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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. LOUW (Union of South Africa): The fifteenth session of the United Nations will in future years be remembered, firstly because of the record attendance of Heads of State and of Prime Ministers, and secondly because of the entry into the Organization of no less than sixteen States from the continent of Africa.
2. But there is a third, and a more important reason why this fifteenth session will be noted in the history books of the future. At previous Assemblies there have been clashes, some of them serious, between the opposing communist and non-communist blocs, which in some cases assumed the appearance of a clash between the West and the East.
3. At this session, the cold war against the Western nations has been openly and, I may say, aggressively waged by the Soviet delegation and by the other communist States, under the personal leadership of Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. There is a danger that the cold war could lead to a shooting war—to global war. I think that all or at least most of the delegations are aware of the fact that a delicate and dangerous situation has been created.
4. Mr. Khrushchev's attacks on the Secretary-General, and his threat to lead the communist States out of the United Nations, may be regarded by some as idle threats. On the other hand, the happenings at this Assembly, the unruly proceedings of last Thursday, the proceedings at yesterday's session, can also be regarded as an indication of what is going on in the minds of the communist leaders.
5. The threatening danger may be temporarily averted, but the state of tension which has existed since the West Berlin blockade of 1948 will continue, unless the leaders of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Russia get together and settle outstanding issues round a conference table. True, such talks have taken place in past years, and without fruitful results; but that is no reason why another

attempt should not be made, which might be successful provided there is adequate preparatory work, and provided also that the leaders on both sides approach it in the proper spirit. I fully agree with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Mr. Macmillan, that the atmosphere of suspicion and fear should first be removed. My delegation fully supports the attempt made in that direction by Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia.

6. There is a factor in connexion with the present situation which cannot be ignored, and that is the large increase in one single session of no less than sixteen new Member States from the continent of Africa, which has materially altered the relative position of the different groups in the United Nations. There seems to be little doubt—at any rate, in my mind—that this was one of the main reasons for Mr. Khrushchev's unexpected decision personally to lead his delegation at this session of the Assembly.

7. Mr. Khrushchev is keenly interested in Africa. It is common knowledge that for the past five or six years there has been a steady infiltration into some of the emergent States of Africa of Communist agents of various kinds—commercial, technical and political. This courting, if I may so call it, of the emergent States of Africa has met with some success, as has been evident at this Assembly in the pro-Soviet leanings shown by certain of the African delegations. The record of Soviet interference in the Congo is of course well-known to all delegations.

8. We in South Africa have good reason to regard with apprehension the signs of growing Communist influences in Africa. We have had experience of those influences in our own country. A number of the leaders of the African National Congress, which is a subversive organization, an organization which largely contributed to the Sharpeville riots earlier this year, are well-known Communists, some of them having been trained in Moscow.

9. In spite of the attacks to which my country has been, and still is being, subjected, South Africa has always taken a strong stand against Communism in any form. The Communist Party is banned in South Africa. The Soviet Consul-General was asked to leave the country in 1955 and Consular representation was abolished or terminated.

10. In 1948 the present Government of its own volition sent units of the South African Air Force to participate in the West Berlin airlift. And when the United Nations called for military assistance in Korea, South Africa was one of only sixteen out of sixty countries to send an air squadron, at a considerable cost of human lives and heavy financial sacrifice. South Africa—unlike some of the other countries that responded to the call—has no direct political or strategic interest in the Far East. The sending of our

squadron was our contribution to the fight against Communist aggression. We in South Africa stand where we have always stood in our opposition to Communism in any form—be it of the pale pink variety, or of the brightest red. We will tolerate neither professed Communists nor fellow travellers.

11. I say again that we in South Africa have reason to be concerned about Communist penetration in the continent of Africa. This is particularly so in regard to that part of Africa that lies south of the Sahara.

12. It is necessary to remind this Assembly that South Africa is as much an African State as any of those that during the past year or again at this session, were admitted as Members of this Organization. The word "African" is purely a geographical term and does not have an ethnic connotation. There is not an "African" race as such. As regards racial origin, language and customs, the African States and territories differ as much from each other as the different countries of Europe and Asia respectively.

13. In this connexion last year [811th meeting] when speaking from this rostrum, I informed the Assembly that when the first European settlers arrived at the Cape of Good Hope more than 300 years ago, the country comprising the present Union of South Africa was uninhabited except for roaming bands of Hottentots near the Coast and small bands of bushmen further north. At that time the Bantu, the black men that had moved southward from east and central Africa, were crossing the Limpopo which is today the northern boundary of the Union of South Africa. Those Bantu from the eastern and northern territories were themselves immigrants and settlers to what is today the Union of South Africa, and their descendents have no better claim to South Africa than the descendents of the original Dutch settlers who arrived there more than 300 years ago, and then the later English settlers.

14. May I point out that the position of the European-descended people of South Africa is in that respect similar to the European-descended people of North, Central and South America. The European-descended population has as much right to be in South Africa as the descendents of the original settlers have to claim North, Central and South America respectively as their homes. We are as much entitled to call ourselves South Africans as they have to be known as North Americans or as Latin Americans.

15. The original European settlers in the two Americas opened up and developed the countries of North, South and Central America and made them what they are today. What happened to the indigenous people of those countries—how many of them remain, and in what condition most of them are living—are questions to which I do not intend replying.

16. So also, the original Dutch immigrants that came to the Cape of Good Hope more than 300 years ago and the later English settlers, those who came after them, opened up and developed South Africa and made it what it is today, the most prosperous and far and away the most highly industrialized country of the whole African continent. We in South Africa are proud of the fact that our country is financially and economically sound. It has never been necessary for South Africa to seek outside aid, be it Marshall Aid or any other kind of aid. When, for purposes of capital development, it has been necessary to float loans

abroad, these have been promptly repaid on the due date, and there are no arrears of interest.

17. In the case of South Africa, the natives or Bantu that migrated from Central and Eastern Africa have greatly increased in numbers; they have flourished in South Africa. More than half of them, or about half, live in their own territories, extensive territories, which are reserved solely for their own occupation. Those territories are progressively being given increased powers of self-government and they are being financially assisted to develop along sound economic lines. That is the policy now and for the future.

18. In this respect—I am referring now to the condition of the native peoples—the Bantu peoples in our country, compared with present and past colonial territories in Africa and also in other parts of the world, the descendants of the original Dutch and English settlers in South Africa have a record of which they may well be proud.

19. I return again to the communist infiltration and penetration of Africa. The aim of that penetration in the continent of Africa appears to be to create conditions of unrest and later of chaos in the emergent African States and territories. That seems to be clear from recent events in the Congo.

20. Unfortunately, the stirring up of unrest in South Africa has not been limited only to Communist activities. Permit me briefly to show how, in this Assembly and its Committees, the attitude also of some Western delegations has had the effect of indirectly encouraging subversive activities, and also revolt, in the Union of South Africa and in South West Africa. In this connexion I wish to direct the attention of leaders of delegations to information which was given to the Fourth Committee last week. I think it is necessary that other leaders of delegations should know about that information.

21. During past years, the United Nations Committee on South West Africa has, in spite of protests from successive South African delegations, been willing to hear evidence from expatriates and other persons, of no standing whatsoever amongst their own people in South West Africa, and who certainly cannot claim to speak on behalf of those people.

22. It is necessary, I think, to give this Assembly some idea of the type of witness to whose evidence credence is being given by the United Nations Committee on South West Africa and also by the majority of representatives in the Fourth Committee.

23. It will be recalled that last year rioting took place in the Windhoek native township. The direct cause of those riots was that the inhabitants were incited to oppose moving to a new township which, at considerable cost, had been erected by the Windhoek Municipal Administration. Rioters attacked the municipal officials and also the small police force. The police were obliged to fire in self-defence, and there were some deaths. A judicial inquiry was immediately ordered by the Union Government, and it was entrusted to Mr. Justice Hall, Judge-President of South West Africa and a former Judge of the Appeal Court of South Africa—a judge of the very highest standing in our country, where the judicial level, I may say, is very high. This is the man—this very eminent judge—who, during the course of this year, was described

by one of these petitioners as a stooge of the South African Government.

24. In the course of this judicial inquiry, original letters and telegrams were produced which had been sent by these petitioners to their fellow conspirators in South West Africa—petitioners who had been operating here, from New York, under the cover, shall I say, of the United Nations. From these letters and telegrams it is quite clear—dealing first with one of the petitioners—that, while operating here from New York, he urged his countrymen in the township at Windhoek to resist and to oppose moving to the new township—even, he said, at the risk of violence and bloodshed. That this was clearly in his mind appears from one of the letters produced at the inquiry, in which he wrote:

"If the Administration is forced to use violence they will show their true character to the world. We do not want to see one drop of African blood shed, but we must face that possibility, and make the most of it." [A/4464, annex V, para. 24.]

May I say, in passing, that never at any time did the municipal administration threaten or even suggest that the inhabitants should be forcibly moved from the old to the new township, although it was greatly in their interest to go to the new township.

25. This witness went so far as to write and encourage his fellow conspirators in South West Africa to burn the homes of the loyal chiefs in Ovamboland, in the north. This is what he wrote:

"If those nominated Chiefs say a word, tell our people to burn their places at night—secretly, of course." [Ibid.]

26. In an earlier letter, dated 14 February 1959, this petitioner suggested that "a petition be sent to the United States Government and to the Prime Minister of Russia for immediate military action against South Africa".

He then went on:

"Boy, this will make the British to even force South Africa to place South West Africa under trusteeship, because they—the British—are afraid of Russia". [Ibid.]

27. Then there was another petitioner about whom I also informed the Fourth Committee. He recently went to Peking in Communist China, and there he made several broadcasts—he also held press conferences—addressed to "our comrades and brothers in Communist China". In true Communist style, he denounced the "imperialist" countries and spoke of the United States as the "self-styled guardian of peace and freedom".

28. This broadcast of his was monitored. He evidently did not realize that, when he was speaking in Peking, his words would be monitored and sent to the rest of the world. In this broadcast, in any event, he went on to say:

"Under the guise of assistance, our enemy is one, and he is international... Let us not only keep Washington and its leaders in check, but let us destroy them... We can shorten [our struggle] by learning from the dynamic leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung... We can also learn from the great

leadership of Fidel Castro, who is at the moment fighting the United States aggression."

29. I think that I may perhaps be pardoned for drawing these words particularly to the attention of the United States delegation.

30. Also, on the subject of the United Nations and the Secretary-General, he followed what has since emerged as the Communist policy. He said:

"It is the dollar that maintains the United Nations and Secretary-General Hammarskjöld; it is the dollar that divides Asia and in the Congo is carrying on a campaign of sabotage of the people's independence under the guise of United Nations assistance, and where Ralph Bunche becomes the big adviser of Hammarskjöld against troops being used to liquidate the imperialistic stooge Tshombé."

This is a man who gives evidence before the Fourth Committee, and to whose evidence credence is given by a majority of the members of the Fourth Committee.

31. I mention these activities of these so-called witnesses from South West Africa because I consider it necessary to make clear, to those delegations that may not be aware of it, and particularly to leaders of delegations, the threat of Communist penetration not only in other parts of Africa but also in South Africa and in South West Africa.

32. Instead of appreciating South Africa's stand against Communism and against communist infiltration and penetration in Africa, many of the Western countries, and also the Press of those countries, in association with a majority—not all, but a majority—of the African-Asian bloc and also the Communist countries, have gone out of their way to create trouble for South Africa. And, as I pointed out when I spoke in the inscription debate [898th meeting] some of these Western countries and also their newspapers, which are continually attacking South Africa, are themselves permitting discrimination in various forms, including racial discrimination.

33. I would add that these attacks on South Africa, which have been going on for the past fifteen years, are to a very large extent based on prejudiced, one-sided and often false Press reports published in the newspapers.

34. Speaking in the present general debate, Mr. Wadsworth, [870th meeting] the leader of the United States delegation, referring to Mr. Khrushchev's attacks on the United States, complained that they had been based on what he called a distorted image of events in the United States as presented in some foreign newspapers. Our complaint in that respect is the same as that of the leader of the United States delegation.

35. I come now to something else. In my statement in the inscription debate [898th meeting] on Monday 10 October I said that we in South Africa were no longer prepared to bear with patience and with forbearance the attacks and the vilification to which we had been subjected both inside and outside of the United Nations. In this general debate, also, attacks have been made on South Africa, some of them in unrestrained language.

36. I referred also in that statement to the generally acknowledged principle of equity that a complainant must come to court with clean hands, and said that

that was a principle of equity that was observed in my country and, I believe, in many other countries. I said also that the bulk of the forty-one States that are this year making these charges against the Union of South Africa have not come to this Assembly with clean hands. It is my intention today to present to this Assembly, as I promised in the inscription debate, the necessary evidence in support of my contention.

37. I leave aside the fact that in acting on these complaints, as it has been doing in past years, the Assembly has itself grossly violated a basic principle of the Charter enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7, namely, that the United Nations shall not interfere in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

38. The main charge against South Africa relates to our alleged contravention of Article 55 of the Charter — more specifically South Africa's alleged non-observance of the principles laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms. I shall now proceed to give some evidence about our attackers.

39. Let us take a look first at India, whose delegation for the past fifteen years has led the attack on South Africa. On Friday 7 October 1960 when Nigeria was being welcomed as a new Member State of the United Nations, the representative of India [893rd meeting] could not refrain from making use of what was intended to be a happy occasion by sandwiching, shall I say, into his speech some unsavoury remarks about South Africa. My Department has accumulated a wealth of evidence regarding conditions in India and the manner in which discrimination and oppression are being practised there.

40. When, earlier this year, a small force of South African police was obliged to take action against some 16,000 to 20,000 Bantu rioters, who had been actively incited also from outside the Union, India was among those who raised their voices in outraged indignation. What is India's record in this respect? It shows that over the years riots in India have been of regular occurrence. In 1955, I believe it was, riots took place in connexion with certain boundary questions. Police fired on the rioters and, according to official figures, seventy-five persons were killed and a very large number were wounded. Unofficial reports placed the casualties at a much higher figure. There have been many other riots in India during past years when numbers of persons were killed and wounded. I cannot recall that the Security Council ever called India to account for those shootings.

41. The story of the oppression and violence committed against the Naga people in India is a terrible and shocking one. The President of the Naga National Council, Mr. A. Z. Phizo, in a report recently issued in London and entitled "The Fate of the Naga People", gives in some detail the acts alleged to have been committed by the Government of India by means of the Indian army against the Naga people. I quote from that report recently issued:

"For the past seven years, our age-old freedom has been and is being systematically destroyed by the Indian Army. The Indian Army have tortured, killed, and raped, set up and filled concentration camps and prisons, banned the very means of living: the tilling of the ground and the growing of crops. They have tried to subjugate our nation or to annihilate it.

"...The twentieth century has seen no more bitter irony than this terrible relapse of...the apostle of non-violence in world affairs, into the use of atrocity and attempted genocide to press its will on a tiny and almost defenceless people.

"...On November 15th, 1954, Indian armed forces raided the village of Yengpang and killed sixty men, women and children. On November 27th a battalion from a military camp destroyed the village of Chingmei by bombardment, causing an unknown total of deaths. The Indians developed their plan for wholesale village extermination, and in the year 1955 it is believed that about 10,000 Free Nagas lost their lives."

That is as regards alleged violence in Naga.

42. Delegations which have been here during past years are, of course, aware of Indian violence and oppression in Kashmir, which has been going on for a considerable period. That is a matter which has been discussed not only in the General Assembly but also at great length in the Security Council.

43. From many accounts the Sikh minority in India is also struggling against oppression and denial of fundamental rights and freedoms. As recently as in June of this year it was reported that thousands of peaceful demonstrators in Delhi, men, women and children, mainly Sikhs, had been trampled by the mounted police, beaten ruthlessly with heavy steel reinforced lathis, and large numbers of them killed. And according to a Reuter report police again opened fire only a few days ago when gaoled Sikhs rioted in Bhatinda. Four persons were killed and forty-eight injured.

44. South Africa has frequently been attacked for the alleged conditions under which the Bantu people live in our country. In this connexion I could, if I had the time, quote extensively from ILO reports, and from authoritative works on the shocking conditions under which the peasants and working classes in India are living, and on the prevalence of disease and malnutrition in the larger cities and also in the Scheduled Areas.

45. And yet, in spite of conditions existing in its own country, the Indian delegation has had the effrontery in past years also to accuse South Africa of not conforming to the precepts set out in Article 55 of the Charter. The effrontery is so much greater when there is borne in mind the great progress that has been made in South Africa, not only in clearing up the slums that came into existence at Johannesburg and Durban, particularly during the war years, but also in the very great extent to which suitable housing has been supplied in our leading cities and elsewhere.

46. Now I come to the question of discrimination. What is the position with regard to discrimination in India? According to ILO reports it appears that in spite of the prohibition against the cruel caste system it is still being maintained on a large scale.

47. Sir Alan Burns, in an authoritative work published in 1957^{1/}, quotes from Indian official reports to show the shocking conditions under which the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes live. He quotes the following statement by an Indian author:

^{1/} Sir Alan Burns, *In Defence of Colonies* (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1957) p. 155.

"Our case at the United Nations would have been stronger, if the high moral standards of human rights that Pandit Nehru demands for our people elsewhere, were available to them at home. The maxim which says that whoever comes to equity, must come with clean hands, operates adversely on us, in view of some of the shocking manifestations of caste which are still to be seen in our 'deep south' ..."

48. I would here mention that I had already drafted that part of my address in the debate on allocation of items where I referred to the principle of equity and about "coming to Court with clean hands" when the above quotation from Sir Alan Burns's book came to my notice.

49. Indian delegations to the United Nations are horrified by discrimination on the ground of colour. And yet, students from Africa attending Indian universities and colleges, in a statement issued about two years ago, complained bitterly about the way in which they were shunned and looked down upon by most of their Indian fellow students because of their black skins. These allegations by students from Africa were denied in the official India News, but a former Commonwealth High Commissioner to India—at that time retired—immediately reacted with a letter to a prominent London newspaper. And this former High Commissioner wrote:

"The average Indian, beguiled by the diatribes of his delegates at the United Nations, and sharing the human frailty of seeing the mote in his neighbour's eye while missing the beam in his own, would be astonished to learn what the thousand or so African students in India think about Indian race prejudice ...because of their black colour."

50. Owing to limitation of time, I have mentioned only a few examples of non-observance by India of Article 55 of the Charter. There are many other examples, including the Preventive Detention Act, which provides that persons can be detained for an indefinite period without trial. It is clear from the wording of the Act that it is intended to be used against so-called political offenders.

51. And then there is the system of debt bondage. Under this system, which operates particularly in Southern India, employers and landlords will lend money if the borrower will pledge himself and his children to work as bond-slaves. This system is described by Bruno Lasker, a member of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery, who states the following: "Bondage for debt is still the lot of millions of people in India."^{2/}

52. On the strength of the evidence at my disposal, and of which I have used only a small portion, I am fully entitled to say that, in laying charges against South Africa, the Indian delegation has not come to this Assembly with clean hands.

53. Now let us turn from Asia and take a look at two Western countries—Sweden and Norway—whose delegations in past years have joined in the attacks on South Africa. Apart from participating in the attacks on South Africa in the United Nations, the Press of those two countries, particularly that of Sweden, has, with one or two exceptions, been carrying on a vindictive and malicious campaign against my country.

I should say that the Press campaign carried on there is one of the worst of any country in the world.

54. Once again I put the question: have the Swedish and Norwegian delegations, whose Governments are sponsors of the complaints against South Africa, come to this Assembly with clean hands? Can these delegations, in all sincerity, say that discrimination is not in fact practised in respect of the small Lapp minorities in both their countries? Can they testify that the Lapps enjoy, in northern Sweden and northern Norway, the conditions of "higher standards of living full employment, and conditions of economic... progress" as specified in Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations?

55. In this matter I am going to leave it to prominent Swedish and Norwegian newspapers to provide the evidence which will show that, in accusing South Africa of racial discrimination and of denying fundamental human rights, these delegations have not come to this Assembly with clean hands. I shall quote first from Swedish sources. In an article in Expressen in January 1959, under the heading "Discrimination against the Lapps" we read the following:

"The Lapps are not allowed to decide for themselves... Their representatives are elected by the State. Their franchise is in practice limited. Their land is stolen. There are laws which are purely racial discrimination."

That article was written in January of last year—not ten years ago. I quote from another article in Expressen written also in January 1959 by Björn Forslund—I do not know who he is:

"The oppression of the Lapps, i.e., state laws and regulations, which puts them in a less privileged class, together with the prejudices of the ordinary people, has created a growing nationalism among our Swedish Lapp youth.

"The Lapp school system means:

"(a) An inferior form of teaching as compared with that of the usual Swedish school children;

"(b) Isolation"—"apartheid"—"of the Lapp children from other school children in the same village."

56. Then there is another editorial from a well-known Swedish paper, Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar, also in 1959:

"Here in Sweden we cannot give a satisfactory solution for the problem of the 10,000 Lapps. It has even been said that the Lapp organisations will go to the United Nations if nothing is done."

The article then puts its independent question as to what the position of the Swedish delegation to the United Nations would be if it had to defend Swedish racial discrimination against South Africa's representatives—which is happening right now.

57. Another well known Swedish paper, Vecko-Journalen, wrote in December 1958:

"Those who have the care of the Lapps, have lately been disturbed in their consciences. There has been mention of action by the United Nations, and the foreign press has said nasty things about an oppressed minority."

58. At the fourteenth session [814th meeting] of the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of Sweden

^{2/} See E/AC.33/R.11, para. 62.

went out of his way, in participating in the general debate, to criticize South African policy, and I suggested afterwards that he would do better to show some concern for the conditions under which the Lapps in his own country were living. There was an immediate reaction, as could be expected, from the Swedish Press—some violent, but some more sober. An article in Tidningen in October 1959, after the statement was made here, gave examples of racial discrimination as practised in Sweden, and stated:

"It exists to such a degree that the Lapps have been obliged to relinquish their original Lapp names. Racial invective particularly against Lapp children has become intolerable."

These are not my views. What I am giving you are the views expressed by leading Swedish newspapers.

59. I now come to Norway. There is also a Lapp minority in northern Norway, and again I quote only from their own leading newspapers. There is discrimination against the Lapps also in Norway. I quote from an editorial in the Dagbladet, Oslo, November, 1959:

"Although we all know that there is racial discrimination and oppression of a minority here in our own country, it has not been possible to secure any particular reaction against it..."

The editor of that paper thereafter deals with social and racial prejudice against the Lapps, and also with dwelling restrictions to which they are subjected. And then comes the following significant statement:

"Their situation today"—that is, of the Laplanders—"is a clear violation of the Declaration of Human Rights"

which is the accusation that is being made against South Africa by the Norwegian and Swedish delegations, in sponsoring the items which they have sought to place on the agenda.

60. I quote from an editorial in the Fadrelandsvennen of November, 1958:

"There is clear race discrimination in Northern Norway. A young Lapp must have a strong character to keep going in a community where many look down on him socially and meet him with race prejudice..."

61. The information which I have given, as I said, comes from leading Swedish and Norwegian newspapers. If the information is not correct, then I suggest that these two delegations take the matter up with the newspapers concerned—I have given the names of the newspapers. If, on the other hand, the information is substantially correct, then, I say, these two delegations have not come to the Court of the United Nations, to call it by that name, with clean hands, and I suggest that they—and also their Press—desist from making unsubstantiated charges against the Union of South Africa.

62. I have dealt with an Asian country and with two European countries. Let us now turn to Africa and the Middle East.

63. I am sure it will be readily agreed that the practice of slavery constitutes the denial of the most elementary of human freedoms, and that any country which tolerates slavery within its borders, even if there are so-called laws prohibiting this inhuman practice, should be the last to charge any other State

with disregarding the precepts set out in Article 55 of the Charter.

64. During recent years, slavery has been a subject of discussion by the United Nations General Assembly and was investigated by a special United Nations Commission on Slavery. It has also been discussed at conferences of the ILO. In spite of periodic discussion and condemnation, slavery is still being carried on in, for instance, Arabia and in certain countries of the Middle East, and in some West African countries.

65. A most informative discussion on slavery took place in the United Kingdom House of Lords in July 1960. It is clear from that discussion that those who participated had made a thorough study of the subject. Lord Shackleton, who opened the debate, said inter alia:

"The centre of slavery is still the Arabian Peninsula, and in particular Saudi Arabia".

He then proceeded to give details on how the system works—some of them have a somewhat unsavory character.

66. He was followed by Viscount Maugham who gave further details, including prices paid for slaves. In fact, he bought one himself for £27 10s. and then gave the slave his freedom. Viscount Maugham said inter alia:

"There are two main slave routes into Saudi Arabia. The first comes from West Africa across Africa to the Port of Suakin and across the Red Sea to Lith, a port south of Djedda. The other route goes from Iraq, Persia and Baluchistan across the Gulf and then across to Rijadh."

He then went on to say, and these are his words:

"...slavery exists in West Africa, concealed behind a legal code that asserts that it has been abolished."

67. The Marquess of Landsdowne, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Lords, in replying to this debate, congratulated the mover of the motion which he described, and I draw attention to these words, as a "remarkably well-informed" speech.

68. I come to another aspect. According to a survey made by the well-known Royal Institute of International Affairs, the rate of infant mortality in Iraq is one of the highest in the world, and is ascribed mainly to malnutrition. In an article in a London newspaper it is stated that at Baghdad there exists some of the worst poverty in the world. The article then goes on to say that:

"Perhaps a quarter of a million people live in crude straw shelters or in shacks made of old tin cans, without roads, drains, lighting or clean water".

69. According to a United Nations document it was found impossible to apply compulsory education in certain of the rural provinces because of the poverty of the parents who needed the labour of their children on the land.

70. In contrast with these conditions of peasant poverty in Iraq, we find the following illuminating statement in the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD].

"Except for some limited areas...the country is almost devoid of peasant proprietors."—and I emphasize the following—"The land is largely in the hands of sheiks and urban proprietors".^{3/}

We are not dealing here with a completely undeveloped and poor country, evidently. That is the IBRD report.

71. That report goes on to describe the system of sharecroppers, who "have neither the equipment nor the knowledge to increase production, and for the most part eke out a bare subsistence".

72. It also appears from the Bank's report that there is a law which forbids a sharecropper to leave the property as long as he is indebted to the owner—a sort of debt-bondage.

73. The report further states that only 175,000 children out of 750,000 are at school and that only one-half of the children progress beyond the primary standard, and there is a serious lack of medical services, with only one doctor per 8,000 persons.

74. One sympathises with the Government of Iraq in having to deal with such difficult problems, one of their problems apparently being the privileged position of the wealthy sheiks and urban land-owners, but having regard to conditions under which people are living in their own country, I suggest that they should not sponsor an item which accuses South Africa of a mass denial of human rights, which in Article 55 of the Charter include social and economic welfare of the inhabitants; that also is a human right, mentioned in Article 55 of the Charter, which we are accused of violating.

75. My delegation has evidence that conditions similar to those in Iraq are also found in some of the other countries of the Middle East that are making charges against South Africa.

76. Now, coming to Africa, we find that Liberia is taking a leading part in attacks on South Africa. On the matter of colour or racial discrimination it is interesting to note that, according to the laws or Constitution of Liberia, the ownership of land and the right to vote in that country is confined to persons of Negro blood. There we have racial discrimination in reverse. Of course, Liberia is perfectly free to have such a law if it wishes, but, then, it should not accuse South Africa.

77. A correspondent of The New York Times in Liberia wrote the following not so long ago:

"Liberian officials have consistently taken a firm stand against colonialism and racial discrimination. The position would be stronger if Liberia herself could be cited as a model of liberalism".

78. Liberia's attacks on colonialism are interesting in view of the fact that a comparatively small group of what are called Americo-Liberians at the coast control the huge majority comprising the indigenous population, who have a minimal representation—I think that the figure is three, or something of that sort—in the Legislature of the country. In the very authoritative book The African Giant, Mr. Stuart Cloete described the position in Liberia as follows:

"The peculiar feature of the country is the colonial exploitation of black men by black men. ...But the yoke of the African lies heavy on the African's neck here".^{4/}

This opinion is confirmed also by other authorities, who tell of the appalling conditions of poverty under which the vast indigenous majority of inhabitants are living, and of their exploitation by the Americo-Liberian minority.

79. It is with reluctance that I mention the case of Ghana—a fellow member of the Commonwealth. We in South Africa have gone out of our way to show a desire to maintain friendly relations with Ghana; I could give particulars, but that would take too much time. However, our desire for friendly relations has unfortunately not been reciprocated. Indeed, in the general debate the President of Ghana, in a strongly worded attack on South Africa, boasted of the boycott action that he had recently taken against South Africa. In passing, I may say that he did not mention that he had had to go back on part of that boycott action.

80. The Ghana delegation joins with others in charging South Africa with denying democratic rights to the Bantu. Anyone who has followed events in Ghana cannot deny that democracy in Ghana will soon exist in name only. The rights of the Legislature have been considerably reduced. Members of the Parliamentary Opposition are being detained without trial, under a law which permits such detention for a period of up to five years. Mr. Busia, the Leader of the Opposition, is in exile in the Netherlands.

81. I shall not go into further detail. As I have said, Ghana is a fellow member of the Commonwealth, and, personally, I should have preferred not to mention these facts had it not been that Mr. Nkrumah made so virulent an attack on South Africa when he participated in this debate.

82. I could continue to show how many others of the forty-one sponsors of the complaint against South Africa have not come to this Assembly with clean hands, including certain Central American countries, Malaya and Indonesia, where, according to Press reports, freedom of the Press appears to have been completely abolished recently. However, time will not permit me to do that.

83. I turn now to the Soviet Union. The unsavory history of oppression and the denial of human rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union and its colonies—and I stress the word "colonies"—and also in other communist countries, is so well known to Members of this Assembly that further information or comment from me would be quite superfluous.

84. I have referred to a number of countries which, in view of conditions existing there, do not have the right to accuse South Africa of denying to its non-white peoples the fundamental freedoms which are set out in Article 55 of the Charter and which include higher standards of living, social services and health and education services. Statistics show that in these respects far more is being done in South Africa, per caput of the Bantu population, than in any other country of the African continent. I go further and say that, according to available information and statistics, and from what I have seen personally, the Bantu and

^{3/} See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic Development of Iraq (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 5.

^{4/} (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955), pp. 215, 228.

other Non-European peoples of South Africa are, in the above-mentioned respects, much better cared for than the working classes, the labourers and peasants, in many countries of Asia and of the Middle East, of Central America and the Caribbean Islands, and also of certain South American countries.

85. True, in South Africa we do not have the system of "one man, one vote". But, as I fully set out in my statement from this rostrum last year, we are making rapid progress in the development of self-government for the six territories which have been reserved for occupation by the Bantu only—huge territories, comprising some of the best parts of the country. So, also, the Bantu living in urban centres are being given an increased measure of participation in municipal affairs. There is continual consultation with Bantu leaders, both in their own territories and in the urban centres, in regard to their particular needs and interests.

86. In spite of everything that is being done to improve the position of the Bantu and other Non-Europeans, we find that, in line with the communist policy of penetration of Africa, subversive elements under the influence of communist agents are active among the Bantu. There was the trouble at Sharpeville and Langa earlier this year. Our neighbours in the Federation and in Southern Rhodesia have recently also found it necessary to deal with communist-inspired organizations there, which are allied with those operating in South Africa. The effects of these activities were recently seen also in Pondoland, which is part of the Transkeian territory, where the policy of progressively increasing the powers of self-government is operating satisfactorily. The Bantu in the Transkeian territory have always been law abiding and contented.

87. In regard to the charges made against South Africa I am convinced that the peasants and labouring classes of most of the countries which are attacking South Africa would consider themselves fortunate indeed if they could be in the position of the great bulk of the Bantu peoples of my country.

88. In conclusion, a word of warning. The basic principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of any Member State contained in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter was put there by the founders of the United Nations particularly for the protection of the smaller and weaker Member States. Those who are today making a mockery of that Article are engaged in removing one of the foundation stones upon which the United Nations rests.

89. The United Nations is being increasingly subjected to stresses and strains and is passing through a very difficult period. The position of the Organization is not as strong as is generally believed. I suggest that this is not the time to weaken one of the cornerstones upon which the United Nations rests.

Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

90. Mr. URQUILA (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The fifteenth session of the General Assembly has had as special features the presence and active participation in this general debate of Heads of State and Heads of Government, and the entry into the Organization of a large group of countries which did not until recently enjoy the benefits of independence.

91. These are events which will undoubtedly weigh heavily in the balance of the work undertaken by the General Assembly this year, and provide a clear indication of the immediate future of the United Nations.

92. With all respect and with deep admiration, let me take this opportunity to greet and congratulate from this rostrum, on behalf of the people and Government of El Salvador, each and every one of the delegations accredited by the Republics which have this year so fittingly entered the international community and have joined our great family of nations, and to pay the tribute of our fellow-feeling to the sixteen new African States and to the Republic of Cyprus, which have brought the membership of the United Nations to the impressive total of ninety-nine.

93. Our congratulations go also to the Powers which were responsible for carrying out the delicate task of preparing these peoples for independent life and promoting their political, economic, social and educational advancement, either under the Trusteeship System established by the United Nations Charter or as Non-Self-Governing Territories covered by the Charter's Chapter XI.

94. We would be remiss if we did not also take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the staff of the United Nations Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories for their efficient work, and above all for their contribution to the success of the visiting missions which, on the basis of the experience we have acquired over a number of years, constitute in our view a most valuable aid to the work not only of the Trusteeship Council but of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly.

95. It is obvious that the colonial system is in process of liquidation and that it will have disappeared completely before many years have passed.

96. Nevertheless, we do not believe that we should dispense immediately and completely with all the machinery established by the United Nations to further the gradual and progressive development of the colonial peoples towards self-government and independence, and thereby leave many of these peoples in a state of abandonment which might lead to chaos and would not only hamper their normal development but expose them to the dangers of a neo-colonialism much less desirable than the colonialism to which they have previously been subjected.

97. The delegation of El Salvador, which would like to share the optimism of other delegations but is unable to do so in view of the facts, does not wish to be completely pessimistic with regard to those facts and the prospects that they hold out to us.

98. It cannot be denied that the international situation, instead of improving, has worsened greatly since this Assembly's last session. This is demonstrated, among other events, by the failure of the Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers which was to have been held in Paris as from 16 May 1960; the unexpected breaking-off of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament negotiations at Geneva; the constant state of activity which the Security Council has found it necessary to maintain; and, in the regional field, the holding of two Meetings of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American States—the Sixth

and Seventh Meetings—which took place at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960.

99. Meanwhile, no possibility has emerged of overcoming the differences dividing certain countries and whole sectors of mankind; on the contrary, the cold war is being intensified and new elements of danger are being added to the existing tension.

100. Of the solutions proposed, many are unrealizable, almost chimerical, or designed solely to attract proselytes and deceive world opinion.

101. Let us say frankly that if there is a real desire to find ways of ensuring peaceful coexistence in this agitated and tormented present-day world, we must proceed on pragmatic principles and seek viable solutions for the great problems of our times, instead of intensifying the cold war and seeking to mask unavowable aims by more or less fantastic proposals.

102. Unfortunately, what we have seen at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and some little time ago at the meetings of the Security Council and of the Fourth Emergency Special Session where the question of the Congo was under consideration, is nothing but an open cold war offensive designed to achieve specific ends through the use of threats and intimidation.

103. To corroborate that statement we need only recall, aside from the question of the Congo, the unjust campaign launched against the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, the intemperate language used during the debate on the inclusion of the item concerning the representation of China, and the repeated warnings issued on the question of Berlin.

104. My Government considers that the Secretary-General's conduct in carrying out the Security Council's resolutions regarding the Congo has been not only correct and in keeping with the letter and the spirit of those resolutions, but noble and praiseworthy in every respect.

105. The problem of the Congo is the most serious problem with which the Organization has had to deal; and, like the Security Council and the Fourth Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, as the representative of both organs of the United Nations and subject to the limitations and imperfections inevitable in such cases, has succeeded in meeting the needs and requirements which have arisen in connexion with the young African Republic.

106. Perhaps the key to the rancour against the Secretary-General may be found in certain paragraphs of the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/4390/Add.1].

107. Referring to the anti-colonial and racist manifestations observed among the African peoples, the Secretary-General rightly states that that attitude arises out of a "...willingness to co-operate with the rest of the world and ... to integrate into the rest of the world, combined, however, with a firm rejection of any attempts by others to turn the efforts of the African States to achieve this co-operation and integration into subjection, be it political, economic or ideological." He goes on: "Reactions from the outside have been mixed. There are those who try to maintain what history has already judged. There are those who try to put in place of the past new and more subtle forms of predominance and influence.

There are, on the other hand, also those for whom independence is an end in itself, irrespective of whether or not, in the form in which it can be offered, it serves the best interest of the people. There are, finally, those who, using these various reactions and counter-reactions, try to manipulate them for their own ends."

108. Apart from the respect and esteem we owe to the Secretary-General for his impartiality, assiduity, intelligence and propriety, we are, on principle, decidedly opposed to the Soviet proposal for the replacement of the Secretary-General by a triumvirate made up of one person from the Western sector, another from the communist sector and another from the neutral or—to use the fashionable neologism—neutralist sector.

109. The tripartite organ which would take the place of the Secretary-General would be able to act—this is Mr. Khrushchev's stated intention—only on the basis of unanimity. The executive organ, which is responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Council or the General Assembly, would thus be infected with the innate and chronic disease which makes the Council itself almost inoperative: the veto. In order to achieve that end it would be necessary to amend the Charter and—an unheard-of thing—to consecrate in it the division of the world into three sectors: western, communist and neutralist.

110. We believe that there is an urgent need to amend the Charter in order to increase the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, in keeping with the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations, and for other equally useful and necessary purposes; and that if, when the time comes to alter the Charter, it is necessary to give thought to the veto, this obstacle to the normal functioning of the United Nations should be eliminated, and not extended to other organs.

111. Great though the number of States belonging to the United Nations may be, our Organization has not yet attained universality, nor will it do so until a way is found to put an end to the coolness between certain Powers and to achieve the reunification of countries which, like Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam, have for years suffered from an artificial division that cannot be laid to the charge of their own citizens, unless some of these be communist elements inspired and maintained in power by foreign Governments.

112. We have often heard it said here, that peace can be ensured only through mutual respect between States and through recognition of the fact that the world is divided, whether we like it or not, into nations with differing ideologies, systems and structures.

113. The first part of this argument seems to us unexceptionable. Mutual respect is the basis of all coexistence. Peace must go hand in hand, at all times, with justice. But this very fact leads us to doubt the accuracy of the second part of the statement. Not all nations possess ideologies, systems of government and structures in keeping with their histories, peculiarities and aspirations. Many of them—I have mentioned Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam, and I could quote many others—are not governed by the will of their peoples, but are under foreign yoke; and when they try to shake off that yoke, foreign forces are quick to stifle any attempt at liberation.

114. This Assembly has considered in previous years, and still has on its agenda, cases like those of Hungary and Tibet, which illustrate dramatically the injustice that I have indicated. We tremble at the thought that such cases might recur in Asia, Europe or other parts of the world. We Latin Americans would regard it as a terrible misfortune if, in an evil hour, we were overtaken by such a disaster.

115. Nor can peace be properly secured without the constant and rapid progress of the peoples who are less advanced from the economic, social and educational standpoint—the peoples to whom, in contrast with those that are highly industrialized, we are wont to attach the questionable label "under-developed".

116. It is only fair to recognize that international co-operation in this field has yielded, and is still yielding, results of inestimable value. None the less, even greater efforts must be made to improve the peoples' living conditions, through every form of intensive development.

117. Once again, the delegation of El Salvador pays tribute to the United Nations for the work it is doing through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the Special Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] and each of the specialized agencies.

118. We also pay tribute to the general credit institutions, and wish to express our satisfaction at the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank, whose governors met for the first time in February 1960 in our country's capital.

119. From the tone of certain speeches made in this hall, representatives will have realized that relations between some of the American Republics are beset by serious international problems. The existence of such problems is a source of disquiet and preoccupation to all of us in America. But we have faith in the vision, sagacity and patriotism of our statesmen, and do not doubt that they will be able, through negotiation and other peaceful means, to overcome the present difficulties.

120. Meanwhile, America is united and strong in its common resolve and effort to improve the living conditions of its peoples. Operation Pan America, born of the initiative of the President of Brazil, Dr. Juscelino Kubitschek, is under way, and the Act of Bogotá has just been signed in September 1960; this important document provides for measures of social improvement and economic development under Operation Pan America. The Act ends with this declaration:

"In approving the Act of Bogotá the Delegations to the Special Committee, convinced that the people of the Americas can achieve a better life only within the democratic system, renew their faith in the essential values which lie at the base of Western civilization, and re-affirm their determination to assure the fullest measure of well-being to the people of the Americas under conditions of freedom and respect for the supreme dignity of the individual."

121. On a smaller scale, the Central American countries are also pursuing their efforts for improvement. In February 1960, the Governments of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala signed a Treaty of Economic Association, designed to ensure the free movement of persons, goods and capital between their countries. The purpose of the association, which other

Central American Republics may join, is to promote the economic development of the countries concerned, with a view to improving their inhabitants' living conditions; to strengthen and broaden economic co-operation between these countries, as a step towards Central American economic integration; to establish in the near future a common market, so as to encourage joint production and investment; and to set up the necessary machinery for the promotion of economic co-operation between the countries of the Isthmus.

122. This Central American movement will certainly stimulate the inflow of foreign capital, which, together with national capital, will increase the pace of economic development, so necessary for the general progress of our region.

123. As an example of what the policy of "welcoming investment" means to us, I will mention a case affecting El Salvador alone. The recent Processing Industries Encouragement Act, inspired by that policy, has promoted the investment of national and foreign capital to such effect that, since its enactment, nearly 200 new industrial enterprises have been set up, with a total investment of about 200 million Salvadorian colons—the equivalent of eight million United States dollars.

124. All speakers from this rostrum, without exception, have agreed on the self-evident truth that the peoples need to live in peace and devote themselves entirely to the building of a better world for the coming generations.

125. Yet the cold war has not been abandoned, and armed conflicts are, at this very moment, causing bloodshed in many parts of the earth. The nightmare of nuclear war keeps the world in a state of anxiety, and the atmosphere at this General Assembly, which should have lessened the fear of disaster, has so far only increased it. Man needs to live, develop, and accomplish his mission upon earth. War has never been as detestable as now, because it has never before meant the complete destruction of the species and of all that man has achieved and built. War is, therefore, not only cruel but stupid. The fate of mankind is not in the hands of every Government. It is controlled by a few men, who direct the policies of the great Powers, and especially of the two that are best equipped to begin the final suicidal struggle.

126. In the last few days we have heard here the speeches of President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev. Their views on disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons, the peaceful use of outer space and other serious problems bearing on war and peace are marked by important differences; but these differences are not such that agreement should be regarded as impossible.

127. We advocate the immediate resumption of negotiations between the great Powers, under the auspices of the United Nations, either at the highest level, or summit, as it is now called—between Heads of State or Heads of Government—or at any other level which will ensure the negotiations' final success. Personal contacts between the highest officials do not, perhaps, constitute the most suitable method. This is indicated by recent deplorable events, which do not suggest that summit conferences are the right procedure.

128. Any effort and any sacrifice will be small if the world can finally be rid of the fear which grips it, so that man can enjoy the blessings of life in full and in peace.

129. The United Nations is the best instrument yet devised to bring the peoples together and promote understanding between them.

130. As in earlier years, the General Assembly has on its agenda the study of the great problems exercising mankind. It will be harder now to arrive at conclusions which will represent real progress towards the solution of these problems.

131. In the particular case of disarmament, the talks of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament have broken down, and the Disarmament Commission has not succeeded in making any progress with the study of the question.

132. Constituted, as it is, of all the Organization's Members—almost a hundred States—the Disarmament Commission will not, we think, be able to do any really useful work in this field. It seems to us that it would be better to reconstruct the Disarmament Commission. It should consist of a small group of States; and, if possible, certain specific rules or principles should be established for the conduct of its work. In this way the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which originated outside the United Nations, would be replaced by a reasonably constituted official commission, which could consider the main problems involved in the disarmament question with a good chance of success.

133. My speech as you will see, Mr. President, has been brief. It would have been an abuse of your patience to repeat, at length, ideas which have already been expressed in this hall. That patience has been abused enough in three long weeks of speeches and incidents—often picturesque, but sometimes so unusual that it has been necessary to suspend the meeting in order to cool heads paradoxically set on fire by the sparks of the cold war.

134. I trust in the wisdom and compassion of the men who have it in their power to dispense to humanity calm or anxiety, happiness or misfortune, life or extinction. And I extend my warm congratulations not only to you, Mr. Boland, but to this great Assembly for its wise choice of a statesman and diplomat of your calibre to hold this office, in which you so honourably and worthily uphold the good name of Ireland, your glorious country, and guide the representatives of a hundred peoples whose flags fly together before this home of the nations, symbolizing, perhaps, the immortal precept "Love one another", that magnificent expression of the whole of Christian morality.

135. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): Although Mr. Boland is not present, my delegation would like to address the following greeting to him.

136. We are far from your country, Mr. President; few of your countrymen live among us, yet this has not prevented our having a sincere and devoted admiration for your people's perseverance in its historic struggle for freedom. We admire Ireland for the fervour of its faith, which is also ours, and thus we feel at one with you and are happy to congratulate you on your election as President of the Assembly, on

behalf of our delegation and of the Government and people of Costa Rica, who hope for great things from your efficiency, equanimity and clear intelligence.

137. Storms have raged around this fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. May it please God to disperse them, so that with tranquil minds we may calmly discuss the difficult and serious problems of the moment, which the United Nations has to resolve in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

138. There can be no doubt that the outstanding feature of this Assembly which will go down in history is the admission of Cyprus and of the new independent nations of Africa to the United Nations. In greeting them warmly on behalf of my delegation and my country, I should like to recall some of our experiences which we think may be of assistance to them, especially to the smaller countries, because of their similarity to us.

139. We do not attempt to go beyond the limits within which a weak and small country like ours must develop. On the contrary, we strive to avoid exaggeration and to keep our sense of proportion, which shows itself in the humility, simplicity and sincerity of our feelings.

140. Costa Rica became known to the world when it was discovered by Christopher Columbus on behalf of the Catholic Monarchs. From that time until we became independent, in 1821, we were a colony of Spain. I think it only fair to refer to certain violent words and offensive ideas which have been indulged in here in connexion with Spanish colonialism in America. Every age has its own political features. No one can claim, for example, that at the time of Queen Isabella the Catholic the democratic system was established in the newly discovered lands, since that system was not practised in Spain at that time. We should remember that the Spanish conquest as such was one thing and the colonial administration another. The "conquistador" was a man of war, and war, unfortunately, has always stirred up primitive instincts in men and made them as fierce as beasts. The Spanish administration was distinguished by the many laws it made to protect the indigenous inhabitants; every complaint was heard by a regional or metropolitan court. It should not be forgotten that Iberian officials in America were subject to impeachment proceedings, which consisted of broad public and judicial inquiries into their administration, and an official could not leave his previous jurisdiction until an absolutory sentence had been pronounced. The basis upon which this great Spanish enterprise was built was the evangelization of the indigenous inhabitants in order to open their minds to the light of Christianity, which is love, charity, equality and peace among men. We have heard enough of the black legend against Spain. Spain gave everything, absolutely everything—its spirit and its flesh—for its colonies. The material decadence of Spain began with the discovery of the Indies, but there was no spiritual decadence because its quixotic spirit, its Christian philosophy and its splendid generosity run freely in our veins, together with the untamed Indian blood. Spain did not enrich itself in America; it ruined itself there. I hope I may be pardoned for this digression, which I have made for the sake of historical truth and in gratitude to what is our mother country, not in fine poetry but in the reality of prose.

141. Costa Rica was born to independent life in such hard economic conditions that it looked as though our terrible poverty might bring about our destruction. When we became independent from Spain, having reached our majority, we offered an easy prey to European imperialism, from which danger we were freed by the Monroe Doctrine, which did not, however, bring us any possibilities of economic development but, through isolation, greater poverty. Many years passed, while we prepared ourselves, through the education given in our schools, to live in dignity. During those years, up to the end of the last century, it was only our pure faith in our own destiny that could begin to break down our long and painful isolation from a world indifferent to our longing for progress and culture. We are still fighting desperately for the economic development which Latin America needs if its peoples are to live in the dignity proper to men who love freedom. What a different picture we see today, when we welcome new countries into this great institution, the United Nations, in which they will find political safeguards, technical assistance, human brotherhood and certain protection!

142. I have made this survey of our own experience in order to show the new countries the importance of this Organization as an institution set up not only to keep the peace, but to help, protect and advance all peoples who aspire to independence. We, the small and under-developed countries, have no part in the disputes of the great Powers except to take care that we are not used as a pretext for developing conflicts between us which encourage cold wars and create tensions which may finally destroy the world. We must steadfastly stand by institutions—in this particular case the United Nations, to which we are deeply grateful, not only as the people of a Member State but also as human beings who realize the value of its universal protection.

143. In welcoming the newly independent peoples, there is one last experience which I should like to tell them about. We in Costa Rica found that keeping an army was of no use to us, for our habitual love of peace made it impossible for us to think that we might need it to make war on our neighbours. The barracks were used only to train a military class which kept Governments in power against the will of the people or acted as an electoral instrument, frightening the voter with its strength and its ability to seize power and impose Governments ready to protect its privileges. We believe that our regional agency, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations are adequate safeguards for peace and justice in the unlikely event of any aggression against us. Convinced as we are of the uselessness of an army in Costa Rica, we finally abolished it under the 1949 Constitution. The Costa Rican budget does not allocate a single cent for armaments. Costa Rica settles its disputes by reason and not by force. It takes its decisions with votes, not bullets. We warmly recommend this attitude to all the new nations, which will find the best safeguard for the stability of their institutions not in armies but in the institutions themselves. I assure my new colleagues that it is much more useful to spend the people's money on schools than on armaments.

144. That last point in my greeting to the new countries will serve to explain our views on the difficult question of disarmament. What I have said will

also show what is our general opinion of the sad situation in the Congo. Let the Congolese themselves settle their own disputes, with their eyes on the future of their beloved country and with the help of the United Nations, not allowing themselves to be used for the purposes of the cold war.

145. We are resolved that Operation Pan America, which was so wisely proposed by Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of Brazil, will soon be a reality, for the problem of Latin America is becoming more and more urgent, because of the great and pressing needs of our peoples, who have waited so patiently for the economic impulse necessary for their development.

146. Ever since we have been a member of the Economic and Social Council, we have strongly supported the view that the prices of basic export commodities should be fixed, just as the Governments of the highly developed countries fix the prices of their industrial products. We can no longer patiently accept the fact that, while the wages of our peasants and workmen are subject to the fluctuations of international markets, the wages of workers in industrialized countries rise steadily, so that there is a dangerous difference, leading to constant social tension. Our people can no longer be deprived of the products of modern civilization, which they cannot buy because of the high price, since in order to protect our scanty reserves of gold and currencies we have to set up excessively high customs barriers. These are supposed to be temporary but they become steadily higher and no one can guess when they will finally be abolished. We must express our gratitude to the United States of America, which has begun to understand our needs and has prepared to meet them. President Eisenhower has started a movement to give economic meaning to the Good Neighbour policy, which will pass from theory into fact, for which we are duly grateful. At the recent economic conference held in Bogotá in September 1960, a beginning was made, with effective assistance, on Operation Pan America, which will stimulate our economic development. In this connexion I should refer to the widely held view that we, the under-developed countries, should not think that all we need for our development is money. That is quite true. We must be morally and socially prepared to make proper use of whatever economic resources we may obtain, not only for scientific and technical ends, for which the United Nations generally provides, but in the educational field and above all for moral purposes, so that we do not waste our strength in sterile political discussions, in disputes between brothers or in impossible ambitions for world political leadership, squandering the energy which our people need. We should concentrate on working twice as hard, intelligently, in true political stability, to protect the health of our people, to build more and more schools and, in short, to achieve the dignity of men who wish to live in freedom. Those who have should give to those who have not. We want to advance along the honest path of freedom, peace and justice, knowing our responsibilities and ready to meet them, working vigorously to rid ourselves of poverty.

147. This does not mean that we should ignore the great international problems, for at this stage in history they concern us all. I had occasion to visit some Eastern countries, where there are dangerous tensions which may give rise to terrible events.

Travelling through the lands of the Bible, I became aware of the tenuous impermanence of an armistice and I resolved both to pray to God in church and to ask men of good will, in this temple of the United Nations, to do their utmost to ensure the reign of peace not only in the Holy Places but throughout the whole world.

148. The Organization of American States was born of the genius of the liberator Simón Bolívar. This is one of the many reasons why we love this regional agency, which, as you know, came into being long before the League of Nations. Latin America has encountered great difficulties in its stormy independent life and, for better or worse, Bolívar's principle has been upheld. In August 1960, San José, the capital of Costa Rica, had the great honour of receiving the sixth and seventh Meetings of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States at which the thorny problems of the continent were discussed. We could not offer our American brothers sumptuous palaces, great parades or lavish festivities. We offered them a clean and simple house, students directing the traffic because the police were busy safeguarding the security of our distinguished visitors, and an atmosphere of complete freedom, where the very word "discrimination" is unknown, in all of which we Costa Ricans take pride. I speak to you from this rostrum with the humility which is a part of our very existence, so that to the voices of so many great leaders who have spoken in this general debate I may add the modest voice of American and world brotherhood.

149. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Lebanon has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

150. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): I should not have attached the slightest importance to the statement made at the 897th meeting by the delegation of Israel—a statement which constitutes a link in the chain of propaganda—I shall not use the term propaganda of hate, as did Mrs. Golda Meir, but propaganda worthy of Goebbels, which is being carried on by the Government of Israel—I should not, I say, have attached the slightest importance to it had it not contained allegations which outrage historical truth and formulated proposals which shed a false light on the situation in the Middle East, for a purpose of which we are well aware and against which we must warn this Assembly, in the interests of peace in the Middle East and the rest of the world.

151. Furthermore, how could I refrain from replying to an ignoble attack on an absent and far-away people—the Palestinian people—who are a people like all those represented here, but who are vilified by every means, whose very right to exist is denied, who are tormented and treacherously stabbed in the back when they are unable to defend themselves against such attacks or to silence calumny.

152. It is therefore in their name, as well as in that of Lebanon, that I shall speak.

153. It was with no little surprise that we heard the double invitation to disarmament and negotiation addressed to the leaders of Lebanon and the other Arab countries. From whom did this invitation come? From the representative of Israel! We, the Arab countries, the real peoples of the Middle East, have undergone four centuries of aggression and foreign domination which had no sooner been put to an end

than it was succeeded by Zionist aggression and domination; hence no one is more strongly attached than we to the idea of disarmament, whether regional or world-wide, as a prelude to security and peace.

154. No one is more concerned with security than we are, no one is more eager for that peace based on justice to which the President of the United States recently referred [868th meeting]. Nevertheless seemingly peaceful and disinterested proposals may cause surprise when they are made by certain persons or representatives of certain Governments. When disarmament is advocated by a country which is characterized by a peaceful spirit and a policy and conduct exempt from ambition, and particularly from territorial ambition, there is no reason to doubt its sincerity and the purity of its intentions. But it is impossible not to doubt the sincerity and good faith or to suspect the motives which impel a country to request its close neighbours to disarm when it was itself born amidst the clash of arms, when its coming into being was a first violation of the just peace implied in the idea of the right of peoples to self-determination, when its birth entailed the death of another State, a crime known as genocide, while since its appearance it has never ceased to accumulate arms and to attack its neighbours, one after the other, culminating in the recent attack on the Suez Canal and on Egypt, for the purpose of carrying out its avowed policy of territorial expansion. It must be admitted that such doubts constitute a defensive reflex for which we cannot be blamed.

155. Yes, after they have overwhelmed the Holy Places with blood and fire, after they have expelled the peaceful inhabitants by the sword, after massacres which spared the lives neither of women, children nor infants, nor of the Minister of State of the United Kingdom in the Middle East nor the representative of the United Nations, after they have vainly attempted to justify these misdeeds, we behold a startling change: they have become the apostles of peace, the wolf has donned sheep's clothing.

156. The Holy Bible, which Israel invokes to support its claims, was quoted to justify these murders and thefts. But according to the Bible, which I know and respect as you do, the Lord said: "Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal".

157. Mrs. Golda Meir, who is well acquainted with the Bible, considers herself also to be learned in history. She reminds us that the Jewish people were already in Palestine two thousand years ago. That is true, but the Jewish people were also in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, a mere two thousand five hundred years ago. They were with Abraham in Chaldea, now known as Iraq, some three thousand years ago. So why not annex Egypt and Iraq to Palestine, not to mention the Garden of Eden?

158. When the destruction of a State is involved, the State of Palestine, entrusted by the League of Nations to the British Government, which nevertheless handed it over to the Haganah and Irgun gangs, when a whole people is expelled from its homeland and reduced to the status of refugees, such arguments cannot be used to justify genocide and plunder.

159. How many of you, gentlemen, represent peoples which can boast of having occupied their national soil for a thousand years? Even those who could do so might, according to the Zionist argument, be robbed

of the land where their ancestors are buried, under whose skies they were born and which both law and conscience oblige them to defend sword in hand.

160. Are not the three million Jews who have been established in New York for less than a hundred years afraid that their co-religionists' argument might be turned against them? Have they more rights in this city than the Arabs who have been settled in Palestine for over a thousand years and—according to historical evidence which is at least as valid as that of Mrs. Golda Meir—were there long before Joshua invaded Palestine? For Palestine must have been inhabited before that first invasion; otherwise there would have been no walls of Jericho.

161. Therefore it was an invasion, and there has been another one in our day. And they dare to claim a right to Palestine!

162. Invasion after invasion, history repeats itself. Do conquests, occupation and plunder constitute a right? This invasion, whose brutality and violence make it worthy of former times, is the sole reason for which families, old people, women and children have gone into exile.

163. The propaganda statement that the Arab Governments incited the Palestinians to leave their homes is a gratuitous lie, intended to reinforce opposition to the repatriation of the refugees. They left their country of their own free will, we are told, let them stay where they are.

164. No, people do not leave their homes, the homes where they have lived, the homes of their forefathers, abandoning all their possessions, not knowing what may become of them, or rather knowing that those homes will fall a prey to the vandalism of a licentious soldiery, greedy for plunder and for blood. People do not leave their homes, leading their children by the hand along perilous paths, taking with them, of all they possess, only what will enable them to live for a few days, unless there are serious reasons that impel them to do so.

165. But what need of such reasoning? I will refer to a great person in Israel, Manahim Begin. Allow me to present him. He is the chief of the powerful Herut party, which supports the expansionist policy of an Israel including three rivers: the Jordan, the Euphrates and the Nile. Manahim Begin is the chief of Irgun. In that capacity he has a seat in parliament and enjoys the respect of his colleagues, although he admitted responsibility for the murder of Count Bernadotte. He has also claimed the credit for a number of other murders and nameless acts of violence for the purpose. He himself boasts of causing panic and so making room for Jewish immigrants.

166. Does not Holy Scripture, the Word of God, say: "Out of thy mouth have I condemned thee, O Israel".

167. Since God has done so, you too can condemn them with a clear conscience.

168. Next Mrs. Golda Meir sees fit to describe to us the pleasant lives led by the thousands of Arabs who have remained in Palestine and the 40,000 refugees, out of a total of over a million, whom, according to her, the Government of Tel-Aviv has so generously made welcome.

169. Yes, let us speak of them! The non-Jewish Palestinian, whether Christian or Moslem, who is admitted

to this anachronistic theocracy is not a citizen but a prisoner, a captive. He may not travel about or leave his domicile without authorization. He cannot go from Nazareth to Tiberias, a few miles away, without a pass for which he must apply to the authorities and which is frequently refused. He is subjected to the most odious racial segregation. Let that be remembered by our African friends, with whom we denounce racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. The same morality should reign in Asia as in Africa.

170. The upholders of socialism, and in particular the leaders of the International Federation of Socialist Parties, which recently met at Haifa, should know, although care was taken to hide it from their eyes, what is the situation of the Arab workers in Israel, the shameful discrimination to which they are subjected, especially in the health and social spheres, the starvation wages they earn compared with the princely wages paid to Jewish workers. In fact they are second-class citizens living in a racist and theocratic State.

171. We challenge Israel to agree to a commission of inquiry which would establish the facts before the whole world.

172. Mention has been made of seven Arab armies which were called to the rescue of the Palestinian people. Against what enemy were these forces fighting? Against the Haganah and Irgun gangs which later formed the army of Israel? Or was it not rather against an international coalition of Powers?

173. Have we forgotten the air-lift between Europe and Palestine, the prototype of the Berlin air-lift organized in the face of Soviet power, which served for the mass transport of men and weapons to Israel?

174. Have we forgotten the flying fortresses which left United States airfields, piloted by Jews or pro-Jews, going to join the Israel armed forces?

175. Have we forgotten that the Commander-in-Chief at Haifa was the very same man who opposed the Government of General Franco and who went to Palestine especially for the purpose of leading the action against the Arab armies of defence? After that can there be any doubt that there was a coalition, an international conspiracy?

176. When one considers that the very Powers which joined together to subjugate Palestine are those which have just voted in favour of the admission of the African States to the United Nations, one wonders whether it would not have been better for that unhappy country, Palestine, to remain under mandate until this year so as to enjoy, together with those new States, the independence which is consecrated by admission to the United Nations and to which the League of Nations recognized its right.

177. However that may be, the Governments of the Arab countries which were the victims of the international conspiracy have observed the truce decided upon by the Security Council. And now, for the sake of a facile platform or propaganda success, are we to be blamed for the respect we have shown towards the United Nations and its resolutions?

178. After all that, it is suggested that we should open peace negotiations. What kind of peace? A just

peace, as President Eisenhower said? Or a peace founded on an accomplished fact, sanctifying injustice and crime?

179. No, we really cannot trust the new champions of peace. How can we do so when, under sheep's clothing, they conceal ambitions which are hard to restrain and are only waiting for the right moment, a moonless night at Qibya, to erupt into violence?

180. Their invasion of Palestine has in fact not satiated their thirst for conquest. Who is unaware of the Zionists' ambitions? If you were at the third session which was held in Paris in 1948 you will remember the insolent words of the man who was rewarded with the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel and who did not conceal Zionism's ambition purely and simply to absorb the Kingdom of Jordan.

181. I will tell you, if you do not know it already, that the geography books in the Israel schools, books which children absorb for the time when they are grown up, represent the Zionist State of tomorrow as extending, allegedly according to the Prophets, from the Euphrates in the heart of Iraq to the Nile in the heart of Egypt, encompassing, of course, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. I do not know whether to laugh at that or to take it seriously. That, however, is what the young people are taught. We hear it from the mouth of Ben Gurion himself. Moreover, it is shown brazenly and blatantly on the map which decorates the hall of the Israel Parliament.

182. What is the value of the idle promises which Mrs. Golda Meir made from this rostrum, in the face of the teaching given to the rising generation, which leaves an indelible imprint on its mind and whose evil effects even a modern Mephistopheles could scarcely erase; in the face of the words of the Prophets which are used, incorrectly it is true, to influence the masses; in the face of the declarations of principle on official policy which are inscribed on the frontage of the Parliament building; and in the face of the claims made by Ben Gurion, the Head of the Government?

183. I should like Mrs. Golda Meir to tell us whether she can ask her chief, Mr. Ben Gurion, to raise his hand, without fear that it will wither, and tear down the provocative map from the wall of the Knesset.

184. But if the State of Israel is willing to restrict its territorial ambitions to the Nile and the Euphrates, the same does not apply to its colonialist ambitions, which are no less dangerous to peace.

185. It may well seem surprising that a small State should have colonialist ambitions, which are normally an attribute of rich and powerful States. But this surprise vanishes as soon as it is known what more powerful States are hiding behind the Israel façade. That fact must be revealed for the benefit of the young countries which are not aware of it. It is not that we, a young country ourselves although a very ancient people, claim to have more experience; but we have had more experience than anyone else of the Israel problem.

186. Foreseeing the downfall of Western colonialism, Theodore Herzl requested the British Government's support for the founding of a Jewish national home long before the 1917 Balfour Declaration. He promised that the future Jewish State would be a Western State implanted in the East, at the gates of Asia, so that

British and European colonialism could be assisted and developed there. Hence the Zionists rejected the suggestion made at the Zurich Congress in 1896 that a Jewish home should be founded in Argentina. Similarly they rejected the British proposal that they should be given territory in Mozambique or somewhere else in Africa. Their ambition was centred on Palestine, which was to become the bridgehead of colonialism in Asia, leaving them the way open to unlimited expansion.

187. Israel is today trying to put Herzl's project into effect, not only in Asia but also and above all in Africa. While colonialism is withdrawing, bag and baggage, from those continents, an attempt is being made to replace it by a colonialism disguised under a Jewish label, backed by foreign capital.

188. It might well be asked where the Jewish Government is obtaining the large amounts of capital which it is investing in those vast continents. Who is advancing it the money, if not the Powers which are helping it to exist? Being an artificial State, it could not live without foreign assistance, particularly from the moneyed Powers, i.e. without the help of United Kingdom, United States, or German Jews, who are all more concerned about the fate of Israel than about that of the countries which have welcomed and adopted them, without direct aid from the Governments themselves, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular.

189. Can a State which is thus living at the expense of the foreigner supply the States of Africa and Asia, from its own resources, with the substantial economic and technical assistance which it has undertaken to give?

190. And as we are now dealing with the problem of disarmament, I cannot fail to mention the military assistance which Israel is also supplying in the form of military missions and light armaments. Can it carry out the immense task which it has undertaken unless it is the barely disguised representative of a new colonialism?

191. France and the United Kingdom have emancipated dozens of peoples and have sponsored their admission to the United Nations. We ardently wish and hope that economic and cultural co-operation, devoid of any idea of exploitation, will go on developing between those peoples and the Powers which used to administer them. That is in everyone's interest, it is in the interest of progressive mankind.

192. Meanwhile, however, a new Zionist colonialism is showing its cloven hoof. The Federal Republic of Germany and the United States must be made to realize what happens to the subsidies they are lavishing on Israel. That is why there must be a unanimous vote in favour of putting an end to colonialism under whatever form and wherever it may exist, so as to establish independence and liberty in the world once and for all.

193. The anti-colonialist countries, and especially those which have suffered from colonialism, must define and unify their position with regard to colonialist Zionism.

194. We want our friends in Africa and Asia to know this, if they do not suspect it already. Mozambique at one time escaped from the Zionist grasp and we do not want the countries of Africa and Asia to succumb

to it in another way, through an economic invasion and domination. Other far more powerful States have had to struggle, from the Middle Ages onwards, against the financial and economic ascendancy of a Zionism which was still lurking in the shadows and did not then, as it does now, possess State institutions.

195. Even here in this great country you can see Zionism influencing finance, the Press, politics and even the presidential elections.

196. Thus the reason why we do not want our friends to fall into the trap is because we know the duplicity of Zionist policy, having been subjected to it ourselves.

197. It is true that the agents of Zionist expansion now come before us in sheep's clothing and say: We are a small State, we have not, and we cannot have, the ambitions of the Western Powers which colonized you. As for the Eastern Powers, you can see what they are doing to the peoples they dominate in Europe itself. So put your trust in us, a small State with neither the intention nor the opportunity of dominating.

198. No, we cannot trust the words of those who do not abide by what they have written and signed.

199. What have they done about the United Nations resolutions? What have they done about the Protocol of Lausanne,^{5/} which they signed on the eve of Israel's admission to the United Nations on 12 May 1949 and which they repudiated the very next day? It is perfectly clear that the only reason why they subscribed to the document in which they recognized the resolutions entailing the return of the refugees to their homes, the evacuation of the territories occupied in violation of those resolutions and the internationalization of Jerusalem, was to mislead the Security Council and the General Assembly and to facilitate the admission of Israel to the United Nations. As soon as Israel was admitted, they regarded the document which they had signed the previous day in the presence of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine as a mere scrap of paper.

200. If they had respected that authentic document, they would not have claimed that the war in Palestine had nullified the United Nations resolutions. The Protocol of Lausanne, signed in 1949 immediately after the war of 1948, involved, as has been said, recognition of the United Nations resolutions. The war could not invalidate resolutions which were recognized a year later. We can thus understand why Israel rejects a text which commits it to observing those resolutions.

201. There were negotiations at Lausanne. And that is all the value which was placed on those negotiations and their results, which were duly noted in the records of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Is it now proposed that we should negotiate again after this breach of the respect due to treaties and to the pledged word?

202. We can only negotiate with those in whom we have confidence. They come asking for negotiations without prior conditions. Whom are they trying to deceive? This is the denial of past commitments; they are being disavowed once again. We will not be their dupes. Let them begin by respecting the Protocol of Lausanne and applying its provisions.

203. Is anything further needed to induce you not to regard the verbal proposal they have made today as any more sincere or honest than the signature which they affixed in the past? Let them, if they dare, declare that they will respect the United Nations resolutions and that they will abandon once and for all their ambitions of territorial expansion to the north, the south, the east, or in Jerusalem itself. Let them tear up the textbooks which bedevil and poison the young people, and not the documents which they solemnly signed with the United Nations as witness.

204. The danger to security in the Middle East does not arise so much from armaments, particularly those possessed by the Arab States; those armaments were only once used by an Arab country, Egypt, and that was in order to repel Israel's attack on the Suez Canal in 1958. Israel's armaments, on the contrary, are offensive weapons. That was established during that same Suez campaign. Nevertheless, it is not the few tens of thousands of armed men that represent the greatest danger, but the million unarmed Palestinians who have been expelled from their homes and deprived of all their possessions, and whose state of wretchedness and destitution is an offence against justice and humanity and, in short, a threat to peace and tranquillity.

205. Let Israel respect the commitments it undertook with respect to the United Nations itself, particularly regarding the refugees and the property of which they were robbed, before it presumes to undertake any further commitments only to contravene them immediately afterwards.

206. Then and only then will you be entitled, if you can rid your minds of doubt and suspicion, to contemplate with a certain amount of indulgence—for a great deal is needed—the speeches delivered by the Israel representatives and the promises they make, with their hand on their hearts, from this rostrum.

207. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Colombia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

208. Mr. UMAÑA BERNAL (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): The Colombian delegation was on the list of speakers on the morning of 13 October so that it could comment on certain words which the Head of the Soviet delegation used [869th meeting] in referring to the statement we made at the 902nd meeting.

209. We gave up our right to speak at that time because of the new circumstances brought about by the impressive and timely speech [896th meeting] of Mr. Sékou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, and because of the healthy response it evoked.

210. We do not, however, wish to wait any longer before expressing to the General Assembly the objection of the Government and representatives of Colombia to the improper and intemperate interference of the Head of the Soviet delegation in the domestic affairs of Colombia by his remarks about our delegation and his statement that it did not properly represent the Colombian people.

211. It is certainly not for the President of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the sovereign pontiff of international communism, to decide who are the spokesmen of the Republic of Colombia at international conferences and organizations.

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annexes, Vol. II, document A/927, annex A.

212. The Colombian delegation was appointed by the legitimate Government of the Republic, a Government freely elected in authentic popular elections carried out under the legal and constitutional provisions which govern our system of representative democracy. We well understand that this system cannot be to the liking of those who believe in totalitarian dictatorship, either of the left or of the right, but we categorically reject the inadmissible claim of the Head of the Soviet delegation to speak on behalf of the Colombian people and we see in his attitude yet another proof of the determination of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to interfere improperly in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries.

213. There was also, in connexion with our attitude in that debate, a reference to the Monroe Doctrine. On behalf of my delegation and Government, I must repeat what the Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs said at the 880th meeting in the general debate: the famous Monroe Doctrine has been superseded by the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro signed in September 1947 and by other international instruments freely agreed upon by the countries belonging to the Organization of American States.

214. This is not the moment to deal with the question of colonialism; we shall have occasion to put our strongly anti-colonialist views in connexion with the speeches and resolutions on the subject that will be submitted to the Assembly. For the time being we shall confine ourselves to expressing the fervent hope that the solemn character which this debate is expected to assume as a result of its being held in plenary session will not be vitiated by such lamentable scenes as the one we were astonished to witness on Wednesday evening.

215. The PRESIDENT: The last speaker on the list for this morning is the representative of Liberia, who will now exercise his right of reply.

216. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): The South African representative, Mr. Louw has accused my country of the crime of discrimination, especially as regards ownership of property and the right to vote. We do not deny these charges; we do not deny that there are discriminatory laws in Liberia—we admit this. But we have to say this, that without such laws there would have been no Liberia today, and especially at that time when the continent of Africa was being parcelled out among the great ruling powers of our day.

217. Let us look at the record of those colonial powers. Many of the countries in Africa lost their independence by treaties forced upon them which gave the colonialists the right to purchase property. By so doing, these very same colonialists exploited these rights under the guise of protecting the rights and interests of their own people. When the aborigines resisted they were subdued by force of arms, and the possessed became the dispossessed. I think the Boers in South Africa were the victims of such a policy, which led to the South African War.

218. We have been criticized, since our existence as a state, of wholesale exploitation and even forced labour. No state is perfect—what State does not have a skeleton in its cupboard? However, when such charges have been made against my country we have immediately investigated these charges and taken measures to remedy such evils, not unmindful that

most of these accusations were levelled against us out of prejudice, for the sole purpose of proving that the African, and particularly the black African, was incapable of self-government and independence.

219. On our own initiative, in 1932, we invited an international commission to investigate the charges of forced labour in Liberia. I would like to know what State in the United Nations would expose its country to an investigation by an international commission when it knew in advance that such a commission would be biased and prejudiced. We did this, and we accepted the findings and recommendations, which without reservation we promptly carried out.

220. The irony of the whole situation is that one of the principal accusers of forced labour resorted to this practice as soon as we abandoned it. Would the South African Government welcome an international body to investigate the charges laid against that Government of racial discrimination and the wholesale shooting of helpless civilians at Sharpeville for the simple reason that they were black? The South African representative claims that South Africa is an African State. This we flatly deny. South Africa is a European state in Africa—for what African state would compel its citizens, especially in time of peace, to carry an identification card showing their origin and their race, while on the other hand those who had come to Africa were not required to have such identification?

221. The South African representative has contended that when the Boers landed in South Africa the country was unpopulated except for a few Hottentots and bushmen. The representative of South Africa does not regard them as being of the human race, but as merely beasts of burden.

222. He contends, further, that the Zulus, the original inhabitants of the greater portion of South Africa, migrated to this part of the continent of Africa; but he seems to forget that the Zulus were Africans and did not come from overseas to exploit and oppress their fellow Africans. In Liberia, owing to our unification policy, there is no discrimination and in every walk of public life and government our citizens are appointed as judges of the courts, elected members of the cabinet and members of the legislature. All our citizens, whether they came there or whether they were born there, have the same rights.

223. The habit of classifying our citizens into various groups is not of our making; it was something that was done only by the colonialists. Can the South African Government cite one single example where a native African has been allowed to hold or occupy any position of importance in South Africa? They are not even allowed to vote. And the mockery of the whole business is that in the South African Parliament they are represented by white South Africans, not appointed by the people whom they represent, but by the Government which suppresses them.

224. Only recently we read of the plebiscite in South Africa to determine whether that country was to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations or become a Republic. In a country of ten million people, of whom only two million are white, only those of white origin were allowed to decide the fate of the eight million blacks.

225. As we have heretofore said, every country has some black pages in its record, but never have I seen

a country that tries to justify discrimination, exploitation and even massacre such as South Africa. How does the South African Government justify its right to exploit, suppress and even kill its fellow men? They base this on the Charter of the United Nations and say: Why allow interference in the domestic jurisdiction of South Africa? According to their view, they have the right to exploit, oppress or even massacre the eight million blacks in South Africa-- they say it is nobody's business but their own.

226. Let the South African Government take warning that the people of Africa will not continue to permit their fellow Africans to be the victims of such pernicious practices without taking forceful measures for the protection of the rights of their fellow Africans.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.