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## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Dato' Kamil (Federation of Malaya)</i>	577
<i>Speech by Mr. Slim (Tunisia)</i>	581
<i>Speech by U Thant (Burma)</i>	587
<i>Speech by Mrs. Meir (Israel)</i>	589
<i>Statement by the representative of Ghana</i>	594
<i>Statement by the representative of Guatemala</i>	594
<i>Statement by the representative of the United Arab Republic</i>	598

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Dato' KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): It is my great pleasure and privilege to extend to Mr. Boland, on behalf of my delegation, our most sincere congratulations on his election as President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. So many preceding me have paid glowing tributes to him that I find it difficult, without running the risk of being repetitious, to add anything further. I need only associate myself whole-heartedly with them. There is no doubt that with his intimate knowledge, his rich experience, and his long association with the United Nations, he will carry out the heavy responsibilities of his high office in a manner that will greatly benefit the Assembly. I am confident that under his able guidance the General Assembly at this session will take yet another step forward in our collective endeavour to solve the multifarious problems that beset our world today.

2. This is not an ordinary session of the Assembly, not a routine session. Very rarely, perhaps never before, has the Assembly faced so many problems of such great magnitude and consequences as we are now facing. When we concluded our session last year, we went away with a sense of hope and gratification that the months ahead would witness considerable lessening of world tension and the dawn of a secure and lasting peace. Events in the past months have not justified our hopes. The meeting of world leaders, which had been prepared at great pains and over a long period of time, had hardly begun when it was called off. The disarmament negotiations to which the Assembly at the fourteenth session gave its whole-hearted blessing, foundered on the rock of disagreement. The process of liberation in Africa, which began so happily with the independence of Cameroun, followed by others, and which we had hoped would continue smoothly, was regrettably blemished by

events in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). These are set-backs which we hardly thought of at the last session. But there they are, made worse still by the furious resumption of the cold war, with all its attendant recriminations and vituperations. The proceedings of this Assembly during the last three weeks are eloquent testimony to the grave and dangerous situation in which the whole world is now engulfed.

3. All mankind is now looking at us, with the anxious expectation that this session of the General Assembly will weather the cold war acrimony and pave the way for the renewal of the process of negotiation, so regrettably interrupted, towards a secure and lasting peace. For this, if for no other reason, my delegation attaches great significance to this session. On the conduct of this session and on its success or failure may well depend the future of mankind. In this light, the President's remark in his address on the opening day of this session [864th meeting] that this Assembly was an Assembly of humanity, strikes a singularly significant note.

4. With all these dark clouds hovering over us, there is none the less a happy event in this Assembly. If we look around us in this hall we see not eighty-two nations represented here, as was the case only a year ago, but ninety-nine. My delegation welcomes the new Member States, and hopes with the keenest anticipation that with their new-born determination and enthusiasm and their faith in the United Nations they will add greatly to the success not only of this session but of future sessions as well, and that, most important, they will increase the prestige and strength of this Organization.

5. The fact that in many cases one of the first acts of state of these newly independent nations is to request membership in the United Nations is ample proof of their faith in the Organization. For the older Members, for the younger ones such as my own country, as well as for the very new and for those still in the stage of conception, there must be, I have no doubt, a strong desire and determination to strengthen this Organization through which, and only through which, the grave problems of the world can be discussed and their solutions found.

6. Unfortunately, the increase in the membership of this Organization since its inception in 1945 has not been matched by an increase in the membership of some of its major organs, in particular, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. This problem should be given urgent consideration, if the interests of the entire membership of this Organization are to be equitably represented and if the functioning of the Organization is to be made more effective.

7. The United Nations has already, in recent months, demonstrated its efficacy in averting what might have

<sup>1</sup>/Summit Conference which opened in Paris on 17 May 1960.

become, in the light of subsequent events, an international crisis and a national chaos in the heart of Africa. The response of the United Nations to the appeal for assistance from the Congo (Leopoldville) to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its record so far in giving this assistance, will go down in the annals of the Organization as one of the most important and praiseworthy tasks ever undertaken. Although the situation in the Congo today is still far from being clear or stable, the United Nations Command has managed at least to contain the crisis and prevent it from breaking into chaos. As a contributor of troops to the United Nations Force in the Congo, my Government fully subscribes to the philosophy of the United Nations operation—as embodied in the resolutions of the Security Council and the resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] of the General Assembly's fourth emergency special session—which is to safeguard and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Congo, and to assist in bringing about a condition in which the normal process of government can be restored.

8. My Government hopes, in the interests of the Congo and of Africa, as well as of world peace generally, that the provisions of these resolutions will be strictly observed. The young Republic of the Congo must not be exposed to the cross-fire of big Power politics and the furious storm of the cold war. This is essential if the Congo situation is to be normalized and if all Africa is to enjoy a condition of calm and stability in which the many new nations can develop the strength and muscle to consolidate and defend their newly won independence.

9. I cannot leave the subject of the Congo without paying a tribute on behalf of my Government to the Secretary-General for his untiring and determined efforts, his patience and forbearance, in discharging the mandate given to him by the United Nations. My delegation cannot but register its deep regret at some of the unjustified accusations made against the Secretary-General. We feel that these accusations, apart from their error and distortion, can only tend to hinder the United Nations operation in the Congo and undermine the authority and integrity of the Organization itself. This, in such a critical time as we are now facing, runs counter to the interest of the United Nations and to the interests of all those, particularly the small and the weak, who place their complete trust in this Organization.

10. As on previous occasions, this fifteenth session of the General Assembly is to my delegation another occasion on which we should like to express, both in words and in deeds, our unwavering faith and belief in the United Nations, and once again to renew the pledge of the Government of the Federation of Malaya to support the United Nations and to uphold the lofty principles and provisions enshrined in its Charter and in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

11. As a staunch supporter of these principles and provisions, we are compelled to view with grave concern any attempt at discrimination among people on grounds of colour, race or creed anywhere at all in the world. The "apartheid" policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa is a case in point. In spite of successive United Nations resolutions, the South African Government has seen fit to discriminate against people on grounds of their colour. While we take this opportunity to declare that our policy is one

of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, we also wish to make it known that "apartheid" in South Africa has now become an international issue. The world knows that the coloured people of South Africa are suppressed by the iniquitous instrument of the "apartheid" policy. It is this same policy that has raised an inhospitable barrier against normal international intercourse between South Africa and the coloured African-Asian world. Furthermore, the continued pursuit of this policy, particularly at this time of African resurgence, cannot but give rise to mounting tension and constitute a source of threat to international peace.

12. The danger that lurks behind colour discrimination is only too well known. The senseless slaughter at Sharpeville in the spring of this year should serve as a grim reminder. In order that such danger as that generated by the "apartheid" policy of the South African Government might be arrested in time, our Prime Minister raised this question at the last Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers <sup>2/</sup> in London.

13. It is profoundly regrettable that the South African Government, hiding behind the shield of the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction, has not heeded the concern of the whole world, including its colleagues in the Commonwealth. For this reason, and in order that a more concrete expression of our concern over the inhuman and dangerous policy of "apartheid" can be brought to bear on the responsible authorities in South Africa, my Government has prohibited the import of goods of South African origin into the Federation of Malaya as from 1 August 1960. The Federation Government intends to maintain this stand until such time as the South African Government gives sufficient indication of its intention to tackle this problem in a manner consistent with the humanitarian principles of the United Nations, as set forth in the Charter.

14. While "apartheid" in South Africa is a disgraceful symbol of intolerance and discrimination on grounds of colour, nearer our part of the world we continue to witness malicious acts of suppression of Tibetans, for the simple reason that they are Tibetans, devoted to the cause of their distinctive religious belief, without malice or ill intention to others. What the Tibetan people ask for is a place to live in this world, a place which is rightly theirs by tradition, so that they may be free to live their own religious life and be at peace with the rest of the world. Yet it is these very peace-loving and religious people who have become the unfortunate object of malignant suppression by the Communists.

15. Despite the resolution [1353 (XIV)] adopted at the last session of the General Assembly, it is disconcerting to note that the ruthless suppression of the Tibetan people has not abated. On the contrary, the systematic disregard for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and the attempt to destroy their traditional and distinctive way of life, their religious and cultural autonomy, are pursued with added vigour. This shameful rape of Tibet, this enforced communization of the Tibetan people, this flagrant violation of fundamental freedoms, cannot but be viewed with great alarm by all peace-loving peoples of the world.

16. The situation in Tibet represents a most sinister form of violation of fundamental human rights. We of

<sup>2/</sup>The Conference met from 3 to 13 May 1960.

the United Nations have therefore an obligation towards the Tibetan people as much as we have towards the rest of the world; and we must address ourselves again as we did last year to the Tibetan question. Hence our request, jointly with Thailand, for the inscription of the question of Tibet on the agenda of this General Assembly [see A/4444].

17. Representing as we do one of the small nations of the world that has only recently emerged from colonial rule, we are irrevocably and resolutely opposed to all forms of colonialism and imperialism. We are naturally gratified to see so many new nations among us today who have freed themselves from the bonds of colonial domination. But the rusty chains of dying colonialism still hold in bondage millions of people in some parts of the world. Many millions more have fallen victims to a new and more sinister form of domination—that of world communism. We in the Federation of Malaya have undergone a long period of colonial rule, but we have also fought in our country, for more than a decade, the menace of world communism. Mindful of all these things, we have dedicated ourselves fully to the cause of national liberation and freedom anywhere in the world.

18. Any attempt at perpetuating colonialism is inconsistent with the trend of our times, and the purposes and principles of the United Nations. In West Irian a vestigial form of colonialism still persists, and it is our belief that so long as the situation is not rectified, so long will there remain the seed of discord and tension. We should not allow this to germinate into an international conflagration. Thus, our policy towards the issue of West Irian, as we have stated time and time again, is that there should be an amicable solution of the question by all parties concerned.

19. Similarly, in Algeria there is a genuine force of nationalism of which we must take full cognizance. We feel it is the basic principle of self-determination that must be allowed to operate in Algeria if lasting peace and understanding are to be achieved between the nationalist forces in Algeria and the metropolitan power. The sooner this is realized, the sooner shall we have a firm and sound basis for negotiations between the two parties concerned; and such negotiation should be conducted as among equals unselfishly devoted towards an amicable and just solution of their common problem.

20. We particularly regret therefore that recent events have diminished any hope of "pourparlers". In the meantime, the senseless war in Algeria persists, with all its ruthless brutality. The situation in Algeria continues to cause alarm and concern. For this reason my delegation has joined in sponsoring the inscription of the Algerian item for discussion at this session of the General Assembly [see A/4418 and Add.1]. We hope that such a discussion may reveal some way by which the Algerian problem can be resolved, on the basis of the rightful claim of the Algerian people to self-determination.

21. I now turn to the question that is uppermost in our minds, the question of disarmament. As I indicated earlier in my statement, we are met in a different atmosphere from that of the fourteenth session. Last year we met in a propitious atmosphere of hope and optimism. This session the atmosphere is beclouded by cold war acrimony over the failure of the disarmament talks in Geneva and over the worsening of tension generally. We are profoundly concerned at the

failure of the Geneva talks, but we are more concerned lest the exchanges of bitter blames and counter blames in this Assembly, if they are slung for no other reason than propaganda, should render the possibility of an early resumption of talks all the more remote.

22. The forum of the Assembly must be utilized for reasoned discussion guided by a sincere desire on all sides to reach a basis for resumption of detailed negotiations. The millions of people in the underdeveloped countries are anxious to have peace and security in order to devote all their time, resources and energy to their social and economic development. War is ruinous to them as it would also be to all others—protagonists or bystanders, victors or vanquished. It is not necessary for me to give a layman's view on the horrors of nuclear war. These are all too well known.

23. If I venture to state our views on the question of disarmament, it is not because we possess the magic formula by which disarmament can be achieved. Rather, it is because disarmament, though mainly the responsibility of the major powers who possess the arms, is one involving peace or war, survival or total annihilation, and therefore is of paramount concern to all mankind.

24. Since the last session of the General Assembly, when the resolution on disarmament [1378 (XIV)] was adopted, giving official blessing to the then newly constituted East-West Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, not much progress has been made, largely because East and West could not be reconciled in their differences on basic issues, particularly on the question of control and inspection. The whole world, and especially a small nation like ours, will always look forward with great expectation to a peaceful solution of the disarmament problem; and we seriously feel that all the nuclear powers have a moral obligation towards the world and humanity to arrive quickly among themselves at a satisfactory principle and programme for the reduction of armament. In achieving a peaceful world order in our present nuclear age, the initiative must necessarily lie with the nuclear Powers.

25. We are convinced that a workable programme for the reduction of armaments is possible when it is simultaneously carried out and consistent with the security of every nation. In short, it is our firm conviction that disarmament should be the net result of an effective system of international security, co-operation and trust; not the basis. This, to our mind, is the only reasonable way to a relaxation of world tension and to a world of peace and harmony among nations.

26. While it is the responsibility of this Organization to do all it can in the field of disarmament, that is to say, in reducing the risks of total annihilation, the United Nations also has, in another direction, the responsibility of assisting the economic and social development of the Member States, that is to say, of increasing their chances of survival. This is particularly true of some of the less fortunate among us where the struggle for food, shelter and clothing is often a struggle for survival. The struggle of newly independent nations must take the form of giving economic and social content to their political independence. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are giving considerable assistance and guidance in



this direction. But more important is the condition of peace and stability, both internal and international, which must prevail if social and economic development is to progress unhampered.

27. We in the Federation of Malaya are fortunate in that, added to the already stable conditions we have enjoyed up to now, we have this year rid ourselves of one of our greatest burdens, namely, the state of emergency, which was declared in 1948 following the beginning of the communist insurrection. This insurrection, led by a few renegades propagating an alien ideology, managed, through violence and terrorism, to grip the country for twelve years. Much of our resources which would otherwise have been utilized for economic and social development, were therefore diverted to the war effort. Through the loyal co-operation, patience, and perseverance of our people of all races and creeds, and through assistance from some sister countries of the Commonwealth to whom we must express our gratitude, the insurrection has now been eliminated and it was possible for His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to declare the end of the emergency on 31 July 1960.

28. In a message to the people, His Majesty declared:

"The end of the state of emergency and the return to normal conditions prevailing among the people will ensure the peace and harmony of our nation. Thus, all the efforts of our Ministers in the Government and all the machinery and revenue of our Government can now be concentrated on development projects which will bring comfort and happiness to our subjects."

29. We can now look forward to more intensified efforts in the social and economic development of our people. Side by side with our policy of industrial development, pursued progressively within the framework of our policy of inducements to local and foreign capital, an intensive programme is now being launched in the direction of rural development. This is the keynote of our present task, and it reflects the desire of the Government to raise the living standards of the rural people who constitute the bulk of the population and the strength of the nation.

30. We are, of course, not the only country engaged in this task of national development. In Africa, in Latin America, in other parts of Asia, and among our neighbours in South East Asia, concerted national effort is being geared to this paramount task. Each country will naturally choose the best method to suit its own particular conditions and needs. Inevitably, differences will exist in different countries as to the methods of achieving these economic and social objectives. Be that as it may, in a region such as South East Asia, where all the countries are on more or less the same level of economic and social development and each of them individually engaged in its own programme of national advancement, some form of economic, social and cultural co-operation which would facilitate constant exchange of ideas, skills and knowledge would seem desirable in order to achieve maximum results. This is a form of regional co-operation which we maintain is workable despite such differences in political and economic system as may exist. We have therefore already for some considerable time been constantly giving our thoughts and consideration to initiating, jointly with some of our

neighbouring countries in South East Asia, a plan of regional co-operation of this kind.

31. I would like to turn to another aspect of international co-operation which is vital to the economic well-being of under-developed countries. Like most under-developed countries, the Federation of Malaya still depends a great deal for its livelihood on the earnings of its primary commodities which, in this case, are rubber and tin. In view of our great dependence on the exports of primary commodities for the financing of a steady and sustained programme of economic development, we are greatly concerned about the fluctuations in the prices of these commodities. For this reason we regard it as highly desirable to have international commodity agreements aimed at stabilizing the prices of primary commodities on which the economies of the under-developed countries greatly depend.

32. With regard to tin, as representatives are aware, there is already an International Tin Agreement, concluded in 1953, with the object of minimizing fluctuations in the price of tin for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Malaya is a party to the Agreement, and I am glad to say that it has demonstrated to the world at large that the Agreement has worked very effectively in achieving a measure of stability in the price of tin. My country is particularly happy that a new Agreement has been reached at the recent United Nations Tin Conference<sup>3/</sup> and will come into force at the expiration of the present Agreement. This reflects the satisfaction of the members of the present Agreement, both producers and consumers, with the benefits and effectiveness of the Tin Agreement in bringing about stability in the world price of tin.

33. We appreciate that it is very difficult to establish an international price stabilization scheme in respect of rubber, but we are very pleased to note that the International Rubber Study Group, which held its fifteenth meeting recently at Kuala Lumpur,<sup>4/</sup> in their communiqué accepted the importance of greater stability of the price of natural rubber to both producers and consumers and to countries whose economies are largely dependent on the production of natural rubber, and that the Group directed its Management Committee to study the various possible measures to reduce the excessive fluctuations in the price of natural rubber. We are looking forward to the results of the Committee's study and recommendations.

34. If I have dwelt, though briefly, on our own problems of national development, it is not for any other reason than to show how much importance we attach to the economic and social welfare of our people. As a young nation, we have yet a long way to go to catch up with the rest of the world. In these days of staggering technological and scientific achievements, the task facing the under-developed countries, of closing the gap between their present state of under-development and their objective of economic and social contentment, becomes ever more difficult. It will take time. But the problem must be tackled, and tackled both by the efforts of the individual countries themselves and by international co-operation, either bilateral or under the aegis of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. To a large measure the peace of the world will depend on the success achieved in

<sup>3/</sup>Conference held at Headquarters from 23 May to 24 June 1960.

<sup>4/</sup>Meeting held from 19 to 23 September 1960.

closing this gap. The more the gap widens, the more discontent there will be among nations, and the greater will be the danger to world stability. And yet, on the other hand, the success of raising living standards the world over will largely, in its turn, depend on the prevalence of sustained conditions of world peace and stability.

35. That is why we of the smaller nations attach the greatest importance to the deliberations of the Assembly at this session, where grave issues of war or peace, of total annihilation or survival, of oppression or freedom are at stake. My delegation will play its part towards the success of this session. We in this Assembly are here as representatives of hundreds of millions of people of the world who have placed their complete trust in our hands, and in this Assembly. I am comforted by this awareness. The whole world is hoping and praying that we shall succeed. The conduct of this session and its outcome may well determine whether we, mankind, will survive in peace and freedom.

36. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): I should like first of all to express once again, on my own behalf and on that of my delegation, our sincere congratulations to Mr. Boland on his election as President of so important a session of the General Assembly. The confidence which the Assembly has thus shown in him is a just tribute to his personal qualities, to his country and to its brave people, whose valiant struggle has so often been an example and a symbol to us.

37. The special importance of this session of the United Nations General Assembly is underlined in the first place, by the presence of Heads of States or of Governments, to whom I should like to convey an expression of esteem. Their participation in our work invests the General Assembly's debates with particular weight and seriousness. The presence of so many responsible leaders of Member States brings into unusually full relief the questions which they and we have to consider. We believe—and hope—that, despite the occasionally dramatic fever of the first few days, sound and suitable decisions may finally be reached and that the process of finding solutions for the fundamental problems before us can be accelerated.

38. The current session has opened under the happy augury of the admission of sixteen new Member States from the Mediterranean region and Africa. This should, in my view, benefit the United Nations in two ways. First, it makes the Organization more representative, especially as far as Africa is concerned, and thus brings it closer to its goal of universality. The nations which have just acceded to independence, and which my country welcomed here only a few days ago, are all numbered among the under-developed countries of the world. We are sure that their profound attachment to both individual and collective freedom, for which they have fought so resolutely, will be the most valuable contribution they can make to the debates in the Assembly. Their determination to secure genuine emancipation and economic and social liberation will unquestionably help to lay greater stress on this prime aspect of the problem of decolonization. To make devotion to freedom more active, and to present a more complete picture of the exigencies of decolonization—that, we feel, is the most valuable contribution which the new Mediterranean and African States can make

to the United Nations, and constitutes a further reason for the considerable importance of the fifteenth session.

39. But apart from the calibre and composition of several of our delegations, and from the sharp outline of the problems before us, the significance of our debates is, we feel, emphasized still further by the special atmosphere which has prevailed in this hall since this session began. Serious problems have quite suddenly, and almost unexpectedly, arisen. Today the Organization itself is being reappraised, not merely in regard to its geographical location, its administrative structure and its methods, but also, and primarily, in regard to the fundamental meaning of its existence and of the permanent principles by which it is guided, as they derive from the Charter. Such a reappraisal has never before been made so insistently, so seriously or so disquietingly. Until now, the United Nations has constituted the supranational framework within which conflicts of interest between nations could be at least attenuated, if not solved. Negotiations undertaken to that end have been based on the twin principles of tolerance and co-operation, which of necessity imply mutual understanding and reciprocal concessions in conformity, of course, with the requirements of law and justice. The Organization has been erected and maintained on the basis of the fundamental principle of equality among nations, whether great or small, strong or weak.

40. At the national level, problems are viewed from the standpoint of the immediate interests of each State and in the light of its main concern to safeguard its national sovereignty. At the international level, the search for solutions to the problems and conflicts under consideration proceeds from a broader interpretation of our responsibilities; it is directed towards a less selfish goal. Here, we act, and are in the habit of acting, as representatives of the different members of the community of mankind, and our first concern should be to safeguard peace and to ensure that individual interests are adjusted to each other without the use of force.

41. But, for just a month now, the United Nations, as the focal point of all conflicts, has been suffering from an absolute lack of tolerance, a narrowly nationalist, regionalist or partisan concept of problems, and a marked placing of individual interests above the short-term general interest and the long-term interests of mankind. In truth, the United Nations is suffering, today, from a moral crisis of humanity and its leaders; for of what use are organizations and charters if the level of men's morality is still too low?

42. This moral crisis through which the United Nations is passing is, we feel, reflected in the desire recently shown by some to induce others to accept, and almost perforce to embrace, their opinions. The small countries of Africa and Asia are at times insistently urged to adopt one or another form of dogma. No sooner do we recover our freedom than we are invited to give it up, and let others interpret international problems for us and tell us what our position with regard to them should be. We have also been invited to consider ourselves a third, integral, African or African-Asian bloc, having as its sole catechism the breviary of statistics reflecting our regrettable state of under-development.

43. Our fidelity to democratic principles sets us, from the outset, against the very principle of power blocs. True, the admirable principles of the African-Asian Conference held at Bandung in 1955 won our complete and unreserved support; and the Conferences of Independent African States, held at Accra, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and, most recently, Leopoldville for the purpose of defining a common attitude towards the important problems directly affecting our continent, have done much to strengthen a solidarity which is both natural and beneficial. But that does not, in our opinion, suffice to justify our forming a bloc whose establishment would, we feel, give rise to serious dangers.

44. The sacrifices which the people of Tunisia has had to make in order to recover the right to freedom of judgement and choice is still, in fact, too fresh in our memories for us to have any inclination to abandon that freedom in haste. Firmly attached to its policy of non-alignment, Tunisia cannot easily embrace a policy of general, systematic alignment. To us it seems more realistic, and more in accordance with the principle of free and peaceful coexistence between equal nations, to maintain our position of non-alignment, which enables us to bear our own responsibilities in regard to each problem on the basis of its merits and of the requirements of law and justice. What is more, we are convinced that it would not be in the interests of the United Nations, and would be still less in those of our African, the Asian or even the American continent, for us to embark on such an adventure without weighing its implications very carefully.

45. The Tunisian delegation could not, in the name of what is commonly called political realism, agree to regard the division of the world into blocs of nations or coalitions of interests as something final. We do not wish to subscribe to the idea that peaceful coexistence is only a moment of respite vouchsafed to mankind. Such a prospect would mean, not only a denial of the very principles of the Charter, but indeed the end of coexistence among nations, and a sort of collective suicide by persuasion.

46. For young States like Tunisia, to embrace one political dogma or another, to subscribe to the establishment of a new permanent coalition of interests or to the strengthening of any of those already existing, would not only mean the abandonment of our freedom but would also upset, to a dangerous degree, the already tenuous balance which allows the United Nations to function.

47. The United Nations is the framework within which all our efforts must be directed towards a better harmonizing of international relations on the basis of the fundamental principle of the equality of Member States, great and small, strong and weak. We feel that only by assuming our full responsibilities, and jealously guarding our freedom to evaluate problems and the attitudes of the great nations in regard to them, shall we be acting in the best interests both of the international Organization and of ourselves, the small nations. The opening meetings of the current session have shown us sufficiently clearly, I think, that the fate of peace is now more than ever linked to the fate of the freedom of nations and the dignity of men. The freedom of all of us and the freedom of the Organization will depend, in the last analysis, on the main-

tenance and preservation of the freedom of each of us individually.

48. The Tunisian delegation therefore opposes the division of the United Nations into three blocs, reduced to the status of offices or institutions. It is even more strongly opposed to the splitting of the United Nations executive into a sort of triumvirate.

49. The veto in the Security Council is even now distasteful to most Member States, because it runs counter to the principle of the equality of all States and gives to a few the power of thwarting the will of the majority. Its effects are counteracted to some extent by the "Uniting for Peace" resolution [377 (V)] which has already, four times, made it possible to call the General Assembly into emergency special session with a view to avoiding serious situations that might have gravely endangered international peace and security.

50. But the great majority of Members of our Organization continue to hope that this veto will be replaced by a more democratic system and that the committee on reviewing the Charter <sup>5</sup>/ may find a suitable formula to that end.

51. To transform now, or seek to transform, the office of Secretary-General into an organ which could also exert some sort of veto on the implementation of our Organization's decisions would undoubtedly result in rendering the United Nations ineffective.

52. We can readily understand that the present structure of the United Nations, as manifested in its principal organs, was conceived in a political context which new events have to a great extent made out of date, and that we must to some degree consider adjusting the Organization and adapting its organs to the new situation created by the increase in the number of Member States and the greater diversity of the problems to be dealt with. The committee on reviewing the Charter will be specifically responsible for proposing the necessary adjustments to this end. Nevertheless, that should not entail a complete reappraisal of the Organization and cannot, in our view, justify the radical upheaval which has been proposed. Such a transformation, if effected, particularly at the executive level, would inevitably bring the normal functioning of the entire Organization to a halt.

53. Small States like Tunisia are, first and foremost, interested in having a coherent, a strong and, in particular, an effective international organization. The problems facing us in our efforts to speed up the independence of our brothers now fighting in Algeria, Africa and elsewhere in the world, to consolidate our sovereignty and to rationalize our economic situation, all impose on us the duty of supporting the United Nations and the unity of its executive more than ever, and of urging authority and prestige for it, so that it may aid us more effectively in a struggle which is often one-sided and arduous. We need an organization whose prestige is unanimously acknowledged and whose authority is undisputed, despite its imperfections, so that we may be spared all the disastrous consequences of a failure like that experienced by the League of Nations on the eve of the Second World War.

54. I shall now take up one of the most important problems to be discussed at this session—the Algerian problem. Algeria is, no doubt, the only country in the

<sup>5</sup>/Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.



world in which a real and murderous war has been raging for long years and maintaining a permanent state of tension in the Mediterranean area. I cannot, during the general debate, give a complete description of the Algerian problem. But my delegation finds it difficult to understand how it is possible to avoid mentioning it, even summarily, in a discussion which is so important for both the present and the future of the international community.

55. For Tunisia, this conflict, which in a few days will enter its seventh year of war, represents much more than a permanent threat to our sovereignty. It is highly detrimental to North Africa's relations with France and with the other parts of the world in which that nation is established. This war has at times caused us to doubt the effectiveness of the United Nations, which impotently witnesses the continuation of the conflict, the daily repetition of large loss of life and of useless sacrifice, and the forcible maintenance of a régime superannuated by history, against the manifest will of a freedom-loving brother people which is constantly invoking the principles set forth in the Charter and demanding that they be respected.

56. We deeply regret that the situation has not evolved in the direction of peace since the last session of the General Assembly, despite the agreement in principle between the French and the Algerians on the necessity of allowing the Algerian people freely to determine its own future through a genuine popular vote. It will be recalled that, at the fourteenth session, a draft resolution [A/L.276] recommending negotiations to that end was adopted, paragraph by paragraph, by the required majority in the General Assembly. In so voting, Members' delegations hoped to offer adequate safeguards for a genuine referendum designed to restore peace. But the draft resolution as a whole did not secure the necessary majority. Need it be recalled that this vote on the draft resolution as a whole was cast by delegates favourable to the Algerian cause, solely for reasons of expediency, with the one object of not hindering, at that juncture, the efforts of both parties to achieve a peaceful solution of the conflict?

57. It was not long, however, before the hopes which all of us here had all entertained for the return of peace were demolished. Public opinion in Tunisia had welcomed with deep satisfaction the opening of the Melun "pourparlers" between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. The peoples throughout the world had confidently hoped that those "pourparlers" would result in the conclusion of peace in conformity with the draft resolution adopted last year by the First Committee. In Tunisia, we could not believe that France would reject the goodwill displayed by the authorized representatives of the struggling Algerian people and that it was going to dismiss the Algerian delegation after communicating to it the Draconian conditions which we all know, in the manner of victor speaking to vanquished. "The fact is that the atmosphere surrounding the stay in France of the Algerian emissaries, and the conditions presented to them, were such that only the plenipotentiaries of a defeated army, come to sue for peace and capitulate unconditionally, could have tolerated them. The French Government seemed to wish to convert these negotiations into a surrender." Yet no one can deny that the Algerian fighters are far from being defeated.

58. The press conference held by the Head of the French State on 5 September 1960 was, unfortunately, only too enlightening. Contrary to all its previous statements, the French Government seemed to believe once more in the possibility of a final armed victory over the Algerian people. Thus, the position of the reactionary forces in Algeria, which we had hitherto regarded as the ill-considered and short-sighted attitude of a coalition of interests, received, alas, official sanction and unexpectedly became the very foundation of French policy in Algeria. Negotiation is no longer contemplated as the only decent, honourable means of ending a war equally lacerating for two nations who have so many reasons for co-operating and living together on good terms. Even the "brave man's peace" is no longer mentioned. What is proposed to us today is that the Algerian people should lay down its arms and accept whatever status France may subsequently be pleased to confer on it. The persons responsible for the destinies of France have, in short, been increasingly espousing the doctrines of the reactionaries in Algeria.

59. For us, who remain attached to the principle of the peoples' right to self-determination, such a position is contrary to the liberal principles of which France has been one of the most respected champions and, in that capacity, one of the most beloved by us. Moreover, this attitude is not at all in line with international ethics. It represents a flagrant violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter which we, together with France, continually invoke when considering the problems that come before this Organization. It gives to might preference over right, and replaces negotiation by resort to arms. Furthermore, it runs counter to publicly expressed intentions to seek peace and engage in parleys with the Algerian people. In face of this unfortunate situation, is it possible for us to remain in a state of expectation and allow the war and its evils to continue?

60. How long can those who invoke the principles of liberty and justice, set forth in 1941 by the Atlantic Charter, continue to be so considerate of French sensibilities and of so-called solidarity in so bad a cause, at the risk of undermining presumptions in their favour which, but for this conflict, there would be no reason to discard?

61. The leaders of the Algerian people at war have genuinely made every possible effort, and every concession compatible with the unassailable principles of right and justice, with a view to settling their dispute with France by the peaceful means of negotiation.

62. Can any blame now attach to a people, compelled to carry on this deplorable struggle which during six years has caused so great a loss of human life, for seeking support and backing from every possible political quarter, whether in the East, the West or the third world, with a view to ensuring respect for its dignity and recovering its freedom and independence? This involves a serious moral problem for us all—a problem which my Government has settled in favour of our Algerian brothers, with the grant to them of definitive and unequivocal support, whatever the political colour of the backing given to them for the purpose of ending this war.

63. Three days ago, on 7 October 1960, in the speech opening the regular session of the Tunisian National

Assembly, President Bourguiba used, in this connexion, the following words:

"For us, the only thing of importance is that the war should be ended, with the aid of all who are convinced that the interest of humanity and the preservation of moral values require the ending of the war. We are resolved to assume our responsibilities and to take our stand, come what may. We are ready to cope with any developments. We shall be equal to any obligations which events may lay upon us in the near future on account of the Algerian war."

My delegation will venture shortly to circulate the text of this important statement.

64. Can the Organization continue to confine itself to expressions of hope for peace in the matter of this tragedy which will soon have lasted seven years? Is it not becoming essential that the Organization should take effective action to help both parties towards an honourable and just solution? It seems increasingly clear to us that this solution lies in a genuine and unchallengeable referendum held under United Nations auspices, as no other solution is now possible and the door to any bilateral talks has, apparently, been closed.

65. Like all the small nations who give evidence of their profound attachment to the United Nations and to the principles of liberty and equality inspiring it, Tunisia hopes that the Organization will intervene in Algeria to re-establish peace and ensure the triumph of freedom and human dignity. By doing this, the Organization will have acted in accordance with its mission and will not have disappointed the hopes that we repose in it. For us Tunisians—and we do not think we are alone in holding this view—the Algerian war is more than ever a test, which will enable us to estimate the real, practical value of the principles, and the moral capacity, of the Organization and its Members.

66. The destiny of Tunisia is inseparable from that of Algeria. Our future, like our distant or more recent past, is the same. The freedom of Tunisia would be but a reprieve, if the Algerian war continued amid the indifference of the nations or ended with the victory of brute force over justice, of might over right, of oppression over freedom.

67. The responsibilities of the United Nations in Africa have been adequately stressed. In Algeria the Organization has a great, delicate and urgent responsibility. Need I repeat what so many other speakers have said—that at this moment human beings are dying, families are being deported, homes razed to the ground and death sentences passed and executed?

68. The Government of the Republic of Tunisia has been pleased and encouraged by the many statements made from this rostrum in support of the just and rightful cause of the Algerian people.

69. We ardently hope that the coming debate on Algeria will effectively help to bring back peace, which is so necessary for the peaceful development of the North African region and for friendly and fruitful co-operation between our African countries and the rest of the world. As President Bourguiba said on United Nations Day, 24 October, in 1958:

"We must hope that the United Nations will oppose the excesses of tyranny and the depredations of greed. It is certainly able to do so, and has proved

it by stopping the bloodshed in Korea, by making a stand against tyranny in Hungary, and by combating aggression on the Suez Canal. We must hope that it will adopt an equally worthy attitude in regard to Algeria, so that it may reassure the small nations, restore their faith in the rule of justice and convince them, to greater effect, that the United Nations is still an impregnable refuge for them and will always be ready to protect them from the excesses of tyranny."

Two years later, these words are unfortunately still fully applicable to the circumstances.

70. There is not only the question of Algeria. In the tragedy of Palestine, too, might has supplanted right. A people has been driven out of its national territory. In tragic circumstances, hundreds of thousands of human beings have had to leave their country, which is that of their ancestors, and live in refugee camps near what were once their homes. Thus men who yesterday lived in prosperity, honour and dignity are, today, reduced to statelessness and to an existence dependent on the relief supplied by the United Nations.

71. My country is not racist; it abhors all racialism. We have never confused Judaism and Zionism. But, while condemning the anti-semitism which has been put forward to justify the injustice committed against the Arab people, we condemn the procedure which involves defrauding a people of its rights, to the advantage of another people. In other words, we cannot agree that reparation can be made for the crime of Nazism by the eviction of a brother Arab people from its ancient homeland.

72. Nor can I forget that many of the Organization's decisions on the Palestine question have not been carried out.

73. This problem, in our view, constitutes a permanent source of disturbance and agitation in this highly sensitive area and, therefore, a standing threat to world peace.

74. The problems of Algeria and Palestine and many other problems cannot prevent me from speaking of a question which has recently arisen in Africa and has led to a disturbing situation, highly dangerous to international peace and security—the question of the Congo (Leopoldville).

75. The Algerian war—in our view one of the most serious problems which, in recent years, has faced the United Nations and the conscience of its Member States—has for some little time ceased to be the centre of world attention. Over the last few months, the Congo has taken precedence of Algeria. The events which have occurred and multiplied there within a fairly short space of time are also of importance and international significance.

76. The crisis which has overtaken and is still afflicting the Congo seems to have been caused, in the main, by the rather exceptional difficulties which that country encountered at the moment when it ceased to be a colony. There has, we feel, been some over-hasty criticism of the Congo on the score of its people's political immaturity, its leaders' lack of experience, and the inadequate number of trained men ready to assume the responsibilities involved in administering a free State and to deal quickly with the many delicate problems bound up with independence and the transfer of power. There is no doubt in our minds that in this



connexion Belgium bears a heavy responsibility for its long neglect of one of its most compelling duties—that of helping to train Congolese for administrative positions, of gradually associating them in the management of their country's public affairs, and so of preparing the young African Republic for a stable and harmonious future. It seems clear to us that the Brussels Government chose quite a different policy, which might be summed up in the words "No 'élites', no trouble". This principle seems to have formed the basis of a colonial policy which was supposed to be far-sighted. The futility of that idea, and its dangers for mankind and international peace, have been amply demonstrated by recent events in the Congo.

77. While we might be prepared to understand the official explanations of the Brussels Government, which has several times affirmed the purity of its intentions, this would not mean that we could absolve Belgium or minimize the role which its agents and nationals have played in the Congo—a role most harmful to peace and to stability. It is particularly hard to deny the part played by certain groups of vested interests in the attempted secession of the provinces of Katanga and Kasai. It is possible that Belgium is officially pursuing a policy which, at the very least some of its agents in the Congo are sabotaging. It is probable moreover that the policy which Brussels has publicly laid down conflicts, in the day-to-day life of the Congo, with that followed by certain senior civil servants, officers in plain clothes or representatives of economic interests who are still active there. This system of dual responsibility, with its resulting confusion and anarchy, is something which for many years we in North Africa have known too well for us to be deceived by it today.

78. In any case it is incontestable that Belgium bears a glaring responsibility—direct or indirect, official or unacknowledged—in connexion with the recent disturbances in the Congo. I shall not try, in this debate, to go again into the whole question, on which my delegation has commented in sufficient detail during the discussions in the Security Council and at the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

79. But the case of the Congo reveals the devious ways in which colonies sometimes obtain their freedom, and the often serious difficulties which African peoples encounter in the task of consolidating their sovereignty and independence.

80. In a continent where colonial war has raged for years, where racial segregation—despite United Nations condemnation of it—is made into a principle of government, and where dearly repurchased political freedoms are faced with the harsh facts of economic domination and social dependence, the experience of the Congo serves as a test. Africa is today the last bastion of colonialism. Many, in their insatiable greed, cast envious eyes on the great resources of Africa's soil and sub-soil. It was therefore easy to foresee that the process of decolonizing the African countries would encounter difficulties, whose number and gravity would be proportionate to that greed and envy. For this reason, among others, the United Nations experiment in the Congo is invested with special value. It is in fact the first time that a young State, faced with a tragic situation jeopardizing its independence, has appealed to the moral conscience of the United Nations and has received, from the Organization, such

speedy and effective assistance in the civil and military spheres.

81. Need I recall that, thanks to the United Nations, more has been done in the Congo, in less than two months, to evacuate occupying troops than Tunisia has been able to do in five years of independence? Even today, a great bastion of our port system is still in the hands of occupying French troops, against the will of the Tunisian Government, despite two appeals to the Security Council, and notwithstanding the intervention and good offices of friendly countries.

82. Other States have not been vouchsafed the aid which, thanks to the United Nations and by its agency, the Congo has received in the organization of its administrative system. All this invests the Congo experiment with its significance and value on the plane of international relations. If this experiment were completely successful, it would constitute a promising precedent for the peaceful solution of decolonization problems. Such an experiment would, in the eyes of some, have been a precedent of incalculable significance if—thanks to the concerted action of Members of the United Nations, acting strictly through and within the Organization—the improvement, if not the liberation, of the economy of a former colonial country had followed closely upon that country's political emancipation.

83. My delegation deeply regrets that the cold war, the effects of which are so disastrous for international peace, has also become a factor exploiting the Congo situation for its own purposes.

84. The execution of the Security Council's decisions concerning military or civil assistance to the Congo has been the subject of criticism. My delegation still believes that the action taken by the United Nations in the Congo is in conformity with the Security Council decisions. In all honesty and objectivity, we can only pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whom that body entrusted with the implementation of those decisions, and to his representatives, for the untiring devotion with which they have performed this really impartial task of peace and international solidarity.

85. That is our belief, based on the facts themselves and on the joint study of the situation, on the spot, by the Conference of Independent African States held at Leopoldville from 25 to 30 August 1960. This Conference, in a statement adopted by it unanimously, paid a well-deserved tribute to the United Nations for the work of peace which the Organization had done in the Congo. We consider, moreover, that it is in our common interest, as the Leopoldville Conference of Independent African States affirmed, to prevent the Congo from becoming a battlefield in the war of ideology.

86. Both in the Security Council and at the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly, the debates have laid adequate stress on the need, in the interest of international peace and security, to keep this action in the Congo on its true basis of international solidarity, genuinely neutral and disinterested.

87. Our own experience, together with that of many other countries formerly under foreign domination, tends to prove that political liberation may constitute but one stage on the road to true and effective emancipation—that emancipation, in fact, which enables the

formerly persecuted communities to escape, once and for all, from the horrors of hunger, disease and ignorance.

88. The experience in the Congo has for us a symbolic significance in that it has raised the problem of decolonization in one complete instance and in all its aspects—administrative, political, military, economic and social. This problem, which called for urgent solutions, gave Tunisia an opportunity of putting into practice the principles of human solidarity which it takes as its guide. The Government of the Republic spared no effort to make an immediate response to the appeal from the sister Republic of the Congo and, within the United Nations framework, furnished it with all the assistance required. The three thousand Tunisian soldiers have already, in the Congo, made their contribution in dead and wounded to the cause of peace, and the best of our country's civilian technicians are today making their experience available for the task of reorganizing the administration, the security and telecommunication services, the banks and the health service.

89. The delegations from Asia, Africa and Latin America are perfectly familiar with the economic and social aspects of national emancipation and their importance in the process of decolonization. This awareness, among the communities of the third world, of the extent and gravity of their under-development is a well known sociological phenomenon. It can, we think, be best expressed, not so much with the aid of statistical comparisons, but rather by what has been called "the costs of man", the purpose of which is to furnish the individual with the material support essential to his dignity as a free being. I need hardly recall that there can be no true dignity in physiological and material want, in unemployment, in precarious health conditions, or in ignorance.

90. I need not recall either, in this connexion, that if the under-developed countries are to develop reasonably quickly and as international stability and co-operation require, foreign aid in the shape of capital investment and personnel is essential. That aid is a duty in so far as it is agreed that under-development is primarily the consequence of colonial expansion. It is also a measure of justice in so far as the exploitation of these countries' resources and the trade derived from such exploitation have been achieved at the expense of the communities ruled. Such aid, supplementing the efforts and sacrifices necessarily made by the newly independent peoples themselves, will give to the phenomenon of decolonization its full meaning, by opening for our countries the way to a rapid and harmonious restoration of their economic and social structures.

91. But no effort of this kind can go forward and fulfil the hopes placed in it unless, as a primary condition, men have peace in their hearts and can contemplate the future without fear. Peace in our countries, peace on our frontiers and among our neighbours, peace in general—such is the necessary framework for growth and for the co-ordination, on a world scale, of the various forms of progress which it involves. The restoration of our economies has never implied, in our minds, refusal to co-operate with other countries, even though those countries be our former colonizers. In a world in which great economic, social and even political units are being built up, it is by no means our intention to isolate

ourselves or refuse co-operation. While the formerly colonized communities need peace for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their countries, peace is equally needed by mankind as a whole. In face of the dangers involved by nuclear weapons, the need for peace and calm is today the greatest of all the essential needs of the international community.

92. Peace is, in the first instance, the absence of armed warfare. It is, unfortunately, indicative of the short-sightedness of those who today are responsible for the fate of mankind that they should accept the murderous war in Algeria as a necessary and, in any case, geographically circumscribed evil, without any apprehension that the conflict might spread and degenerate into a general one.

93. Recent examples of localized wars in Europe and Asia have, indeed, sufficiently proved that it is almost always wrong to be so short-sighted and to think that armed conflicts can still be dealt with by the same methods that would be used in the case of a forest fire—by digging fire-break trenches behind which the fire can be left to burn the trees. It is our deep-seated belief that peace is as indivisible as liberty or justice.

94. This will indicate how disappointed we were to learn of the fate of the Summit Conference in Paris, from which the whole world had hoped so much. That disappointment was further increased by the suspension of Geneva negotiations on disarmament. We still think that, so long as mutual mistrust persists between the great armed Powers, the arms race will continue to be one of the gravest dangers for the very existence of mankind. We are therefore convinced of the absolute and urgent necessity of finding the best possible formula for achieving general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional weapons and accompanied by effective control calculated to restore mutual confidence.

95. We remain fully persuaded of the need to find a practical solution, agreed upon by the two parties, to the problem of preventing a surprise attack and ending nuclear tests for military purposes.

96. On the basis of these principles, we would not despair of the wisdom of the men who are responsible, not only for their own peoples, but also for the future of the entire human race. We venture to hope for a rapid improvement of the world atmosphere, opening the way to a real and lasting "détente" in international relations, which is an essential condition for real, general and complete disarmament.

97. The question of Mauritania, that of the plan for further French nuclear tests in the Sahara, that of racial policy in South Africa, that of Tibet, the struggle of the African peoples who are trying in various ways to recover their dignity as free men and their sovereignty as independent nations—such are some of the important questions in regard to which my Government's position will be clearly set forth, at the appropriate time, during the present session.

98. All those questions, and others as well, derive more or less directly from the problem of colonialism itself. Tunisia, essentially an African country and one basically adhering to moral values, remains opposed to any form of domination of one people by another. From its nature, as well as by the deep conviction of its people and its President, my country is fundamentally opposed to all colonialism and all imperialism.

It is true that in modern times imperialism has assumed various forms, ideological as well as economic. There has been ideological hegemony of a political or social nature, and there have been economic structures imposed by force, under the pretext of ensuring the true welfare of the peoples concerned, or by persuasion, with the threat of force in the background. All these forms have the same end and object—the domination of one people by another.

99. This session has been termed "the session of Africa". That implies the idea of the end of colonialism and the arrival of a genuine era of freedom, of brotherhood among the peoples and of co-operation between equally sovereign and independent nations, in peace and in justice.

100. The eyes of the world are at present turned toward the General Assembly. All those—and they are many—who, like ourselves, have placed their faith in the Organization, in the principles set forth in its Charter, and in its various organs whose effectiveness we have observed, are reposing great hopes in this session. In spite of everything, I am convinced that these hopes will not be disappointed.

*Mr. Green (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

101. U THANT (Burma): Since this is my first intervention in the general debate, let me take this opportunity of extending through the Vice-President, the very warm felicitations of my delegation to Mr. Boland on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifteenth regular session. His election is a clear manifestation of the very high esteem in which the Members of the United Nations hold him personally and the courageous and virile country of Ireland which he represents.

102. The proceedings in the Assembly at this session are the focus of extraordinary attention all over the world, both for the extreme urgency of most of the problems listed on the agenda and for the participation in its work by a number of distinguished Heads of State or of Government.

103. This session is also highlighted by a feature of very great historical significance: the admission among us of seventeen new States—sixteen African States and Cyprus—all of which recently won their independence. On behalf of the people and the Government of the Union of Burma, I wholeheartedly welcome their admission and offer to them our very sincere congratulations on their newly won status. The emergence of these new States in Asia and Africa and their membership of the United Nations will certainly enhance the authority and effectiveness of this world Organization.

104. At the outset, let me reiterate Burma's firm conviction that the main obstacle to the settlement of international problems and the achievement of a genuine world peace is the unmitigated persistence of the so-called cold war, the chief feature of which is the sharp division of the world into two hostile ideological camps, each one suspicious and fearful of the other, and both scrambling to entice new recruits into their respective ranks. Under such conditions an alignment with either of these two power blocs would do a grievous disservice to the cause of peace. On the other hand, Burma believes that peace cannot be achieved through passive neutralism, which would mean a withdrawal from the battle for peace. Hence, Burma has consistently pursued, and continues to pursue, a policy

of strict but active neutrality. However, Burma does not aim at setting up a new grouping of neutral or unaligned States, for, by the very nature of things, this would mean bloc policy, which in turn would result in a further splitting of an already divided world.

105. Once again, the session of the General Assembly opens in an atmosphere of increased tension. We are now witnessing a general deterioration in international relations, especially among the great Powers, and the protracted disarmament negotiations have yielded very little result. The Paris Summit Conference, on which the entire world had placed such great hope, collapsed before it could get started. As all of us are aware, different reasons have been assigned for the collapse of the Summit Conference. The Soviet Union and its allies put the blame entirely on the flight of the United States U-2 aircraft over Soviet territory and to the United States Government's assumption of responsibility for it. The United States and its allies maintain that the U-2 flight was used only as an excuse, and that the Soviet Union had never any intention of letting the Summit Conference succeed. The Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, U Nu, in the course of his statement before our Chamber of Deputies on 22 September 1960, observed:

"As we understand it, the U-2 flight constitutes a violation of international law. The American justification for the flight is new, and to us unconvincing. Having said this, however, we are bound to add that the U-2 flight, in our view, did not justify calling off the Summit Conference. As a peace-loving country, we deeply regret these unhappy developments. All the patient and painstaking endeavours of years by eminent statesmen throughout the world—and among them I deliberately include Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower—to reduce to practical day to day terms the truism that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, were swept away when the Summit Conference collapsed. With it, the possibility of armed conflict has correspondingly increased."

106. The collapse of the Summit Conference, of course, disrupted negotiations on disarmament, which is the most pressing problem of our time. My delegation associates itself wholeheartedly with the resolution adopted by the Disarmament Commission<sup>6/</sup> calling on all those concerned to resume negotiations on general and complete disarmament. We believe it to be of paramount importance that effective contact should never be broken among those most directly concerned with this pressing problem.

107. Against the background of this gloomy situation, a silver lining is discernible. It is a fact that a fair measure of agreement has been reached on matters of principle as well as of substance. Agreement has been reached on several aspects of nuclear test control, and every endeavour should be made to maintain this progress, both in and outside the United Nations. A willingness to accept the other side's good faith is as great a stride forward to peace as a signed treaty itself. A ban on testing, which will halt the arms race, is an essential preliminary to a disarmament agreement. Such a ban was at one time in sight, and we were heartened that the big Powers had begun to speak the same language. There was hope in the air, but

<sup>6/</sup>Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1959, document DC/146.



the collapse of the Summit Conference once again poisoned the atmosphere.

108. The disarmament problem changes its character with every day that it passes. Once it could be framed in terms of the existing nuclear Powers getting rid of their nuclear weapons. Now it is becoming a question of preventing potential nuclear Powers from manufacturing nuclear weapons at all. The People's Republic of China is now the most important of these Powers. Even without outside assistance, that country is almost certain, in the absence of political agreements, to have its own bomb within a couple of years. In the light of these facts, the rejection by this General Assembly on 8 October of the proposal [A/4474] even to include in the agenda the item "Representation of China in the United Nations" is a demonstration of our inability to read the signs of the times and our refusal to face realities.

109. Modern diplomacy is in most cases a series of conditioned reflexes. Whatever proposals come from Moscow or Peking are sure to be denounced by the West as propaganda. And whenever the West comes up with a really worth-while proposal, it often gets the same treatment from its antagonists. This is regrettably true of the very abrupt Western dismissal of Premier Chou En-lai's statement last July that China would be prepared to conclude a peace pact that would clear Asia and the Pacific of nuclear weapons. As the Latin Americans are very desirous of maintaining peace in their region, and as the Africans are very anxious to keep their region free from big power rivalries, most Asians also welcome any move from any quarter to keep Asia free from military entanglements. In this context, Premier Chou En-lai's statement that there must be created in the Far East and in the whole Pacific area a zone of peace, free from atomic weapons, deserves very close attention. There is no need to go into the merits of the proposal as such. A non-nuclear Pacific would be a greater step towards a peaceful world than a nuclear Pacific, in view of the fact that the People's Republic of China has very great potentials for the manufacture of atomic weapons, and the United States of America is already a leading nuclear Power.

110. One may very well question if the People's Republic of China is sincere. It seems to my delegation that it is a pointless question, since the word "sincerity" has long been dropped from the vocabulary of diplomacy. The only criterion that should be applied to Peking's proposal is the more reliable one of whether it serves China's long-term interests. It is obvious that the People's Republic of China cannot afford, with her very ambitious industrial revolution and all the colossal cost it entails, to become a nuclear Power also. Development in the one field implies some retardation in the other, in view of the vast handicaps it has to go through. The best way for the West to find out if Premier Chou En-lai was indulging in mere propaganda or not would be to take his proposals at their face value and initiate discussions on them.

111. Let me now deal with the situation in Algeria, which continues to cause deep concern throughout the world. Many representatives who preceded me have dealt with the problem more or less comprehensively, and therefore I will not attempt to narrate the events which have taken place since the question came up before the fourteenth session of the General Assem-

bly. The hostilities continue unabated with grievous suffering and loss of human life. Over a million Algerians remain displaced and regrouped in various parts of Algeria. Impartial observers have testified to the hardship and distress of the Algerians detained in internment camps and prisons. The situation indeed continues to embitter international relations and increase international tensions, thereby constituting a threat to the peace of the world. Therefore, on 20 July of this year, twenty-five Asian-African nations, including Burma, requested [A/4418 and Add.1] the inscription of the question of Algeria on the agenda of the Assembly at this session.

112. While dramatic changes have taken place in what was once called French Africa, the problem of Algeria, to our regret, still remains unsolved. It will be recalled that in September 1958, eighteen French territories, not including Algeria, were each given the offer of, first, full integration with France as a Department of the French Republic; second, retention of its present territorial status, with the right to representation in the French Parliament as hitherto; or, third, membership in the new Community as a fully autonomous unit. This offer was made on the condition that rejection of the French Constitution by any territory would mean its immediate secession and the cutting off of all French assistance. Of the eighteen territories offered this choice, Guinea rejected the Constitution, thereby severing its connexion with France completely. The remaining seventeen all approved the Constitution, and of them, twelve chose to become autonomous units within the French Community. The other five, consisting mainly of small territories, decided to maintain the status quo. Of these, only one is in Africa, this being French Somaliland. The French Community, it will be noticed, fell short of the British Commonwealth, in which it is possible for a completely independent State to remain a member. Earlier this year, the Constitution was amended and the Community of today is, in all essentials, similar to the Commonwealth, all its members being independent and equal in status.

113. I recount these facts just to highlight the contrast between the French treatment of Algeria and of its other colonies. The smooth transition from the French Union to the French Community and the revision of the Constitution of the Community to meet the requirements of the present era reflect President de Gaulle's realistic and statesmanlike handling of the problem of its colonies. However, the President's handling of the Algerian problem is far from gratifying. While the President has not abandoned the principle of self-determination, which this world Organization has advocated, he has emptied the word "self-determination" of all its meaning.

114. It is certainly regrettable that the Government of France is now engaged in two wars, both equally far from glorious. In Algeria, it fights the Algerian nationalists. In France, it is fighting French editors, writers and intellectuals. And so far, it has won more victories on the second front. Since April of this year, several French newspapers and journals have been seized; several books and publications banned or confiscated and authors arrested. Its successes in defending its honour against unarmed writers, however, is poor compensation for its continued failure to defeat the Algerian nationalists in Algeria. After six years of pacification, the Algerian nationalist forces are stronger, better organized and better equipped than

ever. The great danger, of course, is that countries, not only those adjacent to Algeria, but others, may be sucked into the Algerian war if it continues. Algeria, in fact, is no longer a French problem, nor even an Algerian problem; prolonged war has turned the country into an international powder keg. Either President de Gaulle offers proper negotiations on the necessary guarantees for self-determination to the Algerian nationalists, or the war will be intensified, and more and more of Africa will be drawn into the blood bath. No African Government, however desirous of good relations with France, will be able to maintain even official neutrality much longer.

115. The indications are that the war will be resumed even more fiercely and bloodshed will increase. There is now a vast chasm between the President and the Algerian nationalists struggling for their birthright of independence. The President wants negotiations only on the issue of a cease-fire and envisages self-determination in the form of elections under the supervision of French armed forces. The Algerian nationalists understandably cannot accept these conditions. It is difficult to imagine that the Algerian nationalists, after six years of revolution against the French, would ever agree to exercise their vote under the sole control of the French army. The only way out of this impasse seems to be to seek to implement the principle of self-determination through the agency of some form of international action. However, my delegation still entertains the hope that the two parties concerned will enter into "pourparlers", as to whose desirability there has been general consensus of opinion in this world Organization, before any internationally supervised referendum is envisaged. President de Gaulle, who is responsible for France's great achievements in other parts of Africa, can surely evolve a formula for Algeria, a formula based on the same principle of self-determination that has been applied to the other territories.

116. The developments in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) have graver implications for the United Nations than anything that has gone before. It will be recalled that the original purpose of its intervention was to replace the Belgian troops and to hold the fort while order was being restored. The United Nations forces had neither the mandate nor the responsibility to cope with the next phase—the growing internecine strife among the Congolese, which from time to time assumed the character of civil war. This strife, at one time, threatened to become an international conflict. It is a matter for gratification that many leaders of independent African States, with full consciousness of the gathering war clouds over the heart of the African continent, which they rightly feel to be their own, rallied to the help of the United Nations and averted a major catastrophe.

117. Events in the Republic of the Congo will no doubt have their impact on the evolution of other African States, and the United Nations operations there are a test of how far this world Organization can contribute towards the restoration of law and order in the new Republic. The United Nations involvement in the Republic of the Congo must be viewed as a test case for this Organization. Its future is certainly at stake. My delegation wishes to see the United Nations making a perceptible advance towards the conception of a world order. If it fails to make any headway in its primary task of restoring law and order in the

young Republic, then the Organization is likely to relapse into the immobility and impotency experienced at one time by its predecessor, the League of Nations, before its total collapse. My delegation, therefore, considers it essential that the present enterprise should not be allowed to break down. We feel that the United Nations must, in some sense, assert its legitimate authority in the Republic of the Congo, or lapse into humiliating passivity.

118. In assessing the success or otherwise of the United Nations operations in the Congo, we must look at the results in the context of the tangled events of the past few weeks. It will be recalled that the breaking point in the situation was reached about the middle of August. By that time the United Nations Force had virtually secured the primary objective for which it had been sent there: the Belgian troops had left—although there are still indications that many of them have come back as technicians—and a United Nations contingent had established itself in Katanga. The terms of reference given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council had been fulfilled.

119. My delegation has every confidence that the Secretary-General is sincerely and efficiently discharging his functions assigned by the United Nations. We have noted that each time a controversy has arisen about his Congo mandate, the Secretary-General has referred the dispute back to the Security Council. We are satisfied that all his authority is based solely on the decisions of the Security Council. In these circumstances, my delegation does not see any need at present to modify his office or his functions or to reorganize the Secretariat. Any such course is not only bound to retard the efficiency of the United Nations operations, but is sure to weaken the Organization itself.

120. The world has never so desperately needed an organization whose existence expresses not a Utopian fantasy but the biggest international reality of all. It symbolizes humanity's collective need for peace for the sake of survival, a need which overrides the national or ideological interests of any Member State.

121. The Congo affair has marked the start of a new phase in the evolution of the United Nations. It is our fervent hope that it will emerge as the world's indispensable agency for pouring oil on troubled waters. We must admit that the world is entering a period of acute crisis, with the cold war at its peak, but the most interesting and perhaps hopeful sign is that all significant campaigns involved in the cold war are being fought out in the United Nations. The gathering at this momentous session of the General Assembly of an unprecedented number of Heads of State or of Government itself is a tribute to the new importance of the United Nations forum in world affairs.

122. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): With the admission of sixteen new Members we all feel that we are in the presence of a revolutionary moment in human history. These countries represent millions upon millions of people who are now, for the first time, experiencing sovereignty and freedom in the modern world. Nothing is so debasing as national dependence and inequality, and nothing is so exhilarating as national independence and equality. No nation has been ordained to rule over others, or has been fated to be ruled by others. And I maintain that even the best foreign rule cannot take the place of self-rule. It is because these basic truths

are today universally accepted, that the new countries were welcomed in our midst with such genuine joy.

123. But, may I suggest that there are two dangers that face those of us who have emerged as newly independent States: first, lingering in the past; and second, the illusion that political independence will provide automatic solutions for all problems.

124. What do I mean by lingering in the past? It is natural that many new peoples should have unhappy, and in some cases, bitter memories. It is understandable that many of them should feel a sense of grievance against their former rulers and should view their present plight as the legacy of the past. It is to them a painful paradox that, while some countries have problems of surpluses and over-production, they should have been left behind in poverty. As they look about them at their lands, rich with minerals and vegetation—gold and diamonds, bauxite, iron and copper, cocoa and cotton, sugar and rubber—they must come to the conclusion that it was not God's will that they should be hungry.

125. How can we expect Africans to be impressed by the feats of the space age, when so many of their own people still are illiterate? You cannot expect the mother in an African village to be elated over the advance of medicine in the world when she sees her children suffering from trachoma, tuberculosis and malaria. All this must be understood. It is natural that all the suffering and degradation should be remembered by these new free peoples. No people can build its future if it does not remember its past. But a people cannot live only by brooding over the past; it must invest all its energy and ability in the future.

126. I speak on behalf of an ancient people whose past for thousands of years has been full of tragedy, racial discrimination and humiliation. It has been engaged in a continuous struggle to preserve its identity and its very survival—a struggle reaching its climax in our own lifetime, in the Nazi design to reach a "final solution to the Jewish problem" by genocide; that is, by the extermination of a whole people. Not for one moment do we intend to forget all that. Nor have we forgotten that our struggle for our rights in Palestine, under what became in effect a colonial régime, often took on tragic aspects. Yet, when we today survey our modest achievements, after thirteen years of statehood, we know that they were attained not by grieving; with our memories of the past intact, we bent all our energies on the building of the future.

127. This leads me to the second of the dangers which I have mentioned, and which I am sure is apparent to all our friends sitting here for the first time. How well we all know that independence is not only a culmination of ardent dreams and aspirations. It is not only a victory after a long and heartbreaking struggle. It is all that, but it is also an overwhelming challenge. There are now innumerable problems and dangers to be faced.

128. We, the new countries, have gained our independence in an era of man's greatest achievements. In parts of the world the standard of living and development have reached fantastic heights. We should not be told to go slow in our development; we should not be told that the advances of the developed countries have taken generations and centuries to attain. We cannot wait. We must develop quickly. As a friend from Kenya who visited Israel said: "Must I walk in

an age of jet planes just because those that now have jets were walking generations ago?"

129. This challenge is one not only for the new nations, but for the entire world. Much has been said and done about what I would call "first aid"; the sharing of food; the transfer of surplus to the hungry. But I wish to say—we will never be really free as long as our children need to be fed by others. Our freedom will be complete only when we have learned to bring forth from our own soil the food that we need. The cry that goes out from the African and Asian continents today is: share with us not only food, but also your knowledge of how to produce it. The inequality in the world today is not only in the gap of material things, but what is even more frightening, in the gap between those that literally reach for the moon and those who do not know how to reach efficiently into their own soil to produce their daily needs.

130. To satisfy the hunger of the mind is no less urgent than to satisfy the hunger for bread. The question is how the world can organize itself to span the time-lag of generations and share this knowledge with those who need it. The science and technology of our century that have been available to the industrially advanced States must be made available freely and fully to the new nations towards the solution of their acute economic, social and health problems.

131. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are devoting ever more attention to these crucial problems. In particular, through the twin instruments, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, skills and "know-how" are being freely shared between nations at different stages of economic progress, and latent resources are being surveyed and readied for development. The over-all scope of these activities is more than double today what it was barely three years ago, but the articulate need for such assistance has grown even faster. The urgent demands of the newly independent nations in particular make it imperative to increase the resources at the disposal of the United Nations for this purpose. From our own experience we know the beneficial results of United Nations assistance, and, within the limits of our possibilities, we are willing to increase our active participation in this great venture of international co-operation.

132. In an effort to help build a bridge between the two worlds—that of scientific progress and that of national liberation—the International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States was convened by the Weizmann Institute of Science and the Israel Ministry of Education at Rehovoth, Israel, a few weeks ago. By the circumstances of her history, Israel feels a sense of kinship with each of these two worlds. We are a part, however modest, of the contemporary scientific and technological movement. At the same time, we are one of the thirty-five nations which have achieved their sovereignty since the United Nations was founded, and with most of those new nations we enjoy relations of friendship and mutual respect. The object of the Rehovoth Conference, as defined by its sponsors more than a year ago, was to "explore the capacity of science and technology to advance the life of nations which have not yet reached a momentum of development".

133. Those were the circumstances in which Israel played host for two remarkable weeks to an international gathering of unique composition. On the one



hand, we had in our midst leading Cabinet Ministers, university presidents, technicians and high government officials of many States, especially from Asia and Africa, whose chief problem is that of supplementing constitutional freedom by a swifter economic and social progress. On the other hand, we welcomed eminent scientists whose achievements have transformed the pattern and prospect of life upon earth. These two groups of men—the statesmen of developing nations and the leaders of modern science—strove hard to come together in a genuine communion of mind and spirit.

134. Forty nations were represented at the Conference—more than half of them from Asia and Africa. Also in attendance were representatives and observers from United Nations agencies and from foundations concerned with development and education in new societies. The Conference adopted the Rehovoth Declaration [A/4570], which recommended that:

"...

"(a) The governments of developing States should regard the furtherance of science and technology as a major objective of their national policies and make appropriate provision for funds, and opportunities to achieve this end.

"(b) In the secondary and higher educational systems of new and developing States, accelerated programmes should be undertaken with a view to establishing a body of scientific workers and technical experts.

"...

"(d) Until such time as their own scientific manpower is adequate, new and developing States would be well advised to seek the help of scientific advisers and experts from friendly countries and international agencies to help them develop a scientific practice and tradition..."

The Conference appealed to the more advanced countries to extend such aid.

135. The Israel delegation will return to this subject in the appropriate Committee during this session. It may be possible for the General Assembly to adopt a resolution embodying some of the ideas which I have here outlined.

136. Now, while it is true that science and technology can provide the keys of knowledge, a major part of the capital needs for development must still be provided from outside sources. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other international agencies are making splendid efforts to meet these needs, but the resources at their command are insufficient to win the race against population pressures. What is required is an initial injection of development capital on so massive a scale that it can put into motion self-perpetuating local forces of economic growth. It is ironic that at present the most spectacular expansion and the most rapid rise in the standards of life are taking place not in the backward but in the advanced countries—and the gap is widening every day instead of narrowing. No trickle of new capital can arrest this growing imbalance and promote a better equilibrium. I would merely mention that in the last five years production in the United States has increased 25 per cent; and, what is more startling, in Western Europe it has increased 48 per cent in

this period, thus making that area a major economic force in the world.

137. The Governor of the Bank of Israel, in a recent address at the Conference of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, pointed out that if 2 per cent of the annual gross product of the industrialized nations that are members of the Bank could be diverted into building up the under-developed nations, this would represent an amount of \$17,000 million a year—an amount which would impart a real momentum to the forward march of the under-developed countries. One should add to this a similar contribution on the part of the vast and rapidly increasing national product of the Soviet Union and other industrialized countries outside the Bank. This, together with the possible savings of the developing countries themselves, could no doubt completely transform the present situation and ensure in a not too distant future a happier life of ever-growing opportunity for men everywhere on our earth.

138. This may sound extravagant, until we translate it into terms of human welfare for the greater part of mankind. That welfare cannot be achieved by congratulatory speeches on Independence Day, but only through a dramatic, pooled effort by the leading industrial countries.

139. Allow me to turn now to the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville). At the outset let me make the position of my Government and people clear. It is: the Congo for the Congolese.

140. My delegation believes that the Congolese people, and they alone, have the right to decide under what type of constitution they want to live. Moreover, we support the opinion that the fragmentation of the new States is not in the interest of the African peoples themselves. Nobody who is sincerely a friend of the African peoples would want to gain any political or economic advantage at their expense, and only their enemies can wish to bring their continent into the orbit of the cold war.

141. The United Nations must do everything possible to prevent outside Powers from making the Congo, or any other African country, a hunting ground for their political interests. It is only the United Nations which should be entrusted with the task of assisting the Congolese people to solve these intricate and tragic problems. Although we may not always be in perfect agreement with the Secretary-General, it is my Government's opinion that he has most conscientiously carried out his task in the Congo.

142. My delegation believes that technical assistance to all new countries should flow through various channels: the United Nations, other multilateral arrangements, and bilateral agreements. But in a troubled situation like that in the Congo it is, we believe, advisable that every kind of aid should go through United Nations channels. This, of course, must be the situation regarding all military aid to the Congo.

143. My delegation wishes to express its sincere hope that the leaders of the Congo will find a way of pooling all their energies and talents for the constructive work so necessary for the welfare of their people.

144. A suggestion has been made that the office of the Secretary-General should be reorganized and

should be composed of three Secretaries instead of one. It has further been suggested that each of the three should have a veto power. In my delegation's view this practice would lead to paralysis. We have the Security Council with the veto power on decisions, and we are now asked to create a system of veto power on implementation. My delegation therefore associates itself with the view that the present system must be retained.

145. In the fateful debate on disarmament there is one encouraging aspect: the general admission that nobody could now win a world war. This may be a basis for the hope that no side will wilfully begin a war. But a war caused by miscalculation in this atomic age can destroy all mankind, and it would really matter little to us what the post-mortem findings might be. The vital aim is that civilization remain alive.

146. It is extremely frustrating and terrifying for us, the small nations, to listen to the debate between the great Powers, for they are dealing with the fate of all of us.

147. Is it not tragic irony that nothing seems to create such tension as the discussion of peace, disarmament and coexistence? My delegation is inclined to accept the explanation, put forth by several representatives, for the lack of progress. The real reasons for failure in this field till now are fear and the lack of confidence. Cannot the Powers concerned agree to the assumption that all want peace and disarmament, and then accept the practical suggestion made by Mr. Macmillan [877th meeting] for a technical study? My delegation would respectfully make one further suggestion: give the technicians a limited time—say, three or six months—and during that time let the Powers agree to a complete moratorium in the cold war, in words and deeds. Let the cold war cool off. Let us give the technicians, or rather the world, a fair chance. What risk do we run if this is accepted? The experiment may fail—but maybe it will succeed? We dare not give up hope; the alternative is too frightening.

148. Israel, on its part, is committed to a policy of disarmament; not only is it so committed generally, but it has also adopted a specific policy in this field. One of the planks in the Israel Government's programme, as approved by Parliament, is the complete disarmament of Israel and the Arab States under mutual inspection and control. We are not impressed by lofty speeches on world disarmament and peace by leaders who do not practice at home what they preach abroad. Our area, the Middle East, is a troubled area and an under-developed one. Neither Israel nor its neighbours can afford an arms race; the needs of the men, women and children of all our countries cry out against it.

149. My delegation listened very attentively to the principles of peace, negotiation, preservation of the United Nations Charter, as professed from this rostrum [873rd meeting] by the President of the United Arab Republic. We accept these praiseworthy principles. And so I here ask the President of the United Arab Republic: Is he prepared to do as he advises Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev to do, namely, to meet and negotiate? Is he prepared to meet Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel, for negotiation of peace, or at least an agreement on non-aggression? And we put the same question to the King of Jordan, the Prime Minister of the Lebanon and all the other

Arab leaders. On behalf of my Prime Minister, I say he is prepared for such a meeting without any pre-conditions, immediately, here or at any other place proposed to him.

150. Israel welcomes the plea by the President of Ghana for the recognition of the political realities in the Middle East and is willing to accept his suggestion for finding means to make it "impossible either for Israel to attack any of the Arab States or for the Arab States to attack Israel" [869th meeting, para. 85]. We were also struck by the wise words of the Prime Minister of Nepal, when he said that "the solution of the problem confronting the Middle East lies in the direction of recognizing and accepting the political realities that prevail there today" [878th meeting, para. 208] and called for a "realistic and practical solution" [*ibid.*] of the Arab-Israel conflict. The President-elect of Uruguay, too, issued an eloquent call for a negotiated peace. The Foreign Minister of Guatemala and other representatives made similar pleas.

151. In the course of this debate a number of Arab spokesmen have attacked my country and tried to rewrite the history of the events which attended its birth. I do not propose taking up the time of the Assembly by replying to any of these representatives individually or correcting the manifold distortions in their statements. I will confine myself to a few general observations, for the sake of the record and for the benefit of those delegations which are not familiar with the background.

152. The President of the United Arab Republic spoke of an error in the Middle East that is to be corrected. May I be allowed to quote here only one of his many pronouncements illustrating the method of correction he evidently has in mind? Referring to Israel in a speech before the Executive of the National Union at Damietta on 8 May 1960, President Nasser said: "We hereby proclaim our determination to retrieve our rights by the force of our arms."

153. I ask: Is this according to the United Nations Charter? Is this in accordance with his call for peace? Is economic boycott, as practised by the United Arab Republic against Israel, in keeping with the Charter and with his lofty pronouncements of peace on earth? And do decisions of the Security Council bind the United Arab Republic, or does it enjoy a special status? If the United Arab Republic is not prepared to implement the Security Council's decisions on the question of shipping in the Suez Canal, then how will it base its right, if elected to the Security Council, to tell others that there must be no war or threat of war, that all questions must be resolved by peaceful negotiations, and that Security Council decisions must be observed?

154. Now, what is the error in the Middle East that certain Arab spokesmen desire to see corrected? Is an independent Jewish State in that area an accident or an innovation? Every mountain, every valley in our country, as mentioned in the Book of Books, tells of our belonging, of our being there. The years of dispersion form one of the most tragic chapters in human history, but also a unique chapter of faith and determination—the story of a wandering people, scattered all over the world, always remembering where it came from and never for a moment giving up its hope and determination to return. Massacres, hate, humiliation, discrimination—that was our lot. We with-

stood all that only because we never gave up hope for national independence and individual dignity. And did the desert in Israel bloom as long as we were in exile? Did trees cover the Judean hills, were marshes drained? No—rocks, desert, marshes, malaria, trachoma—this is what characterized the country before we came back.

155. In 1947, when the United Nations by a more than two-thirds majority took its decision [resolution 181 (II)] on the establishment of the Jewish State, it was we who called upon the Arab population in the country and the Arab States to implement this decision in peace with us. Instead, on 15 May 1948, seven Arab armies marched across their borders, to "correct the error" of the United Nations, with the proclaimed purpose of destroying the resolution by force of arms, of wiping out our cities, villages and population. We had to meet the invading armies virtually unarmed, and the flower of our youth fell upon the battlefields defending their homes and families and the honour of their people. Their graves are scattered across our countryside.

156. And then came the call by the Arab leaders to the Arab population in Israel to leave immediately, promising them that within a matter of days they would be back to divide among them the spoils of the Jews who would have been thrown into the sea.

157. We are the last people to be insensitive to the question of refugees. We are the classic people of refugees. Over the last twelve years we have accepted over a million refugees into Israel, of whom over 500,000 came from Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Syria and other Arab lands. No Jews came out of the country represented here by Mr. Shukairy because no Jew is allowed or has ever been allowed ever to live there. Three hundred thousand Jews came from displaced persons' camps in Germany, Italy and elsewhere. Three years after the war, these wretched remnants of Europe's Jewry, six million of whom were slaughtered by the Nazis, were still the unwanted people of the world. They had no seven Jewish States to receive them. They had only the reborn State of Israel.

158. Those Arabs on the other hand who left our country did not go into strange lands; they crossed the borders into the same countries from which the invading armies came. They speak the same language, they hold the same religion, they are of the same culture. Why are they not absorbed, as we absorbed our refugees; as we housed and employed the 240,000 Arabs that are in Israel today; and the half million Jews that left the Arab countries and were forced to leave everything behind them? They came to us naked, sick and without skill, but they have become a vital factor in our development.

159. There has been a great homecoming of our people, not, as has been suggested here, of people dragged through Zionist machinations from comfortable and happy homes elsewhere; in the main, those that came were destitute refugees. They are our own brothers, and we have welcomed them and given them a new life with us, whatever the sacrifices and burdens that it entails, and we will continue to do so.

160. As to the solution of the Arab refugee problem, objective observers have said over and over again that there is one factor and one only standing in the way, and that is the political policy of the Arab leaders.

161. I reject the contention that when I say this I am saying something contrary to any United Nations resolution. The General Assembly resolution of 1948 [194 (III)] is frequently invoked in this respect, and just as frequently misquoted.

162. Moreover, I do not believe that Arab spokesmen are in a fitting moral position to be sanctimonious about United Nations resolutions. The Arab States not merely refused to implement the partition resolution of 1947, but by the force of arms tried to annul it. The Arab aggression in Palestine against Israel and the United Nations is the one and only reason for the existence of the Arab refugee problem. Yet, in spite of that we permitted the return into Israel of more than 40,000 Arab refugees on humanitarian grounds in order to permit the reunion of families.

163. It is also a fact that the Security Council resolutions calling for free and unhampered navigation in the Suez Canal have been and still are openly defied by the United Arab Republic.

164. Ever since the Arab aggression against Israel in 1948 we have called on our neighbours to negotiate in order to settle all problems at issue between us and to conclude a peace. So far they have refused to do so and they insist on maintaining a state of war against Israel, a fellow Member of the United Nations.

165. We again call most solemnly to the leaders of the Arab States: let us sit down in a free, not pre-conditioned conference, to discuss peace. We are convinced that that is the only realistic approach. And when there is peace between us, let us with united strength develop the entire region for the welfare of all our peoples.

166. I wish to turn now to a subject which seems to my delegation to be of extreme importance. The life of the United Nations is not becoming simpler but, on the contrary, more difficult and it seems to us that there is one way only to keep this Organization, upon which the hopes of the entire world depend, alive and active. That is to live up strictly to the United Nations Charter. The Charter does not allow for a state of war among Member States; the Charter does not allow for boycott of Member States; it is not in keeping with the spirit of the Charter to bring pressure upon one Member State in order to prevent it from having diplomatic relations with another Member State. A propaganda of hate is contrary to the spirit of the Charter. We believe that compromising with principles does not assure the efficient functioning of the United Nations.

167. And, in conclusion, we wish to say the following. The United Nations has come sufficiently near the brink for all of us to behold the abyss; it is large enough to swallow all of us, big and small. It is time for us, the small nations of the world, the new nations just beginning our own independent lives, to cry out in unison to the big Powers: You must come to some modus vivendi in this world by which we all can live in peace. You must find a way for disarmament and lift the threat of the scourge of war from over our heads.

168. We small countries have the moral right to make this plea. But moral rights impose responsibilities. The moral right and status of the small countries are entirely dependent on their readiness at all times to conduct their own mutual relations in strict accordance with the Charter of the Organization, to compose



the differences between them by peaceful means, to co-operate for their mutual progress and by so doing make their own essential contribution to the cause of peace and the progress of mankind.

169. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ghana in exercise of the right of reply.

170. Mr. ASANTE (Ghana): In a statement before the General Assembly on 7 October, Mr. Garin, the Chairman of the Portuguese delegation, made an unfounded allegation against the President of Ghana. Perhaps I may remind you of what Mr. Garin said:

"At this point, I must confess that it was painful for me to hear the President of Ghana saying that what he called, probably in a facetious vein, 'the Portuguese arrangement' was repugnant to any concept of African freedom. It appears then that the President of Ghana shares a political philosophy according to which African freedom is incompatible and cannot coexist with multi-racial countries or societies, free as they may be, on account of some kind of inevitable conflict of races and cultures. The gravity of such a concept is undeniable, particularly when applied to the African continent where so many multi-racial societies and countries exist. For our part, we repudiate any concept of racial exclusiveness. Throughout our history, we have always rejected racialism, either ethnically, culturally or politically, and we are not prepared to accept it now, despite the meaning we read into the words of the President of Ghana." [892nd meeting, para. 32.]

171. Here indeed is a clear implication that the President of Ghana was preaching racialism, that he was calling for an all black Africa, that he wanted all the non-black Africans thrown into the sea. And what, in fact, did the President say? I can do no better than quote the actual words of the President of Ghana:

"Portugal, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has by her metropolitan law claimed the territories she has colonized in Africa as an integral part of Portugal. I have always emphasized that Africa is not, and can never be, an extension of Europe, and this Portuguese arrangement is repugnant to any concept of African freedom." [869th meeting, para. 43.]

172. That was all the President said on "the Portuguese arrangement". It is needless to explain that my President was referring to the Portuguese arrangement, by means of which an African territory is, by the stroke of a Portuguese pen in Lisbon, made a part of Portugal. By this device, modern colonialists hope to avoid discussion of their dark deeds in this Assembly.

173. The President of Ghana spoke against the disingenuous attempt to enslave Africans, and not in support of racialism. The Government of Ghana maintains that no African wants to be a Portuguese or any other European. Too long has it been the fashion to disparage the African character. Africa is no extension of Europe and any disingenuous attempt to maintain an inglorious colonial régime in Africa by an extension of the boundaries of Europe into Africa will constitute a threat to world peace. It is the hope of the delegation of Ghana that members of the Assembly will not be lulled to sleep by the suggestion of Mr. Garin that all is quiet in Angola and the other Portuguese territories. The situation is explosive. It

was quiet in the ex-Belgian Congo not long ago. The peaceful atmosphere which Mr. Garin ascribed may well be the calm before the storm.

174. No amount of misrepresentation of my President by the Chairman of the Portuguese delegation will alter the facts that a raging hurricane blows over Africa today and in its wake the plea of Africa is persistent and clear: "Leave Africa alone to develop and project its own African personality."

175. Portugal attempts to stem the tide of history by a futile legalistic device and holds before us the counterfeit spectre of a racial partnership in which a handful of indigenous Africans, joined by the bulk of Portuguese settlers and expatriates, oppress the vast majority of Africans whose lot is a mixture of forced labour, ignorance and squalor. It is this device which the President of Ghana deplored, and not the existence of different races in the same country, as the Chairman of the Portuguese delegation would have us believe.

176. Portugal may well feel strongly about a civilizing mission in Africa and the need to carry the forms of government and the conditions of modern Portugal into Africa. All we ask is that Portugal recognize the fact that Africans may well feel differently. Africans may not think much of what goes on in Portugal today. Above all, they want to be Africans and not Portuguese.

177. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

178. Mr. CORONADO LIRA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): At the General Assembly's 892nd meeting, on 7 October 1960, the Cuban representative, exercising his right of reply, made what he called a true and serious accusation.

179. I shall now, also exercising the right of reply, address myself to that accusation, which involves unfounded charges against my country. The accusation made by the Guatemalan Government on 5 October was not refuted by the Cuban representative; on the contrary, resorting to his usual language, he made a series of slanderous charges against Guatemala.

180. The first thing that occurs to Mr. Roa—who in this follows the Red tactics adopted by his Government whenever a country repudiates communism—is that that sovereign country has fallen into the clutches of the United States. Just as today he accuses my Government, Mr. Roa stated at Havana, on a television programme, that various Latin American Governments were also under the influence of the United States.

181. My delegation wishes to make it quite clear that Guatemala is a sovereign, free and absolutely independent State, which is no one's tool; that its present Government derives its authority from an electoral process in which the people freely expressed its will; and consequently, that the political life of Guatemala is governed by an absolutely democratic and constitutional system involving free choice.

182. Would that Mr. Roa were able to say that the Government which he represents derived its authority from a popular vote and not from a successful armed uprising, supported by bayonets, and would that that Government were also subject to choice, instead of the intention being that Prime Minister Castro, as he himself has publicly announced, should be succeeded

by his brother Raúl, just as in a monarchy, as he described it here!

183. The Government which is really trapped is that represented by Mr. Roa in this Assembly: it has fallen into the clutches of Muscovite communism. It accordingly follows the policy of continually attacking Guatemala, with a view to changing Guatemala's present democratic institutions, since communism cannot forgive Guatemala for being the first country in the world in which an entrenched communist régime was overthrown by the sovereign will of its free people.

184. I say that Cuba has entered the Soviet orbit, because nothing else can be said of a Government whose Prime Minister assumes all the three powers of the State and exercises them with no restriction whatever; of a régime which overturns the legal system, overrides the principles of law and punishes indiscriminately, first those whom it calls war criminals, then those who merely oppose it, and finally those who do not think like it. It restricts property rights, nationalizes industry, confiscates landed property, intervenes in public utilities, eliminates private initiative, places transport, education, the professions, labour, agriculture, mining and business under its control, violates individual freedom, suppresses the right of *habeas corpus*, muzzles the Press, and imposes itself, by terror and force of arms, on workers, students and peasants.

185. According to Cuban Soviet mentality, individuals and countries are moved by venality alone, and hence Cuba's frequent allegations that my Government is the creation of a fruit company and acts accordingly. This has become an old refrain of the Castro régime. Anything that opposes its communist system must have been suborned by foreign monopolies or by the United States Department of State.

186. The Cuban dictatorship cannot conceive that anyone might disagree with it except for venal reasons. The Cuban Ambassadors at posts of vital importance for Cuba such as Rome, Washington, London and Bonn, and in American countries like El Salvador and Honduras, who have resigned from the service of their Government, belong to those who have "sold out" to the North Americans. And in this connexion there might be noted a curious precedent which has been established in regard to diplomatic asylum: the Cuban Ambassadors who happened to be in their own country, in Cuba, have sought refuge in foreign Embassies.

187. In the Castro view, the journalists who, in the conviction that they can no longer serve a policy inspired by Peking and Moscow, seek asylum in foreign countries are not citizens exercising freedom of opinion in regard to their country's interests, but are simply men who have succumbed to the lure of foreign gold.

188. We Guatemalans have heard quite enough about the so-called "case of Guatemala", a phrase which seeks to convey the idea that our country has been the victim of aggression by a Power on this Continent. This, as our Foreign Minister has emphatically stated [874th meeting], is absolutely false. It was the people of Guatemala who, tired of the continual violation of its freedom and of the massacres of the people perpetrated by the communist hordes of Arbenz Guzmán, the present protégé of the Castro régime, in June 1954 waged the battle of liberation which overthrew that

Government. No foreigners intervened in the liberation of my country, and Castro's followers know this very well, because, when the liberation movement was in preparation in 1953, the so-called Spanish Republican General Alberto Bayo offered us his pamphlet on the Republican guerrillas, which we refused because we wanted no foreign interference. Great was our surprise to learn that the instructions in these pamphlets were being used by the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra and that, after his victory in 1959, a gentleman named "Ché" Guevara published the pamphlet which we in the Peninsula had rejected five years before, under the title *Guerra de guerrillas* (Guerrilla Warfare), and had it introduced into Paraguay, Peru and other Latin American countries in order to foment communist subversion in the continent.

189. The Cuban representative says he is not surprised that from time to time we accuse his Government of attempting to subvert the internal order of Guatemala; he shrugs this off by saying that the alarm clock will ring at the hour for which it is set. Indeed, Mr. Roa, that clock is being set by the present Cuban Government in its constant attempts at aggression, and on each occasion it sounds the alarm of my country. I have here a cable commenting on the report in the daily newspaper *Revolución*, the organ of Castro's 26th of July Movement, which fully confirms the fact that an armed schooner, *La Cubana*, was observed off the coast of Guatemala and fled under the machine-gun fire of our air force. It further confirms that the schooner was obliged to douse its lights and hastily make for the Mexican coast, but that it ran aground at Cozumel. I am reminded of the legal axiom used by Mr. Roa: "If one party confesses, no evidence is needed." There is only one small discrepancy between the version given by the official Cuban newspaper and the charge levelled by my country: while we assert that the vessel was attempting to land a cargo of arms, the Cuban Government wishes us to believe that, although the extremely rich fishing grounds off the coasts of Campeche and Yucatán, in Mexico, lie less than 200 miles from Cuban territory, the Cuban vessel made a very lengthy voyage of more than 500 miles in order to arrive at the exceedingly poor fishing grounds off the Atlantic coast of Guatemala.

190. And it was on the basis of this attempted unloading that we made a complaint before the General Assembly [874th meeting] and that the Government of my country issued the communiqué on the subject, to which the Cuban representative, maliciously and with his traditional reliance on fraud and calumny, has added the claim that United States military bases, the existence of which I emphatically deny, have been established in my country.

191. Mr. Roa states that everyone is well aware of the tactics which the State Department employs to overthrow a Government wishing to free itself from United States economic exploitation, and which consist of appealing to any one of its known satellites in order to use it as a base for operations against that Government; and he added that my country was a victim of those tactics in 1954. Apart from the fact that that statement is completely false, as we have many times repeated, my delegation would like to know which supposed satellite, in the Cuban representative's fertile imagination, was asked to help in order to overthrow the communist régime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán.

192. In its statement of 7 October [892nd meeting], the Cuban delegation accused us of having given asylum to persons whom the Castro régime was pursuing, and whom it called "hardened war criminals" and "'sepoys' of the international conspiracy". Apart from pointing out that sepoys were Indian soldiers in the service of a European Power, I must state that my country scrupulously observes the right of asylum—which is one of the greatest achievements of Latin American law—and has granted that right to political refugees within its proper limitations; thus—for the information of the Cuban delegation—it has expelled those who have abused that right by attempting to engage in political activity against the present Cuban Government.

193. I shall proceed to refute, one by one, the substantive allegations pointing, in the fertile imagination of the Cuban delegation, to intervention against his country, allegations which were published in the Cuban review *Hoy* some weeks ago; but first I should like to consider how much reliance can be placed on the representatives of Mr. Fidel Castro.

194. Did we not hear on 6 January 1959 from the lips of Mr. Castro, when he arrived at the Presidential Palace at Havana, these words, which I quote: "I repeat my unconditional support for the President of the Republic"—a President who had been appointed beforehand by the revolutionary "junta" at Miami? When he assumed the duties of Prime Minister, did he not repeat the same idea when he made the following statement, which I likewise quote: "I shall be here as long as I enjoy the confidence of the President of the Republic. It would be superfluous for me to reaffirm my respect for the hierarchy." We all know the extent to which those oaths were kept so far as the President, Dr. Manuel Urrutia, was concerned.

195. Who can swallow the accusations made by the representatives of Mr. Castro, who, on the occasion of his triumphal entry into Havana after the success of his revolution, stated to Mr. Wangüemert, a journalist, the following, and I quote: "Within a period of eighteen months, more or less, there will be elections. The political parties will be organized within eight to ten months." It is unnecessary to say that these words were uttered more than twenty months ago.

196. Who can believe a person who on 27 January 1959, in Venezuela, gave the following assurance, which I quote: "We shall also have a congress in Cuba within less than two years." I should like to know who can give credence to a person who has committed all the acts that are known to us within the short space of twenty months, yet who, in February 1959, used these words, which I quote: "What are our procedures? Well, absolute respect for human rights, for the human person..." How easy and convenient it is to have Martí on one's lips and Marx in one's heart!

197. I shall now deal with the Cuban accusations.

198. First. It is not true that, as the Cuban representative asserts, adventurers of some kind are entering my country; it is an even grosser falsehood to claim that such adventurers are receiving military training at the "Inca" or any other estate. Nor is it true that the Ministry of Defence has prohibited flights in that region. With regard to the "Helvetia" estate, we have there a training centre for counter-guerrillas, the instruction being given to our own troops; this is

necessary because of the impending Cuban invasion, as I shall state later on.

199. Second. The detachments of troops stationed on my country's Atlantic coast are there solely in virtue of the most elementary right of self-defence, to repel landing attempts such as that made by the armed schooner *La Cubana*.

200. Third. The area of Retalhuleu is one of the most prosperous of the Guatemalan Republic's western regions, and for that reason it has been provided with an airport to meet its commercial needs. The airport's existence is no secret, since its inauguration was attended by the entire diplomatic corps. Only someone completely unacquainted with Guatemalan geography could assert that goods would be landed at the airport of the port of San José for overland transport to Retalhuleu, when the two airports are separated by only a few minutes' flight.

201. Fourth. With regard to the Poptún airport, to which the Cuban representative Mr. Roa has referred, we are happy to inform him that it was brought into being by the Government of Mr. Arévalo and enlarged by the Government of the communist Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, who is a great friend and protégé of the régime represented here by Mr. Roa and who, I suppose, would not have improved it in order to use it against his present benefactors.

202. Fifth. The Cuban representative claims, with a great show of anger, that a large stock of arms and other military equipment exists in the town of Gracias de Dios. But to my knowledge, there is in Guatemala—fortunately, and God, indeed, be thanked for it—no town called "Gracias de Dios", much less an imaginary military stockpile in a non-existent urban area.

203. Sixth. The airport at Carmelita del Petén, also mentioned by Mr. Roa, serves, as all Guatemalan airports do, commercial aviation as well as the needs of our air force.

204. Seventh. Tourists come to Guatemala and are welcomed there, as in any other place that attracts them, and it is ridiculous to come before this Assembly and accuse these tourists of being pilots in disguise, military technicians and international pirates.

205. Eighth. My delegation declares absolutely false the statement by Mr. Roa that Guatemala has acquired bombers at the high cost of \$500,000 each, at a time when my country is experiencing a financial crisis which prevents it from proceeding with work necessary to its material progress; it is also untrue that there are at the La Aurora airport bombers with Cuban markings. This airport is an international one, used by aircraft of all nationalities, and anyone can see the installations there.

206. It has thus been clearly shown that it is not Guatemala which is trying to interfere in the domestic affairs of another American country, but rather the reverse: it is Cuba which, as I said before, is, in accordance with communist practice, attempting to subvert other American countries, and especially Guatemala, where the communists, as they have not forgotten, received their first defeat.

207. We do not, like the Cuban delegation, speak on the basis of fabrications. Mr. Fidel Castro's saying, that the objectives of the Sierra Maestra must be extended to the Andes, is well known. The invasion of



Panama is fresh in our memory; at that time Guatemala came to the assistance of a sister Republic which had been unjustly attacked. And, as if that were not enough, in the Havana Declaration, issued barely a month ago and regarded by the Cuban Government as an official statement, the duly constituted Governments of Latin America are described as usurpers of the official representation of their peoples and an appeal is made to the ragged, the half-breeds, the gauchos and the peasants, the heirs of Zapata and Sandino—in other words, to all Latin Americans—to take up arms for their freedom, at which time the people of Cuba will answer them: "We are here; Cuba will not fail you." And lest the Assembly should believe that I am guilty of inventing, after the manner of our detractors, I shall read this call to rebellion contained in the "Havana Declaration" of 2 September 1960; it is as follows:

"In the struggle for this liberated Latin America, the obedient voices of those who usurp its official representation are now met, with invincible force, by the true voice of the peoples; a voice issuing from the bowels of its coal and tin mines, from its factories and sugar refineries, and from its feudal lands, where the ragged, the half-breeds, the gauchos and the peasants—the heirs of Zapata and Sandino—are taking up arms for their freedom; a voice which is echoed by its poets, its novelists, its students, its women, its children, and its destitute aged. To this fraternal voice, the Assembly of the People of Cuba replies: 'We are here; Cuba will not fail you'."

208. Cuba's persistent interference in Guatemala's internal affairs has taken the form, for example, of the sending of money to convert the observance of 1 May into an anti-Government demonstration, the instigation of strikes, the printing of bulletins, the distributing of pamphlets, the devising of acts of terrorism which have unfortunately taken a toll of innocent lives, the sending of "agents provocateurs" and indoctrinators, and the converting of the Cuban Embassy in Guatemala into a centre for conspiracy against the present Government. All this has made it necessary for Guatemala to reinforce the precautionary measures which it had patiently been taking, to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and subsequently to place itself on guard against aggression.

209. What else could we do in view of the evident fact that the communist ex-President of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, lives in Havana at the invitation of the Castro régime and receives every kind of economic and military assistance for the training of an invasion force with the mission of overthrowing the present Government of my country? All sorts of honours are showered upon him—if it can be called an honour to sit in the presidium together with the Cuban leaders. His statements are conveyed to the world by the Cuban Government news agency Prensa Latina, which reproduced, on 2 September 1960, a declaration by him which I now quote:

"Guatemala will soon be liberated and become democratic once more, because our people is resolved to pursue the struggle in the manner of you, the Cubans. My Government made the mistake of not shooting the dictatorship's hangmen, but I can now assure them that in Guatemala all the criminals will be shot."

I hold at the disposal of the Cuban delegation the Prensa Latina dispatch containing these statements by the Guatemalan communist Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán.

210. I must also denounce the attack made on the military base of Cobán, in the north of Guatemala, by Lieutenant Elmo Lavagnino, in company with Cuban adherents of Castro; these included two Cubans, J. Mata and Juan Miranda, who, when the attack was repulsed, fled to Honduran territory.

211. In view of all this, my Government made a serious complaint before the Council of the Organization of American States and requested the Inter-American Peace Committee to visit Guatemala and Cuba in order to establish that the charges made against Guatemala were false, but that those Cuban manoeuvres, on the other hand, were very real. On express instructions from my Government, my delegation hereby confirms that the request to the Inter-American Peace Committee to visit Guatemala and Cuba has been repeated and still stands. Specifically, my Government indicates that, during its visit to Cuba, the Committee should investigate the Sierra del Escambray and the Sierra Maestra, in order to verify the undoubted existence of jet aircraft, manufactured behind the iron curtain and manned by Chinese communist pilots and by Cubans whom those pilots have trained; as well as the existence of light and heavy tanks, and arms by the thousands which have just been received from the Soviet Union for use in a war of aggression in the mountains.

212. On special instructions from my Government, and by means of this statement in the Assembly, I make the accusation, before the world, that Guatemala faces imminent invasion by an expeditionary force, organized, trained and financed in Cuba, which is composed of Cuban and international communist adventurers and is headed by the Guatemalan communist Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán. I say this invasion is imminent because it has been fixed for a few weeks from now.

213. If Cuba considers itself no less innocent than Guatemala, now is the time for that country to prove it, by agreeing to the Committee's visit.

214. The Cuban representatives have often claimed, at international gatherings, that they represent the peoples of America. It is still fresh in our memory that Mr. Roa, on walking out of the San José (Costa Rica) Conference,<sup>7/</sup> said: "I am leaving with my people and with me go all the peoples of America." He has said substantially the same thing here, as if regarding himself as representing all America. No, gentlemen, you do not represent America. Latin America is composed of Governments whose power derives from the will of the people expressed by means of elections. And when anyone speaks to you of elections, you at once call him a "mouthpiece of bourgeois ideology" and a "lackey of North American imperialism", as the official Cuban organ *Hoy* has just called Haya de la Torre, who had asked for elections in Cuba. And in your Havana Declaration, you are not establishing a new political doctrine, but are going back to the primitive era in which voting was

<sup>7/</sup>Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held in August 1960.

permitted only to one's own adherents. In the Havana Declaration we read:

"The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba expresses Cuba's conviction that democracy consists not merely in the exercise of an electoral vote, which is almost always fictitious and manipulated by great landholders and professional politicians, but rather in the right of the citizens to decide their own destiny, as this General Assembly of the People of Cuba is now doing."

215. I should like to draw attention to the following point: Mr. Castro has told us here, with much pride, that this Declaration was adopted by the shouts of a million Cubans, who proclaimed it at a meeting in a public square of Havana. Conceding that a million such individuals exist, we ask: What, Mr. Castro, do the other five million Cubans think on the subject?

216. In Latin America, the right to property, with its legal limitations, is respected; but let us analyse a little how this right has developed in Mr. Castro's philosophy. On 6 February 1959, Mr. Castro declared his absolute respect for all rights. A few months later, he was already talking of expropriation with compensation. In the Havana Declaration, he spoke only of expropriation and dropped the compensation; and in the statement he made here [872nd meeting], he openly accepted the recommendation, made by Mikoyan at Havana, for seizure without compensation. What will the next step be?

217. All America respects the principle of the separation of the three powers of government, and, above all, guarantees for each citizen the sacred right to a fair trial by an independent judiciary. The Castro régime, on the other hand, tries cases by means of the odious special tribunals which were abolished centuries ago but which it now calls "people's courts"—that is to say, special courts for the delivery of a predetermined verdict—and this is how the Castro system has bathed itself...

218. The PRESIDENT: I do not think the speaker at the rostrum can reasonably complain of any lack of indulgence on the part of the Chair; but I do think that the Chair cannot properly allow him to discuss the internal, domestic affairs of another country to the extent to which he is doing now. I would ask him kindly to continue his remarks without going into a detailed discussion of the internal affairs of another country.

219. Mr. CORONADO LIRA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I shall conclude without making any further reference to verdicts. And to finish what I had to say, I shall point out that a Government, of that nature, cannot represent America. That could be done only by the long-suffering Cuban people, which is enduring a régime of imprisonment, execution and banishment, has suffered exile like Quevedo, Rivero, Martínez Marquez, Carbó and so many others, and has been imprisoned by tens of thousands in Cuban dungeons—the peasant who has been cheated of his hopes, and the population which now silently treads the one gay streets of Havana.

220. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Arab Republic in exercise of the right of reply.

221. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): I am sorry to take the floor at this late hour, but I am compelled to reply briefly to the de-

liberate inaccuracies and quite unfounded allegations marking the speech which was delivered this afternoon on behalf of Israel.

222. It is astonishing to hear Israel asking why we have advised a meeting between the leaders of the United States and of the Soviet Union whereas, it seems, we ought rather to have proposed a meeting between Israel and the Arab countries. It is obvious that the problem is not the same in each case. There has been no war between the Soviet Union and the United States; there has been no armed aggression, condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly, in the case of those two Powers.

223. Israel has a short memory. Our relations with Israel are governed by the General Armistice Agreement of February 1949, the existence of which Israel does not even recognize. Peace is not made of words. Peace is a way of behaving, a political position. Israel's behaviour is aggressive and bellicose. I need not recall the number of occasions on which Israel has been condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly for its many acts of armed aggression committed in violation of the Charter and of the Armistice Convention. The massacres of Qibya, Gaza, Lake Tiberias and others are still present in our minds. They were crowned by the aggression of 1956, on which I do not need to dwell. I could also speak of the hundreds of occasions on which Israel has been censured by the Mixed Armistice Commission. This, then, is certainly not the peaceful behaviour of a peace-loving Government; it is the behaviour of an aggressive and bellicose State. When Israel requests respect for the Charter, as it has just now done, that is nothing but propaganda.

224. If Israel has peaceful intentions, I wonder what it is waiting for in order to implement the United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestine question, which are the basis for the very existence of that State. I should be curious to know whether Israel is ready to carry out all the United Nations resolutions relating to Palestine. For our part, as we have already said, we are ready to implement all those resolutions.

225. Is Israel, for instance, ready to implement the resolutions concerning the refugees? Is Israel ready to recognize the refugees' rights? I wonder.

226. Israel accuses us of preventing the passage of its ships and goods through the Suez Canal, and relies in this connexion on the United Nations resolution of 1 September 1951.<sup>8/</sup> What is astonishing here is that Israel requests the implementation of one single United Nations resolution, while forgetting all the other resolutions on the Palestine question. In fact, the problem of the passage of ships is directly connected with the Palestine question. I could also point out that the resolution of 1 September 1951 is based, as a reading of it will show, on the existence of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of February 1949. But Israel now claims that the Armistice Agreement no longer exists. In the circumstances, how can it ask for the implementation of that resolution, based on the Armistice Agreement, while forgetting all the other resolutions concerning the Palestine question?

<sup>8/</sup>See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixth Year, 558th meeting, para. 5.

227. We are used to allegations of this type on the part of Israel. Their object is to disturb public opinion by means of insidious propaganda for which there is

no basis whatever. But even propaganda cannot, in the long run, distort the facts and alter realities.

*The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.*