than before the revolution.

156. We do not know where Mr. Martin gets his information, or what Madison Avenue firm invents it for him, but that is beside the point; what interests us is the confession of the essential maliciousness of the Cuban policy and also the admission of the failure of that policy, since today the revolution is stronger than ever, and is more than ever an example to other peoples.

157. Even as the United States says from this rostrum that the clouds have lifted a little and that rays of hope can be seen, the Caribbean region is growing darker in direct consequence of the subversive and interventionist activities of the United States Government against Cuba. These are facts which cannot be cloaked by eloquent phrases. They are realities which can easily be checked. What is proclaimed in this hall is denied at press conferences and in political speeches. This is devious and deceitful behaviour.

158. A year ago President Dorticos stated here [1145th meeting] that a complex of circumstances and climate of opinion were being created around the so-called Cuban question against our will and our desires, transforming or attempting to transform this question into a war scare. Those words, in the present situation, are as apt as ever, because the tenor of the United States Government's propaganda is the same as it was then, trying to present Cuba as a threat to peace in the hemisphere, when it is the victim of untold conspiracies and acts of aggression, and because this campaign, just as it was then, is combined with military preparations in the area. The sombre state of affairs in the Caribbean is clearly not our fault. It is the fault of those who are tightening the noose around Cuba. We know that tensions have relaxed in other parts of the world, and our people and our Government welcome this relaxation, because we are in favour of peace; but as our Prime Minister Fidel Castro stated last week, we shall not accept with equanimity a situation in which tensions decrease, but increase for us.

159. The various pressures to which Cuba is being subjected constitute an international crime, and have produced a rarefied atmosphere charged with electricity. The Assembly must not lose sight of these facts

while surveying the world scene. The picture presented by the Caribbean area, with Cuba as the target of the subversive and destructive policy of the United States, is part and parcel of the theme of peace, or rather the theme of war. The Cuban Government and people are aware of the dangers and consequently are on the alert. There will be no surprises for us, or for you who have been warned. Peace is indivisible and its maintenance is a collective responsibility.

160. In short, if we survey the tasks confronting us in the correct historical perspective, the question of colonialism is perhaps the key theme. In the statement made at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [872nd meeting] by our Prime Minister Fidel Castro there is a sentence which is worth recalling, because it tells the whole truth, sums up the essence of the peoples' fears, and shows what leads from peace to war, and it is this: "When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared!" So long as there are peoples which are exploited, peoples whose honour has been tarnished, peoples which are discriminated against, or, to put it another way, so long as there are imperialist Powers or imperialist Governments, we shall always be on the brink of disaster, and there will always be pretexts for aggression.

161. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, approved by an overwhelming majority of votes at the fifteenth session [resolution 1514 (XV)] on the initiative of the Soviet Union, is our framework for the adoption of effective resolutions in these months of debate. It must be the goal of the majority of the countries represented here to promote the full implementation of the Declaration, because it would be a step towards peace and because it is a duty towards the peoples which continue to suffer oppression. We must fix a date in the very near future for the attainment of independence by all colonial peoples without exception. These peoples have endured centuries of agony and the least that they can expect is this support for their aspirations, this tribute to their dignity, so long mocked and trampled underfoot.

162. The imperialist Powers, reluctant to release their prey, make excuses and use subterfuges to avoid complying with the provisions of the Declaration. What they have conquered by fire and sword at the cost of the blood and tears of their victims they will not readily let go. For a long time they have been extracting fabulous wealth from these peoples, nearly always by ruthless means. They resist being cast aside by history, which is inexorably bent on their destruction. It is our duty to encourage the struggle for emancipation and the incorporation of these millions of human beings in the concert of the independent nations.

163. We Cubans know full well from experience what it means to affect the economic interests of the imperialists, and we know that the struggle is a cruel one and that the imperialists, despite their contradictions and their intrigues to oust each other, will pool their forces, their capital, their propaganda, their votes in international bodies and their guns in their eagerness to smash the resistance of the peoples, to thwart their independence and to prevent their economic development and political awakening. The dramatic struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, who daily demonstrate their resolve to free themselves, would not be such a bloody one nor would it entail so much sacrifice and suffering if Portugal could not rely on the support in arms and money and

the diplomatic manoeuvres of its NATO allies. The regime of terror, the murders, tortures and contempt for human dignity in the Portuguese colonies in Africa rest on NATO dollars and war material.

164. The question of Southern Rhodesia is a typical instance of the devices used by the colonial Powers for the purpose of hiding their reluctance to move with the times and maintaining their structure of oppression intact. At recent meetings of the Security Council the plot to strengthen the military power of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and to perpetuate the economic pauperization and political subjugation of the African population was exposed to world public opinion.

165. The same pattern, with appropriate variations, is used by the colonial Powers elsewhere in Africa and in other parts of the world. The tricks of the colonialists know no frontiers. The purpose is the same: plunder. They want to keep their hold on the sources of wealth to feed the metropolitan country. They seek to perpetuate injustice either by maintaining the traditional structures or by disguising them, but they shall not succeed. The nations are on the march and know the right road.

166. I should now like to turn to the apartheid policies of the South African Government. As the representative of a country in which all are equal, not only before the law but, what is more important, where opportunities for study and employment are concerned, in which all have equal access to places of recreation, in which the race barrier does not exist in every-day life and we are all, in brotherly concord, shaping our own destiny, and because the revolution, by uprooting privileges, has created for all time new human relationships, placing the dignity of man above any other consideration, I must reject with contempt and deep indignation the despicable and intolerable conduct of the racist régime of South Africa.

167. Needless to say, the Cuban delegation will always be ready as in the past to collaborate on, stimulate and vote in favour of, any measures which may be necessary to bring to an end the shame which is apartheid in the world of today. It is no accident that racists the world over are among the worst enemies of the Cuban revolution.

168. Our passionate solidarity is also extended to the Negro in the United States, subjected to brutal discrimination, sacrificed by an unjust system, made the plaything of deceitful politicians, brother in pain and indignation of all victims of discrimination everywhere.

169. As I said before, my delegation's task in this Assembly is to co-operate with untiring enthusiasm in the interests of a real peace, and consequently to denounce everything that is, whether openly or covertly, opposed to peace.

170. Before closing my speech this morning I wish to mention Cuba's position with regard to the central theme of the moment—the Moscow Treaty and the proposed denuclearization of Latin America [A/5447 and Add.1] which is item 74 of the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

171. World public opinion welcomed the news of the signing of the Moscow Treaty on a partial prohibition of nuclear tests in so far as it signified an allaying of fears over the harmful effects of the resulting radiation on human beings and offered a possibility of reducing international tensions. Cuba, too, shared that feeling.

172. Nevertheless, just after the signing of that treaty, the United States Government, an imperialist nuclear Power signatory of the treaty, started—as we have seen—a fresh wave of attacks on Cuba and revived activities aimed at destroying the Cuban revolution by encouraging various acts which, in contradiction to the peaceful purposes of the Moscow Treaty, increase the tension in the Caribbean and reproduce the conditions that gave rise to the so-called "October crisis" in 1962, thereby creating a real danger to world peace.

173. From the very moment of signing the Moscow Treaty, the imperialist Government of the United States, in addition to attempting an economic and financial blockade, has been stepping up the infiltration of CIA agents and saboteurs into our territory, landing them on our coasts from vessels armed by that very Government. There has been an intensification of pirate attacks by sea and air, with the aid of craft armed by the United States Government and bomber and fighter aircraft, including jet aircraft of the United States Air Force, and in consequence our country has been suffering material damage and loss of life.

174. At the same time, with cynical openness and the undisguised complicity of some puppet Governments, Cuban counter-revolutionaries are being assembled in Central America and these counter-revolutionary forces are being hastily trained to attack our country. All this is being done with the financial backing and under the direction of the Pentagon, the CIA and the United States Department of State.

175. The bad faith and perfidiousness of the United States Government have been clearly revealed by its opportunistic and Machiavellian double policy. The United States is mistaken, however, if it thinks that there can be a climate of peace in the world and a policy of war against Cuba.

176. For these reasons the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is obliged to define its attitude to the Moscow Treaty in the light of the special circumstances resulting from actions undertaken by the United States Government precisely because of the signing of that Treaty.

177. Cuba attaches great importance to any success that can be achieved along the thorny path of disarmament. Cuba supports the Soviet Union's policy of peace which, beyond doubt, led the Soviet Union to join in concluding a treaty for a partial nuclear test ban. Cuba is prepared to do everything it can to advance the universal cause of peace. Cuba cannot, however, sign a treaty one of the signatories of which is at the same time encouraging a number of activities and pursuing a policy towards our country which, in the last analysis, create what is in fact an undeclared war.

178. At the time of the "October crisis", the Revolutionary Government of Cuba warned that where our country was concerned there could be no true peaceful solution so long as the United States Government persisted in its gross violation of the Cuban people's most elementary rights.

179. The United States Government systematically maintains an economic blockade and every possible measure of commercial and economic oppression directed against our country in all corners of the world. The United States Government pursues its subversive activities—dropping and landing arms and explosives by air and by sea, introducing spies and saboteurs—and all these activities are being conducted from the territory of the United States and some other countries conniving with it. The United States system-

atically continues the violation of our air and naval space by its aircraft and warships. The United States still maintains in Cuban territory the military base of Guantánamo, in utter disregard of our sovereignty and against the will of our people. This base is used precisely for violating our air space, bringing in spies and saboteurs and fomenting counter-revolutionary activities in our country.

180. Cuba will not sign the partial nuclear test ban treaty until the United States Government ceases such criminal and illegitimate activities against it. Cuba's refusal to sign the treaty will not, of course, alter the practical results thereof. Cuba is not a nuclear Power and lacks the resources to become one; but Cuba has a duty to take a moral position in the United Nations based on the inviolable principles of its international policy.

181. The universal longing for peace which has been mobilized to demand measures to save mankind from war should likewise be mobilized to demand respect for the integrity and existence of all countries without exception. Peace must be a universal good enjoyed by all nations, great and small.

182. The example of the Republic of Viet-Nam is quite apt. What right has the United States to wage a ruthless and brutal war against the people of that country thousands of miles away from its own frontiers? What right have Yankee aircraft to bomb the citizens of that country? What right have United States soldiers and officers to kill the Viet-Namese with impunity? That shameless and unjustifiable colonial war is an affront to the conscience of mankind. It is time for the United Nations to do something about it.

183. That is why the Cuban delegation to the United Nations calls upon all States, especially the African and other States here represented whose peoples are struggling to affirm their political and economic independence, even as they justly condemn South Africa's policy of apartheid and such cruel manifestations of colonialist oppression as in the case of Angola, to condemn with equal vigour the criminal intervention in the Republic of Viet-Nam and other neo-colonialist activities which actually frustrate all efforts now being made on behalf of world peace.

184. The delegation of the revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to state its position quite clearly on the subject of the steps now being taken to convert Latin America into a denuclearized zone.

185. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is not opposed on grounds of principle to the establishment of denuclearized zones or to any other measure of initiative taken to reduce the possibilities of a nuclear conflagration, the unforeseeable consequences of which threatened our people and the whole world during the recent "October crisis", which had been brought about by the United States Government's attempts to invade our country.

186. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba deeply appreciates the intentions that have inspired the steps taken by some Heads of State of Latin American countries and has analysed with interest the contents of their proposals. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba believes that essentially the effectiveness of those steps is conditional on the influence they can have on the use of nuclear weapons by the only nuclear Power in this continent—the United States of America.

187. The United States is in possession of Latin American territory in the Panama Canal Zone. It is in possession of Puerto Rico—a territory and people which the

nations of Latin America will never cease to regard as Latin American. It holds various military bases in Latin American territory, including a piece of Cuban Territory in Guantánamo Bay which it has usurped against the will of the Cuban people. In other words, the United States, a nuclear Power, holds a military base right in Cuban territory.

188. The people of Cuba will not accept any denuclearization pledge unless it includes, at the least, the denuclearization of the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, the various bases which the United States maintains in this continent outside its own national territory, and the restoration to Cuba of the portion of its territory which the United States illegally usurped.

189. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba supports all efforts being made to create a system of world security, but thinks that the validity of such a system depends on there being no exceptions or privileges favouring any particular country.

190. This, then, is the position of the Cuban Government. We appreciate the good faith behind the proposal and we are prepared to discuss it, but our unalterable condition for supporting it is a pledge by the United States Government in regard to the territories under its jurisdiction such as the Panama Canal Zone and Puerto Rico and the abolition and evacuation of United States military bases in Latin America, especially the Guantánamo Naval Base in our country.

191. We want peace more than anyone else in our continent. The Cuban Revolution is engaged in a great effort of historical creation, and an effort of this magnitude can achieve its ambitious goals only in a climate of peace. But precisely because we truly want peace, we want all proposals put forward to guarantee it to be really useful, and we feel that their usefulness must be determined by their capacity to tie the grasping hands of the only nuclear Power in the Americas, which, by its policy of aggression against small countries and blatant interference, is obstructing the paths of peace, preparing itself for local wars of the colonial type, and at this very moment stepping up its attacks on our country, thus reproducing the circumstances which in October of last year brought this continent and the whole world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

192. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the United States representative in the exercise of right of reply.

193. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I had very much hoped that this General Assembly would have been spared the kind of intemperate, cold-war rhetoric that we have just heard from the representative of Cuba and that we have heard for several years past, and that I would not have to make a reply or that you would not have to listen to it. In this Assembly there has been an obviously genuine desire to reach areas of accord rather than discord. Speaker after speaker, almost without exception, has welcomed the new look in international relations and the new sound in international dialogue, but the speech of the gentleman from Cuba was an exception for which, I must confess, our delegation was prepared from long and repeated experience, and one which, I trust, will not divert many of us from a steady effort to improve relations and to reduce world tensions and dangers.

194. It has been a little less than a year since those who sit in the Security Council saw the culmination of the Cuban crisis that led the world to the brink of war. Good sense, self-restraint, sober statesmanship both in and out of the United Nations prevented the

worst and now permit us to hope for the best. The talk we have just heard can hardly conceal the facts any more now than in the past. As you have been reminded so often, the present régime in Cuba has broken its solemn pledges to the people of Cuba, has betrayed the revolution of the people of Cuba and has replaced one tyranny with another tyranny over the lives of the people of Cuba. And the whole world knows it.

195. The world also knows that the present régime in Cuba has been pursuing programmes of infiltration, subversion and terrorism against the Republics of Central and South America, and in doing this they have indeed declared war on the western hemisphere. Indeed, Cuba boasts of this. In his speech on 26 July 1963, Fidel Castro listed nine Latin American countries as ripe for violent upheavals and he exhorted the revolutionaries there "to open the breach and begin fighting".

196. My Government has joined with the other Republics of the hemisphere to resist the threats to the common security, as we are pledged to do under the Charter of the Organization of American States. But this does not include condoning the use of United States territory for acts of force carried out against Cuba by refugee groups. Our policy was stated plainly on 30 March 1963:

"We intend to take every step necessary to ensure that such raids are not launched, manned or equipped from United States territory."

That statement stands.

197. I was not surprised to hear the Cuban representative denounce any aid to South Viet-Nam to resist communist attacks and to preserve its independence. I did note with some interest the sarcastic reference made by the representative of Cuba to recent events in the Dominican Republic and in Honduras. I should like to remind the Assembly that my Government within a matter of hours condemned by word and deed the overthrow of the democratically elected régimes in those two neighbouring countries. We hope that there will be an early return to constitutionality and to representative democracy in both countries.

198. I suggest that the representative of Cuba would do well to recall that his Government has urged the overthrow of democratic Governments, mocked the idea of free elections, and ignored the principles and practices of representative democracy. Is Cuba, then, rejoicing in the overthrow of these two democratic Governments? If so, this is a revealing statement of Cuba's viewpoint on democracy which all Members of the United Nations would do well to note. Or does Cuba regret the overthrow of these two Governments? If so, it would do well to cease its advocacy of the overthrow of other democratic Governments of this hemisphere.

199. It is indicative of Cuba's mood that not only is it thus fostering violence elsewhere in Latin America, but also that it has just joined Communist China in rejecting the greatest advance in world relations in the last year, the nuclear test ban treaty—news which causes us, I confess, the deepest regret.

200. Why does the Cuban régime instruct its representative to this Assembly to resume the cold-war dialogue and to abuse my Government in the idiom with which we are so familiar? Is it because the Castro régime fears the people of Cuba? It has good reason to, for Mr. Castro knows well that the love of liberty runs deep in the Cuban soul and he knows that a people that

has risen before to cast out tyrants will rise again. He therefore seeks to deflect them by invoking a foreign devil—and that devil, of course, has to be the Yankee giant. For Mr. Castro cannot attack a whole hemisphere composed of many voices; he would be attacking what sounds too much like a democratic majority voicing truth.

201. From time to time his régime pleads for peaceful relations and businesslike trade with its neighbours. Yet its actions continuously belie its professed desire for peaceful coexistence. On 26 July 1963, Mr. Castro spoke of Cuba's desire to live at peace; but in the very next breath he incited armed insurrection within the borders of neighbouring countries. In the current issue of *Cuba Socialista*, we find the Minister of Industries of that Government writing an up-to-date treatise on how to conduct guerrilla warfare and overthrow the Governments of Latin America by the use of force and through subversion, terrorism and sabotage, and just a few days ago, on 28 September 1963, Mr. Castro again made an inflammatory call for the peoples of the Americas to rise up in revolt and—to use his words—"liquidate their leaders".

202. If Mr. Castro wants to live in peace and in friendship in this hemisphere, I can suggest three things for him to do: First, he should stop promoting subversion in other American Republics; secondly, Cuba should cast off its political and military ties to extra-continental Powers and renew its adherence to the principles and purposes of the Inter-American system; and finally, he could make Cuba democratic again by honouring the first promise of the Cuban Revolution, which was to restore constitutional government and let the Cuban people exercise the right of self-determination through free elections—a right, I might add, that has long been enjoyed by the people of Puerto Rico.

203. At a moment when eastern Cuba has been struck by a devastating hurricane, I should like to take this opportunity to express to the people of Cuba the deepest sympathy of the Government of the United States and of its people for those who are suffering in those areas. I should like also to express the hope that the time may soon come when relations between our peoples will no longer be poisoned by bitterness. We Americans look forward to having a democratic, a progressive and a free Cuba as our neighbour. As the President of the United States said on 29 December 1962:

"... we support for Cuba and for all of the countries of this hemisphere the right of free elections and the free exercise of basic human freedoms. We support land reform and the right of every 'campesino' to own the land he tills. We support the effort of every free nation to pursue programmes of economic progress. We support the right of every free people to freely transform the economic and political institutions of society so that they may serve the welfare of all."

That statement still stands on behalf of my country.

204. The PRESIDENT: I have also on my list the name of the representative of Indonesia who wished to speak in the exercise of the right of reply. However, in view of the lateness of the hour, he has agreed to exercise that right tomorrow morning. As it is now 1.35 p.m., I wish to announce to the Assembly that this afternoon's plenary meeting, which was scheduled for 3 o'clock, will begin instead at 3.45.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.