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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

1. Mr. YONG (Singapore): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government and the delegation of the Republic of Singapore, I should like to associate myself with the congratulatory remarks made by preceding speakers on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this session. Permit me to recall that during the visit of Your Excellency to Singapore in May this year we discovered an identity of views regarding the principles which should form the basis on which relations between States should be built in keeping with the realities of present-day international life. These principles are the respect of nations for the independence and sovereignty of one another, their adherence to the belief in the non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the equality of rights of nations regardless of size, political systems or other factors. These principles are also embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and their observance should reduce world tensions and promote harmonious international relations. With such an identity of views it is but natural that we should feel most delighted over your Presidency of this important session of the General Assembly.

2. The present year has been a difficult year for all those who believe in the United Nations, as we believe all those gathered in this august Assembly do. Old

issues seem as difficult and intractable as ever, and an emergency special session of the General Assembly regrettably failed to resolve the consequences of another major outbreak of armed conflict in the Middle East. An air of despondency and frustration has settled over the United Nations shortly after it has come of age. Disappointment has been expressed over the record of the United Nations, but we are not aware that nations have become disillusioned on that account. We are inclined to the view that, but for the new channels of diplomacy opened by the United Nations to international relations, many of the major events of the past twenty-two years would most probably have developed into conflicts of larger and more dangerous dimensions.

3. If international relations have not moved in the direction of a world order as envisaged by the Charter, the United Nations has certainly prevented international conflicts from engulfing the world in wars of global proportions as had happened in the past. The fault lies not with the ideals of the Charter and the institutions that have grown up to realize them. It lies in the way in which Member States have chosen to use the United Nations. The United Nations is what we collectively make of it; we are responsible for its strength and also its weaknesses. It is historically true, as perhaps it must inevitably be, that big Power politics have dominated and shaped the course of developments in the United Nations. Lacking the sinews of power to give their votes the independence and weight which in theory they have, small nations have been nudged by choice or by circumstances to take positions that have tended to promote division rather than constructive action. And where small nations, of their own volition, have come to act together on matters vital to their interests and aims, their determination to translate their purpose into effective action is nullified by the lack of support from the major world Powers, acting not in unison but for diverse and separate reasons. Such is the outcome of the deliberations of the special session on South West Africa early this year.

4. It is a self-evident truism that there can be no constructive solution to any international problem, inside or outside the United Nations, unless all the parties directly involved come to the conclusion that there is more to be gained from coming to a settlement than carrying on as at present. Such seems to be the situation with regard to the war in Viet-Nam and the state of affairs in the Middle East.

5. As regards Viet-Nam, my Government has, time and again, expressed deep concern over the dangerous situation in Viet-Nam and the agonies of the war-ridden Viet-Nameese. We consider that peace must be sought on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954,

ensuring the Viet-Nameese people the right to decide its own future.

6. On the Middle East, we have observed that despite the near unanimity on the principle that there should be no territorial gains by military conquest, to which we subscribe, the issue of withdrawal has so far been intractable because it is linked in a complex manner with certain fundamental principles, the non-recognition of which, it is argued, will undermine any attempt to construct an international order based on law and justice. We believe that the United Nations should continue to make constructive efforts to bring about a solution, and any meaningful resolution must necessarily be acceptable to all the parties concerned.

7. Any reference to the Middle East must inevitably lead us to the question of peace-keeping. We are of the view that the United Nations has an essential role to play in that area, and we concur with the Secretary-General that "the principal obstacles in the way of an improvement in United Nations peace-keeping are primarily political and constitutional, and only secondarily military and financial" [A/6701/Add.1, para. 35]. We therefore urge the major world Powers to work towards greater agreement in order to facilitate the employment of peace-keeping as an instrument of international relations in explosive situations.

8. We share the common view that the world will be a safer and better place to live in without armaments. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that warfare is a phenomenon which is as old as human history, and it cannot be banished overnight. But this does not mean that any effort should be spared to move towards complete and general disarmament, and nuclear disarmament in particular. Of necessity nuclear disarmament must occupy special attention because of the destructive capacity of nuclear arms. A nuclear war is fraught with such fatal consequences that the nuclear Powers themselves have seemingly felt that the very possession of nuclear weapons on their part has become a mutual deterrent to their use. An unchecked nuclear arms race continues to absorb enormous resources of the affluent nuclear Powers that would be better spent for greater internal social and economic progress, or, as the developing countries hope will be the case, for aid towards narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world.

9. The question of a comprehensive test ban still remains unresolved. Although the Moscow partial test ban Treaty is a step in the direction of total prohibition in testing of nuclear weapons, it has been ineffective, partly because it does not enjoy support on a world-wide basis, and partly because it permits underground testing to go on.

10. Long, acrimonious debates and negotiations have marked the efforts towards nuclear disarmament. If the achievement of this objective is not within sight, we are at least somewhat encouraged by the hopeful signs of development in the area of nuclear non-proliferation. Such a development is the denuclearization of Latin America, made possible by the conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City in February this year [see A/6663]. Another significant development that may eventually result in a meaningful

movement towards nuclear disarmament was the submission by the Soviet Union and the United States of a joint draft treaty on non-proliferation, on 24 August. ^{1/} It is our view that any treaty that is finally adopted should be in accordance with the principles laid down in United Nations General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), providing for mutuality of obligations and non-discrimination as between nuclear and non-nuclear Powers. Such a treaty should also provide for the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

11. The much publicized United Nations Development Decade has entered its last quarter of existence with its objectives falling short of attainment. While the productive capacity of developed nations has continued to increase, that of developing countries has actually declined. Last year, the rate dropped from the level of 4 per cent in 1965 to 3 per cent. Almost 95 per cent of the world's industrial output has come from countries with less than one third of the world's population. The transfer of one per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries to the developing countries to bring about a growth rate of 5 per cent as envisaged in the Development Decade has not occurred. As each year goes by we see the gap widened between the affluent nations of the socialist and non-socialist camps and the newly-emerged countries of Afro-Asia, leading to a growing division of the haves and have nots on global racial lines, between the Whites and the non-Whites.

12. Aid from the affluent nations has been decided mainly on cold-war considerations, and a substantial proportion of foreign aid has gone towards subsidizing armies in developing countries, with the result that the developing countries have to divert scarce national resources from essential economic and social development in order to maintain crippling, non-productive, foreign-equipped armies. Such a trend of development, if continued unchecked, may lead ultimately to global class-war of a kind which is too horrible to contemplate.

13. It is our belief that it is in the interest of the affluent nations, of the left as well as of the right, to provide aid that is adequate to enable the developing countries to achieve a growth rate of at least 5 per cent. We expect a certain degree of enlightened self-interest in the offering of aid, for the enjoyment of wealth on a continuous basis becomes illusory in a situation of international strife in which the affluent nations are compelled by the realities of life to be involved. Whatever the motivations, aid must be for the benefit of the developing countries. Concerted international action on aid will be an important step in the right direction.

14. But aid by itself will be self-defeating if it is not accompanied by the opening of the markets of the developed countries to the products of the developing countries. We concur with the general consensus that the Kennedy Round of negotiations has, as a whole, benefited the economies of the developed countries more than it has the economies of the developing countries. It is our earnest hope that during the forthcoming second session of the United Nations

^{1/} Documents ENDC/193 and ENDC/192.

Conference on Trade and Development to be held at New Delhi, the developed countries will adopt a more positive and helpful attitude so as to enable the developing countries to move towards a reduction of the present disparity, and help the developing countries to stabilize their economy and improve their participation in world trade.

15. But neither aid nor markets are adequate for the promotion of economic growth. In the last analysis, the effort must be made by the recipient countries themselves. A satisfactory growth rate has to be preceded and sustained by an effective programme of modernization. The latter unavoidably demands hard work, sacrifice, discipline, and appropriate economic, social, and political institutions. It demands an attitude of mind that is receptive to new ideas and challenges. In all these fields the Governments must themselves provide the necessary political leadership and stability. It is not difficult to cite examples where developing economies have disintegrated as a result of policies which are inappropriate to the exacting demands of economic development.

16. At this point it is appropriate to point out what some south-east Asian countries, including Singapore, have initiated recently in the area of regional co-operation. We have always held the view that the scale of modern technology has made economic nationalism utterly anachronistic, and that, if pursued to extreme limits, it would result in economic suicide. The formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN for short, comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore, has encouraged us to believe that an important framework has been laid in the direction of substituting economic nationalism for economic regionalism.

17. In the field of decolonization, we reiterate what remains a cardinal feature of our foreign policy, our support for the eradication of colonialism. We deplore the intransigence of Portugal before world opinion with regard to its policy of suppressing independence movements. As regards South Africa, we find its apartheid policy morally repugnant and deserving of the condemnation of the Afro-Asian world. South Africa's attitude and response towards the demands of the United Nations with regard to South West Africa amount to nothing less than a flagrant flouting of both world opinion and the moral authority of the United Nations. In Southern Rhodesia, selective mandatory sanctions have, regrettably, not brought about a capitulation of the illegal Smith régime. The intransigence of Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, if continued unchecked, must lead to revolutionary violence as a means of achieving justice, violence possibly escalating further to wider conflicts.

18. This august Assembly has debated the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China for almost twenty years. Nothing that has been said has deflected us from the view that the United Nations cannot continue to ignore the inherent right of 750 million people, one-fifth of the human race, to be represented in this Organization.

19. Before we conclude, our delegation would like to take this opportunity to place on record our deep appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by His Excellency Ambassador Abdul Rahman Pazhwak

when he presided over the eventful Assembly sessions of the twenty-first year of the United Nations.

20. Mr. NYASULU (Malawi): Mr. President, once again it is my privilege to address you and the Members of this Assembly on behalf of my country, the Republic of Malawi, and to offer my humble contribution to this debate in the form of an expression of my country's views on a number of major world issues which will be engaging the attention of this august body.

21. First of all, Mr. President, before I touch upon matters surrounded by certain elements of controversy, I should like to address myself to one matter on which there is no controversy, namely, your own election to the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. The fact that you have been elected as our President for the duration of this session of the Assembly without one dissentient vote speaks for itself, and on behalf of my country I should like to offer to you our unreserved congratulations on your appointment to this high office.

22. Perhaps I need say no more than that Your Excellency's well-known personal qualities of patience, tact and impartiality and your distinguished career in the service of your country all point to you as a most fitting person to lead us on this occasion. I therefore, as I have said, tender to you personally my country's congratulations on the tribute that has been paid to your personal qualities by your election to this high office.

23. I should also like before I go on to other things, to pay tribute to Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor in office as President of this Assembly and to offer to him, too, my country's congratulations on the superb and admirable spirit in which he piloted to success the twenty-first session of this Assembly. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony of the success of his term of office as President of the twenty-first session was the fact that he was subsequently re-elected also to the Presidency of the ensuing fifth special session of this Assembly which it was necessary to call later in the year to consider certain matters of grave concern to the peace of the world. Seldom have we been privileged to enjoy the leadership of so distinguished a diplomat and so impartial a President as His Excellency Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, whose term of office will long be remembered for its excellence by all of us here.

24. We are nearing the end of our general debate this year and we have been privileged to listen to many distinguished speakers who, whether we agree with them or not, contributed much to our understanding of the grave and difficult issues which lie before us for consideration; and what previous speakers have said has gone far towards clarifying in our minds the differing points of view on these important matters which, in the interest of the peace and prosperity of the world as a whole, it is our duty here to try to settle and reconcile if we are not to lose sight of the true reasons why we are gathered here in this Assembly. To the greater knowledge and wider experience of many of those who have spoken before me I pay tribute, and it is with some hesitancy that I rise to speak at all in such a distinguished gathering. It is not my intention to take

up a great deal of the valuable time of this Assembly, but there are some matters upon which my country feels that it must make clear its views, and to that end, Mr. President, I must crave your indulgence and that of the Members of this Assembly for a short while.

25. I have said that there will be no need for me to take up a great deal of the valuable time of this Assembly, and indeed that is so, for my country's views on most of the major issues which come before the world body have already been made abundantly clear on previous occasions, and in most cases those views have remained unchanged. There is therefore no need for me to indulge in tedious repetition.

26. There has, however, emerged during the past year one major issue which has caused all of us who support the true aims of this Organization and strive for the attainment of true peace in the world the gravest distress. I refer, of course, to the outbreak in June this year of open warfare between the State of Israel and the United Arab Republic. That the well-known and long-standing antipathy between two subscribing Member States of this Organization should have been allowed to reach such a pitch is of credit to none of us assembled here today. But recriminations will serve no useful purpose. It is our task as the guardians of the peace of the world not to devote our energies to the apportionment of the blame but to apply ourselves to the problem of restoring peace of a lasting nature to that unhappy part of the world.

27. It is the view of my Government, however, that before we can hope to achieve that end there are two prerequisites. First, all of us must stop talking about not recognizing the State of Israel, and secondly we must use every endeavour to bring together round the conference table the two opposing parties to that conflict. They must come together on an equal footing, with mutual respect for each other's determination to settle differences without resort to violence. In our view any nation which does not subscribe to those aims is not fit to be a Member of the United Nations Organization.

28. It has long been a source of surprise to my Government that any nation which purports to be a Member of the United Nations, to subscribe to its aims and purposes, and to support its decisions duly and constitutionally made, can maintain with any sense of righteousness and dignity the contention that Israel is not a fully independent sovereign State, entitled as fully as any other State to the dignity and respect of full recognition as such, or lend support to any nation which does so maintain.

29. The State of Israel is a creation of the United Nations Organization itself in pursuance of a decision taken in due form in 1947 [resolution 181 (II)]. How then can any one of us here claim with any semblance of sincerity and clear conscience in one breath, that the State of Israel should not be recognized as a fully independent sovereign State, as much entitled to respect and recognition as any other independent country in the world today, and in the same breath claim to be a genuine and sincere Member of this Organization and supporter of its ideals. In the name of my country I call upon anyone who does so to examine his own conscience and ask himself whether

such an attitude is in any way compatible with continuing membership of this world body to which we are all, I hope, justly proud to belong.

30. Violence never produced a lasting solution to any dispute. Many of us, from time to time, have disagreements with our neighbours and do not see eye to eye with our fellow men, but there is only one way of settling our differences, and that is by getting together round a conference table in a spirit of true mutual respect for each other's point of view and with a genuine determination to resolve our differences.

31. The State of Israel has declared itself ready and willing to do just this, but we understand that it has received little response from the other side. Just as it takes two to make a quarrel, so, too, it takes two or more to make peace. If, therefore, Israel's enemies in this conflict refuse, for any reason whatsoever, to meet it half-way in this matter and to show willingness to try and bring about a cessation of tension and a lasting peace in the Middle East based on a proper respect for each other's sovereign rights, then it is difficult in the extreme to believe that they genuinely desire peace, and one is led to the inevitable conclusion that such an attitude of mind is one which desires to see perpetuated an atmosphere of tension, hatred and mistrust. Such an attitude of mind we cannot condone.

32. During the past year, there has been in many quarters a strengthening of antipathy towards the Republic of South Africa. There have been calls to boycott South Africa, there have been calls to ostracize it; there have been calls to isolate it, and there have been resolutions [2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V)] calling for the termination of its administration of the Territory of South West Africa. Why? For one reason and one reason only, an understandably inherent dislike of of the philosophy of apartheid and the principles which sustain that system. I have already made it clear in the past that we in Malawi hold no brief whatsoever for the policy of apartheid as a way of life and that our belief in non-racial democracy is completely at variance with the principles of apartheid, and we would be no less pleased than anyone to see those principles abandoned, but to be of any lasting value such abandonment must be voluntary. Threats of coercion and force will only strengthen more the determination of the followers of that way of life to adhere to it, and believe me, they are in a position to do so.

33. We must be realistic in our approach to this problem. We must respect the fact that South Africa has chosen to follow this philosophy of life in its domestic affairs, and we must apply in our approach to the ideological problem which this has set us the principle, on which we all set great store, of non-interference in the domestic affairs of Member States of this Organization. Threats and violent diatribes against South Africa will get us nowhere. After all, South Africa is not the only country in the world that has adopted in the conduct of its affairs a philosophy which others do not like; some of us assembled here do not like the philosophy of communism which has been adopted by many Member countries in the conduct of their domestic affairs; others of us do not like the philosophy of capitalism upon which others

have equally based the conduct of their domestic affairs, but we do not seek to put over the ideals in which we believe and to bring about the abandonment of philosophies in which we do not believe, by direct and forcible intervention in each other's affairs. We seek to do so by example and persuasion, by social and diplomatic contacts, and by intercourse with each other in the hope that those ideals in which we each believe may one day prevail.

34. In this same spirit we must approach the problem of apartheid. In the address which I was privileged to make to this Assembly last year, I said:

"The philosophy of apartheid is a philosophy of fear—the non-African's fear of the African—and it is only by example that such fears can be proved groundless and eradicated.

"Country after country in Africa has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that it is possible for both African and non-African peoples to live in harmony and peace together and to pool their knowledge and abilities for the common good of the countries to which they belong and to which they owe their allegiance ...

"We look forward to the day when the authorities in South Africa may be persuaded that the non-African has nothing to fear from the African and thereby be persuaded, through the examples set in other countries where harmony between the races is so amply demonstrated, that the time has come to abandon their concept of apartheid." [1436th meeting, paras. 26-28.]

35. Those are still our beliefs in Malawi today, and we are more firmly convinced than ever that the happy state of affairs which those beliefs envisage cannot be brought about by threats and hostility. In pursuance of those beliefs my Government has, since we met here this time last year, entered into an agreement with the Government of South Africa to establish diplomatic relations. That decision has been met in some quarters with expressions of surprise and antipathy which we find difficult to understand when the problem is viewed in the cold light of reality.

36. Communist countries do not shun diplomatic relations with capitalist countries merely because they do not see eye to eye with the philosophies of the latter; capitalist countries do not openly decry and seek to interfere by force with the domestic practices of communist countries. They readily indulge in diplomatic, social and cultural exchanges one with the other in the hope that each may influence the other towards acceptance of what they conceive to be for the common good. Indeed the existence of such circumstances is not, as some people seem to think, a reason for avoiding diplomatic relations but, on the contrary, all the more reason for establishing them. Why, therefore, should not a similar approach to the problems of apartheid in South Africa have the same potential hopes of success. We in Malawi are firm believers in the practical approach to the problems of the world, and we believe that where other approaches to this problem have failed, our approach is at least a practical one and has at least some chance of success.

37. Two years ago, when I was privileged to deliver to this Assembly [1338th meeting] a message from the then Prime Minister of Malawi, I made clear my Government's views on the subject of the admission to the world body of the People's Republic of China. Since then, I regret to say, we appear to have come no nearer to solution of this difficult and controversial problem, and I feel that it is incumbent upon me to make clear once again my Government's stand on this issue.

38. On that occasion I made it clear that we in Malawi took the view that to ignore the very existence of the People's Republic of China and to deny in principle to that country the right to membership of the world body altogether was unrealistic and unsupportable. At the same time, however, I made it equally clear that my Government considered that before favourable consideration could be given to the possible admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations three important conditions must be fulfilled.

39. First of all, it must be agreed by all concerned that the admission or otherwise of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations must be accepted as being an "important question" within the meaning of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, requiring a decision by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, and I went on to say that in the opinion of my Government the past record of the People's Republic of China in world affairs was not such as to warrant any departure from that rule in its favour. My Government is still of that opinion.

40. Secondly, I went on to say that it was the view of my Government that under no circumstances should admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations result in the expulsion therefrom of the Republic of China which, in addition to being a founder Member of this Organization, has for so many years been a staunch supporter of its principles and all that it stands for. Here, again, my Government's views remain unaltered and under no circumstances will we vote in favour of the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations.

41. The third condition which my Government laid down in 1965 as a prerequisite to our support of any motion for the admittance to the United Nations of the People's Republic of China was that that country should demonstrate a genuine change of heart in its attitude towards armed combat, its open interference in the affairs of other nations and its outspoken antipathy to the United Nations itself, coupled with a genuine willingness, if admitted, to respect and abide by the basic principles of the United Nations.

42. At that time it was my Government's hope that there would emerge in due course some manifestation of this on the part of the People's Republic of China. Regrettably this has not come to pass. Whilst still believing that the voice of the People's Republic of China could well be heard with advantage in this Assembly in certain circumstances, we in Malawi are still convinced that this could be so only if it spoke for a people which had shown a genuine change of heart in its attitude towards world affairs in general and towards the principles for which the United Nations stands in particular. Until that came to pass, we

believe that that voice would be no more than a disruptive influence designed to make even more difficult the already difficult tasks which face us. Accordingly, we are unable at the present time and in present circumstances to advocate the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

43. For the rest, my country's views and my Government's policies towards other grave matters which come before us for consideration remain in no way altered from those expressed in this Assembly in previous years, and I shall not therefore weary members with a repetition of them.

44. Before I close, however, it would be ungracious of me in the extreme if I were not to stress once again my Government's appreciation of and gratitude for the assistance which we continue to receive from the economic, social and technical agencies of the United Nations. I have said that I would not indulge in the luxury of repetition of things already said before, but this is one exception where repetition is justified. As I said last year, the assistance which we as a developing country continue to receive from these agencies is of the greatest value to us in our struggle to create in Malawi a fully viable economy and to achieve a state of true economic as well as political independence. Without that aid our task would be immeasurably more difficult, and I wish to place on record once again our acknowledgement of the debt of gratitude which we owe not only to the United Nations and its specialized agencies themselves, but to those Member States of the world body whose persistently generous contributions to the coffers of the United Nations continue to make it possible for those agencies to carry on their tasks.

45. It is perhaps strange that this year, for the first time in many years, we are deprived of the pleasant privilege which has been ours in the past of welcoming new States as Members of the family of the United Nations. We are pleased to note, however, that this does not imply that we have reached the barren years and that the emergence of newly independent nations in the world today has ceased, but merely that the period of gestation has lengthened and that in due course we may hope to be in a position to welcome into our midst several more Member States which will by this time next year have gained their independence from the yoke of colonialism.

46. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the Cuban delegation is extremely delighted to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly and to assure you of our fullest co-operation in the work that you are to carry out.

47. In compliance with an express decision of my Government, I appear in this Assembly with the basic intention of dealing with the case of Cuba. My delegation cares not at all whether that case will be raised or not by those instructed to do so under a recent agreement of the Organization of American States. In due course we shall make known our views on the various items that have been allocated to Committees.

48. In all justice it must be recognized that the Government of the United States has outdone the Nazis

in presenting spectacles which show its undisguised contempt for international law. Its latest theatrical presentation is well known to all the delegations here: the grotesque farce staged by the OAS, with the praiseworthy exception of Mexico, against Cuba, and the transfer of the question to the United Nations. Did the Yankee puppeteer and his Latin-American puppets believe that they were going to worry Cuba with that contrived transfer, aimed at playing down the ridiculous failure of its repugnant machinations? Did they imagine for one second that they could put Cuba in the dock, for nine years the victim of their policy of harassment, intervention, aggression, provocation, subversion, terrorism, sabotage and economic blockade? The puppeteer must be crazy, and his puppets very simple.

49. We do not know whether they will ultimately decide to present, jointly or severally, the case of Cuba to the United Nations for consideration. Cuba, however, is here again to reverse the roles and to place its would-be accusers in the dock, as it has done—on indisputable moral, ethical and legal grounds and with the militant support of the Latin-American peoples—at San José (Costa Rica), at Punta del Este (Uruguay) and, whenever it has seen fit, in the Security Council and the General Assembly.

50. Furthermore, Cuba is here, not to refute imputations which recoil on those who launch them, but to denounce once again with clearly irrefutable evidence the misdeeds of all kinds perpetrated against our people by Yankee imperialism and its Latin-American puppets.

51. The contrast could not be more striking. A few months after the military occupation of the Dominican Republic, and in the middle of its invasion by the Green Berets, the representatives of the fascist gorillas, the oligarchies and the feudal systems met in Washington with the absolute monarch of world-intervention and subversion to accuse Cuba of intervention and subversion in Venezuela on the ground of its policy of solidarity with the revolutionary movement; but our people devoted themselves wholeheartedly to their work, singing their cheerful refrain: "Despite the OAS, we shall win the battle".

52. How else could they react to the spectacle of a demoralized group of scared lapdogs pretending to be wolves on the strength of the Yankee teeth—already pretty well gapped by the victorious resistance of the people of Viet-Nam? I will not insult anyone by implying that the OAS should be taken seriously. It would be difficult to think of a more thoroughly discredited institution. The OAS calls itself a regional body of the United Nations; but ever since it started it has been a tool of the United States Government's foreign policy in Latin America, and today it is that country's "Ministry for the Colonies". Just because revolutionary, anti-imperialist and socialist Cuba was a small planet following its historical orbit without asking anyone's leave, it was expelled from the OAS; but not before that organization had made a mockery of the hollow principles of its charter. The incompatibility of Cuba with that "Ministry for the Colonies" is obviously hopeless.

53. The agreements arrived at by the supreme monarch of intervention and subversion and his

lackeys—that picturesque court of strong men with obtuse minds, insatiable appetites, weak backs and fragile knees—bear the trademark "Made in USA". They all add up to a stupid restatement of the criminal imperialist policy of the economic blockade of Cuba and to a redoubled effort to famish its people, this time threatening with frenzied reprisals not only European governments and enterprises but also, in a display of unheard-of stupidity, the socialist community, if they continued to trade with our country. As the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Commander Fidel Castro, has stated: "A policy of this kind is one of the most criminal of acts, one of the things most apt to wound the universal conscience. When all the people of this world who possess a modicum of culture become aware of the tremendous problem of the under-developed countries, of the enormous gap separating the industrialized from the under-developed countries; when all men who in any way bear the burden of world affairs meet to analyze and seek ways to solve the extremely difficult problem of the under-developed countries, the world sees imperialism, with its band of starving lackeys, kicked around and under-developed, proclaiming a declared policy of economic blockade against a country whose only crime is to attempt to rid itself of imperialist tutelage, to emerge from under-development, to free itself from exploitation and hunger—proclaiming this even in the United Nations itself."

54. It is clear that the absolute monarch of intervention and subversion and his lackeys, no longer able to undertake military adventures in Cuba without encountering a Bay of Pigs at every corner, entangled in the web of their own contradictions, perfidy, clumsiness, lies and failures, do not know how to get out of the mire in which their own insensibility, arrogance and stubbornness have landed them. The few who have any decency left have revealed by their abstentions their ashamed rejection of the cynicism and servility shown by the rest.

55. The Cuban people, as our Prime Minister has said, remained serene and imperturbable in face of the new manoeuvres of the imperialists. The task of speaking the truth to the imperialists and their lackeys was to be left to the Cuban delegation at the United Nations; and that is what we are now doing.

56. The history of the United States is largely a record of territorial expansion at the expense of Spain and Mexico, and of economic absorption, political domination and ideological penetration in Latin America accompanied by distortion, obstruction and stifling of its development and the consequent misery, impoverishment, illiteracy, discrimination, exploitation and oppression. This record, although whitewashed by the scribes and puppets of imperialism, is well known to all the peoples who have suffered from it and in this century has been shown up in all its crudity by the imposition of the Platt Amendment on Cuba, the occupation of Puerto Rico, the amputation of the Isthmus of Panama, the attacks on Mexico, the military interventions in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, Cuba and Guatemala, the support given to the bloodiest dictators of the continent, the recent military occupation of the Dominican Republic and the policy of undeclared war against Cuba ever since the triumph of our Revolution.

57. In Cuba Yankee imperialism, in addition to imposing on it the Platt Amendment, set up against the will of the people a naval base at Guantánamo. This base is a nest of spies, saboteurs and mercenaries in the service of the counter-revolution and the Pentagon, and a centre for constant acts of provocation which go even as far as the murder of Cuban sentries guarding the frontier line.

58. For four centuries Cuba was a Spanish colony, and for more than half a century a semi-colony of the United States. When Jose Martí, the apostle of our independence, was about to unleash the "necessary and just war" that would emancipate the Cuban people from Spanish domination, he proclaimed: "Cuba must be independent of Spain and of the United States". On the eve of his death on the battlefield he wrote in a letter to his Mexican friend Manuel Mercado:

"... my duty—inasmuch as I realize it and have the spirit to fulfil it—is to prevent, by the independence of Cuba, the United States from extending itself through the Antilles and with that added momentum taking over our American lands... I have lived inside the monster and know its insides—and my weapon is only the slingshot of David."^{2/}

59. Spanish colonial domination came to an end in 1898. In the same year the political, economic, military and diplomatic dependence of Cuba on the United States began, when the fruits of tremendous sacrifice and heroism by many generations of Cubans were shamelessly appropriated; it ended on 1 January 1959, the date which, with the overthrow of the cruel and rapacious pro-imperialist dictatorship of Batista by the popular insurrection under Fidel Castro's leadership, signalled the true achievement of independence, self-determination and sovereignty by the Cuban people. José Martí's mandate had been carried out in full. The Cuban Revolution is, in a word, the crystallization—in the age of the death-throes of imperialism and the advent of socialism—of the secular dream of thousands of Cubans immolated in the pursuit of that ideal.

60. I cannot make even a rapid summary of United States domination in Cuba, especially of the desperate efforts of the Eisenhower Government to prevent the triumph of the popular insurrection by supplying weapons, aircraft, tanks and military advisers to the dictator Batista. It is obvious that his defeat was also the defeat of the Eisenhower Government and of Yankee imperialism. Although I have sufficient material for a speech a hundred hours long about the acts of intervention, aggression, provocation and subversion done during the past nine years by the Yankee Government and its Latin-American puppets against Cuba, I shall for the moment limit myself to recalling the salient facts and features of that catalogue of blunders.

61. The acts of harassment, subversion, intervention and blockade by the United States against Cuba started at the very outset of the revolution. Before the OAS had been duly informed of the singular and historic events which had befallen in Cuba, it can be said that the State Department, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency were already tearing up the prin-

^{2/} Jorge Manach, Martí, Apostle of Freedom (New York, The Devin-Adair Co., 1950), translated by Coley Taylor, pp. 354-355.

ciples, agreements and commitments of the so-called Inter-American system; and then, as always, the OAS followed in the wake of the imperialists, rubber-stamping their acts of aggression against my country's independence and abetting their crimes.

62. From the outset of the revolution the United States sheltered and supported the murderers, plunderers and torturers of the dictatorship overthrown by the popular insurrection. Only fifteen days after the liberation a group of Congressmen led by Representative Wayne Hays requested the State Department to send troops to Cuba in addition to applying economic sanctions such as the cutting of the sugar quota and a trade embargo.

63. It was not long before their requests were granted. The records of the Security Council and the General Assembly bear proof of United States imperialist aggression against Cuba. On more than one occasion the delegation of our Government has had to denounce before this Organization the flagrant violation by the United States of the principles of international law in its vain attempt to thrust the Cuban people back to their former state of exploitation, oppression and servitude.

64. The shamelessness with which imperialism has acted is well known, as well known as the discredit of the OAS. In almost nine years three United States Governments have intervened in Cuba without the international organizations having dared to make even a timid attempt to caution the aggressor; the OAS has not only maintained a cowardly silence but has even tried to lay the blame on the victim. No example of such effrontery has ever before been seen in the history of international relations.

65. From 2 February 1959, when the United States citizen Allen Robert Mayer was detained in a light aircraft in which he had illegally entered Cuba in order to assassinate our Prime Minister, until 9 August 1967, when a number of agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, sent to assassinate Commander Fidel Castro with bullets containing cyanide poison, were present at the first Conference of the Organization for Latin-American Solidarity, inaugurated at Havana in July 1967, the imperialists never ceased for one minute to devise the most diabolical plans imaginable.

66. I feel that there is no need to detail at this time the long list of aggressive acts of all types committed against the Cuban people, or to specify the imperialists' violations of the legal rules of the United Nations and the OAS. I do not, of course, renounce my right to do so and to take the necessary time, whenever I see fit, to denounce one by one the acts of aggression committed during the past nine years. I know full well that the United States imperialists do not let the Charters of San Francisco or Bogota stop them from committing their outrages.

67. Although a detailed list is not required, it would be as well, however, to single out certain facts in order to refresh the memory of the General Assembly and alert world public opinion. These facts clearly show once again the hypocrisy and danger of imperialist policy and the menial, ridiculous and subordinate part the OAS plays in the Yankee Government's aggressive, interventionist and subversive strategy.

68. Imperialism in Cuba, as in other countries subject to its aggression, applies the principle of escalation. In Cuba it began with threats and very shortly moved to deeds. The early months saw a combination of defamatory propaganda and diplomatic notes which were a tissue of lies. As the revolution consolidated and began to affect the United States monopoly interests, imperialism tried minor provocations and aggressions, thinking that they would be sufficient to halt or deflect the revolutionary process.

69. So the doors of the Federal Congress were opened to admit in audience deserters from the Cuban armed forces and revolutionary Government and war criminals of the overthrown dictatorship who had been denounced as such by the Cuban authorities—an unusual case of authorities of one country officially discussing the internal affairs of another. So also light aircraft were sent from the coast of Florida to sabotage our sugar production.

70. From dropping incendiary bombs on sugar refineries, imperialism progressed to the dispatch of a twin-engined aircraft which machine-gunned the city of Havana on 21 October 1959, killing several people and wounding dozens. During the period of these attacks by light aircraft, which lasted several months, the United States pilot Robert Ellis Frost who had flown from the airport of Tamiami, Florida to bomb the España refinery, was captured.

71. Has anyone forgotten the criminal sabotage of the French ship *Le Coubre* in March 1960 by agents of the Yankee Government? That explosion, which took place in the port of Havana, killed more than a hundred persons and wounded more than two hundred.

72. The aggressive plans grew day by day. Two months after this ghastly attack the United States light aircraft numbered N4365 was shot down to the east of the Cuban capital. The aircraft was piloted by Edward Duke, a United States citizen, whose body was handed over to the United States embassy. One month after that event the refineries owned by United States monopolies refused to process crude oil imported from the Soviet Union. The sinister plan to cut off the fuel supply and so paralyse the Cuban economy was under way.

73. The economic aggression which today is a total blockade first became discernible in 1960. On 6 July of that year President Eisenhower, by presidential proclamation, reduced by 700,000 tons the United States import of sugar from Cuba, an arbitrary measure constituting the international offence of economic aggression, which is conditionally prohibited by article 15 of the Charter of the OAS. It is right, Mr. President, that you and the representatives present should wonder what the OAS did on that occasion. What did the OAS do? It maintained the most impenetrable silence. It is also as well to remind the representatives here that, on the eighteenth of that month, I appeared on behalf of my Government before the Security Council to request it to consider "... the grave situation which now exists, with manifest danger to international peace and security, as a consequence of the repeated threats, harassments, in-

trigues, reprisals and aggressive acts...^{3/} to which Cuba was being subjected by the United States Government, and that the Security Council, acting on a proposal by the United States representative and despite my protest, referred consideration of the matter to the Organization of American States—that is, did the exact opposite of what is happening today. Hitherto the Yankee Government's consistent policy has been to refuse to discuss the "case of Cuba" in the United Nations. It has managed every time to get the item withdrawn from the United Nations and referred to the OAS, where it could count on all the recourses and resources it required. What has happened? Has the OAS lost so much face that it cannot carry on any longer? Why is the forum that was so obstinately avoided before being so anxiously propitiated now?

74. I must make clear that the Cuban Government is not interested in revealing the imperialists' motives in now using the United Nations platform instead of their Ministry for the Colonies. The acts of aggression against Cuba have been committed on the fringe of both international organizations, with their knowledge and acquiescence and with their active or tacit complicity. Be that as it may, the revolutionary Cuban people will continue their irreversible march. However, Mr. President, you and the representatives should, insofar as you are concerned, ponder on the reasons why it is now desired to debate here a matter which the United Nations has hitherto been precluded from considering. At any rate, the Government which I represent has always been and will remain prepared to deal with this matter at length. Cuba has denounced, denounces today and will continue to denounce the criminal policy of United States imperialism. It has now had the imperialists in the dock for nine years.

75. During those nine years there has been not a moment of truce. Since 1959 Yankee imperialism has eight times called together the American foreign Ministries in special meetings to strengthen its diplomatic, political, economic and military ring round our indomitable island. Eight times it has failed, just as all the other measures taken in all parts of the world against the Cuban people have failed.

76. Yankee imperialism is the convicted felon, pleading guilty of its crimes against the Cuban people. When it supplied arms to groups of counter-revolutionary bandits in the Escambray Mountains in Central Cuba, it shamelessly denied the evidence. When saboteurs infiltrated our coast, it denied that. When the Cuban delegation in this forum, denounced the preparations for the invasion launched in 1961, the imperialists denied those. They have denied everything; but everything has come to light.

77. In this aggressive policy of escalation, the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón was the high-water mark of the military aggression. That criminal attack, which not only cost many Cuban lives but also represented the first defeat for imperialism in Latin America, took place before the astonished eyes of the world and the closed eyes of the United Nations and the Organization of American States. The responsibility for that attack lies with the Government of

the United States, by the formal declaration of its highest officer. And what did the OAS do? What did the United Nations do except laugh at the United States delegate's lies and turn a deaf ear to my own statements backed by ample evidence? And are this guilty Government and its puppet accomplices those who now have the impudence to accuse Cuba of intervention and subversion? I will leave the guilty to speak for themselves.

78. Theodore C. Sorensen, Special Assistant at the White House, in his book Kennedy, writes eloquently and dispassionately of the preparations for the crime and of the crime itself. On page 295 he states:

"The Eisenhower administration authorized early in 1960 the training and arming of a Cuban exile army of liberation under the direction of the CIA. Shortly before the Presidential election of 1960, it was decided... that this should be a conventional war force, not a guerrilla band, and its numbers were sharply increased."

He goes on to say:

"On January 20, 1961, John Kennedy inherited the plan, the planners and, most troubling of all, the Cuban exile brigade—an armed force, flying another flag, highly trained in secret Guatemalan bases, eager for one mission only".

Two pages further on, the indiscreet Sorensen says:

"... President Kennedy, having obtained the written endorsement of General Lemnitzer and Admiral Burke representing the Joint Chiefs and the verbal assent of Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, gave the final go-ahead signal, ... Cancellation of the plan at that stage, he feared, would be interpreted as an admission that Castro ruled with popular support and would be around to harass Latin America for many years to come."

And again on page 301:

"The world was aroused by this country's deliberate deception. No one would have believed that the second strike, scheduled for dawn Monday after the landing party was ashore, was anything other than an overt, unprovoked attack by the United States on a tiny neighbor."

And on page 302:

"The CIA even dictated battle communiqués to a Madison Avenue public relations firm representing the exiles' political front. After all the military limitations accepted in order to keep this nation's role covert, that role was not only obvious but exaggerated."

And on page 307:

"On Wednesday ... (Kennedy) gave orders for American Navy and Air Force to rescue as many as possible" of the Cuban anti-Castro forces.

79. The duplicity of the imperialist policy is without equal. On 17 April 1961 the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, referring to the invasion, said that the fight in Cuba was a fight by Cubans for their own freedom, and that there was not and would not be any intervention by United States forces in that country. One

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, fifteenth year, supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4378.

week later, on 24 April, the White House issued the following note:

"President Kennedy has stated from the beginning that as President he bears full responsibility for the events of past days. He has stated this on all occasions and he restates it now so that it will be understood by all. The President is strongly opposed to anyone within or without the Administration attempting to shift the responsibility."

80. Another of the assassinated President's close collaborators, Arthur M. Schlesinger, in his book entitled *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House*, states on page 240:

"On March 11, about a week after my return from Latin America, I was summoned to a meeting with the President in the Cabinet Room. An intimidating group sat around the table—the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, three Joint Chiefs resplendent in uniforms and decorations, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the chairman of the Latin American Task Force and appropriate assistants and bottle-washers. I shrank into a chair at the far end of the table and listened in silence."

He goes on to say:

"I had first heard of the Cuban operation in early February; indeed, the day before leaving for Buenos Aires I had sent the President a memorandum about it. The idea sounded plausible enough, the memorandum suggested, if one excluded everything but Cuba itself; but, as soon as the focus was enlarged to include the rest of the hemisphere and the rest of the world, arguments against the decision gained strength. Above all, 'this would be your first dramatic foreign policy initiative. At one stroke you would dissipate all the extraordinary goodwill which has been rising toward the new Administration through the world. It would fix a malevolent image of the new Administration in the minds of millions'.

"It was apparent now a month later that matters were still very much in flux. No final decision had yet been taken on whether the invasion should go forward at all and, if so, whether Trinidad should be the landing point. It fell to Allen Dulles and Richard M. Bissell, Jr., as the originators of the project to make the main arguments for action."

81. Schlesinger, incidentally, was the draftsman of the so-called White Book on Cuba which was published on 3 April 1961 by the State Department to condition world public opinion to the forthcoming invasion. On page 243 of his book on Kennedy he says that Thomas Mann, at that time Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, was not in favour of any highly spectacular move, "stressing the probability of anti-American reactions in Latin America and the United Nations if the American hand were not well concealed". He was especially worried about air strikes "unless they could seem plausibly to come from bases on Cuban soil; and the Trinidad air strip could not take B-26s".

82. Clearly the preparations for the invasion and the invasion itself were examples not only of artful crime but also of unparalleled cynicism. The direct respon-

sibility of the United States has been set out in abundant detail. Can anyone still entertain any doubts? On page 267 of Schlesinger's book we read:

"Events were rushing toward climax. D-day had originally been proposed for April 5; at the end of March the President postponed it to April 10; now it was set for April 17. In Guatemala the Cuban brigade, now grown to almost 1,400 men, waited with growing impatience. A veteran Marine colonel arrived to make a final inspection as the force prepared to leave its base."

83. There is no need for me to go on producing irrefutable evidence of the imperialist guilt of the invasion at Playa Girón. The invasion was deeply rooted in the struggle for power in the United States itself. In the Book *The Invisible Government*, by the journalists David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, we read on page 338:

"Unknown to the American people, the Bay of Pigs invasion plan played a crucial role in the 1960 campaign.

"Despite the fact that millions of persons watched the four televised debates between Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy, the voters went to the polls without knowing the secret reasons for the public positions the candidates took on Cuba. Behind the scenes, on both sides, there was deep concern over the pending CIA invasion."

84. The puppets of Guatemala and Nicaragua would later hasten to declare their pleasure in their infamous support of the ill-fated operation.

85. I formally challenge the United States delegation to deny the testimony of President Kennedy's assistant Theodore C. Sorensen and of his adviser Arthur Schlesinger in the books I have quoted, and the comments of the journalists David Wise and Thomas B. Ross on the part played by the CIA in the Cuban invasion, and to tell the General Assembly whether or not those acts amount to intervention, aggression and subversion. I also challenge the Latin-American delegations to explain their conspiratorial silence in the OAS when those events took place, although Cuba was still a member of that organization; and I call on them to show on what moral, reasonable or legal grounds their Governments can accuse Cuba of intervention and subversion. Lastly, I challenge specifically the delegations of Guatemala and Nicaragua to deny their Government's participation in that typical act of international piracy. They stand challenged, and I await their reply.

86. The acts of aggression against Cuba have been countless. The Guantánamo naval base is the constant setting for provocation and attacks which have already cost the lives of courageous Cuban fighters. There have been hundreds of acts of provocation. Denunciations of them are inscribed in the records of the Security Council's and the General Assembly's debates. However, now that we are yet again accusing the imperialist Government of the United States of its acts of aggression, provocation and subversion against Cuba, it is fitting to recall some of these crimes.

87. In 1964, at 23.18 hours on 9 June, a soldier by the name of José Ramírez Reyes was shot in the left leg by personnel of the United States post six kilo-

metres from the south coast on the eastern perimeter. At 19.15 hours on 25 June a soldier called Andrés Noel Larduet was shot in the left side of the chest by personnel of the United States post five kilometres from the main gate on the eastern perimeter. At 19.07 hours on 19 July shots were fired on our posts from the United States post three and a half kilometres along the north-eastern perimeter, killing a soldier by the name of Ramón López Peña. A few minutes later two United States officers arrived at the scene and took notes.

88. In 1965, at 12.25 hours on 23 February, a military photographer named Bernardo Belén Ramírez was shot in the right hand. The shot was fired by personnel of the United States post five kilometres west of the main entrance to the base.

89. In 1966, at 19.00 hours on 21 May, provocation from the naval base of Guantánamo took the form of a rifle shot which killed Luis Ramírez López. He was a soldier from our post approximately 500 metres from the eastern perimeter of the base and three kilometres from the main entrance.

90. So far this year the Yankee Government has committed in all ninety-five acts of provocation. These include the landing of helicopters on our territory, violations of our territorial waters and air space by their planes and warships, and rifle fire against our soldiers.

91. It should be made quite clear that imperialist activity against Cuba not only includes provocation from the Guantánamo naval base, infiltration of espionage groups and violation of our air space by U-2 aircraft, which have made twenty-eight incursions this year, but more recently has included the use of a more modern technique. RC-130 and EC-121 aircraft have up to now carried out 230 missions to obtain information on our air force and anti-aircraft defence, and have on many occasions landed quite openly on the Guantánamo naval base on completion of their espionage activities.

92. Do international laws exempt the Government of the United States from complying with them? Do the Charters signed at San Francisco, or at Bogotá setting up the OAS, grant the imperialist Government of Washington a pirate's licence legalizing what for other governments is intervention, aggression, provocation and subversion? It is quite unnecessary to ask such questions. By their deeds you shall know them; here are the deeds.

93. Hardly ten years ago the Yankee Government looked on Latin America as its pleasant, peaceful and sunny back garden just across the Rio Bravo. The only worries which upset the digestion of the Government in office were whether or not to decorate this officer or overthrow that president; whether to dump the tin now or to wait and see first how things went. Today the Pentagon strategists have had to add the Latin-American peoples' struggle for liberation to their list of insoluble problems, along with the Viet-Nameese war and the uprising of the black people of the United States.

94. There is no need to be very clairvoyant to realize that for some time now a profound revolution has been taking place within Latin America. The im-

poverished downtrodden masses of the continent, who for centuries had been pitilessly exploited, have decided that under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguards they will take up arms until they have wiped out oppression, servitude, hunger, illiteracy, sickness and unemployment—or, in other words, underdevelopment and colonialism. That is to say, the Latin-American revolution is rooted deeply in a specific historical situation imposed by imperialist domination. This we are going to prove beyond appeal by the figures.

95. Seven per cent of the world's population (250 million people) live in Latin America. Of these, 140 million work almost as slaves, 70 million live on the fringe of the money economy, about 100 million are illiterate, 100 million suffer from endemic disease, and over 130 million are undernourished. Yet, paradoxically, the continent is rich. It contains 12 per cent of the world's known petroleum reserves, 33 per cent of the iron, copper and nickel, 20 per cent of the manganese, 50 per cent of the aluminium and 16 per cent of the tin. It has also 13 per cent of the world's farmland. Latin-American peasants, starving and over-worked by foreign monopolies and creole oligarchies, harvest 60 per cent of the world's coffee, 45 per cent of its sugar-cane and 27 per cent of its sugar, 20 per cent of its cocoa, 15 per cent of its cotton, 67 per cent of its bananas, 11 per cent of its meat and 10 per cent of its oil seeds. In all, this is about 20 per cent of the world's agricultural exports.

96. In reality, however, the Latin-American economy is far from prosperous and its prospects are by no means hopeful. Apart from a brief interlude in the period 1964-65 when economic trends were favourable to exports, the economic growth-rate of Latin America has dropped back to the stagnation level of 1960-1962. In the last six years the annual growth-rate of the gross national product was 4.4 per cent, which, in conjunction with the population's growth-rate, represents an annual increase per caput of 1.3 per cent. Nothing, then, could be further from the United Nations Development Decade's objective of counteracting economic backwardness by achieving an annual growth rate of 5 per cent. In fact, in many countries the growth-rate has been negligible: Argentina 1.1 per cent, Brazil 0.7 per cent, Paraguay 0.52 per cent, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Chile below 2 per cent per year; and in others the economy has regressed: Haiti -2.9 per cent, the Dominican Republic -1.3 per cent, Uruguay -0.1 per cent.

97. Really this is just the tip of the iceberg formed by the imperialist exploitation and the sell-out by the Latin-American ruling classes, which have accepted the backward, distorted and dependent economic structure on which the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys in the Organization of American States pride themselves so much. A brief review of the economic situation of Latin America reveals the essence of its underdevelopment and the true and legitimate cause of the Latin-American revolution.

98. Despite the continual appeals for the industrialization of Latin America, it is still a typical producer of primary or basic commodities, from which it obtains about 90 per cent of its export earnings. Half of that revenue comes from its agriculture and stockraising

sector, which according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) was static from 1950 to 1964, and at present the livestock production is lower than it was in 1950. Agriculture, which provides 46 per cent of the employment is not making any headway. According to one ECLA report, in ten out of the twenty Latin-American republics the agricultural production has increased less during the last decade than the population, and in five its growth-rate has been over 1 per cent higher. Thus there has been a widespread agricultural crisis in the Latin-American region with its peak, as I have said, in the livestock sector.

99. The agricultural crisis has been due not only to the low yield of the non-intensive farming and the low technical standard of the exports, matching the niggardly consumption of fertilizers. It has been due mainly to the out-moded system of land tenure, to the prevalence of the large estate and the uneconomic small-holding. (Around 1 per cent of the landowners hold approximately 67 per cent of the land, while 76 per cent only hold 4 per cent of the arable).

100. Mining, which produces 35 per cent of the export earnings of Latin America, has expanded much more slowly than in other regions of the world. Except for petroleum, its share of the total world production has fallen since 1960. Five thousand million dollars' worth of minerals are exported yearly; but that sum, which could be one of the main pivots of the region's development, does not belong to the producers. According to the *Survey of Current Business*, 44 per cent of United States investments in Latin America are in mining (12 per cent) and petroleum (32 per cent). The annual profits of the United States companies amount to 700 million dollars. In Venezuela 60 per cent of the petroleum is in United States hands: in 1964 the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, through the Creole Petroleum Company, controlled 38.5 per cent of the total production, the Mene Grande Oil Company 11.9 per cent, Mobil Oil 4.1 per cent and likewise the Sinclair Venezuela Oil Company and the Atlantic Refining Company.

101. These investments are supposed to contribute to the development of Venezuela; but, according to its Central Bank, the invested capital was amortized as early as 1954. Moreover, these companies cover five times as much land as is cultivated; and at the present rate of extraction the reserves will be exhausted in fourteen years. Lastly, between 1952 and 1963 profits worth \$6,226,000 were transferred from Venezuela to the United States (ECLA, "Economic Survey of Latin America", 1964).

102. There can be no doubt that the effect of the Yankee monopolist capital invested in Latin America is to decapitalize it. Venezuela's situation is not, of course, unique. In Chile 90 per cent of the copper belongs to such "national" firms as Braden Copper or the Anaconda, which extract \$50 million worth of profit; in the Dominican Republic the total bauxite production belongs to the Alcoa; in Brazil the Hanna Mining Company of Cleveland and the Antunez Mines (a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel Company) have gained control of one of the world's largest reserves of iron (9,000 km² in Minas Gerães) with no less than 24,000 million metric tons of ore and the largest

reserves in the world of bauxite, thorium, uranium and niobium.

103. In the manufacturing sector there is evidence of similar stagnation. From 1955 to 1960 that sector grew at an annual rate of 6.4 per cent, from 1960 to 1965 of 5.3 per cent, and in 1966 of only 5 per cent. While the prime objective of the development policy has been import substitution, care has been taken not to include branches of industry which might compete with United States monopolies. Thus there are consumer goods and raw materials, but none of the means of production necessary for development or even for earning through exports the income needed to finance it. According to ECLA figures, 50 per cent of Latin-American industrial production is for consumption, 33 per cent is for raw materials and the remaining fraction—one tenth—is for investment and export. Since 50 per cent of Latin-American imports are in fact raw materials and consumer goods, this industry is obviously inefficient.

104. This sector too has benefited from "United States aid". The *Survey of Current Business* states that 29 per cent of all Yankee investment (2,741 million dollars) went into the manufacturing industry. Of course only 5.5 per cent of that sum was for productive machinery.

105. In Argentina the International Packers control 60 per cent of the meat exports. Between 1956 and 1965 the United States derived 586 million dollars' profit from its direct investments. Between 1960 and 1965 its firms gained more than 5,000 million dollars from Latin America. For the ten-year period 1956 to 1965 the figure was above 7,000 million dollars.

106. I could easily go on listing ways in which United States monopolistic capital contributes to the permanent underdevelopment of Latin America; but these figures from the *Survey of Current Business* speak for themselves. For each dollar the United States invests in Latin America it receives three. The United States monopolistic capital contributes to the permanent underdevelopment of Latin America; but these profits gained abroad. Only Asia, where the United States receives six dollars for every dollar it invests, is more basely exploited.

107. Imperialist plunder is also a factor in what is euphemistically called deterioration in the terms of trade: falling export prices combined with rising import prices. Despite its evangelic declamations in UNCTAD (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), the United States maintains its policy of restricting imports of the main commodities exported from Latin America; it continues to subsidize its own agricultural produce and encourages the manufacture of substitutes for Latin-American exports. The result is that for 1965 and the first half of 1966 Latin America has a deficit of 370 million dollars in its trade with its principal supplier. It is estimated that between 1955 and 1966 the fall-off in the terms of trade cost Latin America no less than 21,390 million dollars at 1950 prices, twice the value of its exports in that last year. If the outflow of profit and the fall-off in the terms of trade (at 1950 prices) are added together, its loss between 1956 and 1967 amounts to 31,431 million dollars.

108. It is therefore not at all surprising that Latin America tends to run into debt in order to survive. In 1966 its debts amounted to 12,000 million dollars. In addition, the Latin-American countries have to pay 5,000 million dollars a year to service capital and interest. Thus the net flow of finance tends to decrease, leaving a net deficit which adds to its indebtedness. Already in 1965 Latin America had the dubious honour of being the principal debtor among ninety-seven developing countries, with an external debt of 11,900 million dollars.

109. Imperialist exploitation has had other direct effects: malnutrition (Bolivia 45 deaths, Peru 24 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants); lack of adequate housing (affecting 14 per cent of the inhabitants of Chile, 38 per cent of the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro and 2,500,000 persons in Venezuela); infant mortality (171 per thousand in Brazil, 114 per thousand in Chile, 95 per thousand in Guatemala); inadequacy or almost total lack of social security; endemic illiteracy and outbursts of primitive tyranny.

110. It is against these insufferable conditions that the Latin-American peoples are rebelling. These are the reason why new contingents of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals daily embrace the cause of national liberation. The origin and motive of the revolutionary movement in Latin America are not specifically the Cuban revolution; they are the exploitation, oppression and poverty imposed on the continent by the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys. Nor can anyone stop this gigantic march towards independent development, well-being, culture and dignity. Not the vaunted Alliance for Progress, which since its creation in 1961 has not been able, nor will it ever be able, to avoid the inexorable deterioration of the Latin-American economy. Not the high-level meetings at Punta del Este to organize alleged common markets or integration—though these now have the support of the Yankee Government since its minor partners have given it more explicit guarantees for its investments, properties and privileges.

111. But the tragic picture still lacks a few pieces. Yankee imperialism, the champion of the "free world" and the paladin of "representative democracy", has strewn the Caribbean region with military, naval and air force bases and have established some more beyond the Panama Canal. I am sure that quite a few simple people believe that this threatening barricade, is appointed by Providence to protect from subversive contacts the spirit of Western Christian civilization, which the ruling class of the United States embodies and defends. It does not enter their heads that the loftiest expressions of that spirit are the foul negro ghettos of the northern states and the refined notices "For Whites Only" on the public conveniences of the southern.

112. The political organ of this strong-arm system for maintaining the political and economic hegemony of the United States in Latin America is the OAS, and its military instrument is the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,⁴ cast in the same mould as NATO, CENTO and SEATO. To give an idea of how far Yankee imperialism has besieged Latin America, I will list the

distribution of its military, naval and air force bases. Cuba: the Guantánamo naval base. Puerto Rico: Ensenada Honda (headquarters of the naval command of the Caribbean and Antilles), with facilities for atomic submarines equipped with Polaris missiles; Vieques Island, off the coast of Puerto Rico (training camp for Marines and counter-revolutionary invasion groups), with strategic facilities in Aguadilla, Salinas, Isla Grande and Fort Brooke. Jamaica: the Portland Village, Old Harbour, May Pen and Santa Cruz naval bases. Trinidad: the Chaguaramas naval base and the military facilities at Punta Icacos, Chaguana and Saint Andrews; Guyana: one naval and one air force base. Panama: the Fort Randolph, Fort Davies, Fort Gullick, Fort Clayton, Fort Kowwe and Fort Sherman naval bases and the Francia, Albbrook and Howard air force bases. Ecuador: military bases at Puerto de Salinas and on Galápagos Island; naval air base in Esmeralda province on the Pacific coast close to the Colombian frontier. Chile: several tracing stations which cloak other military activities. Brazil and Venezuela: military training centres.

113. The operations of this network of military, naval and air force bases are closely co-ordinated with those of the Yankee military missions, the Central Intelligence Agency and the anti-guerrilla schools situated at Fort Bragg and Fort Lee (United States), at Fort Gullick (Panama Canal Zone) and at the advanced war school in Argentina. That is not all. At Fort Davies in the Panama Canal Zone, with edifying zeal, an academy for repressive police trains cops and thugs to bludgeon, torture and murder the workers, peasants and students of Latin America. These crime schools produce and train thousands of officers from the "representative democratic" fascist régimes of the continent to fight national liberation movements and patriotic guerrilla forces.

114. It is hardly necessary to add that most of the Latin-American armies, as a result of their complete subordination to the military interests of Yankee imperialism, have become colonial garrisons of the Pentagon, directly under the orders of the "Green Berets", whose specialized methods far outstrip those of Hitler's assault troops. The courageous people of Viet-Nam could give hair-raising accounts of their studied savagery.

115. The Yankee imperialists, grown grey in their dishonourable profession, cannot underestimate the importance of ideological penetration as a means of strengthening their political, economic and military domination of Latin America. Although the influence of American ideology on our continent dates back to the period following the struggle for emancipation, it has definitely reached its peak in the last few years, above all since the Cuban Revolution, which has an ever-increasing impact on Yankee imperialist strategy and tactics. The precise nature and specific purpose of this policy of ideological penetration is first the spiritual deformation and next the brainwashing of the Latin-American peoples. In Latin America there is a vast mass of books, magazines, newspapers, films, teachers, fellowship holders, emissaries and Jehovah's Witnesses preaching the "glories" and "virtues" of the empire and denigrating our historic, artistic and cultural heritage with the fatuous superiority of decadent Rome.

⁴ Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed in Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

116. But even on that front Yankee imperialism is suffering defeats which foreshadow its decline. The highest-ranking Latin-American writers, artists, teachers and journalists are standing out against this ideological penetration campaign with exemplary firmness and dignity. Their ideological counter-offensive has been launched, and the revolutionary vanguards of our peoples are unshakably determined to lead the second war of independence to victory. This is making the "ideologists" of great America swallow aspirins by the dozen. Not for nothing has its underdeveloped back garden resolutely stood up and said "that is enough!"

117. In spite of the Yankee imperialists' illegal blockade and the harassment, aggression, provocation and threats of all kinds committed against my country in the time—almost nine years—since the triumph of the Revolution, the situation in Cuba today is quite the reverse of the desperate situation in which the vast majority of the 250 million Latin Americans eke out a living. The strategy behind our economic policy is based on turning agriculture and stockraising into a springboard for full development.

118. Cuba does not suffer from the involuntary unemployment or underemployment which plague the economies of the rest of Latin America. No one has to go to bed hungry for lack of money. More than 140,000 families stopped paying their town rent at the end of 1965, and in 1970 housing will be completely free. For the first time in the history of Latin America, medical assistance reaches the remotest parts of the country. In the last two years the number of urban hospitals has increased from 144 to 162, and of rural hospitals from 34 to 46. Before the Revolution there was not a single rural hospital in Cuba.

119. The medical assistance and mass vaccination plans have considerably decreased the infant mortality rate, which today is one of the lowest in America; and the national death-rate has dropped to 6.3 per thousand. Poliomyelitis has been completely wiped out and half a million children are vaccinated against various illnesses each year. (This picture is, of course, quite different from that in the rest of Latin America. In Brazil the infant mortality rate is 170 per thousand births; in Haiti 171.6 per thousand; in Chile 111 per thousand; in Guatemala 92.8 per thousand; in Peru 94.8 per thousand; in Bolivia 86 per thousand; in Colombia 83 per thousand, and according to a recent statement by the Minister of Public Health, 100 children die of hunger daily in that country). The extension of health services can easily be seen from their budget allocations, which rose from 23 million dollars in 1959 to almost 158 million dollars in 1967.

120. Out of an estimated total of 8 million inhabitants, Cuba has a student population of more than two and a half million, composed of children, young people and adults. The number of teachers has risen from 17,355 in 1959 to 41,922 in 1967. In 1965-1966, 4,209 students graduated from institutes for technical vocational training; at the end of 1966, 425 students graduated in the technology of soil, fertilizers and stock-raising, and it is hoped that 3,000 will do so in 1970. In 1966 the number of fellowship-holders rose to 103,386. Since 1961 illiteracy has been practically wiped out; its incidence is now only 3 per cent.

121. When it is so easy to point out the causes of the Latin-American revolution, as has been done in many ECLA and UNESCO reports, how can they be overlooked? Can Latin America rest content that over half its population of fourteen years of age is illiterate? In Haiti the proportion is 85 per cent of the population, in Ecuador 69.4 per cent, in Guatemala 68.5 per cent, in Bolivia 61.2 per cent, in El Salvador 53.7 per cent, and in Nicaragua 50.4 per cent. Surely only those who benefit from it can be proud of the "representative democracy" which keeps the average cultural level of the continent barely at the second stage of elementary education. Who would dare, without lying, to attribute this situation to "Castro-Communist subversion"? Or is the Cuban Revolution also responsible for the uprising of the black population of the United States against its exasperating living conditions and the crime, oppression, outrage, injustice and discrimination which it has suffered for so many centuries?

122. In contrast to the miserable existence of the Latin-American masses, the Cuban people have enjoyed free social services—health, education—on a scale never equalled throughout the continent.

123. The agricultural sector, far from stagnating, has made impressively rapid progress. In 1965-1966 there was a 13 per cent increase in agricultural production other than of sugar-cane, and the levels of the early years of the Revolution, which were the highest of all time, are now being reached again. The plans for the production of citrus fruits and coffee are opening unsuspected horizons.

124. In 1965 more than 6 million tons of sugar were produced. The 1966 harvest, however, suffered from the severest drought of the century. The 1967 harvest was over 6 million tons, and the 1968 figure will be larger. Substantial investments in industry and agriculture are providing the industrial capacity for producing 10 million tons.

125. The use of the most up-to-date techniques in agriculture and stockraising, such as large-scale fertilization (1,150,000 metric tons of fertilizer were used in 1967 as against 160,000 metric tons in 1957), and the spread of irrigation and mechanization are at the base of Cuba's agrarian revolution. In addition, the attention of the whole population is being focussed on the countryside.

126. In the fishing industry more than 53 million dollars has been invested in the purchase of 41 ships, the building of four more for fishing in distant waters, and the fleet of middle-sized ships fishing in the Gulf of Mexico. As a result the catch increased from 23,000 tons in 1959 to 43,000 in 1966, and this year will reach 60,000.

127. Our people's immense efforts to overcome the economic backwardness inflicted on them by imperialist domination have included an extensive plan for training technical and specialized personnel. In 1966, 16,358 university students were taking soil, fertilizer and stock-raising courses. The estimate for 1970 is that Cuba will in this way have 15,000 technicians at pre-university level and some 5,000 elementary-level instructors. By 1975 the plan should have provided no less than 100,000 middle-level technicians. These technicians come from the ranks of the agricultural

and industrial workers, many of whom were illiterate in 1959 and indeed most of whom had scarcely passed the first three school stages.

128. In the meantime the industrial sector has not been at a standstill. Between 1963 and 1966 considerable progress has been noted. There was a marked increase in the production of nickel, including, significantly, that from the Moaplant, and the development plans are extremely promising. Cement production will double in 1968. The national programme for energy development increased the output of electricity in 1965-1966 by 13 per cent. The hydraulic development plans are going forward. Preliminary work has started on what will be from 1970 onward the centre of industrial development: integrated mining of the laterites in the north-east. This will lay the foundation of the future steel industry, which will specialize in nickel steel and other alloys, and in the production of aluminum, chrome and ammonium sulphate.

129. Freed from Yankee imperialism, Cuba is not only overcoming its backwardness but is also heading strongly towards full development, and at the same time is pledged to create better forms of co-existence among mankind. The sole reason is that its people have chosen the only possible way to that goal: by building a socialist and communist society 90 miles away from their sworn enemy with one of its naval bases enclosed in their national territory. Cuba is a source of inspiration and an example to the peoples who are still prisoners of underdevelopment and colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

130. While speaking of Yankee imperialism and its policy of intervention and aggression, it is very appropriate to stress that there were people in this Assembly who hypocritically rent their garments and again made empty promises of peace in Viet-Nam while the bombs, the splinters, the napalm and the poison gases wrought havoc and the incursions into Laos and the provocation in Cambodia continued. They added insult to injury. Imperialism is still imperialism, however hallowed its garb.

131. Fancy thinking that nazism exhausted the whole range of human bestiality! Viet-Nam proves up to the hilt that Yankee imperialism has far surpassed it. One day history books will narrate the crimes of imperialism as the most abominable evidence of the pre-history of human society. But future generations will also remember that Viet-Nam did not suffer and struggle in vain. Future generations will remember that Viet-Nam had the honour of defeating its implacable enemy and digging the grave of the odious system of plunder and extermination which its enemy represented.

132. This has to be said now, even if it does surprise many people. Yankee imperialist escalation in Viet-Nam was intensified; so therefore was Viet-Nameese counter-escalation. It is undeniable that the Yankee imperialist giant has broken up on the determined resistance and the fighting morale of the Viet-Nameese people. It is also undeniable that this determined resistance and fighting morale have reached the point where they are beginning to take the offensive.

133. The Pentagon's strategists, with their proverbial arrogance, thought that a few thousand military

advisers and technicians would suffice to overthrow the people's army of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam. At present their forces number 466,000 men, 1,000 fighter aircraft and the Seventh Fleet, composed of four aircraft carriers and 77 warships. Add to these forces the 690,000 soldiers of the Saigon puppet army and the 55,000 from other satellite countries, and the total is over a million. The invading armies' losses equal the destruction or disorganization of 120 combat battalions, and they have had more than 115,000 casualties. So far this year the people's army of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam has destroyed 1,310 military vehicles, sunk twenty-seven warships, put five trains out of operation, blown up 162 bridges and attacked 43 military posts and 70 observation towers.

134. The Pentagon's strategists also believed that a few devastating air raids would force the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to surrender unconditionally. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is still standing on its smoking debris, and its anti-aircraft defences have brought down a total of 2,356 aircraft and sunk several Yankee warships. Last year the cost of this subhuman war was over 20,000 million dollars, and it is expected to reach 30,000 million dollars this year.

135. It is not a duty of the United Nations to find a solution for the war of aggression in Viet-Nam. The duty to find that solution is laid only on the heroic Viet-Nameese people, and they are already on the road to it: the overwhelming defeat of the invaders and their puppets and the free re-unification of the territory which the imperialists have artificially divided.

136. The people of the United States should realize that the Pentagon has irrevocably lost the war in Viet-Nam. The imperialists will never triumph in Viet-Nam. These people of exceptional mettle, whose men, women and children have faced forces a thousand times stronger, have defied torture, hunger, bombing, napalm and poison gas without giving an inch. They continue to struggle like no other people for human dignity and the peoples' freedom; they are the most advanced and war-seasoned trench of the world's anti-imperialist front; they have managed to awaken and move the torpid conscience of the people of the United States, and are teaching a lasting lesson to the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The determination to perish or conquer for the homeland and for humanity is all-powerful and so has achieved and will achieve more than all the strategic and tactical weapons of Yankee imperialism.

137. The Cuban people quickly took heed of that lesson and the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are now learning it. The imperialists, in their turn, began to learn it in Korea, which they also divided artificially and attacked with pirate armies under the flag of the United Nations. This Organization still refuses to condemn their action, to order the withdrawal of the foreign troops which trample over Korean territory, or to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. But it is in Viet-Nam that they have learnt their lesson once and for all.

138. The serious crisis in the Near East is another result of the policy of intervention, aggression, subversion and plundering of Yankee imperialism throughout the world. Cuba has stated its position on that crisis very clearly and reaffirms its complete support for the Arab people in their struggle to regain the territories occupied by the State of Israel and to safeguard their seriously-threatened self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

139. As Commander Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, has said, all those who have set out to rob the peoples of their wealth, stop their development, profit from their work, cut down their independence, attack their sovereignty, overrun them and exploit them with blood and fire, and all who support imperialists in their new plans for intervention, aggression, subversion and blockade against Cuba, should in every corner of the whole world be known by their true name—bandits! Fatherland or death! We shall win!

140. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): Allow me first of all Mr. President, to add my voice to those of previous speakers and to offer you the sincere congratulations of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on your unanimous election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Your outstanding qualities as statesman and diplomat, and your understanding of international problems and of human sufferings singled you out very specially for this noble task. My delegation does not doubt that your long experience in the Organization and in international political life will be of great help to you in coping with the host of difficulties inherent in the arduous task entrusted to you by the General Assembly.

141. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Socialist Republic of Romania is concrete evidence of the good relations which happily exist between our two countries; and the Congolese delegation was one of the first to reply favourably to the request to support your candidacy for the highest office in the Assembly.

142. My delegation would also like to express its hearty congratulations to Mr. Pazhwak of Afghanistan, through whose wise and far-seeing guidance the General Assembly was able to conclude the work of its twenty-first session on a note of optimism.

143. The delegation of the Congo is thoroughly convinced that the current session is of the utmost importance. We have just gone through a period critical for the very survival of the Organization. The peoples of the Middle East are suffering the aftermath of the war, and other peoples of the world who have always suffered continue to do so to this day.

144. We have witnessed two special sessions of the General Assembly since we separated in 1966. You will therefore appreciate my delegation's interest in the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, which is meeting shortly after the political leaders of Africa met in my country to examine and try to solve the problems arising throughout our continent.

145. I have the opportunity today to thank the Secretary-General, who in spite of his schedule of

engagements agreed to go in person to Kinshasa to honour by his presence the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity,^{5/} in the face of the virulent campaign stirred up by certain elements of the Western Press and of the manoeuvres and the confusion deliberately engineered in the eastern part of my country by mercenaries, solely for the purpose of preventing the fourth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity from taking place.

146. The Secretary-General made it clear by his gesture that Africa too, and its problems, are among his deepest concerns. The African peoples in general, and the Congolese people in particular, appreciated the true value of this gesture. It symbolizes a sense of duty parallel to that which six years ago inspired Dag Hammarskjöld to visit the Congo, where he was to die tragically in the fulfilment of his mission. I take this opportunity to pay a resounding tribute to the memory of that great servant of peace and to the assistance which the United Nations has given the Democratic Republic of the Congo ever since our accession to independence, making it possible for us to restore the order and territorial integrity seriously threatened at the time by international high finance.

147. You will agree with me that the personal presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations during the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity at Kinshasa contributed much to the outstanding success of the meeting.

148. The African leaders who met at Kinshasa took up and discussed, in an atmosphere of understanding and frankness, all the burning problems of concern to Africa, and sound solutions were found; thus we were glad to note that international public opinion had become conscious of the fact that the young African Organization had emerged stronger than ever from the meeting.

149. During our session we noted with great regret that thousands of human beings in Africa and Asia are unfortunately still under foreign and colonial domination, in spite of the General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With regard to Africa in particular, Portugal and its allies, South Africa and the racists of Rhodesia, must be compelled to accept and comply with the relevant decisions and resolutions adopted by the Organization. Peace can never be restored in the Territories under their occupation and domination until the African peoples have recovered their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, so as to that they can develop their lands in accordance with their innermost aspirations.

150. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is firmly determined to fight colonialism in Africa in all its forms. This unshakable resolve took concrete form this year when my country received on its territory the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, which through the hearing of petitions was able to witness the stubbornness of the administering Powers and their refusal to act on the many United Nations resolutions concerning the political and economic emancipation of the peoples under their domination.

^{5/} Fourth session of the Assembly, held from 11 to 14 September 1967.

151. For this reason, at the present session of the General Assembly my delegation will support any resolution aimed at the wholehearted application of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

152. I would point out that it is absurd to acquiesce and to allow reactionary Portugal, clinging to its outdated and anachronistic ideas, to go on maintaining here in this Organization that the African Territories under its colonial domination—Angola, Mozambique, Cabinda and Guinea (Bissau)—are an integral part of its metropolitan territory.

153. On the strength of this fundamentally false contention, Portugal has violated Congo's frontiers time without number, regularly bombing villages and peace-loving people and committing acts of manifest aggression against the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There is every indication that in Angola and Rhodesia Portugal and its allies are concentrating a new race of reactionaries, the mercenaries, so that these latter-day highwaymen from their bases of operation can encroach upon the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The recent events in the eastern part of my country provided eloquent proof of the fact that these international birds of prey do not disarm, in spite of the resolution on mercenaries adopted in the Security Council [241 (1967)] at my country's instigation. My delegation would like to thank the friendly delegations which spoke in this Assembly in condemnation of the recruitment of mercenaries. We take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to them.

154. In giving assistance to the Angolese liberation movement, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is simply acting on the General Assembly resolution [2184 (XXI)] which appeals to all States Members of the United Nations to give the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the moral and material support necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights, namely, self-determination, freedom and independence. The liberation of the African Territories under Portuguese colonial domination will mean for the Organization the effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as of many resolutions relating to these Territories. We are convinced that liberation achieved in this way will be a pledge of peace and security not only for the Democratic Republic of the Congo but for all the neighbouring African countries as well.

155. As regards Rhodesia, the Congolese delegation joins the other delegations in noting with regret the failure of mandatory selective economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the Security Council [232 (1966)] at the request of the United Kingdom. It is the more regrettable to note that certain countries, in particular Portugal and South Africa, the principal trading partners of Rhodesia, are acting in such a way as to make the sanctions imposed inoperative and ineffective.

156. In the face of the complacent inability of the United Kingdom to take positive action to prevent these countries from carrying on their lucrative trade with Rhodesia, my delegation feels it must dwell on the moral responsibility of the United Nations

to put an end to the degrading régime of the racist settlers in Rhodesia and permit our brothers the people of Zimbabwe to recover their inalienable right to freedom.

157. We sincerely believe that mandatory general sanctions must be imposed on Rhodesia, and that all States Members of the United Nations are in duty bound to conform to them. My delegation is prepared to support any concrete measure, including the use of force, to bring about the overthrow of the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith, which deliberately flouts the basic principles of democracy.

158. Similarly, the international community cannot remain unfeeling and indifferent to the inhuman treatment which South Africa is inflicting, by means of savage repression and odious crimes, on millions of human beings without means of defence or expression.

159. The human rights embodied in the Charter are literally scoffed at by this country unworthy of its admission to membership of our Organization. We have good reason to believe that the explosive situation which persists in South Africa represents a serious threat to peace and security both in Africa and internationally.

160. In the face of the many United Nations resolutions on the elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa, my delegation utterly deplores the behaviour of certain States which trade with that country and supply it with arms, thus enabling it to build up a considerable military potential not only to conduct its barbarous oppressive warfare successfully, but also to realize its dreams of domination and expansion in Africa. The world's conscience must be aroused to the need for effective international action to put an end to the humiliation of the black man in South Africa, and at the same time to prevent that part of Africa from continuing to be a hotbed of racial tension which could at any moment threaten international peace and security, whose defence the United Nations has set itself as its primary task.

161. I cannot end this reference to decolonization in Africa without underscoring, as far as the particular question of South West Africa is concerned, the full support given by my delegation to the General Assembly resolutions [2145 (XXI) and 2248 (3-V)] terminating South Africa's Mandate over that Territory and taking over the authority there. We shall also furnish genuine support to such adequate measures as this Assembly may see fit to adopt in order to reinforce the authority of the Council for South West Africa.

162. To turn now to certain matters of international policy which are of major concern to us, the speakers who have preceded me here have rightly stated that the peace of the world is more and more being threatened; that is true so long as no satisfactory solution is forthcoming for the tragic events taking place in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world. I mentioned some of them when I spoke of the situation in the African Territories under Portuguese colonial domination, in Southern Rhodesia, in South Africa and in South West Africa.

163. While we rejoice at the recommendation by the General Assembly to Member States to sign the

Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space, my delegation considers that this treaty and the one concluded in 1963, on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, should not slow down the efforts of the Organization and the Geneva negotiations to achieve more positive results in respect of general disarmament. Non-utilization and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is no real safeguard. In my delegation's opinion, only the destruction of the weapons would furnish a real prospect of international peace and security.

164. The situation in South-East Asia and the sufferings of the Viet-Nameese people are matters of constant concern to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The war in Viet-Nam, as savage and destructive as ever, continues to spread its dangerous poison into the international atmosphere and over international relations. Our feeling is that once foreign intervention ends in Viet-Nam and there is a return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the Viet-Nameese people will be able to settle their own affairs in accordance with their entirely legitimate aspirations.

165. In this respect, a particular tribute is owed to the untiring efforts by the Secretary-General to find a solution to this problem.

166. In connexion with the situation in South-East Asia, we cannot but mention the contribution which could be made by the People's Republic of China in the implementation of proposals for restoring peace in that part of the world. Thus the question of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Organization is inescapable. As the country with the largest population in the world, China can no longer be ignored in the concert of the United Nations; quite clearly, of course, its participation in our work could not affect the presence of Nationalist China as a Member of the Organization.

167. If I may now refer to the situation in the Middle East, my delegation firmly believes in the Charter principle that Members of the Organization are invited to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations". Hence we condemn war as a means of settling international disputes and deplore the fact that these fundamental principles of the Charter have not been respected in that region. We trust that a lasting solution, based on peaceful means, will be found.

168. This being so, my delegation would like to recall here the Declaration of the Organization of African Unity at Kinshasa:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government ... Expresses its sympathy to the United Arab Republic, and decides to work within the United Nations in order to secure the evacuation of the United Arab Republic's Territory [by foreign troops]."

For my delegation, this evacuation is an important step, to be followed promptly by others, along the road to an over-all solution to the problem of the Middle East.

169. I have spoken at some length of the international political situation; I should now like to discuss the economic aspect of the work of the international community.

170. My Government's interest in the problems of international trade in primary commodities, in encouraging industrialization, and in economic development, is in keeping with the universal concern to increase productivity so as to give the great masses the benefit of social and economic democracy.

171. The Democratic Republic of the Congo expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the United Nations Development Programme for the material and intellectual co-operation it is receiving. We trust that this co-operation will be increased, for the urgency of the reform programmes being undertaken by the new régime in my country requires this.

172. The importance of the role of international trade in the economic development of the Third World is obvious. Nor is it necessary to argue at length to establish its contribution to the expansion of world economy. The creation of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), which prominent economists had fought for, and the recent Kennedy Round agreements, are tangible evidence of that. However, my delegation regrets that the economies of the developing countries, built on the model of nineteenth century liberal theory, cannot take full advantage of world trade. The responsibility for this regrettable situation cannot be laid entirely at the door of the developing countries. If they are to break through the vicious circle in which their outmoded economic structures have placed them, concerned action at the international level is vital.

173. The First Conference on Trade and Development had the virtue of identifying the problems and outlining solutions, which unfortunately were not all accepted unanimously; the backcloth is political.

174. For this reason, political decisions must now come from the side of the industrialized countries. My delegation fervently hopes that with the meeting of the seventy-seven at Algiers^{6/} to establish a common front for the forthcoming New Delhi Conference of UNCTAD,^{7/} the industrialized countries will respond without further delay to the dramatic challenge issued to them by the developing countries.

175. In our view the problem of the foreign trade of the developing countries must in practice be stated as follows: to improve their position in international trade, they must re-structure their economies. For this they need substantial amounts of capital, since domestic savings are extremely small. Furthermore, exports are their main source of funds, and these are in a state of stagnation due to the concurrence of technical progress and increasing protectionist measures. In addition, the increase in the foreign debt service resulting from exorbitant interest rates is a disturbing factor in the balance of payments of the developing countries. At the same time it is deplorable

^{6/} Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven, held from 10 to 25 October 1967.

^{7/} The second session of the Conference is scheduled to take place from 1 February to 25 March 1968.

to find that the flow of private capital from the industrialized countries to the developing countries is steadily declining from year to year, though there is no doubt that it makes an appreciable and effective contribution to economic development. To these limiting factors must be added the problem of the stabilization of world prices of raw materials, and with it the deterioration in the terms of trade, which steadily widens the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries, the inevitable result being that the developed countries are growing richer and richer and the underdeveloped countries poorer and poorer.

176. Thus the process is a cumulative one, so that it can be stated today without fear of contradiction that the real proletarians of the twentieth century are the African peasants, and that at the present moment economic and social problems alike are no longer to be seen in terms of Western bloc versus Eastern bloc, but in terms of the distance of the industrialized countries ahead of the developing countries. It is therefore legitimate for the latter to try to include in their economic policies a programme to set up industries for processing raw materials, at any rate up to the primary stage in the production cycle, for as everyone knows, up to the present the majority of developing countries are still sleeping partners as far as the international market is concerned. This places a heavy burden of responsibility on the industrialized countries.

177. The reform of the economic structures of the developing countries strikes us as hardly feasible unless a fillip is given to the economies in the form of aid. In this connexion my delegation is glad to see that as a result of the agreement on international liquidity the industrialized countries will have an opportunity to furnish increased aid to the developing countries. We hope and trust that the bulk of the aid to be given by the developing countries to the countries of the Third World will be channelled first and foremost into sectors where it can bring about a rapid development of the economy, and that it will be provided within a multilateral rather than a bilateral framework; for it very frequently happens that bilateral financial assistance has political strings attached.

178. I cannot refrain from mentioning the technique applied by a certain industrialized country—Belgium to be precise—which uses the technical assistance it furnishes to my country in the context of bilateral co-operation as an instrument of blackmail and pressure.

179. Belgium indeed not only prevents teachers who have worked in the Congo under technical assistance from returning there; it even exerts intolerable pressure on those who contemplate accepting employment under private contact with the Congolese Government. The pretext is an alleged lack of personal safety—as though the technical assistance teaching staff from other countries operating in the Congo were any safer than Belgians. The truth is that at the instigation of the imperialist circles in Belgium—the ones that are backing the mercenaries in the east of the Congo—Belgium wants to force us to modify our basic policies and *inter alia* to accept its interpretation of our economic independence.

180. Today, with these teachers out of work, Belgium is embarking on a veritable publicity campaign to try to place its nationals in other African and Latin American countries. We venture to hope that the experience of our relations with Belgium in this field, and its tactics of using the technical assistance it furnishes as a means of exerting pressure, will open the eyes of our friends to the real motives behind this seemingly generous Belgian offer. It is shameful that a country which like Belgium has made hay by exploiting the wealth of another country should act as it does today. As far as we are concerned, we have made up our minds. We have closed our universities for a year and obliged the students to spend the year teaching in the primary and secondary schools of the country. We have made this sacrifice as the price of our dignity and independence.

181. If I may revert to the question of multilateral technical assistance organs, my delegation feels that these organs should simplify their procedure and inform the beneficiary countries properly of the stipulations and conditions governing the aid granted. In this way they would be contributing to the economic expansion and consolidation of the political and economic independence of the developing countries. Some of the latter, because of their natural resources, are looked on with covetous eyes, but for lack of capital and skills, they are forced to choose between poverty and the surrender of their sovereignty.

182. My delegation is firmly convinced that the desperate appeal we make here to the industrialized countries will not go unheeded, and we are well aware that neither financial aid nor technical assistance, on whatever scale, can of itself bring about the steady economic growth of the developing countries unless in those countries there is the political will and a collective urge towards progress and development.

183. I am happy to mention here in this Hall the efforts made by my Government to this end since 24 November 1965, the date of the accession to power of the military High Command. To redress the country's financial situation, the new régime has been obliged to adopt energetic measures, both administrative and political, to absorb the budget deficit, one of the chief causes of the creeping inflation which was spreading over the country. These concerted measures have rapidly produced the effect intended: the budget deficit has been substantially absorbed, and financial stability is in the offing.

184. But this ambitious programme, and the sacrifices made by the Congolese people, cannot bear fruit unless certain conditions are fulfilled. Unfortunately, at the very time when the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is struggling to attain these conditions, when it is making prodigious efforts to train skilled personnel and to create a climate conducive to development, we have regretfully to say that the order and calm so dearly won back are being disturbed by foreign mercenaries. For all that, my Government feels that it is its bounden duty to spare no effort to protect life and property.

185. In conclusion I should like to recall that in the course of this statement I have tried to express the views of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the great issues of international policy and economic co-

operation. It is the duty of the Members of the United Nations to give the Organization genuine co-operation not only with a view to reaffirming and safeguarding the goals of international peace and security, but more important still, with a view to finding peaceful means of coping with the tensions and conflicts which so dangerously affect the world situation.

186. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now exhausted the list of speakers in the general debate.

187. The representative of Portugal has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call on him.

188. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): It is my privilege, Mr. President, and it gives me great pleasure to convey to you the greetings of my delegation, and my own, together with our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. The mantle of your high office has been placed on your shoulders at a time when the world at large, and this Organization in particular, are going through an exceptionally critical phase. The fact that at such a time you have been found acceptable to the entire membership of this Organization speaks more eloquently than any words of mine could do. My delegation is also happy to note that you come from a country which shares with my own a common Latin origin and traditions. This fact gives us a particular reason for satisfaction in the distinction conferred upon you and adds to the warmth of our good wishes, which I am glad to express publicly, for your personal success in the discharge of your duties.

189. My delegation would now like to take a little time of the Assembly in exercise of our right of reply. I shall be brief.

190. Some of the delegations which participated in the general debate, which is about to end, permitted themselves to make unfair remarks about my country. Such remarks ranged from general criticism of certain policies traditionally pursued by my country to allegations of a baseless and gratuitous character. If my delegation alludes to them at all, it is simply because our silence might be interpreted in some quarters or at some future time as an admission of their veracity. This is not at all the case; and, in order to keep the record straight, my delegation wishes to declare that we reject categorically and emphatically the criticism and the allegations levelled against Portugal in the course of this general debate.

191. The reasons on which we base our rejection are to be found in a number of documents of the United Nations. My delegation does not think it necessary to state those reasons in detail nor to add anything to them. The criticism and the allegations heard in this general debate are nothing new. They have already been refuted by us.

192. But it appears that our critics find it convenient for their own purposes to repeat accusations which have already been refuted. We are neither surprised nor impressed; much less are we disturbed or embarrassed by such repetitions. In fact, the remarks made against us are so far removed from the truth that they give the impression of having been made

for rhetorical effect, the underlying objective being to maintain an artificial climate of antagonism to Portugal and thus to further elicit the designs of certain parties.

193. When words such as "oppression", "repression", "tyranny", "brutality", "exploitation" and the like are predicated about us, all know—those who use them themselves know—that such vocabulary is taken from the jargon of demagoguery and has no relation to any reality. When it is alleged that there are revolts and rebellions inside our Territories, all know full well that the reference is to the violence sought to be injected into our Territories by means of groups or movements organized by outside forces and maintained in the countries in our neighbourhood in the well-known manner of international subversion which has, unfortunately, become widespread in our day. When it is alleged that Portugal receives aid from foreign sources and has formed alliances to fight those groups or movements, all are fully aware that such allegations are products of fancy, but invented with mischievous intentions.

194. When it is alleged that we constitute a threat to international peace, all know that such allegations are a mere pretence on the part of those who seek to camouflage their own responsibilities for the aggression they commit against us. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the invitation we have extended to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit our provinces and find out for himself who is threatening international peace. Our invitation remains open. When it is alleged that we are holding down our populations by force, all know that this is an impossible task under any circumstances and that the allegation is ridiculous.

195. Nevertheless, such falsehood is being repeated, perhaps in the hope that at least some of it will ultimately stick. But then it should not be supposed that the campaign directed against us is based on any factual grounds, for falsehood, no matter how often repeated, cannot become truth. On the other hand, it cannot be alleged that there is no means of knowing the truth about us. We have concealed nothing, and indeed we have nothing to conceal. Our provinces in Africa have in recent years been visited by thousands of foreign observers from various countries. We have asked of them nothing but good faith and impartiality. And the overwhelming majority of those observers have confirmed that the facts are as we state them. There is peace and tranquillity inside our Territories; the population collaborates loyally with the authorities; the security forces are engaged in vigilance missions in view of infiltrations from outside of armed raiders seeking to terrorize our population in certain frontier areas. Every possible effort is being made to promote the well-being of all our population and its active participation in all fields of activity. We are committed to the building up of a multiracial society on the basis of equal partnership of all its members. My delegation does not hesitate to declare that in the Portuguese nation we do not consider race, but the fundamental dignity of all human beings and their common origin and end. We have achieved a racial harmony which we proudly hold up as a successful example and a good source of inspiration for the right conduct of inter-racial relations. We submit that the multiracial society

that we have set up should be the object of attentive study, for it has instructive lessons to offer to a world which has not yet solved its racial problems.

196. It is therefore most unfortunate that, instead of appreciating our success in this respect, there should be those who would divide our multiracial society on a racial basis. Yet they claim to be opponents of racism.

197. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Thailand, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

198. Mr. TONGYAI (Thailand): Reluctantly but necessarily I have sought the floor for the second time to deny the gratuitous and unsubstantiated charges made by the representative of Cambodia against my country. I shall not give a point-by-point answer to each and every false allegation made by the Cambodian representative in the course of this morning's debate, but I simply wish to deny categorically all the malicious accusations that he has seen fit to repeat.

199. My delegation is no longer amazed at the hysterical outburst and polemics which seem to have become the incorrigible habit of the Cambodian representative. My delegation cannot sink to the same level, but feels that respect must be shown for the seriousness of the debate now going on in the Assembly, particularly in consideration of and with due deference to the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of his Special Representative who has been sent to the area at the request of the Thai Government and with the concurrence of the Cambodian authorities. Out of respect for the Organization and in a desire not to waste the valuable time of other delegations, I shall be brief.

200. In all its dealings with Cambodia, Thailand has exercised the greatest patience and restraint, which it is our hope will produce an atmosphere conducive to the return of a normal relationship between our two countries. Suffice it to say that, while Thailand entertains no aggressive designs against any of its neighbours Cambodia has found it profitable to offer sanctuary to and to harbour the aggressive forces of North Viet-Nam in order to commit depredation and aggression against its adjacent neighbours.

201. The Cambodian representative referred [1590th meeting] to the conflict between Thailand and France in 1940, as the result of which some portions of the Territories which Thailand had earlier ceded to that country were returned to Thailand. I must confess my utter ignorance as to the exact whereabouts of Cambodia in 1940, but certainly it did not exist then as a distinct sovereign entity.

202. It would indeed be advisable for the Cambodian representative to seek fresh instructions from Phnom Penh so as not to walk out of step with the current thinking now obtaining in Cambodia. For on the basis of the many recent statements made by the Cambodian leader on Radio Phnom Penh and elsewhere, my delegation has reason to believe that the Cambodian Government is now having second thoughts on certain problems existing in Cambodia, and particularly on its relationship with its mentor and master. This apparent rethinking came as no surprise to us, because up to now Cambodia has been walking out of step with all other South-East Asian countries. The South-East

Asian nations have been working in close co-operation with one another, irrespective of their political and social systems, and there is a new spirit of good neighbourliness and mutual friendship now prevailing all around, but not in Cambodia. It is a great pity, therefore, that while all nations in the South-East Asian region make every endeavour to promote close relations and regional co-operation, Cambodia remains the only country in the region which, for reasons best known to itself, still derives a perverted sense of pleasure from quarrelling with all of its neighbours without any exception.

203. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Ecuador, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

204. Mr. CUEVA TAMARIZ (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): I have listened with great interest to the statement by the Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs, and do not intend to start any kind of controversial discussion about it. I should simply like to correct Mr. Roa's statement that there are a present United States bases in Ecuador, at Salinas and in the Galápagos Islands.

205. It is quite true that during the Second World War, when people were fighting against fascism and nazism, United States military bases were operating at Salinas and on one of the islands of the Columbus Archipelago. They were dismantled at the end of the war, more than twenty years ago. Now there is no United States military base in any part of my country.

206. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Costa Rica, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

207. Mr. TINOCO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): I regret that I must ask the Assembly to give me its attention for a few moments so that I may register my protest against the way in which the representative of the present Government of Cuba has addressed himself to the representatives of the countries of Latin America—Ministers for Foreign Affairs and chairmen of our delegations here. He has used expressions which are unworthy of this Assembly, of its dignity and of the dignity of those who represent their countries in this body. I shall not follow the example which the representative of the Government of Cuba has set. I wish only to say that the insults he has uttered are like stones falling on his own head, and that when he describes to us the paradise in which the people of Cuba are living I have only to turn to the spectacle of the 600,000 men, women and children who have left that island in search of the home which was made so difficult for them there.

208. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

209. Mr. FOUNTAIN (United States of America): On behalf of my delegation, I have asked to exercise my right of reply in order to comment very briefly upon the false and inflammatory charges made against my country by the representative of Cuba.

210. I make no attempt to compete either with the violent and spurious character of his language or the length of his remarks. Hatred for the

United States is obviously the distorting lens through which he views the affairs of the entire world, whether the subject be Viet-Nam, the Middle East, or any other sector. I leave it to other delegations to judge for themselves whether the picture he has drawn of their affairs is fact or fantasy.

211. As for the Western Hemisphere, my colleagues here representing the other American republics have already drawn their own conclusions about Cuban activities in their area; they know the problem at first-hand. It is their countries whose sovereignty has been violated by the subversive agents and guerilla terrorists from Castro's Cuba.

212. We do not believe the cause of peace is served by such persistent intervention and deliberate attempts to undermine free Governments. We believe the cause of peace is best served by free men working together in mutual goodwill and with a common devotion to individual freedom.

213. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Guatemala, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

214. Mr. CADENA HERNANDEZ (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I am bound to speak because of a remark which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba made about my country. Mr. Roa challenged the Guatemalan delegation to state whether or not certain statements which he had made earlier alleging interference by Guatemala in the internal affairs of Cuba were true or not.

215. I venture to state on that subject that my intention in coming to the rostrum at this time is not exactly to reply to Mr. Roa's challenge. My delegation does not and will never allow itself to be challenged by the Cuban delegation or any other. Hence the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba can wait as long as he wishes, but he will get no reply from me; I reject Mr. Roa's challenge outright.

216. I could well end my speech with that statement. Nevertheless, I should like to declare again, as I did during the twenty-first regular session (1447th meeting), that the foreign policy of the present Guatemalan Government is firmly based on the principle of non-intervention expressed very clearly in General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX). Thus we state categorically that Guatemala—the present Government of Guatemala—does not and will not intervene in the political affairs, internal or external, of any State; but we can likewise state quite categorically that we will not allow any intervention in our internal affairs.

217. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

218. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, my first thought must naturally be to convey to you the cordial greetings and warm congratulations of the delegation of Nicaragua on your election as President of this noble Assembly of the organized world. Your election to that honourable position has clearly shown the esteem and warmth we feel for you as an experienced statesman. Please accept my delegation's best wishes for constant success in your complex task.

219. I now venture to thank you for allowing me to answer from this rostrum, albeit briefly, the meaningless, stupid and fatuous remarks Mr. Raúl Roa has made against my country and my Government. I could quite easily refrain from doing so, because in this Assembly everyone knows who is who. I also know that in the free world, which is what concerns me, Mr. Raúl Roa will not have surprised even the simpletons.

220. Let me say, Mr. President, that I know Mr. Roa very well and this is not the first time that I have faced him in this international forum. I know him only too well, I know where he comes from and where he is going. I know the ideas behind his attitude and his behaviour, and I know which doctrine governs his intelligence and his strange and sometimes amusing oratory. It is a pity that such an intelligent man as Mr. Raúl Roa serves a Government which has betrayed America by selling itself cheaply to a doctrine whose name I do not even wish to recall, which denies God, which does not recognize human rights and treats people merely as chattels.

221. Let us now consider his challenge. Mr. Roa has challenged me as representative of Nicaragua. I do not accept his challenge. Mr. President, do you know why? Purely and simply because Mr. Raúl Roa is not representing the Cuban people in this hall. He does not represent them and he could not represent them. I am referring to the martyred Cuban people who lie dead in a common grave and with their sacred bones nourish their blessed native earth. It is those people that I mean, the suffering Cubans who are indescribably tortured in the prisons and who know that sooner or later they will go to the deadly wall of the firing squad. I mean the suffering and martyred Cubans who in exile roam the length and breadth of the continent anxiously seeking the way back to their lost freedom. Mr. Raúl Roa cannot represent this heroic people, the people of Martí, the apostle of Cuban independence.

222. But what has made Fidel Castro so furious? I will tell you, Mr. President. It is his failure to realize his golden dream of setting up régimes in America which shall be slaves of his own and obey that doctrine I do not wish to name. That is why he and his comrades shout out dirty, slanderous, offensive, stupid and fatuous remarks.

223. Meanwhile I should like to tell Mr. Raúl Roa that I am proud that, in this world-wide forum, I can point to the example of a Government like mine, which guarantees the exercise of all imaginable freedoms without exception, which is lawful, since its democracy is based on free elections; of a country where everyone can say what he likes; a country with a Parliament of which one-third is composed of opposition parties, and with a similar judiciary. I should like Mr. Raúl Roa to show me one single Cuban who may think, let alone speak, against his Government without running the risk of marching next minute to the fateful wall of death. I should like Mr. Raúl Roa to show me one of his companions in the Cuban delegation who, here in New York, far from Cuba, dares to think thoughts against his Government. I, on the other hand, am full of pride that I can point to a Nicaraguan representative in this hall who is the

leader of the opposition in my country and exercises the full powers that I exercise as representative and ambassador. This is a very wonderful thing.

224. But I realize that I should not take advantage of your courtesy, Mr. President. I should just like to say two more words to Mr. Raúl Roa. We Latin Americans are not lackeys, nor puppets, nor bandits. We are men enough to face on any ground those who offend us; men enough to tell Mr. Fidel Castro and his henchmen that they have not one scrap—not one scrap—of moral authority to offend peoples born for freedom and glory.

225. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Belgium, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

226. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (translated from French): In the statement he has just made, the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo levelled accusations at my country which were as immoderate in form as they were devoid of all justification.

227. In asking to be allowed to make this brief statement, I do so not to refute insinuations concerning the alleged exploitation by Belgium of its former colony. Anyone who has been in Africa knows what eighty years brought to a territory where everything achieved has been the work of my country. Few nations can show such a record, and we are justly proud of it. What I wish to do is rather to bring up two other points.

228. As regards the mercenaries, the position of Belgium has at no time been in any way equivocal. We have roundly and unreservedly condemned from the outset the machinations of individuals who out of greed or in a spirit of adventure commit acts incompatible with the dignity of a sovereign State. The truth is that it was the Congolese Government itself—the present Government—that took on or re-engaged these mercenaries in its service, and then found itself unable to keep them in order.

229. With regard to technical assistance, and more particularly to the problem of teaching staff, such assistance is not, as far as we are concerned, either a means of exerting pressure or a pretext for blackmail. But in the last few months, twenty-odd innocent and peaceful Belgian citizens have been massacred in the course of uprisings which once again the Congolese authorities were unable, and at times unwilling, to put down, as was their duty.

230. Instead of trying to salve its conscience by making accusations it knows to be the very opposite of the truth, the Congolese Government would be better advised to look sincerely and modestly into its own mistakes and shortcomings.

231. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Cambodia, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

232. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): Please excuse me, Mr. President, for asking for the floor once again, but I should like to reply to the statement made by the representative of Thailand.

233. The statement we have just heard does not really deserve a reply; but I do want to point out to the representative of Thailand that in 1940, even though Cambodia was not yet entirely independent, it was nevertheless attacked by Siam, and it was Cambodian territory, not French territory, that was annexed by Siam.

234. In 1955, immediately after we became fully independent, Thailand, playing its old game of annexation and expansion, illegally occupied Preah Vihear, a part of our national territory. I wonder if the representative of Thailand could explain that illegal occupation of the territory of independent Cambodia by the Thai Government.

235. Its illegality was clearly revealed and recognized by the International Court of Justice in 1962^{8/} when its judgement forced Thailand to give those national Cambodian lands back to Cambodia.

236. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Cuba, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

237. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): In exercise of the right of reply I am going to say this. Most of you may have read that delightful work of Miguel Cervantes Saavedra "Don Quixote de la Mancha". Those who have read it will also remember who Master Pedro was and the part his puppeteers played. Today you have had a free show, a visit to the circus. This afternoon we have witnessed a truly ridiculous performance of the grotesque farce of the OAS.

238. First of all, the puppeteer called the puppets to defend him. But the chief puppeteer did not come, for he always disappears like a mouse. As frequently occurs with the imperialists, he did not set foot in the Assembly nor show his face. But his puppets came here. My challenge, based on concrete, proven, unequivocal and objective facts, has not been accepted. Had the puppeteer and his puppets accepted it, they would have had to acknowledge their inescapable responsibilities, their criminal, miserable, cowardly and lawless behaviour.

239. An obese gentleman who has lived all his life in the shadow of the Somozas, a monarch of the purse, has just shown that his contact with the dynastic family has destroyed what little grey matter he ever had. The flatulent words which he spoke here reproduced the mystery of the vacuum chamber which, as you all know, is the absolute vacuum. When I was a student I frequently tried to persuade my physics teacher to make an absolute vacuum in a vacuum chamber; but, despite all his efforts, he never could. This afternoon, however, I have actually had the opportunity of seeing such a vacuum as I never could have imagined to exist. Mr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, whom, as he is aware, I know far too well, represents in this Assembly the absolute vacuum.

240. I am merely repeating what I have said here before. I repeat my accusations and I repeat my charges. I challenge them to come here and tell me whether what I say is true or not, whether what

^{8/} Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Judgment of 15 June 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

Sorensen said is true or not, whether what Schlesinger said is true or not, whether what Kennedy said is true or not, whether what the puppets and the puppeteer, who tend at times to boast of their own crimes, said is true or not.

241. This is what they had to come here and refute, and this was my challenge. But the charges, the facts and the evidence which I have given here have displeased them. I should like to challenge them again to come here and discuss my assertions.

242. Of course none will come, nor will any be able to come. They are not in a position to come, as they are a part of the whole grotesque farce of the OAS. They are liars, cowards and wretches, and more than one of those that have been here was battery-hatched.

243. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Thailand to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

244. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): In view of the lateness of the hour and the nonsensical nature of the Cambodian representative's polemics, I shall make a very brief reply to his remarks, which were utterly baseless and totally uncalled for.

245. It is becoming more and more a matter of common knowledge that Cambodia is not the master of its own destiny and that it simply cannot afford to take a stand independently of its lord and master. Even while the leader in Cambodia has found occasions in the recent past to express in explicit terms his growing disenchantment with Peking and his increasing awareness and appreciation of the imminent danger caused by that expansionist régime, his Permanent Representative here in New York still finds himself unable to break this chain of servitude and still remains in the shameless position of parroting his master's voice.

246. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

247. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): I should like to exercise the right of reply to answer certain corrections and clarifications which the representative of the Belgian Government was purporting to make. After listening to him, I could only conclude that he simply felt he had to speak. The Brussels Government would never have forgiven him if he had not come to the rostrum and said something. And now let me briefly refer to the three points he made.

248. The first point concerns exploitation. He stated that my country was never exploited, since in fact everything worth while in its territory was done by Belgium. I should like to remind him of one small matter. At the time of the famous dispute between Belgium and the Congo, now a thing of the past, we had to make an inventory—he must know all about it—of everything that the Congo owned in Belgium. Who owns the palace now housing the departments of the Foreign Ministry? Who owns what is usually known in Belgium as the Arcade du Cinquantenaire? Who owns the famous museum of Tervuren, the price of Belgium? The last thing I wanted was to bring up

such matters; but these places do belong to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Can the Belgian representative come back to the rostrum and tell us what belongs to the Belgian Government in the territory of the Congo?

249. As regards the second point, that of mercenaries, when I spoke of them I accused the mercenaries themselves; I did not accuse the Belgian Government. But since its representative tried to defend it, I should like to put a question to him, if he will come to the rostrum and answer it. In whose service are the mercenaries whom we are alleged to have engaged and who are still in the eastern part of the country? Are they still in our service, when in fact they are killing our fellow-countrymen? What about the notorious Jean Schramme, who is from Bruges—possibly the province from which the representative of Belgium himself comes. Is it we who are now paying him? Is he defending the interests of the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

250. As his third point, the Belgian representative told the Assembly that his country was not using technical assistance as a means of practising blackmail and exerting pressure. I should like to think so, but the statement is gratuitous. Why in that case are we reduced to closing our three universities and obliging the students to teach at the secondary and primary levels? Why are people who wanted to enter into private contracts with our Government not allowed to return to the Congo? Why is the Brussels Government now conducting a campaign throughout the African and Latin American countries to find work for its unemployed? For, when all is said and done, these people are now unemployed. Can the representative of Belgium answer these questions?

251. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Belgium to speak in exercise of his right to reply.

252. Mr. SCHUURMANS (Belgium) (translated from French): I am sorry to detain you at this late hour, but since I am invited to come to the rostrum again, I have no option. I shall take up very briefly the three points referred to.

253. First point: exploitation. If I understood correctly the picture just outlined by the Congolese representative, it was not Belgium that created the Congo, but the Congo that created Belgium.

254. Second point: the mercenaries. I was under the impression, though I cannot swear to it, that in his first statement the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo accused my Government of backing the operations of the mercenaries. I suggest that he refer to the text of the statement he made a short time ago.

255. As regards his last point, namely technical assistance, the Belgian Government has the right and the duty to look after the safety of its citizens. We are not using technical assistance as a means of practising blackmail or of bringing pressure to bear, but we are no longer prepared to see our fellow-countrymen, of whom, I repeat, twenty-odd have been murdered in the past few weeks, exposed to a similar fate.

256. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Cambodia to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

257. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): In view of the lateness of the hour I shall reply only briefly to the statement made by the representative of Thailand, who is trying to divert the attention of the General Assembly from the question I put to the Thai delegation, namely, why Thailand in 1954 occupied part of the territory of independent Cambodia. The General Assembly can see for itself which country, Thailand or Cambodia, is master of its own destiny.

258. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The general debate of the twenty-second session of the Assembly is now closed. The statements made at this session have been more numerous than ever, and they have made it clear that delegations are interested in the general debate and anxious to take part in it and indeed to assume responsibility for the problems of concern to mankind today. They have also revealed a general feeling of disquiet about the situations which are endangering peace and the progress of the international community, and a desire to see the problems involved disposed of as soon as possible.

259. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the General Assembly for its most valuable help in

ensuring the smooth running of this important first part of the session. I should like also to thank the members of the General Committee of the Assembly for their painstaking preparatory work on the items submitted to the Assembly so far.

260. I cannot conclude without expressing my profound gratitude for the kind tributes paid to my country, to its foreign policy and to the principles by which it is governed, and thanking you sincerely for your good wishes to me personally.

261. We now pass on to a new stage in our work. The exchanges of views I have had with the various groups of States and with a number of delegations have indicated a general consensus in favour of interrupting the work of the plenary Assembly for a brief period. The discussion of the items referred to the plenary meetings will be resumed at a date to be announced in the Journal, the first item being "The situation in the Middle East", to which the General Assembly decided to give high priority. I trust that this period will prove useful and that recourse will be had to the most effective means of ensuring that the circumstances are as favourable as possible when we resume our work.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.