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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I beg the President's indulgence to renew the sincerest expression of congratulations from my delegation upon his election to the Presidency of this Assembly. So wise a choice by the members of this Assembly, with which I associate myself wholeheartedly, is but the recognition of his great personal merits and distinguished experience and service in the work of this Organization, as well as the testimony of our trust in his ability to conduct the proceedings of the fifteenth Session of the Assembly with the tact and statesmanship which are the gifts of his personality.

2. I also avail myself of this opportunity to recall, with gratitude and admiration, the outstanding services of the outgoing President, Mr. Víctor A. Belaúnde, who presided with much wisdom and dedication over the fourteenth regular session of the Assembly and the fourth emergency special session.

3. This session of the Assembly is gathered at a time when the international atmosphere appears heavily clouded, the dissensions of the cold war carried anew to a degree of bitterness and intensity which leave us with the discouraging conviction that the world today, more than ever, is travelling on a path of precarious and uneasy peace. Despite the constant anxiety for harmony and peace—an anxiety which springs forth in one single voice from the hearts of all peoples—the dangerous political turmoil which has been the constant companion of the nations of the world during the last few years became still more inflamed lately by new and stormy winds. The general outlook is now quite different from the rays of hope which had emerged on the international horizon during the last session of the Assembly. Then, even the less optimistic minds found a degree of encouragement, and that encouragement had shaped a constructive expectation. Notwithstanding the great difficulties of the task, it then appeared possible to build a foundation and intermediate points of support leading to the solution of the grave problems at the root of the tension besieging humanity. But such rays of hope

were soon to vanish in a smoke of discord, precisely at a time when the peoples of the world had grown more tired than ever of expressions of hatred and mistrust, fear and bitterness, poisoning the international scene.

4. I shall not attempt to examine the regrettable causes of the present situation, nor will I make accusations or name responsibilities. Quite to the contrary, I believe that in the grave moment through which we are passing, everyone coming to this rostrum carries with him what I would call a moral mandate to inspire himself in the high principles of the Charter, the inspiration to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. My delegation for one, will not offer words of acrimony, as we shall refuse, either by action, speech or vote, to add fire to the international tensions. We shall endeavour to calm, rather than to excite. In this spirit—the spirit of tolerance and harmony of the Charter—my delegation will not incite peoples to rebellion; will not collaborate in schemes designed to undermine the very foundations of the United Nations; will not attack the structures of other States, the dignity of which may have taken centuries to build. We shall respect the rights and vital interests of others with the same vigour we reserve to defend our own. We shall endeavour, with honest purpose, to participate in the constructive work of the Assembly, as we have done in years past. We offer our contribution in the sincere hope that the benefits of wisdom, common sense, tolerance and harmony will at last prevail. What other road is there to the survival and dignity of man?

5. My delegation firmly believes that the essential problem is and will always be to achieve reconciliation of the multiple interests of the States Members of this Organization, starting perhaps from the constructive premise that humanity is our common heritage, and that this undeniable truth lends every one of us what we might call a common soul.

6. For our part—I am referring now to my country—we shall not find it difficult to follow that creed of harmony. Portugal is a nation devoted to the practice of peace, seeking the roads of progress, without excessive ambitions for high standards of living which our own resources would not permit. We are faithful to our friends—the many countries and peoples which have become our friends in the course of our long history, and our hearts are always open to new ones. Towards the many peoples having geographic contact with us, we have specially tried, and we shall always try, to maintain a policy and a spirit of good neighbours. We do not disturb the peace anywhere in the world; the alliances with which we are connected, and to which we are faithful, are strictly defensive. We loyally and constructively co-operate in most of the international bodies, in our sincere desire that such international organizations may bring forth a better—

ment of the living conditions of all peoples. With hard work, we are improving the welfare of our own people, no matter which continent they live on, avoiding as much as possible requesting foreign assistance; and this, in part, because we do not wish to harm or hinder the more pressing needs of others.

7. When we are victims of unjust attacks and false accusations, generally coming from forces dedicated to subversion and international agitation—or inspired by ill-founded and illegitimate claims—or even from parties who have not yet understood that the ancient Portuguese nation, owing to its historical foundations and politico-social structure, is a case unique in the world—we repudiate such attacks or accusations with firmness and dignity, but we always try to reply with calm and serenity. After all, our attackers or would-be attackers, when they are sincere in their motives, are often moved by a lamentable ignorance of the reality of our history, of our problems, of our objectives and intentions.

8. The real effective practice by all of use of the principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations, or even the faithful notions deriving from such principles, could provide the remedies for the ills afflicting the world. In our efforts to practice tolerance toward one another, we should develop a better understanding of each other's position, as well as a badly needed mutual respect. Refraining from attempts to interfere in, or exert pressure on, the internal affairs or vital interests of others, and renouncing the use or threat of force, are inalienable parts of that spirit of tolerance envisaged by the Charter, which accepts only peaceful methods to settle differences. None of these notions is new. Yet the inability or slowness of some members of the community of nations to adhere to these principles is responsible for the steps backward which the world has been making in the question of international trust and security. It is then imperative that we revert to the simple principles of tolerance and mutual respect, before it is too late, if we are ever to attain the solid ground which will lead to a real peace, under the law, with justice for all.

9. Inevitably, this trend of thought brings me to the problem of disarmament—the gravest and most difficult challenge facing this Organization, as well as the peoples and governments of the world. Today, in everyone's mind, the road to disarmament is inseparable from the dream of a peaceful future.

10. We all know the intricate difficulties surrounding the problem, as we know that peace and disarmament are reciprocal notions. That reciprocity is a condition that no responsible government can ignore, unless it wishes to risk or gamble with the security of its people. The crux of the matter is therefore to attain disarmament with self-preservation, disarmament with security for all countries of the world.

11. We believe, as so many other delegations do, that it has become desperately urgent to resume the disarmament negotiations. The present arms race, based on weapons which offer mankind the capacity to destroy itself, places the future of the world at the edge of a vast nothingness. If it is true that such weapons render totally absurd the idea of a third world war, it is also true that the fallibility of man is still with us, and that a human miscalculation can easily lead to the absurd. Logic may govern our reasoning

but it does not always govern our actions. Every government agrees that the resources used in the process of piling up the tools of destruction could and should be used through peaceful channels for the economic and social benefit of humanity, and yet the piling up of armaments by the great Powers goes on, and it will go on until disarmament with security will be achieved. The civilization of man on earth was the result of thousands of years of painful toil and slow advancement, yet, now that things are moving at almost insane speed toward the edge of the precipice, we allow our thoughts to ponder on the danger while our actions do little or nothing to halt it.

12. The fear of surprise attack lurks upon the horizon of our daily lives. The production of fissionable materials for military uses goes on uncontrolled. Negotiations for the suspension of nuclear tests have made encouraging progress but they still need much effort to reach final and positive results. These are questions closely linked to the issue of true disarmament, and they must be solved with urgency. The greater the technical development of weapons the more difficult it will be to implement controlled platforms of disarmament.

13. Hence the urgency of taking into serious consideration, without delay, any and all proposals which would lead to balanced disarmament as regards both nuclear and conventional weapons and provide simultaneously systems of reciprocal and effective inspection. As the arms race rapidly approaches a point of no return, it might be tragic if our global efforts to push forward realistic disarmament negotiations should again fail. The first great service in this direction would be to insulate the disarmament negotiations from political propaganda, and the long list of previous failures should not be permitted to cast the seeds of discouragement upon the new attempts at agreement. Certainly human nature has provided some of the causes for the failures of the past. Let us hope now, with candour and with prayer, that the same human nature will give us—particularly the great Powers—the clear realization that the next choice on disarmament might very well be the ultimate choice between the light of the day and the darkness of an interminable night.

14. The critical question of disarmament also brings to the fore the problem of the peaceful uses of outer space. Here, one would expect, there is an issue susceptible of uniting every country of the world with the same working zeal and willingness to go hand in hand. Actually, at this stage in the exploration of outer space, it is difficult to imagine any conflict of interests or ideology. Yet the course of events during the long year past has not justified even relative optimism on the matter. No progress whatever has been achieved which would tend to allay the fears arising from the possible military uses of outer space. Similarly, no progress has been made towards international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, badly needed if all countries of the world are to benefit from the advancement of science in that direction. Here again, the issue at stake is of such magnitude and importance, not just for a small group of countries but for all countries, that we might again be courting disaster if man should be allowed to penetrate outer space carrying with him his earthly quarrels and dissensions. Therefore, it becomes equally urgent to reach international agreements on the pro-

hibition of military uses of outer space and on the exploration of technical means to use the new discoveries for peaceful purposes and the common good. If all the nations of the world would work in earnest, collectively, on a basis of absolutely equal rights, in response to the great challenge represented by the idea of outer space, perhaps much of the bitterness now dividing the world would gradually appear in a different perspective—smaller in true content, and possibly much easier to dispel.

15. Among the major political problems of the moment the crisis in the Congo (Leopoldville) continues to figure prominently. It is with the utmost concern that Portugal has been following the difficulties faced by the new Republic of the Congo. We earnestly hope such difficulties will be of a temporary character. The Portuguese people hold the sincerest feelings of friendship and understanding towards that new Republic, the independence of which we recognized the very day it was proclaimed—fittingly, I would say, for we are one of the Congo's closest and oldest neighbours, having with it long and continuous borders.

16. The United Nations has been called upon to play an extremely difficult role in helping the Congo through its present crisis. It is imperative then to draw on the goodwill of all Member States and the wisdom of the Assembly to enable the United Nations to safeguard that new and struggling country from becoming a battleground of the cold war. This is an indispensable condition to help the Republic of the Congo towards a future of happiness and progress which, we sincerely hope, will come soon.

17. In this emergency the Secretary-General and all those who have been helping him to bring to the Congo the requested assistance, have proceeded with great wisdom and ability, despite the many difficulties encountered, and they certainly command our respect and admiration. For that reason, I avail myself of this opportunity to extend to the Secretary-General the good wishes of my delegation for continued success in his untiring efforts in the cause of peace.

18. For my delegation it is a particular pleasure in this general debate to renew the words of welcome I voiced a few days ago [865th meeting] when the new African countries and the new State of Cyprus were admitted as Members of the Organization. To all of them we reaffirm our best wishes for a future of progress and increasing prosperity. My country is looking forward to enjoying the friendliest relations with the new States, inspired, as we should all be, by feelings of mutual trust and respect.

19. It is in this spirit of warm friendship that my country consistently endeavours to cement close relations with all peaceful nations of the world. A recent example of this policy is the fact that during the current year of 1960 Portugal has had the honour of playing host to many distinguished Heads of State. I refer to the visits of President Sukarno of Indonesia, President Eisenhower of the United States, the King and Queen of Nepal, the King and Queen of Thailand, and the visit of President Kubitschek de Oliveira of Brazil. The last was an occasion of particular significance to the Luso-Brazilian community, because President Kubitschek came to preside, with the President of Portugal, over the commemorations of the fifth centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. Many countries likewise paid homage to that

great historical figure, who contributed so much to the bringing together of the different civilizations and peoples of the world.

20. As some of the speakers on this rostrum, acting rather emotionally, have thought it fit to offer derogatory and unjust remarks on the subject of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, I consider it necessary to detain the attention of the Assembly for a few moments on this topic. To those who are not completely wrung by passion or by preconceived ideas intolerant of the truth, I shall attempt to explain, as briefly as possible, the nature and the spirit of what the Portuguese nation is.

21. The fundamental ideal inspiring the Portuguese discoveries of centuries past, and the work that subsequently followed, was to spread the ideals of Christianity and bring the many worthy factors of western civilization in contact with other civilizations and cultures flourishing in the lands beyond the seas. In the course of that process the integration of our overseas peoples in the unity of the Portuguese nation followed naturally, thanks mainly to a total absence of racial discrimination on our part and policies of mutual understanding. This has always been the essential feature of our character as well as the keystone of our collective work, a work which progressed on the basis of mutual tolerance, creating a common moral climate in the mainland and overseas, inspired as it was by feelings of universal brotherhood and respect for the dignity of man.

22. Consequently, instead of adopting a policy of domination or forced education, paternalistic as it might have been—which would have shaped overseas an independent and foreign society—the Portuguese, owing principally to their very outlook, their multi-racial ancestry—in which the Arab and Berber elements were quite prominent—their instinctive feelings of brotherhood for the new peoples they encountered, and even perhaps by design of fate, the Portuguese, for five long centuries, joined and blended with the peoples they had contacted overseas, forming with them the elements which were to become part of the same national entity. At no time was the creation of this morally united motherland ever obstructed or tormented by racial or religious differences or by the separation of the lands composing the whole. Thus, a "unique" nation—and I am using the term "unique" advisedly and in good faith—was formed and grew in the four corners of the Earth. Such geographical separation notwithstanding, when the discerning eyes of the impartial observer look at the various components of the nation, he will find in every one of them the common feeling that it is Portugal—in the institutions of life as well as in the minds, hearts and habits of the people.

23. Laws of the Portuguese Government, dating back to the early seventeenth century, were inspired by the concept of equality of rights, regardless of place of birth, religion or race. Article 5 of the present Constitution of Portugal, enacted in 1933, which followed the unalterable tradition of the Portuguese constitutional laws of the previous centuries, defines the national territory as an indivisible unit, placing all its parts on a plane of equality. Manifestly, it is not a new juridical conception, nor is it an act of political expediency. It is, on the contrary, the very essence of a nation which was born, grew and defined itself

long ago in several continents, unhindered by considerations of race, religion, social origins or castes. This unitary political structure, embodied in the fundamental laws of the country, and thus much older than the movements of modern constitutionalism, was expressed in all the Portuguese constitutional texts, namely the Constitutions of 1822, 1832, 1842 and 1911, whence it took its present shape. It may be added that Portugal, with its overseas components, is an older political unity than most modern European countries. In this connexion, it is appropriate to quote, as an example, an early seventeenth century ruling of the Royal Council:

"Goa and the other lands overseas with whose Governments this Council is concerned are not distinct nor separate from this realm, nor yet do they belong to it by union, but they are members of the same realm as is the Algarve and any of the provinces of Alentejo and Entre-Douro-e-Minho... and thus he who is born and lives in Goa or in Brazil or in Angola is just as much a Portuguese as he who lives and is born in Lisbon."

24. To the territorial unity there corresponds an absolute unity of the Portuguese people who make up an example, certainly unusual, of an equalitarian multi-racial society—the acquisition of Portuguese nationality being ruled by one single law which applies equally to everyone, as provided by article 7 of the Constitution.

25. As far as we are concerned, there is not the slightest question: the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are independent with the same independence as the nation. We are dealing with historical facts, for which it would be vain to seek adaptation to alien political philosophies or outside standards of measurement.

26. We certainly deny and protest solemnly against the falsehood of the accusations made here against us. We are proud of the unceasing toil and work that for nearly five centuries of common history we have devoted to our Overseas Provinces—it has been a work of maintaining order, organizing community life, promoting economic development, providing education, investing capital, raising living standards. The accusations against Portugal contained in a paper recently circulated by a delegation well known for its special affinity for attempting to discredit countries or peoples who refuse to gravitate around its political system—such accusations, I was saying, leave us unimpressed. We know well enough what their partisan aims are. As for ourselves, our conscience is clear. Our respect and faithfulness to the work and noble efforts of many generations of Portuguese are more important to us than the propaganda literature distributed by that delegation in this Assembly.

27. However, one thing is certain: at least, the progress and development which we brought and are still bringing into our Overseas Provinces was not and is not achieved by methods repugnant to the conscience of mankind, nor by violations of human rights. We have not and we will not achieve progress through imposed human suffering, annihilation of classes or communities, or restrictions on the human right to live and breathe. We could never follow such methods, for we treasure, above all, the dignity of man.

28. The accusation concerning so-called forced labour in Portuguese Africa is a case in point. Indi-

vidual freedom in connexion with work is one of the fundamental principles inscribed in the Portuguese Constitution and in all our labour laws. Anyone wishing to do so can read or consult them. These are our laws and, needless to say, the law determines our administrative practice. Portugal has also ratified the two ILO conventions on the abolition of forced labour,^{1/} and we did not need to alter our domestic laws to respect the provisions of these conventions. The assertions made against us on this matter generally originate from sources which have as their proved aim the disruption and subversion of other societies. It is true that occasionally such subversive sources do manage to confuse well-meaning people whose "naïveté" is open to exploitation by propaganda. Unfortunately, this sort of thing is not new; it has happened to many other countries of the world.

29. It might be pertinent to recall that from 30 November to 10 December 1959, Portugal had the honour of being host at Luanda, Angola, to the First Session of the African Advisory Committee of the ILO. This was the first meeting on African soil of the oldest specialized agency of the United Nations: the International Labour Organisation. More than 600 delegates—from government, employer and trade union circles—then had the opportunity to observe Portuguese life in the Overseas Provinces. No restrictions were imposed upon the delegates; they saw what they wished to see and they observed what they wished to observe. Some of those delegates are now members of delegations to the present session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, judging not only by the work of the Committee but also by what its members saw in complete freedom of movement, those delegates who were at Luanda will do us justice. Some of them had come to that meeting in doubt. But they all recognized the absence of racial discrimination or forced labour, as they also saw the lack of foundation for so many of the accusations made against my country. Our borders are open for anyone to come and see in good faith. The meeting of the African Advisory Committee of the ILO is concrete proof of it.

30. The accusations and bitterness voiced by some speakers against Portugal—where do they originate? Certainly not from the peoples whose interests they purport to defend. How can these bitter outside critics explain that, in the Portuguese community, there is peace from the Cape Verde Islands, in the South Atlantic, to Timor, in Oceania? They can see for themselves the tranquil life of the populations—and it is not a tranquillity imposed by force of arms. We are not, as everyone here will agree, a heavily armed nation, nor do we have militaristic inclinations. How is it then that we can traverse the entire length of Angola and Mozambique with no other aid than the goodwill of the people and their brotherly help? Fundamentally, it is a fact that they consider themselves to be Portuguese and have no desire to be otherwise. This eloquent fact—which our detractors find it difficult to admit despite the evidence—shows the danger of trying to project the whole of our national task against narrow patterns, no matter how popular they may be.

31. It signifies that there is a work of human understanding and sympathy which, from generation to

^{1/}Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour (No. 29, of 28 June 1930) and Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour (No. 105, of 25 June 1957).

generation, builds up an interracial contact that is invaluable. This is not just our conviction; it is our way of being, so that even if spiritual values are being degraded by a civilization which is becoming too materialistic, we shall continue to take them into account. The nature of recent events in time and space may have destroyed some illusions, but it has not altered one fact which we consider to be permanent in our overseas history; that is, that when free from malevolent outside influences, the Portuguese people, of whatever race, colour or creed or geographic location, do not usually go astray, but they go their way in peace. In any case, we shall remain vigilant against those who, from the outside, and moved by selfish purposes of their own, may attempt to disrupt the calm, the order and the work in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces.

32. At this point, I must confess that it was painful for me to hear the President of Ghana saying that what he called [869th meeting], probably in a facetious vein, "the Portuguese arrangement" was repugnant to any concept of African freedom. It appears then that the President of Ghana shares a political philosophy according to which African freedom is incompatible, and cannot coexist, with multi-racial countries or societies, free as they may be, on account of some kind of inevitable conflict of races and cultures. The gravity of such a concept is undeniable, particularly when applied to the African continent where so many multi-racial societies and countries exist. For our part, we repudiate any concept of racial exclusiveness. Throughout our history, we have always rejected racialism, either ethnically, culturally or politically, and we are not prepared to accept it now, despite the meaning we read into the words of the President of Ghana.

33. In his speech before the Assembly [886th meeting], the representative of Spain, Mr. de Lequerica, made reference to an article by the great historian, Arnold Toynbee, in *The New York Times Magazine* of 7 August 1960, under the title, "A War of Races? No." In that article the perceptive analyst of history—who is interested in facts, not in propaganda—demonstrates the unique contribution of the Portuguese, Spanish and Moslem peoples in building international harmony among all the races and peoples of the world. I should like to quote a passage from the Toynbee thesis:

"... Walk about the streets of Lisbon. You will see there people with Goanese and African blood in their veins. But it is evident that they feel themselves to be Portuguese and are felt to be Portuguese by their European-blooded fellow citizens.

"Add together the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking peoples and the Moslem peoples. They amount to a large portion of the human race. In them, I believe, we can see 'the wave of the future'."

34. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) made a few references yesterday [891st meeting] to the Portuguese territory of Cabinda which has common borders with his own country as well as with the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). He read to us a letter said to have been addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by a group of individuals who live in Brazzaville—therefore, not on Portuguese territory—in which certain accusations were made against the Portuguese ad-

ministration. We do know that there are in Brazzaville certain foreign or denationalized elements serving subversive organizations—organizations which use these persons because they have not been successful in recruiting agents in Portuguese territory. I certainly do not intend to discuss here with the Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) the problems of our internal administration, for the same reason that I do not believe he would appreciate it if I should be so bold as to interfere in the internal administration of his own country.

35. However, I must say that the problems of Cabinda are similar to the problems of many other underdeveloped areas, and this type of problem is familiar to a large number of Members of this Organization. Cabinda is a very small territory with a population of approximately 40,000 persons, and is a part of the Mayombe forest region—an extremely dense forest which is very difficult to penetrate and explore. Therefore, Cabinda's communication problems are naturally of primary importance, and it is precisely those problems which we are tackling now, thanks to a very considerable allocation of 66 million escudos under our Development Plan.

36. It is possible that Cabinda, situated as it is at some distance from the mainland of the Province of Angola, has not developed as fast as other districts of the Province—a development which the Foreign Minister of the Congo himself acknowledged. Yet the situation in Cabinda is far from that pictured by the letter on which the Foreign Minister based his intervention. I will mention only two examples, and this in deference to the Foreign Minister. Contrary to the allegation that there was only one hospital and no maternity facilities in Cabinda, there are in fact three hospitals, one maternity centre, and sixteen auxiliary health centres and laboratories. Contrary to the allegation that there was no port at Cabinda, there are in fact two ports, and a third modern port is planned. None the less, during 1958 over 300 ships, of which eighty were of heavy tonnage, called at the two existing ports.

37. It is understandable that the Foreign Minister of the Congo should not be familiar with the facts I have pointed out, for his main concern is naturally with the affairs of his own country. But he will forgive me, I hope, if I remind him that sources of information such as the one he quoted are often not reliable. Such unreliability becomes serious when the accusation is a grave one. This brings me to the alleged disturbance in Cabinda. It appears, indeed, that the same subversive forces which criminally attempt to disturb the peace in the Portuguese Provinces from the outside have fabricated a hair-raising tale. The report or rumour which the Foreign Minister has mentioned is entirely without foundation in fact. An official communiqué from my Government denies unequivocally that there has been any incident in Cabinda which would justify such accusations. In other words, the report of disturbances with loss of life in Cabinda is completely false, and is without the slightest factual foundation or relation to any incident. It is my sincere hope that the Foreign Minister of the Congo will feel reassured by this complete and unhesitating denial by my Government.

38. I should like now to turn my attention briefly to some economic facts which I consider highly pertinent

to this general debate. With its second development plan, extending from 1959 to 1964, Portugal is engaged in a very intense effort of economic development with the primary objectives of improving the standard of living of the people and expanding the opportunities of employment for a growing population. Aiming at a much faster rate of production and a better distribution of income, the plan provides for investments to a total of 31,000 million escudos throughout all the national territories, with particular emphasis on the less developed provinces of Alentejo in Europe, Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and Timor in Oceania. The plan, with the respective investments, has been in operation for nearly two years. It must be pointed out that the investments it prescribes represent but one-third of the total sum expected to be invested during the five-year period.

39. A development of this magnitude for the financing capacity of a small country demands the mobilization of all available national resources, and in addition it will be necessary to secure large amounts of foreign capital, a reason why Portugal has recently become a member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. Indeed, Portugal looks favourably upon the investment of foreign capital in any part of its territory, as we believe that—~~notwithstanding assistance by international organizations—~~private capital, attracted by the conditions of stability and solvency that we offer, will be perhaps the major factor for the advancement of our development and industrialization. But capital is not enough; the new plants and enterprises being established require various aspects of technical assistance from the outside.

40. We have, however, a realistic notion of the difficulties and problems arising from so ambitious a development plan. It is not sufficient to make investments, large as they may be. Equally important is the need to break through the vicious circles and bottlenecks existing in deeply-rooted social-economic structures, as well as to contend with outworn mental attitudes in economic thinking. More than the simple construction of factories and the forging of new tools, the process of economic growth demands a new outlook—a change of many attitudes on the part of the men called upon to assist in the development. It is with this notion in mind that we may unhesitatingly say that the problem of economic development is, in essence, a problem of education—the completion of which requires, unfortunately, a considerable length of time.

41. Engaged in this great development programme, Portugal was none the less compelled to accept the inevitable consequences of the new arrangements in the economic structure of Europe. Although we are in the midst of our industrialization effort, we lowered customs protection—with a subsequent decrease of customs revenue—on entering the European Free Trade Association. Furthermore, the international market situation for some of our basic exports remains unfavourable, while on our domestic market we suffer the competition of products from highly industrialized sources abroad.

42. These are some of the great and many difficulties which my country is facing in its determined effort to improve the conditions of life and the welfare of its population everywhere. It is, then, with the greatest understanding and sympathy that we look upon the

worthy initiatives of the United Nations to encourage and assist the under-developed countries which thirst for progress. But it is precisely because we are engaged in such a tremendous task of development ourselves that we find it difficult to increase our material participation to the extent we would desire in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and in the Special Fund. We give these programmes our full moral support and, within the limits of our capacity, we are actively co-operating with the regular programme of technical assistance—as is evidenced by the scholarships we grant to foreign students and technicians to work at the national laboratories of civil engineering in Lisbon, or the valuable assistance Portuguese technicians have been rendering in the fields of tropical medicine and phytopathology.

43. As we believe in regional economic co-operation we have become a member of the European Free Trade Association, although that partnership brings my country a number of serious difficulties in its process of industrialization. We participate also in the Development Assistance Group established by the United States with the objective of encouraging investments to promote a greater social and economic development of the under-developed areas of Africa.

44. We are following with great interest the work of the Economic Commission for Africa. We have participated in its meetings and we are giving it our sincere and unreserved co-operation and shall continue to do so, as we believe that it will bring many benefits to that continent. We are in favour of concentrated action in that field which can be specially useful at this juncture. Every year we are granting many scholarships for the specialization of African graduate students, and we are pleased to note that graduate students from Ghana, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia have applied.

45. Speaking of regional co-operation—and although my country is not directly connected with it—I would like to make a reference to Operation Pan America, which, in the opinion of my Government, represents one of the most commendable regional programmes in the economic sphere of our modern world. Indeed, the Operation Pan America which was originally conceived by the President of Brazil, and which has recently created a solid structure, is an eloquent example of how the countries of a continent, moved by sentiments of justice and love for the people, have given their wholehearted support to a common cause.

46. I have attempted to outline my country's position vis-à-vis the great issue of our day: the search for peace. I have also attempted to give the Assembly a fair notion of the tremendous, though unpublicized, economic effort in which the Portuguese nation is engaged. And I have also been forced to correct and place in their proper perspective the unjust attacks which my country has suffered from this rostrum.

47. Portugal has a long history of hard work and achievement with limited resources. Our contribution to civilization and to the progress of mankind is positive. We have always had the ability and the will to live in peace with all peoples of the world, regardless of race, colour or creed. We are solvent, we work hard; we never interfere in the internal affairs of others, and we have never tried to impose our thinking on those who may differ from us.

48. All we ask from the Assembly, particularly from those Members who chose to attack us on what they consider our ills—while, I dare say, neglecting their own ills—is that they let us go on with our work in peace, as we let them go on with theirs. We sincerely believe that the test of history is a wiser counsellor than the emotion of the moment. In an impartial analysis, the wise counsellor supports our view that passion and intolerance, even though springing from apparently sincere convictions, will bring evil rather than good to the world. We hold this to be true and of essential interest to all of us in this Organization—indeed, it is in the very spirit of our Charter.

49. Mr. TSIANG (China):^{2/} I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express once again the gratification of my delegation at Mr. Boland's assumption of the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. I would like also to pay tribute to the retiring President, my good and respected friend, Mr. Víctor A. Belaúnde, of Peru. He served the United Nations well during his term of office. I wish him to know that he will always have the admiration and good wishes of my delegation.

50. My country has strong and unshakable faith in the United Nations. We support the United Nations because it stands for the high ideals of law and justice, peace and security. It is our conviction that there can be no lasting peace if the principle of justice does not prevail, and there can be no peace or security if there is no respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

51. The common people in all countries ardently desire peace and abhor war. So long as the common people enjoy individual freedom, dictators cannot rise, still less can they wage wars of aggression. For this reason, before the Second World War all the dictators, both those in Europe and those in Asia, had to suppress human rights and fundamental freedoms in their respective countries. Dictatorial régimes destroy human rights and freedoms and thereby destroy the surest guarantees of international peace and security. Human rights and freedoms are precious in themselves; they become all the more precious in that they help to maintain peace and security.

52. As we take stock of the work of the United Nations in the fifteen years of its existence, our conscience cannot but be troubled by the spectacle of millions of human beings living in conditions of terror and slavery in Eastern Europe, in Tibet, on the mainland of China, in North Korea, in North Viet-Nam, as well as in other parts of the world under communist domination, and of the many millions who have been denied the right of religion, the right of freedom of movement and the right of choosing their own way of life. We cannot and should not forget them because, in the first place, they are our fellow human beings who are entitled to enjoy the rights enshrined in the Charter, and, in the second place, it is on the basis of slavery and oppression that totalitarian dictators are enabled to plan and carry out war and aggression. Recent history has made this demonstrably clear.

53. In its effort to promote international peace and security, the United Nations has been obstructed by misuse of the veto power in the Security Council on

the part of the Soviet Union. Yet, despite this, the United Nations has made significant contributions to the cause of peace. The greatest landmark in the history of the United Nations was the collective action authorized by the Security Council in 1950 to counter communist aggression in Korea. It may be recalled that the action was made possible by the absence of the Soviet Union from the Security Council. The United Nations played an important part in the settlement of the Suez crisis of 1956. The work the United Nations has now undertaken in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) to restore law and order will surely go down in history as one of its most significant achievements. But thanks to the courage with which the Secretary-General has carried out his mandate, a start has been made in putting the Republic of the Congo on a stable basis. The Secretary-General has the support of the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly to go ahead with his work of implementing the resolutions of the Security Council and of the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

54. We were shocked by the slanderous and abusive charges which the chief of the Soviet Government saw fit to make against the Secretary-General from this rostrum a few days ago. To call this selfless, conscientious and courageous international public servant an agent of colonialism is to add insult to injury. I am sure that all fair-minded men and women the world over will condemn this utterly unfounded and irresponsible attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld's personal integrity.

55. The Soviet delegation did not stop at merely attacking Mr. Hammarskjöld. It wishes to abolish the office of the Secretary-General itself. This is the familiar tactic of control or destroy. In proposing that the Secretary-Generalship should be replaced by a directorate of three, each with the right of veto, the Soviet Union shows that it is not interested in maintaining world peace and security "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law"; it is only interested in making the United Nations a forum for propaganda and a tool of the Soviet Union. When the Secretary-General, by his "preventive diplomacy", tries to keep international rivalry and conflict out of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), thereby preventing any Power, the Soviet Union included, from interfering in the affairs of that new-born Republic, the Soviet Union heaps abuse on Mr. Hammarskjöld and tries to reduce the United Nations to impotence. My delegation supports the Secretary-General in his conduct of operations in the Congo.

56. The Soviet Union has used all resources of propaganda to din into the consciousness of the emergent peoples that the Soviet Union is their only friend and that only the Soviet Union can help them to achieve their national aspirations and lead them on to the path of economic prosperity and social well-being. Now, we Chinese people know from years of experience what all this means. More than forty years ago the Soviet Union began to tell us the same thing. In those days, we were anxious to throw off the yoke of foreign domination in our country. We struggled against colonialism and imperialism. The Chinese nationalist revolutionary movement in the twenties had as its chief slogan, "Down with imperialism, away with the unequal treaties".

57. It was inevitable that many patriotic Chinese, particularly the intellectuals, should be attracted to

^{2/}Mr. Tsiang spoke in Chinese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union offered us economic and military aid, we gladly accepted it. We were told that the Soviet Union asked nothing in return and that it was interested only in helping us complete the national revolution. We found out, when it was too late, that the kind of national revolution promoted by the Soviet Union was but a preparation for the communist take-over. In the communist lingo, national revolution is one in which the Communists, by means of infiltration and subversion, try to wrest the leadership of the revolution from the "bourgeoisie". Once they have taken over the leadership, the national revolution becomes a "proletarian revolution". Lenin spelled this out candidly, and in repetitious detail. The present leaders of the Kremlin have never tried to conceal their intentions in this matter. There is no excuse for leaders of the nationalist movements of today to repeat the mistakes China made forty years ago.

58. At the present session of the General Assembly, sixteen new Member States are participating in its deliberations for the first time. Of these, fifteen are African. My Government and people rejoice in the emergence of Africa on the international scene. Before the year is out, other African nations will achieve freedom and independence and become members of the United Nations. We congratulate the peoples of Africa on their success.

59. We are happy to note that the new African States have won their freedom and independence from the colonial Powers on the basis of mutual sympathy, respect and understanding. This redounds to the credit of both. It is our conviction that the maintenance of close relations between the new States and the former metropolitan Powers, on a footing of freedom and equality, can be of immense benefit to all concerned. It is for this reason that we believe that India, Pakistan, Ceylon and others made a wise decision when they kept their ties with the other free nations of the Commonwealth. We hope that the new French Community will enjoy an equally successful development.

60. Western colonialism, we believe, is on its way out. Although there are still remnants of colonial rule in Asia and Africa, colonialism as a system is dead or dying. Unfortunately, there has arisen a new form of colonialism, far more dangerous and sinister than the Western one, because it operates under the guise of aid to nationalism. This new form of colonialism is none other than international Communism. The Chairman of the Soviet delegation, in his speech before this Assembly [869th meeting], called upon the United Nations to raise its voice in defence of the just cause of liberating the colonies and to take prompt action towards the complete elimination of the colonial régime. He thus poses as the champion of the rights of the colonial peoples. As a matter of fact, international Communism is the most deadly enemy of nationalism. It is not interested in national causes as such. It is interested only in exploiting the national aspirations of the colonial peoples for its own purposes. It may be recalled that soon after the Second World War a number of Asian countries under European colonial rule gained their independence. When these newly-independent countries were still trying to consolidate themselves, Moscow ordered the Asian Communist Parties to resort to "armed struggle" against them. The situation was believed to be fluid enough to make communist successes possible. The

communist attempt to seize power took place in a number of Asian countries, culminating in the Korean war of 1950. The premature uprisings brought discredit to the international Communist movement. For this reason, Moscow shifted from the "tough line" of the 1948-50 period to the "soft line" of today. But the communist objective has not changed. The Communists, as all who read the works of Lenin and Stalin know, have no love for nationalists. They do not hesitate to overthrow any of the legally constituted governments in the newly-independent countries if and when they think the opportune moment has arrived.

61. We Chinese are nationalists. As such, we are also anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists. Until very recently, we suffered imperialist aggression from both maritime and land Powers. We have thousands of miles of common frontiers with Russia. We are therefore acquainted with both types of Russian imperialism—the Tsarist and the Soviet. We know by experience that the Soviet type of imperialism is the worst of all.

62. The Soviet Union is the greatest colonial Power in the twentieth century. Whereas European colonial Powers have given freedom and independence to over 600 million people in thirty countries since the last war, the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has increased its colonial holdings enormously since the signing of the infamous non-aggression pact with Hitler on 23 August 1939. The Baltic States were placed under Soviet colonial rule soon afterward. Other independent States in Eastern Europe came under Soviet domination in the latter part of the last war. Today, the Soviet empire is bigger than it was under any Tsar. We support the complete abolition of colonialism preached by Mr. Khrushchev. Let him set an example for the world by liquidating Soviet colonialism. Let him practise what he preaches by restoring freedom and independence to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as the first instalment of his programme.

63. The Chinese delegation believes in the complete abolition of colonialism. We have always maintained that Western colonial Powers should take a far-sighted view of, and make early concessions to, Asian and African nationalism. We believe nationalism is the most elemental force in the world today. It cannot be stopped or stifled. Sooner or later, all colonial peoples will achieve freedom and independence. It is our conviction that undue delay in solving colonial questions will make their final solution more complicated, more intractable, and more costly. Therefore, it is our hope that those African countries still under colonial rule will soon emerge as free and sovereign members of the world community.

64. I now pass from colonialism to the question of economic and technical assistance to the less developed countries, a question with which the United Nations is deeply concerned. The Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization says:

"... Far less dramatic in their impact as the economic activities must be, they are of decisive long-term significance for the welfare of the international community. In the end, the United Nations is likely to be judged not so much by the criterion of how successfully it has overcome this or that crisis as by the significance of its total contribution towards building the kind of world community in which such

crises will no longer be inevitable." [A/4390/Add.1, p. 5.]

65. These are words that deserve our attention. The cause of peace will always be better served if the peoples now living in conditions of poverty, disease, hunger and malnutrition can be brought to enjoy the benefits of modern civilization and maintain a level of living commensurate with the supreme dignity of the human being. Throughout the years, the United Nations has been assigning due importance to the economic problems of the less developed countries. For their economic development, these countries need substantial outside capital and technical assistance. Naturally they look to the United Nations for help. Even with the establishment of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the Special Fund, and now the International Development Association, the needs of these countries are far from being met. In view of the magnitude of the problem, it may be doubted whether the needs can be wholly met by the United Nations unless extraordinary efforts are made.

66. Nowhere is the need for economic and technical assistance more urgent than in newly-emergent Africa. Nowhere is the problem more complicated and difficult. The President of the United States in his speech before this Assembly on 22 September [868th meeting] pledged his country's assistance in the task of shaping a long-term modernization programme for Africa within the framework of the United Nations. My delegation applauds this statesmanlike programme. We support the policy of channelling all assistance to the African countries through the United Nations. We believe that in the interests of world peace and of the African countries themselves, the United Nations must forestall any move on the part of any Power or any bloc of Powers to use economic and technical assistance as a form of political and economic penetration.

67. Africa offers the greatest opportunity for the United Nations. The United Nations must make good use of this opportunity to assist the new and emergent States in building social and economic foundations for political freedom. It is the hope of my delegation that the newly-independent African States, with the assistance of the United Nations, will consolidate their political stability so as to make possible the eventual attainment of a self-sustaining economy.

68. We understand both the drives and the difficulties of economic development in the under-developed countries, because we have suffered from the miseries of under-development and have struggled and are still struggling for economic development. During the last fifteen years, my Government has pushed economic development as the first and most important task of Government and of people. Although we are far from our goal, we have come a long way. Fifteen years ago, at the end of the Second World War, Taiwan had an economy almost entirely agricultural: 85 per cent of its people were engaged in farming; the exports of the island were entirely agricultural products. Today, production on the island comes half from agriculture and half from industry and commerce. Farming as an occupation absorbs the energies of less than 50 per cent of the population. In the export trade, industrial products are gaining in percentage over agricultural products. In the supply of food we are now more than self-sufficient; likewise in products of light industry

which satisfy the consumers' wants. We are now beginning the development of heavy industry.

69. On a previous occasion I presented to the Assembly [764th meeting] statistics of production in Taiwan, particularly as regards rice, electric power, textiles, chemical fertilizers, oil-refining, cement and electrical appliances. I will not go into statistics today. I wish rather to call your attention to certain important features of our economic development.

70. First, we have deliberately chosen to give first priority to agriculture, second to light industry and third to heavy industry. We have found this order of priority best suited to our needs and capacities. By observing this order of priority, we have not had to impose on our people a long period of further tightening of their belts. The improvement in the standard of living is immediate; it parallels economic development.

71. Second, in trying to improve agriculture we have relied on land reform and the application of modern science and technology to farming. The farmers on the island now own the land they cultivate. They are independent. They reap what they sow. Relieved of the burden of land rent, they work hard and accept readily the changes which the Government scientists offer to them. In the improvement of seeds, in pest prevention, in conservation of soil and water, in the rotation of crops, in the application of fertilizers, in the improvement of farm animals and tools—in these and in other matters scientists and technicians find their services appreciated and accepted by the farmers. We have not found it necessary to introduce the class struggle into the countryside, nor have we had to resort to collectivization or regimentation. We have found the independent farmers good producers and happy citizens. We have further found them ready, nay, eager, to co-operate with the Government in the promotion of education and health. Illiteracy and the common diseases will soon be eliminated.

72. Third, we have maintained a mixed economy, government ownership existing side by side with private enterprise. Compared with Western Europe and North and South America, we have probably practised, in Taiwan, a large measure of socialism. This is partly a matter of choice and partly a matter of necessity. But we have adopted an experimental attitude in this matter. Probably the sector of private enterprise will grow faster than the sector of public enterprise. However, we intend to keep railways, electric power, oil-refining and chemical fertilizers in the public sector.

73. Fourth, in the economic development of Taiwan, we have benefited much from economic and technical assistance from the United States. We have found this assistance totally disinterested. United States monopolists have not crept in. Chinese sovereignty is still perfectly intact. Neither the United States Government nor private United States capitalists have sought to own or control any important or vital enterprise on the island of Taiwan. United States private capital has, in some cases, gone into partnership with Chinese private capital or with my Government.

74. In this fight against poverty we have gained much valuable practical experience. We have on the island a respectable corps of engineers, scientists, administrators, and managers who have worked in conditions

similar to those found in many under-developed countries. We would be happy to make the services of these men available to other countries, either through the United Nations regular programme of technical assistance or on a bilateral basis.

75. I now come to the problem of disarmament. At the last session of the General Assembly the outlook for successful steps towards disarmament seemed more favourable than it had been for a long time. In March 1960 the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, established on 7 September 1959, met in Geneva. For a time it seemed that some kind of agreement could be reached. But the optimism was ill-founded. In the latter part of June the communist members of the Committee walked out on the negotiations just at a time when the United States was about to submit new proposals.^{3/}

76. Disarmament is a complex question. It requires patience and goodwill. In September 1959 the Soviet Union offered the General Assembly a grandiose scheme of total disarmament to be achieved in four years [see A/4219]. The proposal has been repeated at this session of the General Assembly [see A/4505].

77. My delegation believes in disarmament. We are convinced that if we are "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", as the Charter obliges us to do, there is no choice but to put an effective stop to the present dangerous armaments race. We believe that disarmament is both urgent and feasible. There is no harm in envisaging total and complete disarmament as the final goal; but to wrangle over the immediate abolition of all armaments is to become bogged down in empty talk. The test is practicability. The most practicable procedure, it seems to my delegation, is to appraise honestly the various specific proposals that have been submitted. An agreement, even one of a minor character, is better than no agreement at all. A series of minor agreements can add up to major gains. It is only through the stage-by-stage reduction of armaments that the final goal of complete disarmament can be achieved.

78. It must be recognized that the possibilities for disarmament are conditioned by the state of technology and the climate of international confidence. Modern technology is advancing at so fast a pace that what is new and effective today may become useless and obsolete tomorrow. This is particularly true in the nuclear, missiles, and rocket fields. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can afford to be left behind in the development of newer and better weapons. The race is therefore definitely on. Nor can surprise attack be ruled out. With mass-destruction weaponry, some people may reason that it is quite within the capabilities of the attacking country to knock out in one lightning stroke the retaliatory power of the country attacked. In the present climate of mutual mistrust, it is essential that disarmament must be inspected and controlled. Any agreement on disarmament, unless accompanied by a system of controls, is not worth the paper it is written on.

79. My delegation favours stage-by-stage disarmament, not only because it is the most practicable procedure to go by, but also because it is more amenable to effective control. Guided by these considera-

tions, my delegation will heartily join all peace-loving nations in promoting disarmament.

80. My delegation is grateful to the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and Thailand for having requested the inclusion of an item entitled "the question of Tibet" in the agenda [see A/4444]. It is not my intention to go into a detailed discussion of the question of Tibet here. I leave that to the proper occasion later. I wish now merely to make some brief observations about the tragic fate of the Tibetan people since last year. Through ruthless suppression, the Chinese Communists have succeeded in transforming Tibet out of all recognition. They have used the class struggle to carry out the so-called land reform programme, which is only a prelude to total collectivization. The traditional Tibetan way of life has been uprooted. The right of the Tibetan people to religion has been forcibly violated and their right to exist as a distinct national or ethnical group has been denied. There has been mass killing of Buddhist monks and other leaders of Tibetan society. The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva has recently issued a documented report^{4/} on Chinese Communist atrocities against the Tibetan people. I commend that report to the attention of the General Assembly.

81. At this point, I wish to remind the Assembly that the brutalities practised by the Communists in Tibet have been practised by them in other parts of China. The social and economic programme of the Communists in Tibet is identical with their programme in China proper.

82. The drive for imperialist expansion on the part of the Chinese Communists has given evidence of an aggressiveness sharply at variance with their professions of loyalty to the "spirit of Bandung". I am sure that a number of Asian delegations in the Assembly can testify to this. In a recent pronouncement of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, published under the title "Long Live Leninism!", the Chinese Communists have frankly proclaimed that war is inevitable. They believe that, with the tremendous growth of the so-called socialist camp, the victory of Communism is not far off. They would not hesitate to use war and violence to achieve their final victory. It is clear that no country sharing common frontiers with China is safe from Chinese Communist aggression on this or that pretext.

83. The Chinese Communist régime is dedicated to the "historic mission" of bringing all Asia under communist domination. Recently it has extended its nefarious activities beyond Asia to Africa and Latin America. It is the greatest menace to international peace and security.

84. At home, the Chinese Communist régime has spawned a gigantic system of terror and torture, surveillance and repression, the like of which the world has never known. In my statement before the Assembly in September 1959 [812th meeting], I described the inhuman system of the so-called "people's communes". Through this system the people have been reduced to the level of the inmates of a zoo. The family as an institution has been abolished. Men and women are now living in dormitories and eat in common mess halls. They are no longer members of

families but of a labour brigade, a company or a platoon. Men and women rise at the call of the bugle and march to work in military formation. After twelve to fourteen hours of field work, they retire again at the call of the bugle to a meagre meal in the mess hall and then to sleep in the barrack-like dormitories. This diabolical system has now been extended from the rural areas to the cities. As a result, the whole country has literally become an over-sized slave camp.

85. The Chinese Communists are engaged in a mad race of industrialization. They find that they must squeeze the last ounce of energy out of the farmers in order to finance industrialization. They believe that collectivization and regimentation can facilitate the squeeze process. But as they resort to repression, the farmers lose all incentive to produce; indeed, in many cases, the farmers, ill-fed and over-worked, lose the physical capacity to produce. The Communist régime is caught in a vicious circle of its own making.

86. Under such intolerable circumstances, it is not without reason that there is a boiling, seething, and ultimately irrepressible mass of resentment among the suffering people. Eleven years of unlimited propaganda and unlimited indoctrination have failed to reconcile the people to the régime. The day will surely come when they will rise in revolt against their oppressors. When that day comes—and we have not the slightest doubt that it will come—the Government of the Republic of China now in Taiwan is duty bound to come to their aid. We Chinese will yet see the day of national liberation.

87. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen): It gives the Yemeni delegation great pleasure to extend its congratulations to Mr. Boland on his election as President of the General Assembly during this session. We are confident that with the help of God, with the wisdom, tact and wide experience for which the President is known, and with the sincere co-operation of delegations, we shall deal successfully with the serious international problems at issue.

88. The participation of a large number of Heads of States, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, and the admission of sixteen new Members to our Organization, coupled with the complex international problems which face us, indeed render this session one of historic significance.

89. To have had the privilege of receiving sixteen new Members into the United Nations is a source of joy to us, the Arab nations, in particular, in view of the strong cultural and religious ties which unite us with these new countries. One of these States is Cyprus, a Mediterranean country, bound by a strong tie to the Arab countries since the twelfth century—a relation which continues today. The Arab countries have always viewed with great concern the glorious struggle of Cyprus for the attainment of independence, and they have supported this independence with all the power at their command.

90. As to the fifteen African States, they are linked with the Arab nations and with Arab civilization by a strong bond that goes back to the twelfth century when Arab civilization and the Islamic religion spread to them from North Africa, and to Somalia from the Arabian Peninsula. In the name of the Government of Yemen, I salute these new States and welcome them.

We have high hopes that in the not too distant future we shall receive in this hall delegations from Algeria, Palestine, Oman, Kuwait, and the other African nations which have not as yet rid themselves of the colonial yoke.

91. This is a particularly historic session in view of the important international problems which now face us in an atmosphere overwhelmed by the cold war, by conflict and by hate. In sharp contrast to this session, the last was convened in an atmosphere characterized by understanding and hope—a hope emanating from the Geneva Conference,^{5/} from the Foreign Ministers' Conference,^{6/} and from a good start towards the solution of the question of disarmament by the creation of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Hopes were also high for arriving at a solution of the question of Algeria, at a time when France had finally conceded to the Algerians their right to self-determination, and had expressed its willingness to negotiate on this basis. Indeed, the last session commenced with a gleam of hope breaking through thick clouds and throwing light upon the international scene. Soon after, however, these hopes faded, one after another. The Ten-Nation Commission disintegrated, the Summit Conference in Paris failed, and the problem of the Congo (Leopoldville) assumed more complex proportions.

92. In the Middle East the international situation is regrettably discouraging. The Algerian war is in its sixth year. The hopes that were created by the possibility of arriving at an agreement based on self-determination have vanished. None of the hopes expressed repeatedly by the Assembly has materialized. Blood is still being shed in the cause of fundamental human rights. Palestine still labours under the yoke of Zionist colonialism and the refugees are still dispersed, subsisting in indescribable conditions of destitution. The question of the usurped southern part of Yemen continues to pose a threat to the peace and stability of the area. War still rages in Oman. And above all, the two Power blocs are engaged in a life and death race for thermo-nuclear arms and the domination of space.

93. This is why the present session of the Assembly is of great seriousness. The question arises here, is it possible for us to meet these serious events and to prescribe suitable solutions for them, which would disperse the dark clouds encompassing the world and bring instead peace and security? We, the Yemeni delegation, entertain the firm conviction that, with sincerity and patience, this is possible. I shall venture now to show briefly how we feel that this might be accomplished.

94. As to disarmament, it behoves both parties to leave the door open for negotiation. In this atomic age we face either destruction or negotiations to achieve peace. And although we grant that complete disarmament is desirable, our initial aim should be modest, confining itself to partial disarmament, with a certain degree of control. But before we can achieve this aim we should, first of all, discard hate and distrust. This is a fundamental prerequisite for success.

^{5/}Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which opened on 31 October 1958.

^{6/}Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference, held at Geneva from 11 May to 20 June and from 13 July to 5 August 1959.

95. In the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), the United Nations has made a good start. In less than six months many States have responded to its call and sent military contingents that have reached a figure of 18,000. Other countries have contributed by sending food, clothing and medical supplies. This would not have been possible if it were not for the energy and experience of the Secretary-General and his aides, for which they deserve our thanks. Through them the first objective sought by the United Nations in the Republic of the Congo, which was the withdrawal of the Belgian troops, has been achieved. All these troops have withdrawn with the exception of a number of civilian experts who remained at some western bases. We believe that these experts should withdraw as soon as possible and be replaced by experts from the Congo itself or from other African countries.

96. It is regrettable, however, that serious impediments have begun to appear in the way of continuing the United Nations operations in the Congo. A serious internal dispute has erupted and some provinces have started seceding under internal and external influences, encouraged by outside assistance. All this stands as an insurmountable barrier in the way of the independence and unity of the Congo and the performance by the United Nations of its task to achieve these aims. In the opinion of the Yemini delegation there is no hope of achieving stability in the Congo as long as foreign hands continue to operate in the dark, spreading seeds of enmity and discord. We appeal to all countries to refrain from fomenting insurrection or from extending military assistance. The task of enforcing the observance of these restrictions is the foremost duty of the United Nations in the Congo. We appeal also to the Congolese people to consolidate their ranks and to forget their hatreds. The path ahead is long and rocky.

97. We also call upon the African countries to use their good offices with all parties in the Congo with a view to achieving stable conditions there. We call upon them to observe strict neutrality between the parties to the dispute. Last, but not least, the forces and representatives of the United Nations in the Congo should be careful to pursue a course of absolute neutrality between various communities and parties.

98. Next the question arises, are we able to meet the challenge offered by events in the Middle East? It is regrettable that the Middle East is still pervaded by serious problems. Through the ashes we see sparks of a fire on the verge of igniting.

99. The Palestine question, which is the main cause of the lack of stability and peace in this area, is still outstanding. We find Israel stubbornly refusing for the last twelve years to implement the resolutions of the United Nations pertaining to the Palestine question. The problem of the Palestine refugees is still unsolved, and the people of Palestine are still living under destitute and humiliating conditions.

100. There is the problem of the southern part of Yemen, a problem which is of great concern to my country for it is not an insignificant matter that this part of Yemen should continue to labour under colonial domination. These southern regions of Yemen have recently been christened a federation. But they are part and parcel of the territory of Yemen, as is borne out by history and by continued relations between them and the mother-Yemen. The situation has led

to continual aggression against the borders of our country and, in turn, has caused grievous loss in life and property. Despite all this, my Government continues to entertain the hope that this problem may be solved through amicable negotiations with a view to preventing bloodshed and preserving peace and stability.

101. In Oman a war continues to rage with great intensity. The leaders of Oman suffer from extreme restrictions and the people face immediate danger. Their houses have been damaged and their properties have been violated and robbed. The question of Oman was brought before the Security Council in 1957 without avail. In view of the extreme tension which prevails in that area, the Arab countries, members of the League of Arab States, decided to request that this question should be placed in the Assembly's agenda again during the present session [see A/4521]. We maintain that military operations at present being undertaken in Oman not only constitute a danger to the peace of the Middle East but are also a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

102. Not far from Oman stands the Buraimi Oasis, which is part of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The problem of Buraimi is closely related to that of Oman. The Secretary-General of the United Nations did well when he despatched a representative to investigate conditions in this oasis and to contact both parties to the dispute. It is hoped that this representative will submit his report within the coming few months. And while we wish him success in this mission, we hope that the representative of the Secretary-General will also investigate the question of Oman, because, as has already been indicated, it lies adjacent to the Buraimi Oasis and is closely related thereto. We hope that these efforts will culminate in an amicable solution to these two problems.

103. There is also a new serious problem which has been added to other Arab problems. It is the question of Mauritania, upon which France seeks to bestow independence with the purpose of separating it from Moroccan territory, of which Mauritania is an integral part, as is borne out by various international treaties concluded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. France recognized the fact that Mauritania belonged to Morocco before it imposed the protectorate régime upon Moroccan territory in 1912.

104. Since Morocco achieved independence, one of its foremost concerns has been to consolidate its sovereignty over all its territory and to recover this region. It was agreed upon with France that Morocco would reserve its right to negotiate this question of its borders. It is also an established fact that the rulers of Morocco, from time immemorial, have appointed governors to this region and collected taxes from it. In addition to all these factors, the inhabitants of the region themselves insist on their return to Morocco, their homeland.

105. Finally, how are we to face during this session the question of the Algerian war? For the past six years the Algerian war has been raging. Blood is being shed from both sides and losses are being sustained in both life and property. Hundreds of refugees, including women and children, have fled to surrounding countries. In this war torture, imprisonment and bloodshed take place in violation of the rules of war

and, in particular, of article 3 of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war of 12 August 1949. The crimes committed have been established beyond any doubt by a report made by the International Committee of the Red Cross.^{2/} This human problem warrants the special attention of the present session of the General Assembly.

106. There was a ray of hope for the solution of the Algerian crisis when the French declared their willingness to arrive at a solution on the basis of self-determination. The Algerian Government accepted this offer and declared its willingness to send a delegation for this purpose, led by Ferhat Abbas, the Head of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. It was deemed advisable to send representatives in order to undertake procedural arrangements for negotiation. Soon after that it became clear to those representatives that the projected negotiations would not be conducted in a free atmosphere. They found that the Algerian negotiators, for as long as they were in France for the purposes of negotiation, would have to submit to some kind of restrictions similar to those imposed upon prisoners of war. The Algerians could not accept such treatment, for negotiations with such a start do not inspire any hope of success.

107. The Algerians were careful to reveal to the world the essence of the reasons for their refusal to negotiate, pointing out the bad intentions of the French. Yet they left the door open for future negotiations. Finally, the Algerians proposed that a plebiscite be taken in Algeria under the auspices of the United Nations for determining the future of the country.

108. During each of the last three sessions of the General Assembly, France faced us with a new trick. At one time she faced the United Nations with a law relating to an Algerian plebiscite, on another with the offer of a "Brave Man's Peace", and finally, last year, France came forward with the offer of self-determination. On each of these three occasions United Nations resolutions relating to Algeria were formulated in a moderate tone, in response to the wishes of some Member States that the door be left open between both parties. Last year, the trick of "self-determination" was so strong and influential that it led to the defeat of the special draft resolution [A/L.276] submitted on Algeria, which did not muster two-thirds of the votes.

109. One wonders, therefore, whether, at the start of this session, we shall be faced with a new trick. These comic absurdities and manoeuvres should be promptly brought to an end. We should agree upon a resolution on Algeria which would place matters in their proper perspective, without ambiguity or suspicion. The time has come when the United Nations should assume its responsibility in this serious matter.

110. I have surveyed briefly the problems which cloud the international atmosphere. We bear a serious responsibility and we face a duty which we ought to discharge. Shall we be able during this session to face these serious problems? Shall we be able to face the problems of the arms race, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Algerian war, Palestine and other important questions? Will the United Nations fulfil its great duty to

take effective steps towards settling the Algerian question which has been left unsolved for a good many years? The Algerians are asking for nothing but their legitimate right of self-determination and to enjoy the freedom which all of us here enjoy.

111. I believe that we can do so, if we realize the serious dangers which these outstanding problems raise for the human race in general in this atomic age, if we put aside competition and disagreement, and if we debate with wisdom and under the influence of good guidance rather than in a spirit of conflict and indifference. Yes, if we do that, we shall be able to face successfully the international problems brought before us. This is the only way to ensure a peaceful life for our children and grandchildren on this earth. Let us devote our endeavours to this noble aim, so that peace may dawn and the human race may live under stable and secure conditions.

112. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cuba in exercise of his right of reply.

113. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): At the meeting of the General Assembly on 5 October [888th meeting], the Guatemalan delegation took the liberty of accusing the Revolutionary Government of Cuba of "further instances of interference" in the political affairs of its country. This is the second time it has made that accusation in the course of the general debate. It would not surprise me if it made the same charge a hundred times again. The clock chimes as its hands are moved. I have asked to speak in exercise of my right of reply precisely because I wish to explain the reasons for such strange behaviour and the intentions behind it, without prejudice to the time which my delegation has reserved to give a complete refutation of the objections raised against the speech [874th meeting] of the Prime Minister of my country, Mr. Fidel Castro.

114. Mr. Fidel Castro had already stressed the point when he spoke from this rostrum. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba abhors half-tones and understatement in domestic and international politics. It uses a language as clear, direct and bold as the light of the sun in the tropics. It considers it a duty always to speak the truth, however inconvenient or irritating. In international politics those who adopt positions of force or those who serve them resort to lies to conceal their true intentions.

115. The charge in question, like the previous one, does not come from an independent decision of the Government of Guatemala. That Government has, in this instance, as in the previous one, simply received orders and obeyed them. These orders emanate from the United States Department of State at the instigation of the United Fruit Company. Although it claims to belong to the "free world", prides itself on its "democratic institutions" and makes heated statements in defence of its "sovereignty", it is an open secret in the Western hemisphere that the present Government of Guatemala is a creature of the United States Department of State and of the United Fruit Company and acts accordingly.

116. The procedure is familiar enough in this part of the world. Every time a people subjected to United States economic exploitation and political domination attempts to free itself, or frees itself, from the yoke, the United States imperialists will make use of one

^{2/}International Committee of the Red Cross, *The ICRC and the Algerian Conflict*, December 1959.

or another of their well-known satellites as a base for operations, inside or outside the Organization of American States, against that people. In 1954 Guatemala itself was a victim of the very tactics it is now trying to use against Cuba—I say "trying", because in Cuba United States imperialism will meet not its Guatemala but its Waterloo.

117. It goes without saying that the false charge we are refuting forms part of these tactics, as does the Department of State's advice to United States residents in Cuba to leave the island, the recent expedition of mercenaries, routed by Cuba's army and peasant militia, who found a United States flag and army regulations on prisoners taken, the self-aggression which is being prepared at the Guantánamo naval base in order to justify direct United States armed aggression, and the severance of diplomatic relations which is already being planned by the White House. In short, it is the imperialist plot which was denounced with copious and irrefutable evidence in the Security Council, at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics held at San José, Costa Rica in August 1960 and in the General Assembly.

118. And what is the reason for all this? The pretext is clearly that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is a pawn of international Communism, that it is infiltrated with communists, or that it is simply a communist régime in addition, of course, to being a danger to the peace, security and solidarity of the hemisphere. That is the pretext which has already been used in Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, the United Arab Republic, India, Guinea, Ghana and now in the Congo (Leopoldville). Patrice Lumumba has also been accused of being a communist. But this convenient label—which does not frighten us in the least—is being used hypocritically to cover the reluctance to admit and to accept that Cuba has asserted its independence and has left the sphere of the political, economic, diplomatic and military interests of United States imperialism, that Cuba is not now allowing itself, like Guatemala, to be used as a spearhead for United States designs against the territorial integrity, national self-determination, sovereignty and independence of a brother country.

119. The Guatemalan Government has falsely accused the Revolutionary Government of Cuba of secretly sending arms to its communist opponents and of acts of intervention and aggression. I should like to make it perfectly clear that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is not concerned with taking part in arms contraband or any other form of contraband. It is understandable, however, that professional smugglers should judge others by themselves. And it is also understandable that the professional interventionists and aggressors who are helping the interventions or attacks on others accuse the rest of being interventionists and aggressors. It is the old technique of the thief who, when he is being pursued, cries "Stop, thief!".

120. The Cuban delegation wishes to counter the untrue allegation of the Guatemalan delegation with a true charge which implies very serious responsibilities for the imperialist Government of the United States. I shall proceed to prove this charge with well-supported facts.

121. An official communiqué issued by the Guatemalan Government asserts that "a schooner registered in Cuba, apparently intending to make a landing on the Atlantic coast of Guatemala, was put to flight by the air force and ran aground on the island of Cozumel". It also seems, according to the communiqué, that the schooner formed "the vanguard of an invasion fleet organized by the Cuban Government for the purpose of invading Guatemala, overthrowing its Government, imposing a régime of the Castro type, and preventing the establishment of United States military bases on the national territory". This last assertion is in fact conclusive: a confession made by one party renders further evidence unnecessary. Although whatever is attributed to the Cuban Government in this delirious communiqué is absolutely false, there is no doubt that the Guatemalan Government has declared its willingness to accept foreign military bases on its national territory. The mere willingness in this case is already extremely serious, for what it signifies and entails for the territorial integrity, the national self-determination, the sovereignty and independence of the Guatemalan people; but still more serious is the fact that those United States military bases are already secretly established and are active centres of the imperialist conspiracy against Cuba—which is a truly criminal outrage against the peace, security and solidarity of the Latin American peoples.

122. The interventionist and aggressive activities of the Guatemalan Government against Cuba have now been going on for many months. The discovery and denunciation of those activities by the Cuban Government is the real reason why Guatemala has broken off diplomatic relations with our country. Since then these activities have increased and become more systematic, to the point where the Guatemalan Government officially declares itself a most willing tool of the Department of State and of the United States monopolies in their vain attempt to destroy the Cuban revolution; the Guatemalan Government was compelled to admit this at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation in Costa Rica and is now confirming it within these walls.

123. The Guatemalan Government now shares with the United States the infamous privilege of acting as a sanctuary and bulwark for the most hardened war criminals who have fled from Cuba and for the most notorious "sepoys" of the international conspiracy. In order not to overtax the Assembly's attention I shall confine myself to a brief account of the facts which demonstrate the complicity and co-operation of the Guatemalan Government in the imperialist plot against Cuba:

(1) The constant arrival in Guatemala, by various routes, of adventurers and mercenaries of all kinds is well known; they are recruited by Cuban and United States counter-revolutionary agents and are immediately assigned to military training camps. One of these camps is situated on the "Inca" plantation, the property of the United Fruit Company, very close to the frontier between Guatemala and Honduras. The Ministry of Defence has banned flights in this region in order to prevent the illegal activities which are carried on in the camp from becoming known.

(2) Since the end of August and the beginning of September 1960, troops, boats and barges of the Guatemalan army have been concentrating on the Atlantic coast of the country.

(3) Numerous pro-Batista exiles and adventurers from Puerto Rico are receiving special training from United States military personnel on the "Helvetia" plantation, situated in the township of El Palmar, adjacent to the Departments of Retalhuleu and Quezaltenango, in the western part of the country, and recently acquired by Roberto Alejo, brother of Carlos Alejo, the Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States and a member of a family with considerable influence in higher circles. The total number of foreigners amounts to 185, forty-five of whom are United States nationals. A concrete landing strip with underground hangars has been built on the aforementioned plantation and a highway is being constructed to the Pacific coast. Detection apparatus has also been installed. The roads leading to the "Helvetia" plantation are patrolled by soldiers of the Guatemalan army. The foreigners are not allowed to have contacts with the local population.

(4) The city airport at Retalhuleu has been rapidly prepared by United States engineers in order to permit the handling of jets and heavy aircraft. The airport at San José and meteorological observatory are under military control. Many aircraft have been landing during the past few days, loaded with heavy crates which are immediately transported to the Retalhuleu region.

(5) Landing fields have been built in the Petén area. The one at Poptun was built with United States money. Arms are supplied from this airfield to the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. The aircraft assembled on this field carry the initials CP. They are guarded by employees of the United Fruit Company. The town of Gracias de Dios has a large quantity of stores for various arms sent from the United States. The aircraft used in this arms smuggling are twin-engined.

(6) In the village of Carmelita (a township of the Department of Petén) a base has been established for military reconnaissance aircraft and, at the present time, there are more than ten aircraft there, supposedly Guatemalan.

(7) During August and September more than a hundred United States airmen and military technicians entered Guatemala in the guise of tourists. There are now more than forty jets, bombers of various types, and Globemaster transports, all belonging to the United States armed forces, assembled in Guatemala for use in a secret air attack on Cuba. In order to help in this international piracy, the Guatemalan Government has recently acquired six B-25 bombers at a cost of \$500,000 each.

(8) Bombers with Cuban markings have been seen on La Aurora airport. It is public knowledge that they have the twofold mission of attacking Cuba and simulating a Cuban attack against Guatemala. This plan was announced in Guatemala itself a few weeks ago by the Government's political opponents.

124. My delegation wishes to denounce the Guatemalan Government before the world for concealing, instigating and organizing acts of subversion, intervention and aggression against the territorial integrity, the national self-determination, the sovereignty and independence of Cuba, on the orders of the United States Department of State and in the interests of the United Fruit Company and of all the reactionary forces opposed to the upward development of the Latin American peoples. Moreover, this denunciation is accompanied by a definite warning: if the conspirators, interventionists and aggressors attempt any ill-advised act, the Cuban people will have the last word; the Cuban people is waiting for them, united, strong and steadfast, and will make them bite the dust of defeat. Reason and justice are on the side of the Cuban revolution and are stronger than all the intrigues, plots, naval bases and thermo-nuclear weapons of United States imperialism. That is why we have combined the Spartan watchword "Fatherland or death" with the motto which brightens our difficult but noble way: "We shall conquer!"

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.