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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon the representatives of Member States who have asked to speak in order to exercise their right of reply.

2. Mr. MAZIGH (Libya): I shall be very brief. I would like to clarify the reference made by the Israel representative on 9 December, during general debate [1276th meeting] in regard to my country. I shall confine myself to what he said about Libya, and I reserve my delegation's right to take up the subject further at the appropriate time.

3. The Israel representative professed that he had cast the decisive vote in support of Libya's independence on 12 May 1949, and against the prolongation of colonial tutelage. The truth is—and there is ample proof today in the records of the United Nations—that Israel abstained from voting on that occasion. The independence of Libya was not a present from any nation, and I would like to remark here that my country achieved its independence through a long and bitter struggle led by its King, a struggle in which all Libyans experienced sacrifices and pains which only love for their country could alleviate. Those efforts found recognition when the United Nations endorsed our aspirations by recognizing unanimously our right to freedom.

4. It is strange, indeed, to see Israel taking pride in its alleged stand with respect to Libya, when just one year prior to that date it had deprived an entire

people of its homeland. Regardless of what Mr. Eban has said, the Palestinians were compelled by force and terrorism to leave their land, and they claim justice from this Organization, the return to their homeland, and their right to self-determination. This is the hard truth that the Israel representative cannot hide or refute.

5. Mr. VOLIO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): In exercise of my right of reply, which I had asked for this morning, I should like to comment on two references to Costa Rica made by Mr. Guevara, the representative of Cuba, at the previous meeting.

6. Mr. Guevara referred to alleged military activities of Cuban exiles in my country and to the recent measures supported by my country taken by the Organization of American States against Cuba. As usual, the Cuban Government has attempted to confuse the United Nations by placing a fanciful interpretation upon the facts.

7. I must categorically deny the existence in Costa Rica of training camps for troops of Cuban or of any other nationality. When rumours of the existence of such camps appeared in our Press—a free and democratic Press and one that is certainly very different from that existing in Cuba—the journalists demanded that there should be a complete investigation. The Government complied and the journalists themselves participated constantly in the investigation. The rumours turned out to be completely unfounded.

8. The Government took the opportunity to state publicly that it would not permit such activities in the country. But this does not mean that Costa Rica will not remain on the alert, ready to defend its sovereignty and its territorial integrity in face of the subversion preached and practised by the Cuban Government in its systematic plan to export the Marxist-Leninist revolution to Latin America.

9. Since the crisis of October 1962 and the aggression against Venezuela, in particular, we have had recourse to the inter-American legal system in order to defend ourselves against Cuban aggression and subversion. In the last twenty years our country has on two occasions requested the application of the inter-American legal system to help it to defend its sovereignty and its territory. But since Costa Rica belongs to that system not for selfish reasons but because of the strong ties of continental solidarity and responsibility, it has also requested the application of the procedures provided in the Charter of the OAS and of other regional pacts in order to defend the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of other Latin American countries.

10. Thus, I should like to mention the cases of aggression by Trujillo and Castro against the Republic of

Venezuela. I do not stand here before you as an accused, replying to charges, but as an accuser; I am here to tell Mr. Guevara that my country will remain on the alert and will repulse the systematic attempts of the Cuban Government to intervene in the affairs of the Latin American countries as an agent of an extra-continental imperialism, and that my country is also prepared to defend and improve the inter-American system as a guarantee of our struggle against all forms of imperialism and as an instrument for the ordering of the relations of the Latin American countries on a legal basis.

11. Mr. ORTEGA URBINA (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): It was not my intention, Mr. President, to speak today, but since circumstances demand that I do so, permit me to begin by greeting and congratulating the three Member States that have just joined this World Organization, which constantly strives to maintain peace and promote the social progress of humanity. I welcome their participation in this important task. I should also like to express to the President my Government's satisfaction at his election and its best wishes for his success in his important task.

12. I am very sorry that the representative of Cuba allowed himself to be led astray by rumours, hearsay, confidential reports that in this case are the same thing, alarmist publications and so forth, and that he has attempted in this Assembly to link my Government and my country with alleged future invasion attempts by Cubans against Cuba.

13. My Government is in no way to blame for the fact that tens of thousands of Martí's compatriots are in exile. My Government is in no way to blame for the fact that the path chosen by Mr. Castro's régime has led to the bankruptcy of the Cuban economy. My Government has nothing to do with the fact that in Cuban circles, in an attempt to bolster the illusions of the Cuban peoples, there are daily announcements concerning the formation of invasion brigades equipped with revolvers and small arms to face an army which, according to the statements of its own leaders, has the most modern nuclear weapons at its disposal. To blame my Government for all this would be like attempting to blame my Government for the fact that Cuban international policy today is written in Russian and is spoken in Spanish with an Argentine accent instead of the familiar Cuban accent.

14. There are no military training camps for Cuban patriots in Nicaragua and that can easily be verified because my Government maintains a rule of law which allows any person to enter, move about and leave our national territory in full freedom. If Mr. Castro's régime were to request or allow an international commission to investigate its nuclear rocket installations, the number and nature of those installations and the places at which they are aimed, we should have no objection to the same commission then verifying that, as I said before, there are no military camps for Cuban patriots in my country.

15. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (translated from Spanish): Owing to certain offensive remarks about Panama made by Cuba's Minister of Industry, I feel impelled to make the following observations.

16. The tragedy of the Cuban revolution lies in the fact that it proved impossible to contain that great movement within a system of American law. The great sin of its leaders is that they suffer from excessive vanity, which blinds them and prevents them from recognizing original examples which are typical of America, such as the Mexican revolution of 1910.

17. With a great sense of disappointment, thousands of us Americans have seen how the revolution that was to be as indigenous as the island's palm trees has become a small Moscow agency, which installs nuclear rockets and withdraws them from its territory upon the orders of Mr. Khrushchev alone.

18. The present Cuban leaders say that revolutions cannot be exported, but Panama saw its territory invaded in April 1959 by bearded mercenaries who, it has been proved, came from the port of Sagua. Panama cannot therefore believe in the good faith of the advice which the Castro representative is now trying to give us.

19. The problems of the occupation of the base at Guantánamo have their origin in a treaty known as the Platt Amendment, drawn up between Cuba and the United States at the beginning of the century. The iniquitous treaty between Panama and the United States in connexion with the construction of the inter-oceanic canal dates from the same period. In spite of the well-known aggressive spirit of the bearded followers of Castro and the daily boasts they fling in the face of the North Americans, I have not yet seen that they have had any success in getting the North Americans out of Guantánamo. Panama, by negotiations within the scope of international law and under the auspices of the inter-American regional system, hopes soon to find a solution for its just aspirations concerning the Canal.

20. The people and the Government of Panama, inspired by the sacrifices of their martyrs, work hard in the struggle to attain those ends. Panama believes in a modern world that will be achieved on the basis of a peaceful and democratic revolution which will bring us the economic and social development that our peoples so earnestly desire. Panama practises representative democracy and respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

21. I spent several years of my youth in Cuba and I feel perhaps more deeply than does Che Guevara the sorrows and sufferings of the Cuban people. I should like to end my brief reply to his irresponsible interference in the affairs of Panama by saying to him: I can fight my own battles.

22. Mr. IRIBARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Venezuela wishes to refute certain assertions made by the representative of the Government of Cuba in his speech, for they were contrary to the truth. Neither the Government nor the people of Venezuela can accept the Cuban representative's false assertion that there is foreign intervention in the internal affairs of our country.

23. Also absolutely false are his infamous accusations that acts of genocide are being carried out in Venezuela. It is, moreover, simply absurd and intoler-

able that the representative of Cuba should take it upon himself to pass judgement on Venezuelan sovereignty, which is the sole and exclusive patrimony of the Venezuelan people, that is free in the true sense of the word and has chosen a democratic government in elections the legitimacy of which is recognized throughout the whole world. The people of Venezuela speaks freely and without fear through the mouths of its legitimate representatives, under the protection of its constitutional guarantees and in full enjoyment of human rights.

24. Peace in the Caribbean, which the representative of Cuba apparently desires, will be achieved only when his Government puts a stop to its continuous and persistent provocations and interventions in the internal affairs of other countries. The countries that work against peaceful coexistence, to which the Cuban delegate referred at such length, are precisely those countries that, like his, attempt to oppose from the outside the will of the majorities in countries which, like Venezuela, freely chose a democratic régime and repudiated totalitarian and dictatorial systems.

25. I ask what ideas can the Cuban Government have of respect for the territorial integrity of other countries, peaceful coexistence between the régimes of different countries and the cessation of aggressive acts, to which the Cuban representative so warmly referred? To judge by its acts, it would seem that only the Cuban Government knows the hidden meaning of these ideas and has the exclusive right to interpret them.

26. The same could be said of its judgements on the internal situation in other countries. Police measures taken in a democratic country, in accordance with the law and freely judged by all the media of communication, seem to shock the extreme sensibility of the Cuban Government. But repressive measures, which include executions by a firing squad, that are continually carried out by the Cuban Government against its own people do not seem to wound its sensibility.

27. Venezuela's most fervent desire is to live in peace with all other countries, regardless of the ideologies of their political systems. Venezuela respects the sovereignty of all other countries but, at the same time, demands that its own sovereignty should be respected and is ready to defend that sovereignty with all the means in its power.

28. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): It would perhaps not have been necessary for me to make this brief intervention since it seems to me that the statements which the Assembly has just heard have clearly established that, so far as Latin America is concerned, the speech made this morning by the representative of Cuba has very little significance, historically speaking. I have taken the floor, however, because he made two assertions concerning my country which are clearly false. Even though we are accustomed to the distortion of truth on the part of the Cuban régime, it seems to us that out of respect for this Assembly we must make these rectifications.

29. In the first place, the representative of Cuba said in connexion with Colombia that after the events

of 9 April the city of Bogotá had been occupied, and he gave us to understand that this was by foreign troops or, more exactly, by North American troops. That is completely false.

30. Since many of the delegates are not familiar with the events that occurred in my country at that time, I must tell you that on 9 April a very unfortunate event for the whole of Latin America took place. On that day Dr. Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, one of the great leaders of the Continent, was assassinated. The people were infuriated and reacted to the assassination, the obscure origin of which has not yet been determined. Certain parts of the city were sacked. At that time the ninth Pan-American Conference was meeting in Bogotá.^{1/} With the high aim of saving the country's institutions from destruction, the political parties called a halt to their disputes and the Liberal Party, whose leader had been the same Dr. Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, offered its support to the legitimately constituted Government in an historic gesture of abnegation, and it was the forces of Colombia alone, the men serving in the regular army and in the police, that re-established order. All the representatives of the continent who were then meeting in the city testify to that and so can the very Head of the present Government of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro, for he too happened to be present before and during the events. At no time in the history of our country since its independence have there been foreign troops on our territory.

31. For that reason the second assertion, that liberation forces in my country have been repressed by the use of troops and military equipment from the United States—is also a very strange one. This too is absolutely untrue. There are no liberation troops in Colombia for the simple reason that there is no oppression.

32. It is possible to criticize my Government. All governments have their faults; but no one can accuse my Government of oppressing freedom, restricting freedom of thought, closing the courts and silencing the voice of free men. Everyone can express his thoughts and everyone does so continually, and in quite heated terms, as is the custom in Colombian politics. This is done on the radio and in the Press. So what are these forces going to liberate us from? I can assure the representative of Cuba that his information is absolutely false. In Colombia, as I said a moment ago, we have no foreign forces of any kind and I only wish that the representative of Cuba could say the same about his country, with the same emphasis and without fear of contradiction.

33. Finally, I should like to refer to the Organization of American States, which the representative of Cuba mentioned in his speech. Here in the United Nations we must defend regional organizations. Not only must we defend them, but we must also advocate the creation of such organizations and the granting to them of all the necessary authority. Such organizations are the ones that are most intimately aware of the international and domestic problems of each region and they have been fully recognized by the Charter of the United Nations.

^{1/} Ninth International Conference of American States.

34. I am certain that if Cuba had had recourse to the regional organization at the very beginning of its disputes and differences with other American peoples, the international situation of the continent would be very different from what it is. If Cuba had remained within the orbit of the Organization of American States and had not left it of its own free will to place itself within another, very distant orbit, we could have regarded the Cuban régime as a brother Government, since we have always looked upon the Cuban people as our brothers.

35. It is possible to disagree with some of the decisions taken by the Organization of American States. This is not, in my opinion, an appropriate time to undertake a legal defence of its decisions; but the fact is that we South Americans have a great juridical tradition, we respect our regional organization and, despite the fact that we have certain differences with the majorities that may emerge at a given moment, we conform to their decisions because we consider that the regional organization is the principal basis for peace and security in our continent.

36. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): It is with regret that I too have asked to exercise my right of reply, a right which my delegation traditionally exercises very sparingly. This morning, however, not only the motives of my country but also the basic facts called into evidence were so distorted and misrepresented that I cannot permit them to pass without comment.

37. The representative of Cuba, a man with a long Communist, revolutionary record in Latin America, only the latter portion of which has been devoted to Cuba, made a number of traditional charges against the United States. He charged that Cuba was a victim of attacks launched from this country.

38. We do not support or condone hit-and-run attacks against ships in the Cuban trade, or against other targets in Cuba. We are taking, as I have often repeated in these halls, all precautions to ensure that raids are not launched, manned or equipped from United States territory. Such steps respond to our intention to see to it that our laws are respected, and not violated with impunity. But insistence on respect for our laws should in no way be interpreted as any lack of sympathy by the United States Government and people with those Cubans, inside and outside of that troubled island, who long to see their country freed from tyranny. We fully share their longings and their aspirations.

39. We also share the concern of the Organization of American States about Cuba's subversive activities in this hemisphere, which has been referred to by the speakers who have preceded me here this afternoon and which have compelled the Organization of American States to take defensive action to bring this aggression to an end. It was only two years ago, as Members of this Assembly will well recall, that Cuba imported nuclear missiles into this hemisphere under cover of deliberate deception of my country and of the world.

40. The over-flights of which Mr. Guevara complained are a substitute for the on-site inspections agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union

in October 1962, which Mr. Castro refused to permit. It was because of this method of assurance against the reintroduction of missiles that the crisis could be terminated. The surveillance flights are authorized by the resolution approved by the Organization of American States under the Rio Treaty^{2/} on 23 October 1962.

41. As has been made unmistakably clear on repeated occasions, this hemisphere will take measures of self-protection against any repetition of the deception practised in 1962, when Cuba collaborated in the installation of Soviet nuclear missiles threatening the security of all of the Americas.

42. The representative of Cuba has also—and not surprisingly—demanded the liquidation of the United States naval base at Guantánamo. This base, established, as Mr. Boyd of Panama pointed out, many years ago, was never an issue in Cuban-United States affairs until the advent of the present Government. On the contrary, it has always maintained most excellent working relations with Cuban officials and with the people, and contributed substantially to the economic welfare of the area where it is located. The United States is not prepared to submit to the unilateral cancellation of its treaty rights.

43. The representative of Cuba has also attacked the people of Puerto Rico and their association with my country. It seems ironic that the representative of a totalitarian dictatorship should attack the free Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The people of Puerto Rico recently held elections for a new Governor and a Legislature. The results of the elections speak for themselves: the proponents of commonwealth status won a clear majority, and the advocates of separation from the United States won less than 3 per cent of the total vote. The Cuban representative mentioned self-determination. It would be pertinent to ask why the Cuban people have not been given the same right of self-determination as the people of Puerto Rico.

44. The spokesman for Cuba has also sought to excuse Cuba's own economic disappointments by blaming measures of economic self-defence taken by other nations in the western hemisphere. But I submit that Cuba's economic difficulties are of its own making. Soon after seizing power, the Cuban leaders, betraying their promises of freedom and justice, began to destroy the political and economic structures. They found, however, as many have historically, that it is infinitely easier to destroy than it is to build.

45. Mismanagement and doctrinaire excesses have brought a steady decline in productivity. The collective and individual actions of the Governments of this hemisphere to restrict trade with Cuba are defensive measures taken in response to Cuba's continued promotion of subversion and violence elsewhere in this hemisphere. A principal purpose of this interference in the internal affairs of others is to thwart the cooperative efforts of the member States of the Organization of American States, embodied in the Alliance for Progress which is designed to bring about a far-reaching economic and social transformation in Latin

^{2/} Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and Final Act of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

America. To safeguard this movement toward democratic reform which the Communist régime in Havana cannot tolerate, the nations of the hemisphere have been obliged to take measures, including economic measures, to blunt and to nullify Cuban intervention and aggression.

46. The representative of Cuba even stated that my Government was prohibiting the export of medicines to Cuba. This allegation, like the other charges, is completely without foundation. We are strictly following the decision of the OAS of 26 July 1964,^{3/} which excepted food stuffs, medicines and medical supplies, provided for humanitarian purposes, from the economic measures applied to the Castro régime.

47. The truth is that the Cuban Government's quarrel is not with the United States alone, but with all the Governments of this hemisphere, four of which have already spoken here this afternoon.

48. All American Governments, not just the United States, decided that the system imposed on Cuba by the new revolutionary Government of Dr. Castro was incompatible with the principles and the purposes of the inter-American system. All American Governments, not just the United States, authorized the taking of the necessary steps to make sure that Soviet-furnished missiles and other weapons which seriously threatened the peace and the security of the hemisphere were withdrawn from Cuba. More than two thirds of the American Governments, not just the United States, condemned the Cuban Government for aggression and intervention against Venezuela last July.

49. The decisions reached within the framework of the inter-American system illustrate the necessity for fundamental changes in the policies and actions of the Cuban Government before any real importance can be attached to vague Cuban references to negotiating differences.

50. The President of this country stated last July, when asked about such offers:

"I am much more interested in the deeds than the words of the Castro régime, and I shall carefully watch for any actions that I think would be in the best interest of the people of Cuba and the people of the world."

51. I think that all the hemisphere awaits the deeds; the words have largely lost their meaning.

52. Mr. GUEVARA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I apologize for having to come to this rostrum a second time. I do so in exercise of my right of reply. Although we are not, of course, particularly interested in making what might be called a counter-reply, we could go on to make a second counter-reply and so on ad infinitum. We shall reply point by point to the statements made by those representatives who criticized the Cuban statement and we shall do so more or less in the same spirit in which each of them spoke.

53. I shall begin by replying to the representative of Costa Rica, who regretted that Cuba has allowed itself to be led astray by some unfounded reports in the sensationalist Press, and who stated that his

Government immediately took some measures of inspection when the free Press of Costa Rica—which is very different from the enslaved Press of Cuba—denounced certain matters.

54. Maybe the Costa Rican representative is right. We cannot make any categorical statement based on the reports which the imperialist Press, especially that of the United States, has repeatedly made about Cuban counter-revolutionaries. But if Artime was the leader of the abortive invasion at Girón Beach, he allowed for a certain interval, because he was the leader until he arrived on Cuban shores and the expedition suffered its first casualties, when he returned to the United States. In the meantime, he was, like most of the members of that "heroic" liberation expedition, either a cook or bottle-washer, because that was how they arrived in Cuba after being taken prisoner, according to the statements of all the "liberators of Cuba". Artime, who has again become their leader, became very indignant about the accusation. Accusation of what? Of smuggling whiskey, because, as he said, the bases in Costa Rica and Nicaragua are used, not for smuggling whiskey, but for training revolutionaries for the liberation of Cuba. These statements were made to Press agencies and have travelled all round the world.

55. This accusation has often been repeated in Costa Rica. Costa Rican patriots have informed us of the existence of these bases in the area of Tortugueras and adjacent parts, and the Costa Rican Government must know whether this is true or not. We are absolutely sure of the accuracy of this information, just as we are sure that between his numerous revolutionary activities Mr. Artime also found time to smuggle whiskey, because this is a perfectly natural activity for the kind of liberators which the Costa Rican Government is protecting, even though half-heartedly.

56. We have maintained, over and over again, that revolutions cannot be exported. Revolutions are created by the peoples themselves. Revolutions are caused when governments, like the Governments of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama and Venezuela, exploit their peoples. Later assistance may or may not be given to the liberation movement; above all, moral support may be given. But the truth is that revolutions cannot be exported. We do not say this in self-justification before this Assembly; we state this simply as a scientific fact known for many years. Therefore we would be foolish to claim we could export revolutions, still less, of course, to Costa Rica, where, to tell the truth, a régime is in power with which we have absolutely no affinity of any kind but which is not one of those distinguished in the American continent by its direct indiscriminate oppression of its people.

57. I should now like to reply to the Nicaraguan representative, although I did not quite understand his argument about accents. I believe he was referring to Cuba, Argentina and perhaps also the Soviet Union, but in any case I hope he did not find that I speak with a United States accent for that would really be dangerous. It may well be that in my accent when I was speaking one could detect an Argentine flavour. I was born in Argentina; that is no secret for anyone. I am a Cuban but I am also an Argentine and, with all due respect to their illustrious lordships of Latin

^{3/} Adopted at the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States 21 to 26 July 1964, Washington, D.C.

America, I consider myself as much a Latin-American patriot, a patriot of any country of Latin America, as anyone. And, when the time comes, I am ready, if necessary, to give up my life for the liberation of any of the countries of Latin America without asking anything from anyone, without demanding anything, and without exploiting anyone. And this frame of mind is not characteristic only of this representative who happens to be speaking now before this Assembly; it is also characteristic of the whole Cuban people. The whole Cuban people trembles with indignation whenever an injustice is committed, not only in America, but anywhere in the world. We can say again here the marvellous words of Martí, to whom we have referred so often: "Every genuine human being should feel on his own cheek the blow struck on the cheek of any other human being." This is how all the Cuban people feel.

58. If the Nicaraguan representative wishes to glance at the map of his country and inspect with his own eyes some places that are difficult of access, he can go not only to Puerto Cabezas—from which I am sure he will not deny that a part, a large part, or even the whole of the Girón Beach expedition left—to Bluefields and Monkey Point, which, by the way, I think should be called "Punta Mono" and not, on account of some odd historical accident, "Monkey Point" since it is in Nicaragua. There he could find some counter-revolutionaries or Cuban revolutionaries, as the Nicaraguan representatives prefer to call them. There are some of every shade. There is also a good deal of whiskey—I don't know whether it has been smuggled in or imported directly. We know about the existence of these bases. Naturally, we are not going to demand that the Organization of American States investigate whether they are there or not. We know the selective blindness of the OAS too well to ask for such an absurdity.

59. It was said that we have admitted having atomic weapons. That is not so. I think the Nicaraguan representative is a bit mistaken. We have merely defended our right to have whatever arms we can get in order to defend ourselves and we have denied the right of any country to decide what type of arms we shall have.

60. The Panamanian representative, who was so kind as to call me "Che", the nickname given to me by the Cuban people, began his statement by speaking about the Mexican revolution. The Cuban delegation had spoken about the United States massacre of the people of Panama, and the Panamanian delegation begins by speaking about the Mexican revolution and continues in the same vein without making the slightest reference to the United States massacre which caused the Panamanian Government to break off relations with the United States. In the language of the policy of surrender, this might perhaps be called tactics; but in revolutionary language, this is called abasement, in every sense of that word. He referred to the invasion in the year 1959. A group of adventurers, led by a bearded revolutionary active in the cafés, who had never been in the Sierra Maestra and who is now in Miami, or some base, or somewhere else, whipped up the enthusiasm of a group of boys and carried out this adventure. Officials of the Cuban Government worked together with the Panamanian

Government to put a stop to it. It is true that they left from Cuban ports, but it is also true that we discussed the matter in a friendly manner at that time.

61. Of all the statements which were made here against the Cuban delegation, the one which I think is inexcusable in every respect is that made by the Panamanian delegation. We did not have the slightest intention of offending that delegation or of offending the Panamanian Government. But this is also true: neither did we have the slightest intention of defending that Government. We wished to defend the people of Panama by a denunciation in the United Nations since its Government has neither the courage nor the dignity to call things here by their proper name. We wished neither to offend the Panamanian Government nor to defend it. All our sympathy goes to the people of Panama, our brethren, and we shall try to defend it with our denunciation.

62. One of the statements of the Panamanian representative was very interesting. He said that, despite all the Cuban bravado, the base is still there. In our statement, which is still fresh in the memory of the representatives here, it will be recalled that we complained of more than 1,300 provocations of all kinds, ranging from less important matters to the use of firearms. We explained why we did not want to indulge in provocations because we know what consequences they may entail for our people; we have raised the issue of the Guantánamo base in all international conferences and we have always asserted the right of the Cuban people to recover this base by peaceful means.

63. We have never indulged in bravado, because we do not boast, as I would point out to the Panamanian representative, because men like us, who are ready to die and who lead a whole people ready to die to defend their cause, never need to boast. There was no bravado on our part at Girón Beach and there was no bravado on our part during the October crisis, when our whole people found themselves facing the atomic mushroom cloud, with which the United States threatened our island, and all our people marched to the trenches and to the factories to increase production. There was no shirking and there was no complaining; thousands and thousands of men who were not members of our militias voluntarily enrolled in the force at the time that United States imperialism was threatening to drop a bomb, or several atomic bombs, or to launch an atomic attack against Cuba. Such is our country. And a country like this, whose leaders and whose people—I can say this with my head held high—have not the slightest fear of death and know full well their responsibility for their actions never indulges in bravado. A fight to the death, that is the situation, let me tell the Panamanian representative: if necessary, and if attacked, the whole Cuban people and its Government will fight to the death.

64. The Colombian representative stated, in a moderate tone—and I also must change my tone—that I made two inaccurate statements. One concerned the Yankee invasion in 1948 immediately after the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, and from the tone of voice of the Colombian representative one could tell that

he felt keenly about that assassination and was deeply distressed by it.

65. But in our statement we were referring to another, previous intervention which the Colombian representative has perhaps forgotten: the United States intervention in connexion with the separation of Panama. The Colombian representative went on to say that there were no troops of liberation in Colombia because there was nothing to liberate. In Colombia where they talk easily about representative democracy and where there are only two political parties which have for years shared power equally between them in accordance with some kind of fantastic democracy, the Colombian oligarchy has reached what we might call the acme of democracy. It is divided into liberals and conservatives and into conservatives and liberals; four years one group and then, four years the other group. Nothing changes. Such are the elective democracies; such are the representative democracies which the Colombian representative is defending, probably quite enthusiastically. In that country, where it is said that some 200,000 to 300,000 people were killed in the civil war which engulfed Colombia after the death of Gaitán, we are told that there is nothing to liberate. There is nothing to avenge; the dead thousands are not to be avenged; no armies attacked and massacred the population and it is not the same army which has been massacring the people since the year 1948, the army which is there today, or perhaps it has changed a little: perhaps the generals are different, or perhaps their orders are different, or perhaps they obey a different class from the one which massacred the people during the four years of a large-scale conflict and has continued off and on to massacre them for some years more. Yet we are told that there is nothing to liberate! Does the Colombian representative not remember that in Marquetalia there are forces which even the Colombian newspapers have called "the independent Republic of Marquetalia" and that one of the leaders of these forces has been given the nickname of "Sharpshooter" in order to make him appear to be a common bandit? And does he not know that a large-scale operation was carried out there by 16,000 men of the Colombian army with United States military advisers, using a whole range of equipment, such as helicopters, and probably—although I cannot be sure—also aircraft of the United States Army?

66. The Colombian representative seems to be badly informed, perhaps because he is a long way from his country or his memory fails him somewhat. Moreover, the Colombian representative said without hesitation that if Cuba had remained within the orbit of the American States, things would be different. We know very well what he means when he speaks of orbits; satellites are in orbit, but we are not a satellite. We are in no one's orbit; we are outside of any orbit. Of course, if we had remained in the orbit of the American States, we would have made here a beautifully flowing speech of several pages in a Spanish which would of course have been much more refined, much more impressive and full of adjectives; and we would have spoken about the beauties of the Inter-American system and about our stalwart and unbreachable defences, and about the free world directed from the

centre of the orbit and all of you know who that is. There is no need to name the country.

67. The Venezuelan representative also spoke in moderate, though emphatic, terms. He said that our accusations of genocide were infamous and that it was really incredible that the Cuban Government should be concerned with such things as Venezuela's repression of its people. We must say here something that is a well-known truth and that we have always asserted before the whole world: executions? Yes, we have executed people; we are executing people and shall continue to execute people as long as it is necessary. Our fight is a fight to the death. We know very well what the results of a lost battle would be for Cuba, and the "gusanos" (grubs) must know it too. We are living in these conditions because we are compelled to do so by United States imperialism. But this is also true: we do not commit assassinations such as the Venezuelan political police—which, if I am not mistaken, is called Digepol—is committing now at this very moment. This political police has committed a whole series of acts of barbarism and assassination and has then dragged the corpses to various places. This has happened, for example, to students, among others.

68. The "free Press" of Venezuela has been suspended on a number of occasions recently for having reported these events. Venezuelan military aircraft, with Yankee advisers, are bombarding large rural areas and are killing the peasants, but the popular rebellion is growing in Venezuela and we shall see its results before long.

69. The representative of Venezuela is indignant. I remember the indignation registered by the representative of Venezuela when the Cuban delegation at Punta del Este read out the secret reports that the United States spokesmen were kind enough to forward to us, indirectly of course. At that time we read out before the Assembly at Punta del Este the opinion of the United States representatives regarding the Venezuelan Government. They made a very interesting statement—forgive me if I am not completely accurate as I cannot give an exact quotation—but it was something to this effect: "Either these people will have to change or they will all go to the wall." This is the way the Cuban revolution is described; the wall in front of which executions are carried out by the firing squad.

70. The members of the United States Embassy announced, in irrefutable documents, that that would be the fate of the Venezuelan oligarchy if it did not change its methods. It was thus accused of theft and finally a whole series of terrible accusations of that kind were levelled against it.

71. The Venezuelan delegation was extremely indignant; of course it was not indignant at the United States; no it was indignant because the Cuban delegation has been kind enough to read out to it the opinion held by the United States regarding its Government and its people. And the only reply to this was that Mr. Moscoso, who had been gracious enough to deliver the documents, after an indirect fashion, was transferred to another post.

72. We are reminding the Venezuelan representative of this, because revolutions are not exported. Revolutions act and the Venezuelan revolution will act all in good time, and those who do not have an aeroplane ready, as happened in Cuba, in order to fly to Miami or elsewhere, will have to face whatever the Venezuelan people decides. Let them not cast the blame on other peoples and other Governments for what may happen there. May I suggest to the Venezuelan representative that, if he is interested, he should read some of the extremely interesting opinions on the nature of guerrilla warfare and how to combat it, written by some of the more intelligent members of COPEI and published in the Venezuelan Press. He will see that a people up in arms cannot be fought with bombs and assassinations. That is the very thing that makes the people even more revolutionary. We are very well aware of that. It is not a good idea to do one's avowed enemy the favour of teaching him anti-guerrilla strategy, but we do so because we know that he is too blind to follow our advice.

73. We now come to Mr. Stevenson. Unfortunately he is not here. We understand perfectly why he is not here. We have once more listened to his compact and serious statements, worthy of an intellectual of his rank. Similar emphatic, substantial and serious statements were made to the First Committee on 15 April 1961, during the 1149th session, on the very day that North American pirate aircraft with Cuban markings, coming, as far as I remember, from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, or possibly Guatemala—it was not made very clear—bombed Cuban airports and almost wiped out our air force. After carrying out their mission without any risk, the aircraft landed in the United States. In reply to our denunciation, Mr. Stevenson said some very interesting things.

74. I apologize for this long statement, but it is worth recording once again the pithy words of such a distinguished intellectual as Mr. Stevenson, spoken only four or five days before Mr. Kennedy calmly announced to the world that he assumed full responsibility for the events in Cuba. I believe this is a summary, as there has not been time to collect together verbatim records of every meeting. This is what Mr. Stevenson said to the First Committee [A/C.1/SR.1149]:

"The Cuban representative's charges against the United States concerning the bombing attacks reported to have been carried out on Havana and Santiago airports and on Cuban Air Force headquarters at San Antonia de los Baños were wholly unfounded, and he rejected them categorically. As the President of the United States had said, there would not under any conditions be any intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces and the United States would do everything in its power to ensure that no Americans participated in any actions against Cuba."

A little over a year later we were kind enough to return the body of a pilot who fell on Cuban soil. Not that of Major Anderson; another one from the same period.

"So far as concerned the events which had purportedly occurred that morning and the previous day, the United States would consider requests for political asylum in accordance with its usual practices."

They were going to give political asylum to those whom they had sent out.

"Those who believed in freedom and sought asylum from tyranny and oppression would always receive sympathetic understanding and consideration from the American people and the United States Government."

So Mr. Stevenson continued in his long peroration.

75. Two days later the 2506th Brigade landed at Playa Girón, a brigade famed in the annals of history, American history of course, for its heroism. Two days later the heroic brigade surrendered with the loss of hardly a single man. That was when the tournament began, with which some of you may be familiar, of men wearing the uniform of the "gusanos" worn by the United States army, claiming to be cooks or nurses or to have been on the expedition as seamen.

76. That was when Mr. Kennedy made a fitting gesture. He did not attempt to keep up a legal farce in which no one believed and he said clearly that he assumed responsibility for what had happened in Cuba. He did indeed assume responsibility, but the Organization of American States did not hold him responsible, neither, as far as we remember, did it demand any responsibility from him. It was true, a historic responsibility; in the face of its own history and in the face of the history of the United States, because the Organization of American States was then in orbit. It did not have time to deal with such matters.

77. I am grateful to Mr. Stevenson for his reference to my long history as a communist and a revolutionary, which has culminated in Cuba. As usual, the United States press agencies, as well as their espionage services, have managed to confuse matters. My history as a revolutionary is a short one. It really began in the "Gamma" and has continued until the present time.

78. I did not belong to the Communist Party until now, in Cuba, when we can all proclaim before this Assembly the Marxism-Leninism which the Cuban revolution is following as the theory of its action. But these personal references are not important; what is important is that Mr. Stevenson has said once more that there has been no violation of the law, that no aircraft or, of course, ships, are leaving here; that the pirate attacks come from nothingness, that everything comes from out of nothingness. He is using the same tone of voice, with the same confidence, the same serious and solid intellectual accent that he used in 1961, when he emphatically declared that the Cuban aircraft had come from Cuban territory and were flown by political exiles, until he was finally given the lie. Naturally I understand, once again, why my distinguished colleague, Mr. Stevenson, wished to leave this Assembly Hall.

79. The United States claims to be entitled to make these reconnaissance flights because they were approved by the Organization of American States. But what gives the Organization of American States the right to make reconnaissance flights over a country's territory? What is the United Nations doing? What is the United Nations for if our fate is going to depend on the orbit, as the representative of Colombia so aptly defined it, of the Organization of American States?

This is a very serious and important question which must be put to this Assembly. For we, who are a small country, cannot in any way accept the right of a big country to violate our air space, all the more so since it makes the extraordinary claim that its actions are justified by the Organization of American States, which expelled us and with which we have no connexion. The assertions of the United States representative are very serious ones.

80. I only wish to say two things, as I do not want to take up the Assembly's time with these replies and counter-replies. The United States representative says that Cuba is blaming its economic disaster on the economic blockade whereas the Cuban Government's poor administration is really at fault. When the first nationalist laws were passed in Cuba, before any of this happened, the United States began to take restrictive economic measures, such as the unilateral suppression, without discussion, of the sugar quota which we traditionally sold on the North American market. The United States also refused to refine the petroleum which we had legitimately bought from the Soviet Union, supported by every possible law.

81. I shall not repeat the long history of United States economic aggression. But I will say that, in spite of that aggression, with the fraternal assistance of the Socialist countries, and especially of the Soviet Union, we have made progress and will continue to do so. Even though we condemn the economic blockade, it will not hold us back and, come what may, we shall go on giving this Assembly or any other a slight headache when we call a spade a spade and term the United States representatives the policemen of repression throughout the world.

82. Lastly, there was an embargo on medicaments to Cuba. But if that is not the case, our Government will place an order for medicaments here, in the United States, in the next few months, and will send a telegram to Mr. Stevenson, which our representative will read in the Committee or in any place which may be convenient, so that everyone will know whether or not there is any truth in the Cuban accusations. In any case, up to now there has been. The last time we tried to buy medicaments worth \$1,500,000, which were not manufactured in Cuba and which are necessary solely to save lives, the North American Government intervened and prevented the sale.

83. A short while ago, with tears in his eyes, the President of Bolivia told our representatives that he had to break off relations with Cuba because the United States had forced him to do so. So they sent our representatives away from La Paz. I cannot say whether this assertion on the part of the Bolivian President was true; but what is true is that we told him that this compromise with the enemy would do him no good because he was already condemned. The President of Bolivia, with whom we neither had nor have any connexion, with whose Government we maintained only the absolutely necessary relations we would have with any American country, was overthrown by a military coup and now a junta has been formed to govern Bolivia.

84. In any case, for the people such as these, who do not know how to fall from power with dignity, it

is worth recording what the mother of the last Caliph of Granada said to her son, who was weeping for his lost city: "You are right to weep like a woman for what you were unable to defend like a man."

85. The PRESIDENT: We shall now resume the general debate.

86. Mr. BISTA (Nepal): At the outset, I should like to convey the greetings of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra, and his good wishes for the success of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

87. It is also my honour and privilege to express on behalf of the Nepalese delegation our heart-felt congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election by acclamation to the high office of President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your election, besides being an eloquent tribute to your personal qualities, and to your country that blazed the trail of colonial Africa's independence movement in the 1950's, is a tribute to the vibrant resurgence of the African continent, whose great sons have proved themselves second to none in their dedication to the cause of peace and progress in the world. Needless to say, your election to the presidency is a matter of the greatest satisfaction and pride to all African-Asian States. Familiar as we all are with your intimate knowledge of the working of the United Nations and your diplomatic skill and charm, my delegation feels confident that, under your able guidance, this session will successfully cope with the fundamental and difficult problems faced by the Organization.

88. With deep feelings, my delegation also would like to record its thanks and appreciation to Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela for his efficient and impartial handling of the affairs of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

89. We feel particularly happy that three more new States, which have attained independence after heroic struggle, have been admitted to this family of nations, and we would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to welcome Malawi, Malta and Zambia in our midst.

90. During the course of its nineteen years, the United Nations has grown in many ways. Starting with a membership of fifty-one, it now has 115 Members and has almost attained the goal of universality. This achievement is undoubtedly significant for the United Nations, whose primary function it is to attain unity of purpose amidst the diversity of the world, for the realization of the aspirations common to all mankind in all ages, as enshrined in the Charter.

91. The Organization has been able to stand the test of time with reasonable success and has achieved, to its credit, effective and workable solutions of several seemingly insoluble international crises. Although still far from becoming an effective international body for the maintenance of peace and order, the Organization has not only developed new methods and techniques of diplomacy, but has also steadily grown in concept in response to the challenges and changed circumstances of our time.

92. Although the great expectations of closest collaboration among the big Powers that were held at the time the Charter was formulated have not been fulfilled, the record of the United Nations even in the

area of peace-keeping has been impressive. To a considerable extent, the United Nations has come to symbolize in practice those purposes, embodied in the Charter, which represent the aspirations of all mankind: to maintain international peace and security and to bring about adjustment or settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character; and to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

93. In a world over-shadowed by the cold war, which has fortunately been in a process of thaw lately, the importance of the United Nations, with its positive approach to world problems, has been increasingly felt. But we should not close our eyes to the fact that today, in its nineteenth year, the United Nations faces a difficult prospect. The time has come once again for us to renew our faith, in the words of our distinguished Secretary-General, in the "unique value of the United Nations as an instrument for reconciling differences of opinion and not only as a framework in which they can manifest themselves" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. IV].

94. As far as Nepal is concerned, I should like to renew our assurance to this Assembly once again regarding our faith in the United Nations. Nepal is a staunch believer in the Charter of the United Nations, and regards it as a source of strength to people everywhere and as the guardian of the interests of all big and small States. In our present-day world of conflicts that have world-wide repercussions, the United Nations is the best hope for the realization of the day when the world will be truly at peace and harmony and when freedom and justice will be assured for all.

95. Regarding the international climate, we all find a welcome relaxation in international tension, and a climate of peace is discernible between East and West owing to the important gains in favour of peace, such as the Moscow Treaty on the partial ban of nuclear tests in outer space, under water and in the atmosphere,^{4/} and the agreement between the United States and the USSR not to place in orbit any object equipped with nuclear capacity [see resolution 1884 (XVIII)]. These constitute significant advances towards the goal of general and complete disarmament which, by common consent, is the most important and perhaps the most complex perennial question faced by the United Nations. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has hailed all these measures as a great step taken by the three big Powers towards universal disarmament, and has associated itself with these steps by signing the partial test ban treaty. His Majesty's Government of Nepal believes that the cause of peace will be strengthened if all the peace-loving nations which have not signed this treaty could see their way to sign it. At the same time, we should like to add our voice to the universal feeling that the scope of the partial thermo-nuclear test ban treaty should be extended to cover a ban on underground tests also.

96. Regarding disarmament, it need hardly be emphasized that developing countries, like Nepal, have a vested interest in it. We are all aware that disarmament in practice is vital to stable peace and security in the world. As a developing country, Nepal also looks forward to the day when large resources released by disarmament should become available for the development of the poorer regions of the world.

97. Nepal, ever since its admission to the United Nations, has always advocated universal disarmament. For this, it is necessary to create world public opinion in favour of international control over armaments and for the elimination of the production of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, I should once again like to express my delegation's appreciation for the work done by the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

98. We realize that the pace of progress at the Geneva negotiations has been rather slow, but this should be no reflection on the untiring efforts of the Committee. The difficulties involved are inherent in the complexity of the problem. His Majesty's Government of Nepal, therefore, believes that the paramount need for the conclusion of a more comprehensive treaty on general and complete disarmament, through strict international control and the banning of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon tests, requires vigorous efforts both within and outside the periphery of the United Nations.

99. This leads me to what appears to us to be a vitally related question, namely, the proper representation of China in the United Nations. Nepal, since its admission to this world body, has been constantly urging the replacement of Kuomintang China by the People's Republic of China. With a population of 690 million people, the People's Republic of China will be a great force for peace, and in fact no discussions on international issues make much sense without the contribution of a substantial portion of the world's population. We have always held that there is only one China, namely the People's Republic of China, a potential great Power in today's world; and to refuse it its rightful place in the United Nations creates an anomalous and unreal situation. It will therefore be in the best interests of this world body that the Government of the People's Republic of China should be recognized as the only legal government of China to be represented in the United Nations.

100. Undoubtedly, the major actors in initiating any positive improvement in the international climate are the major Powers, but the role of peace-loving non-aligned nations also, both in the United Nations and outside the Organization, has by no means been insignificant. The emergence of successful nationalist movements in Asia and Africa, and their increasing faith in the policy of non-alignment and the Charter of the United Nations, have been important developments in the international situation. The change in the attitude of the two powerful blocs to the policy of non-alignment is an excellent commentary on the growing importance of this policy.

101. Events of major importance in the evolution of non-alignment have been the non-aligned summit con-

^{4/} Signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

ferences held in Belgrade in 1961^{5/} and in Cairo in October this year.^{6/} Another major development has been the emergence of new independent African countries and the African solidarity movement. The Addis Ababa and Cairo Conferences of the Heads of independent African States^{7/} constitute most important landmarks in the history of Africa.

102. The unanimous decisions taken by the Conferences of non-aligned countries and African countries on various aspects of international questions should contribute to the reduction of world tensions and the ultimate achievement of world peace and security.

103. Nepal, too, is a small, non-aligned country. Urged by the desire to keep away from the ideological conflict and power politics, Nepal has declared its faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful negotiations, and in the policy of positive non-alignment. It has declared its belief in the Charter of the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of international peace and security, and its willingness to work for the strengthening of the United Nations. With the post-war international developments, there has been a growing realization in Nepal that every nation should adopt a policy of settlement of disputes by peaceful methods; that is the policy to which His Majesty's Government of Nepal is committed.

104. Adherence to United Nations principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful negotiations based on equality and mutual respect has guided Nepal's view on world affairs.

105. Turning to the critical situation in South-East Asia today, we therefore cannot express our grief at the opportunities that have slipped by during the years of peace which had been brought about by the 1954 Geneva agreement.^{8/} The forcible division of nations in the region of South-East Asia has not been conducive to peace in the area.

106. The operations of the international commissions for supervision and control both in Laos and Viet-Nam have been made difficult as a result of infiltration and interference with foreign weapons and military personnel. The recent developments in South Viet-Nam also constitute a very serious threat to international peace.

107. Laos has plunged into a three-cornered shadowy civil war. The Laotian leaders of various political tendencies have not yet succeeded, in spite of several meetings, in reconciling their differences. Nor did the recent Paris meeting of the threepolitical leaders produce any positive result. In these circumstances, it is the desire of my delegation that the United Nations should give thoughtful consideration to the settlement of this problem through peaceful negotiation and understanding among the parties concerned. Nepal

finds that proper conditions should be created, under the aegis of the international control commission, to enable the people of Laos to express their views for the determination of their future on their own, and without interference from outside.

108. Similar considerations apply, in our view, to the situation in Cyprus. There are two aspects of the Cyprus problem. One is the maintenance of law and order; the other is related to a long-term solution, that is, the political settlement between the two Cypriot communities. With respect to the first aspect, we are of the opinion that the United Nations forces in Cyprus have been largely successful in helping to maintain law and order. A more serious problem is the drawing up of an agreed formula for political settlement. The United Nations efforts in this direction also, through the efforts of the mediators appointed by the Secretary-General, are highly commendable. His Majesty's Government wishes the best success for those efforts.

109. My Government holds that the future of the Cypriot people must be settled by themselves, in co-operation with the peace-keeping agencies of the United Nations. In order to do this, His Majesty's Government of Nepal thinks it the duty of the United Nations to ensure and safeguard the integrity, unity and independence of its Member States, to end outside interference first and to create conditions for the solution of political settlement thereafter.

110. Besides the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful negotiations based on mutual respect and equality of States which Nepal has always practised in its relations with friendly countries, Nepal's foreign policy has been guided by its moral opposition to the inequalities and injustices of colonialism as well as of racial segregation or apartheid.

111. It is our view that these evils are not only morally indefensible but that they also create explosive situations that threaten international peace and security. That is why these issues have been before the United Nations since its inception. Although the progress made in the emancipation of dependent territories under the aegis of the United Nations has been gratifying, we cannot forget that there are yet millions of people struggling for their freedom and liberation. Their hopes are pinned on our efforts here in the halls of the United Nations to gain for them human dignity, equality and liberty from colonial domination.

112. Nepal has consistently advocated the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Colonialism in its worst form still exists in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and other areas. Likewise, the situation in Southern Rhodesia is explosive. Colonialism also exists in South West Africa, British Guiana and elsewhere. The Committee of Twenty-Four has done extensive work in examining their cases. My delegation should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the Committee's work.

113. My delegation is prepared to do its utmost within the framework of the United Nations Charter to accelerate the pace of independence for all the dependent territories. We hope that, with the co-operation of the administering Powers, this onerous task under-

^{5/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963, and first session of the Assembly of

^{6/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

^{7/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963, and first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964.

^{8/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

taken by the United Nations will come to a successful conclusion before the end of the decade.

114. However, the intransigence shown by the Portuguese Government about finding peaceful ways of granting independence to the people of Angola and Mozambique is certainly deplorable. The situation in those territories, and also in Southern Rhodesia, needs to be kept under the constant review of the main organs of the United Nations.

115. Nepal has consistently denounced the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa, which, like the Portuguese Government, also has buried its head in the sand to avoid the winds of change. The apartheid policy of South Africa is in gross contradiction to the principle of equality of all people without distinction as to race, religion or political ideology, as guaranteed in the United Nations Charter.

116. We unequivocally support the resolutions passed by the African Heads of State and Government in Cairo, in July 1964, condemning the racial policy of the Verwoerd régime. We call upon all the Member States of the United Nations to give that policy a decent burial by means of a general trade boycott and other suitable measures in consonance with the Charter.

117. My delegation would strongly recommend a thorough consideration of the report submitted by the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa [A/5825 and Add.1]. My delegation is closely associated with the work of this Committee. Our close study of the situation in South Africa has confirmed our fears that measures once considered drastic by my Government should be taken to save not only South Africa but the continent of Africa and the rest of the world from the grave consequences of the racial hatred and animosity that lie at the root of the apartheid policy.

118. We are of the opinion that besides political questions and issues of human rights, the causes of potential world conflict can also be found in the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

119. The developing countries, though in the middle of the Development Decade, have not been able to register a growth rate which could lead them to the modest target set for the United Nations Development Decade. The chasm between the rich and the poor countries has widened continuously, and it will continue to widen unless the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development are vigorously implemented. The unfavourable terms of trade for the developing countries are creating such economic tensions between the northern and southern groups of countries that ultimately they will prove far more dangerous than the East-West political tensions.

120. In my own country, an increasing realization has dawned in the minds of the people that their well-being and prosperity is linked to the happiness and peace of other peoples of the world. They have therefore discarded the outmoded systems of social and economic structure of their lives, and have embarked upon a system suitable to their national genius and

traditions. His Majesty King Mahendra, to whom the credit for these revolutionary changes goes, has made it abundantly clear, in action as well as in words, that the destiny of a particular community cannot be worked out in isolation or apart from the destiny of the rest of the world.

121. We, in Nepal, have therefore been trying to mould our national life in line with the revolutionary changes which have been occurring every moment in our world. Nepal's new "Panchayat" system of democracy has its origin in this line of thinking, and embodies in its philosophy as well as in its practice the healthy tradition, genius and will of our peace-loving and constructive people. The system of "Panchayat" democracy has provided them with the machinery for maximum possible participation in their government, and for engaging directly in its task of social and economic development under national development plans.

122. Realizing fully the significance of co-ordinated development in both the social and the economic spheres of the national life, Nepal has also vigorously embarked upon a programme of social reform of far-reaching consequences. The recent revision and modernization of the Code of Laws has introduced revolutionary changes in our social structure—a task that has been achieved over centuries and only after bloodshed in several progressive countries of the world. These laws are aimed at guaranteeing fundamental human rights to all, irrespective of race, sex, caste or religion, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

123. In keeping with these efforts to eradicate social inequalities, His Majesty's Government has launched an equally vigorous programme for eliminating sources of economic inequality as well as for creating opportunities for economic advancement for all. The most significant step in this direction has been the land reform programme, under which ceilings on land-holdings have been fixed for different parts of the country. Also tenancy rights have been effectively secured for tenant farmers throughout the country. Land reform in a predominantly agricultural country like Nepal is bound to have a lasting effect in both the economic and the social structure of the country. This revolution is being quietly achieved in Nepal today.

124. Whereas we in Nepal feel confident about the success of our efforts in economic and social development, we also realize, like the rest of the developing world, that our fate is greatly affected by economic forces in the rest of the world. It was with a keen realization of this fact that my Government participated in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held this year.

125. The conference was a right step towards the solution of the grave problem of the economic gap between the rich countries and the poor countries of the world. It provided a great forum to review this serious and threatening problem, and recommended measures to overcome the difficulties faced by the developing countries in meeting their trade gap. Though the conference could not produce immediate practical results, it evolved certain dynamic principles of inter-

national trade, including transit trade of the land-locked countries. If those principles and recommendations were to be faithfully implemented, many of the economic ills faced by the developing countries would be to a great extent solved.

126. My delegation is hopeful that the continuing machinery of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as envisaged in the Trade and Development Board, will pursue the issue posed at the conference and ultimately solve them, thereby helping the developing countries to attain a desirable rate of growth, so that an integrated world economy may be achieved.

127. At this point, I would like to stress that, in considering the report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, special consideration should be shown to the problems of the countries at lower stages of development. Those countries, including the developing land-locked countries like my own, constitute areas of great economic depression. Such countries would benefit very little even if preferences were accorded by the developed countries to the developing world, unless additional measures were taken to deal with their special problems.

128. In this connexion, I am happy to note that the committee of twenty-four appointed by the Secretary-General to prepare a draft convention relating to transit trade of land-locked countries will be able to recommend to the future conference of plenipotentiaries a draft convention for its consideration and adoption. The question of free and unrestricted transit of the land-locked countries received due attention at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo, in October 1964, which also recommended convening the conference of plenipotentiaries early in 1965. When finally adopted, this convention will prove a great step forward in international relations, facilitating the understanding of the economic problems and juridical rights of smaller and weaker States.

129. Among the various problems that are faced by our Organization, only a few of which have been touched upon by me, the most immediate one facing us is that of the financial health of the United Nations. The financial deficit faced by the Organization, as we all are so well aware, has resulted from its inability so far to find a satisfactory formula for the financing of peace-keeping operations undertaken by it. At the root of this failure to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem is, of course, the divergence of opinion among the great Powers regarding the authority of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

130. The crisis that is at present faced by the United Nations, therefore, goes deeper than restoring the financial health of the Organization, which of course can also not be ignored as if it did not exist at all. The financial deficit is real, and hard money will be needed to remove the prospects of financial bankruptcy faced by the Organization. But the constitutional crisis or the political crisis faced by the Organization in its nineteenth year is much more serious and of graver concern to all of us. Its outcome is fraught with far-reaching consequences for the future effectiveness of the Organization.

131. It is the gravity of this problem that I am sure has impressed us all, and has continuously impelled us to try to find acceptable ways and means that will preserve the Organization rather than launch it on a slow process of disintegration by weakening it. At stake are serious issues that effect not only the big Powers but the rest of the membership, which has an equal or perhaps a greater stake in the preservation and strengthening of the Organization. My delegation sincerely hopes that the negotiations that are still in progress will bear positive results in a manner that will strengthen rather than weaken the Organization, in consonance with the principle of collective responsibility for peace-keeping operations as laid down in the Charter.

132. Mr. SUBANDRIO (Indonesia): I would like, to begin with, Mr. President, to convey to you sincere congratulations on behalf of my delegation and Government, as well as on my own behalf, for your election to this high and important post of President of our Assembly. It is a tribute not only to your personal qualities as a diplomat and a statesman, but also to your country, Ghana, and indeed to the new countries of Africa, which are playing an ever-increasing role in the deliberations of this world body.

133. Although this present session unfortunately has started under a cloud of uncertainties and controversies, my confidence and best wishes are with you, and I trust that under your able leadership and guidance, the Assembly will be able to conclude its deliberations with the greatest possible measure of success. My delegation will certainly co-operate to the utmost in order that the Assembly may fulfil its task expeditiously and fruitfully, as you desire.

134. I would also like to extend, on behalf of my Government and people and on my own behalf, a warm and friendly welcome to our new sister African Member States, Malawi, and Zambia. Our warm welcome goes also to Malta, which has only recently joined our Organization.

135. As I said, this session has to start in peculiar circumstances, burdened by a serious deadlock over problems which may even threaten the very organization and viability of this world body. It is, of course, not just the problem of financing, of procedures, and of the interpretation of certain Articles of the Charter. It is a problem which—in my view—goes deeper into the organization and the workings of the United Nations itself, a problem which reflects the controversies and problems in the complex phenomena of the international world of today.

136. The crisis which this Organization now has to face certainly should force us to ponder the growing problems of the world, which the United Nations has to face. When the United Nations was founded in 1945, the world obviously was quite different from what it is today. The task of the United Nations and the implementation of its Charter of 1945 envisage primarily the immediate problems of the post-war world: the organization of the hard-won peace, the prevention of another war, the co-operation of all existing nations to that end, with emphasis on the primary responsibilities of the great Powers at that time. And this found its expression in the first paragraph of the

Preamble of the Charter: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

137. The main preoccupation of the United Nations at that time—and I do not want to criticize the thinking then—was the joint effort to organize the peace and prevent the catastrophe of a third world war. For this reason, when the cold war developed, rather unexpectedly, and while the great Powers were concentrating on winning it, the United Nations was devoting a large part of its efforts and energies to easing its tensions. For this very cold war between the big Powers could be easily be transformed overnight into a hot war of global proportions. Moreover, the cold war between the West and the East, between the Western Powers and the Communist bloc, was a greatly disturbing factor in international life because of its world-wide ramifications. Peace and security—a central theme in the work and efforts of the United Nations—were primarily seen in the hot context of the cold war.

138. This cold war, ideological in its origin, soon brought about an alarming armaments race between the big Powers, so that the United Nations was faced with the acute problem of preventing the outbreak of a hot war. It is for this reason that the question of disarmament has been the topic of the deliberations of the United Nations for many years.

139. These were legitimate worries to be dealt with. To our satisfaction, and to the credit of the United Nations, as we see it, some tangible result has been produced by joint efforts. The cold war is now not only in a phase of rapprochement; more than that, it has already reached the basic foundation of peaceful coexistence, while the awesome problem of disarmament has been eased somewhat by the Moscow treaty on a partial nuclear test ban, and the continuing talks in Geneva.

140. But all these problems are in fact problems relating to only one aspect of international development, centring primarily around peace and security among the great Powers, however far-reaching the ramifications might be for the rest of the world. And the rest of the world, including the newly independent nations, has been fully aware of the vital importance of solving the cold war, of reducing international tensions, of promoting disarmament, in the interest of peace for all. Their contribution within the United Nations and outside to assist in the attainment of that end is well known. In the relaxation of cold war conflicts or tensions, new, non-committed nations have often made constructive and peace-making contributions to the work of the United Nations.

141. Apart from this specific aspect in international development, with which we in the United Nations have been concerned during the many years of its existence, another aspect has demanded ever-increasing attention.

142. It is true that some thought was given in 1945 to the possibility of new nations gaining freedom from dependency—that is to say, to what were then the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories—and to the need for the social and economic advancement of those under-privileged territories or nations. Those

thoughts found some expression, though not directly, in the second paragraph of the Preamble of the Charter "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, and the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

143. But further considerations about newly emerging and independent nations, about the new political, social and economic needs of the coming and emerging world, did not have a solid foundation in the United Nations and its Charter of 1945. Certainly at that time it was not foreseen that exactly those newly independent nations might become a decisive factor for the stability of the world and the preservation of peace, not to mention the basic purpose of the United Nations to create a new world of peace, justice and prosperity for all.

144. While the emergence of the cold war and the armaments race among the great Powers was a setback in international growth, as viewed in relation to the original task of the United Nations, the other aspect, that is, the rapid emergence of newly independent States, the rapid attainment of freedom from colonial or semi-colonial status all over the once dependent world, was in fact a development in line with the principles and purposes of the Charter, although, as I have said, it was not given very profound consideration in that Charter in 1945. Indeed, no one among the founders of the Charter at that time could have anticipated that rapid development. The development took place not because of, but rather in spite of the vague provisions in the Charter in that respect.

145. The revolutionary forces—for freedom, equality and justice—among those dependent peoples, released after the Second World War, were not wholly recognized by the founders of the Charter. It was a world of forces not adequately known to them. But since the founding of the United Nations, those forces have not only become increasingly evident, but have also shown themselves to be revolutionary, unanticipated. They are the forces of a world long subdued and suppressed under colonial domination which are now exerting themselves, breaking through all kinds of barriers and obstacles. What is more, they represent, and this is very important, the great majority of mankind. After a long and bitter struggle for freedom—a bitter struggle even in the United Nations, despite its lofty Charter—they have now for the most part secured their national freedom and independence; that is to say, their sovereignty has now been recognized by the United Nations.

146. Since 1945, more than fifty nations of Africa and Asia have gained their independence and become Members of this world Organization. As newly independent nations, they have, of course, their own problems, their own needs, their own demands. They have their own problems of security and peace in their growth and development. Bound together by their common struggle for freedom and justice, for a better life and well-being, they have brought into the United Nations their vital fight against colonialism and imperialism, and this has indeed brought into the United Nations more life and purpose for a great part of mankind. In December 1960, they succeeded in having the United Nations adopt the well-known declaration

on the decolonization of all colonial territories [resolution 1514 (XV)]. But this was fifteen years after the founding of the United Nations and the proclamation of its Charter.

147. The struggle for peace and security in the United Nations has so far been dominated by the struggle for peace and security of the great Powers involved in the so-called cold war. I do not say that the peace and security of the great Powers is not of great value to the world as a whole, including the newly independent nations. But very often it is forgotten that these newly emerging nations have their own problems of peace and security.

148. What are these newly emerging nations really up to? What are their specific and distinct problems, which demand the greatest attention of all those who really care for the well-being of mankind? This is the problem of the greatest part of mankind.

149. Without ignoring the principles and purposes which the United Nations Charter professes to pursue, these new nations of Africa and Asia have not only vehemently fought for their freedom and independence; they have also been compelled to organize themselves, outside the United Nations, in many organizations and conferences, in order to strengthen themselves, their development and, at the same time, in my view, the actual purposes of the United Nations.

150. The Bandung Conference of 1955,^{2/} in which all twenty-nine of the then independent African-Asian nations participated, was a milestone in that common effort for development and growth. Newly emerging nations which belong to what is called the non-aligned group organized international conferences in Belgrade in 1961 and again, progressing further, in Cairo in September of this year. Those in Africa have organized themselves in the Organization of African Unity, which has furthered their close co-operation in specific African development. Other important summit meetings have been held regionally to find the right ways and means for solving specific problems concerning the development of the nations concerned. A second Afro-Asian Conference will be held early next year, again to review the common struggle and responsibility for the common growth of the newly independent States in this changing world.

151. What are now their specific problems which deserve specific attention, also in the United Nations, of which they are all Members?

152. In this statement I will not deal with the usual issues such as disarmament, specific questions of human rights, economic co-operation and the like, on which the position of the Indonesian Government has been made unmistakably clear each year. As for the current crisis over financing the United Nations peace-keeping operations, my delegation will have ample opportunity in this Assembly to clarify its views at a later stage. As a matter of fact, my delegation, as a member of the Committee of Twelve, is among those in the African-Asian group which are actively working for a solution to this acute problem. Similarly, the position of the Indonesian Government

on the issue of the representation of China in the United Nations has been amply demonstrated by our efforts to bring this question before the Assembly again this year.

153. My intention today is to draw the serious attention of all Members of this Organization to the great and fundamental problem of the growth of newly independent nations, which in number already constitute the greater part of the United Nations membership and in population represent indeed the greater part of humanity. The fight for freedom and independence for those dependent peoples still under colonial domination, such as those in Angola, Mozambique and the like, will of course be continued relentlessly, and my delegation's unambiguous support for this anti-colonial fight within and outside this Assembly is well known.

154. But the existence of a new phenomenon, which is not always under consideration in this Assembly, should also be recognized fully and tackled without delay. If one looks at this troubled world today, one is struck by the fact that explosive troubles are found in the world of the newly emerging nations in their further struggle to secure their national independence and national freedom, and in the development of their national life. Their problem has little to do with the cold war; it has nothing to do with peaceful coexistence between the cold-war Powers, nor has it much to do with disarmament. In fact, while there is now some relaxation in the cold war between Washington and Moscow, the troubles the newly emerging nations must face have not eased. It is a problem in itself; it is a phenomenon to be recognized by itself.

155. In simple terms, it is the peace and security of the development of the newly independent nations, of the newly sovereign nations of the world, representing the greater part of humanity. Whereas from the founding of the United Nations until only a few years ago, peace and security were linked with the relationship between the big Powers, especially in regard to the ideological conflict, it has become clear by now that peace and security, or the relaxation of international tensions, is not merely the absence of hot war or cold war between the big Powers. One might say that this problem of peace and security for the newly developing countries is a continuation of their former struggle for independence, of their previous long and bitter anti-colonialist struggle.

156. For many countries, the struggle to achieve independence has been very hard indeed. They have had to undergo decades of bitter struggle involving bloodshed and manifold sacrifices. Yet their hard-won independence usually takes the initial form of merely nominal independence. It is internationally recognized and accepted by their membership in the United Nations, but it soon appears that development after the attainment of independence is an equally difficult job, requiring the same sacrifices and endurance, facing the same opponent, the old colonial Power appearing in a new cloak.

157. It is indeed illusory to assume that the attainment of national independence by the once-colonized peoples is the end of the struggle. They cannot be satisfied merely to have their national sovereignty legally and internationally recognized, to have their own government, a parliament, political freedom, even

^{2/} Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

with freedom of speech, without having the real power in national hands. National independence is just a bridge, a golden bridge, for the further achievement of genuine independence, of social justice, peace and prosperity for their peoples.

158. This is not an easy task. It is not just a matter of technology. It is a matter of nation-building, which must precede the problem of technical development. Technical development, to be well-suited and really beneficial to a specific country, requires a solid foundation of nation-building. This means the transformation of a mediaeval society, twisted and deformed by centuries of colonial rule, into a society with self-respect and self-confidence, with the courage and determination to carry on the struggle, and with the readiness to sacrifice. After all, technical development will never flourish in a mediaeval society full of contradictions and imbued with an inferiority complex. Revolutions and counter-revolutions are rampant.

159. The reason is the failure to recognize one fact—that for these newly developing countries, the magic word "technology" has two sides: it can be a tool by which to develop these countries technically, or it can be a tool by which the former colonial Powers are able to maintain or even increase their customary exploitation. In this context, it can be used as a means for pursuing the policy of "divide and rule", utilizing this pacific penetration as a basis for intervention and subversion, in addition to the legitimate but unfair competition between the strong and the weak. Even technical aid from the industrial Powers is used as a means of peaceful penetration, in order to force the newly developing countries into the economic system, if not the social philosophy, of the so-called aiding Power.

160. If the newly developing countries are unprepared for, or unaware of, these implications, the problems they face will become insurmountable even before they embark upon technical and economic development. The systems used are very often quite unsuited to the recipient developing country. Besides, they will make it hard for the developing countries to establish conditions consistent with the social and cultural traditions of their own people. The developing countries will thus be forced to conform to the concepts and traditions of the old dominating Powers. By so doing, they will become an easy prey to neo-colonialism, neo-domination, ready to be guided by proxy, in the political, in the economic and even in the military spheres.

161. When a newly independent and developing country has tried, in its own right, to devise its own concept of an economic and social system different from that of the old colonial Power, this deviation has quickly been regarded as Communism. In fact, of the more than fifty countries which became independent after the Second World War, and became Members of the United Nations—most of them were supported morally and sometimes materially by the Communist countries—not even 5 per cent have become Communist. Nowadays this view no longer prevails, and in fact no establishment of Communism is apparent in the newly independent countries; and still—this is important to note—these newly developing countries remain the target of the colonialist or neo-colonialist Powers.

162. Thus, it is nonsense to contend that the old colonial Powers conduct their policies of interference, of subversion, of establishing military bases and the like, because of their anti-Communist fight. They do so simply because of their desire to maintain their hold, their dominance, their exploitation of their former colonies, and to see to it that these new countries do not develop beyond a comfortable conformity with their own world, dying as it may be. Foreign military bases—usually explained as a means for containing Communism—are now in reality used to protect neo-colonialist domination in the newly independent countries. The method is no longer merely peaceful penetration. It becomes violent penetration when opposed; the countries concerned even use mercenaries of unidentified nationality, and do not even shrink from openly using their imperialist regulars.

163. To serve all these designs, they also create satellites and use them as the so-called legal instruments for their interventionist and subversive activities. These neo-colonialist designs are not unknown to a great many nations of the world. At the recent Cairo conference, forty-seven non-aligned nations recognized that: "Imperialism uses many devices to impose its will on independent nations. Economic pressure and domination, interference, racial discrimination, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are neo-colonialist devices against which the newly independent nations have to defend themselves" [A/5763, sect. I].

164. Of course it is not difficult for the big neo-colonialist Powers to carry out this strategy and these tactics. Newly independent countries in the process of consolidation and stabilization still have to face the legacy of forces, whether in terms of persons or of social forces, directly or indirectly planted by the old colonial Power. One need only read the few books published on the subject of how intervention and subversion are skilfully planned and carried out, to understand the problems faced by the newly developing countries. The neo-colonial Powers have all the means of superiority at their disposal: experience, money, economics, military force, publicity, etc.

165. And indeed, it is not difficult for them to stir up trouble in newly developing countries which must still heal the wounds left by colonialism. In these new countries, still struggling for stability and a new concept of national and international life, it is not difficult for the old colonial Powers to find sources of contradiction or conflict, both in the sphere of internal development and in that of the development of relations with their neighbours, particularly in Africa and Asia, which were colonized and balkanized for centuries.

166. In the development of its independence as a new State, each country, be it in the Americas or in Europe, must go through this process of nationhood. If there is no intervention, especially from abroad, no intervention from large, powerful nations, every conflict or contradiction within the new State or between neighbouring States can be easily solved. In fact, the question is whether or not the newly developing country is left alone during the search for its own national development and growth.

167. Not entirely irrelevant to this idea of being left alone, free from outside interference, was the doctrine of President Monroe of the United States of America relating to the Western hemisphere's own interests. In our fashion, in South-East Asia, we have the Sukarno-Macapagal doctrine, a doctrine declared by our President and the President of the Republic of the Philippines at the beginning of this year. Its aim is to promote our self-confidence, to enable us to run our own national affairs and to free our countries from foreign intervention to the extent that in quarrels or disputes between ourselves in our own region, we ourselves should find the solution by mutual discussion and understanding, without interference from outside Powers.

168. This concept of national growth and self-confidence, as it is also reflected in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which is also being opposed and subverted by the old colonial Powers, has become a vital problem for many newly independent countries. It may even, because of opposition and subversion, become a crisis with which the greater part of the world, the world of the newly developing nations, is confronted.

169. It is no longer the problem directly recognized in the struggle for world peace and security, as the United Nations knew it in the years immediately after 1945, nor even in 1950 or later, when the acute antagonisms of the cold war prevailed. It is not merely the struggle to achieve national independence and sovereignty handled so far by the United Nations. It is now the new emerging problem—no less acute than any other—of the security, of the peace and security of the newly developing nations, of the newly emerging forces. More than half the present membership of the United Nations is confronted with this new international problem. It affects the life and future of hundreds of millions of people, and is already causing the eruptions and renewed eruptions of trouble and conflict in many parts of the world, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. If the United Nations does not deal with this new international problem, it will have failed to live up to its great international task. The United Nations cannot ignore with impunity this new international phenomenon.

170. The growing degree of peaceful coexistence between capitalist lands and the Communist world—which is commendable indeed—regrettably has not brought with it peaceful coexistence for the newly developing countries. On the contrary, there is less security and less peace for these nations only because their development is not in conformity with the old world they want to leave. They become the subject of interference, penetration and subversion, hand in hand with the threat or use of force—open or disguised—by the old imperialist and colonialist Powers.

171. National powers in these countries, which want to develop and safeguard their independence and freedom, their own concept of national life and growth, their own identity, have been subjected to the most severe attacks aimed at undermining their authority and strength. The present world picture shows us many kinds of such interventionist activities—open or disguised—coming from forces which no longer have a cause to defend in the new emerging world of

the new nations. There is the Viet-Nam fashion of intervention, the Laos fashion of intervention, the Cuba fashion, the South Arabian fashion, the Cyprus fashion, the Israel fashion, the Malaysian fashion, the apartheid fashion, and the Congo fashion—many fashions but, in essence, with the same design and goal.

172. If this is allowed to continue, then that part of the Preamble of the Charter which says: "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", will become a mockery, and a farce.

173. In this context, however, while not by any means condoning the intervention of neo-colonial Powers, I submit that the facts have proved that their imperialist policies—the encircling, threats, blockades of the newly developing countries—have in reality brought about results quite contrary to what was originally intended.

174. For, the manifest confrontation of the newly developing countries with the old imperialist Powers in all fields has aroused a sense of national militancy which is certainly accelerating the process of transforming the old docile colonial society into a militant one based upon self-respect and self-confidence. In fact, these nations, after surviving the immediate threats, have achieved consolidation and stability faster than those nations which consciously or unconsciously are still living under the patronage of the old imperialist forces.

175. When the United Nations rather belatedly adopted the declaration on decolonization in 1960, fifteen years after its founding, it strengthened the already existing forceful struggle of the great part of mankind, the struggle towards emancipation. Today, four years later, we already need something more, though linked appropriately to that declaration of 1960. It is a continuation of that decolonization process which we want. With grim determination we—and the United Nations—should support, without fear, the further development of these decolonized countries. Recognizing its purpose in the new international life, no one in fact will lose; everyone will gain.

176. It is not, in essence, a struggle against the Western Powers, although superficially it often takes that appearance. Let the Western Powers, the affluent societies, have no illusions that they can live in isolation and, by so doing, maintain their high standard of living. The affluent society needs the newly developing countries as urgently as the newly developing countries need the co-operation of the affluent society. In this mutual need, the United Nations should, in my view, rather give more attention to the needs of the newly developing countries than to those of the old established countries. The latter are affluent, as they say; surely they can take care of themselves. But certainly, the United Nations should not become the vehicle of colonialist or neo-colonialist manipulation.

177. That is why, if one would like to reorganize the United Nations, to revise its Charter, one should start to reorganize it mentally, to revise it mentally, and at this juncture the spirit of anti-colonialism and

anti-imperialism should still prevail. It is still the need of our time. The new modes of colonialism and imperialism need not revise our anti-colonial and anti-imperialist spirit. It is this spirit that needs to be strengthened, not to be lulled by new modes of struggle adopted by the old colonial Powers.

178. This should not be interpreted as a struggle between nations, as a struggle between East and West or as a struggle between racial groupings. It is the common struggle for social justice, the common struggle against the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation in whatever form. It is the fundamental social concept of the twentieth century. And this is not a moral concept, but a political reality, which should be observed, lest chaos and disorder play havoc in our present-day world.

179. Based on this spirit, and together with the structural reorganization of the United Nations, such as more equitable representation on its main organs, the genuine purpose of the United Nations can be strengthened—as it should be—to secure peace, social justice, prosperity and the brotherhood of man in a new life of nations.

180. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): It is an honour and a pleasant duty, on behalf of the delegation of Liberia and myself, as well as on behalf of the President, the Government and the people of Liberia, to extend to you, Mr. President, sincere and fraternal felicitations on your election by acclamation to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

181. Over the past few years you have contributed many of your talents to the United Nations as a permanent representative, and you have assisted in shaping new and meaningful concepts of the realities of our world. Today, you have been chosen to place your training, your wisdom, your capabilities and your experience at the service of this world body; and we are confident that you will capably direct the affairs of this Assembly. As you commence your new, challenging and difficult assignment, all Africa is with you and wishes you well. Liberia gladly pledges its whole-hearted support and fullest co-operation.

182. I should like to extend a hearty welcome and greetings to Africa's thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth independent States, Malawi and Zambia, which were admitted to full membership a few days ago. Both were born as a triumph against a federation created without the consent of the majority of their people, and built on alien minority rule. We hope that before long Southern Rhodesia, the last remaining portion of that federation, will soon enjoy the blessings of freedom under majority rule, thus representing an important victory in the African freedom struggle.

183. We are happy that Malawi and Zambia have now joined their sister African States to give additional support to this international body in its efforts to assist in the total liberation of Africa and to strive for peace. We also greet and welcome into the Organization the new State of Malta, which has a gallant history.

184. We meet at a momentous and trying period of history. There has been a regrettable addition to the "nuclear club". We must not forget the perennial

problems which beset developing countries—poverty, ignorance and disease—for which some solution must be found if these areas are not to become a cauldron of violence and hatred. All of these have added to the complexity of the problems affecting the peace and stability of the world.

185. Political developments in South-East Asia and certain areas of the eastern Mediterranean have given cause for some concern since our last session. There also exists at the present time a difficult financial crisis which raises doubts about the future effectiveness of our Organization. It is the hope of my delegation that we shall be able to tackle the roots of these problems with a view to finding some permanent solution at this session.

186. The financial crisis facing the United Nations presents a formidable challenge to us. The effectiveness and even the survival of the Organization seem to be threatened. The complexity of this question has been brought into clear focus, and we have sought to avoid controversial questions in the first stage of the Assembly's work.

187. We wish to urge that each Member State should uphold the principle that peace-keeping operations are one of the essential objectives of the United Nations and, therefore, the financing of such operations is the collective responsibility of all Member States. It is encouraging to observe that all Members of the United Nations have expressed their desire to strengthen the Organization. Each one of us, then, has an obligation to lend our best efforts to remove the obstacles impeding the solution of this critical and vital issue.

188. A significant achievement in the improvement of relations between East and West was the partial nuclear test ban treaty, achieved on 5 August 1963, which has since been adhered to by over 100 States. But in spite of this achievement, disarmament continues to be the world's greatest and most urgent problem.

189. At no time in world history has an arms race brought security. While it has made the nations participating in such a race more powerful militarily, it has increased their anxieties, nurtured their suspicions and made them feel more insecure. The only rational solution left to be tried is the one that the world has always rejected. That solution, albeit a political one, is disarmament through a reduction of arms and control of armaments. In this age, when the overwhelming destruction with which we are threatened because of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is hardly imaginable, and when the arms race fosters an enormous waste of resources in a world where the majority of its people are ill-housed, ill-clad, hungry and poverty-stricken, let us not delude ourselves or commit the reckless folly of putting our hopes for security in more and better arms. Instead, let us strive more intensely to put into effect the practical and only solution: disarmament.

190. At the second conference of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo in July of this year, our Heads of State and Government adopted a resolution in which they expressed their grave concern for the safety of Africa and of the world in the light of the

increasing development of nuclear weapons and the disastrous effects which might result from their proliferation.

191. It is unfortunate that more countries have joined the "nuclear club" in spite of our having obtained agreement among 100 States on a partial nuclear test ban treaty. A continuation will surely have grave consequences.

192. The recent atomic explosion does not contribute to the peace and security of the world. It is indeed disheartening and disturbing that there should be a resumption of the pollution of the atmosphere. My Government is against explosions of nuclear or thermonuclear weapons, whether in Africa or Australia, in America or Russia, in the Pacific or the Atlantic, in Asia or Europe. We therefore deplore this new and unfortunate development.

193. The nuclear Powers and those close to joining the "nuclear club" cannot afford to disregard the survival of the world and the future of the human race. They can display a sense of responsibility if they divert the astronomical amounts now used on arms to a productive cause, that of permitting mankind to cross the frontiers of hope free from fear, poverty, ignorance and disease.

194. I wish to make a brief comment on the work of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

195. At its eighteenth session, the General Assembly urged that a solution be found, and suggested guidelines for the future work of the committee in its quest for a code of space law. My Government is happy that, along the lines of resolution 1962 (XVIII), the major Powers have agreed to respect the principles enunciated in the declaration, and to continue to work for the elimination of the dangers likely to result from the destructive uses of outer space. It would seem to be propitious also to develop a convention to regulate the use of outer space.

196. Because the pace for the achievement of disarmament has been very slow, my delegation feels that the General Assembly should again take a decision along the lines of resolution 1653 (XVI), in which we reaffirmed that the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons was contrary to the United Nations Charter, to international law and to the law of humanity.

197. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General obtained the views of Member States on whether a conference should now be convened for the purpose of signing a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. More than seventy countries endorsed the idea. My delegation feels that the small countries should seize the initiative on this question and move the nuclear Powers away from a meaningless centre.

198. My delegation's position is motivated partly by the report of the Secretary-General to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly on the economic and social consequences of disarmament,^{10/} in view of the fact that the position of the primary producing

countries would be improved if resources now being allocated to armaments were applied to peaceful ends, and of the fact that the great Powers have been urged by people from all over the world to take new and urgent steps towards achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

199. The Chinese nuclear explosion seems to have strengthened the belief of many States that the People's Republic of China should be a participant in any and all discussions on disarmament, international peace and security.

200. It is in that context that I believe that the suggestion of the Secretary-General for a meeting of the five nuclear Powers holds promise and has merits.

201. The problem of refugees, which has plagued the United Nations, has now become a serious matter in certain areas of the African continent. My Government has always tried to co-operate in this Organization in seeking a solution to the problem.

202. The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, at its second ordinary session in Lagos in February 1964, set up a commission consisting of ten African States to examine the refugee problem in Africa. Recommendations to the Assembly of Heads of State in July of this year specified that the African Member States should seek the help of their Asian and other friends in getting the United Nations to give increased assistance for the solution of the problem on the continent. It is the feeling of my delegation that a decision at this session should make it possible for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to maintain an even closer co-ordination of efforts with the Commission for Refugees in Africa.

203. After months of preparation and sustained struggle by the developing countries, the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened. The decisions and recommendations of that conference have made it plain that changes in the policies of the developed countries in regard to international economic co-operation are indispensable, and have indicated the direction in which those changes should be made.

204. The developing nations should work for the establishment of a broadly based international economic machinery as an integral part of the United Nations. Such machinery should be capable of influencing and applying new international economic policies to trade, especially in its relationship to development, so as to contribute to the acceleration of economic growth and development in the developing States. The action of the developing States at this session should seek to make concrete the initiative taken last March in Geneva, and broaden its perspective.

205. That the developing countries should seek unity among themselves, especially in regard to the problem of trade and development, seems to me a desirable thing, and should meet with the approbation of all. The developing countries are in part united by economic and other ties. Such unity of the developing countries in trying to negotiate most favourable solutions for themselves should not produce rigid attitudes in the developed countries.

^{10/} Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1 and 2).

206. I am certain that the developing countries are anxious, in a spirit of fairness and understanding, to seek healthy compromises satisfactory to all, but they ask also for more sympathetic understanding from the developed countries.

207. As I mentioned earlier, a substantial portion of the people of this world live under terribly sub-standard conditions. It is clear that the present patterns of trade favour the developed countries. I doubt that anyone in the developing countries wants things handed out on a silver platter, but as our terms of trade deteriorate, our exports of primary commodities earn less for us, while the prices of manufactured goods continue to soar and we see ourselves getting poorer. It is reasonable that we should seek measures to reverse the trend by removing obstacles to the expansion of our export earnings.

208. Let us bear in mind that a dangerous situation will exist if the gap between rich and poor widens. It is in the long-range interests of all that the gap be bridged as quickly as possible.

209. The abominable and iniquitous policy of apartheid practised by the Republic of South Africa remains a cruel and stubborn problem and a cancerous blight on the continent of Africa. African States will not relent in their efforts to bring about the end of this repressive system.

210. I do not recall any time in history when there has been such a persistent and systematic use of laws by a minority to deny and exclude the majority from all basic and fundamental rights, the only offence committed by the majority being the possession of a different skin pigmentation. But what has really surprised me has been the apparently callous indifference shown toward that problem by those who claim to be the most civilized peoples in the most civilized nations. The injustice, pain, misery, suffering and death inflicted on innocent Africans by a horrible system which is indirectly supported and strengthened by the policies of some Members of this Organization are bound to have serious repercussions.

211. At the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity held in Cairo in July 1964, our Heads of State and Government called for economic sanctions, especially on oil and petroleum products, against South Africa and asked the co-operation of all countries and, in particular, the major trading partners of South Africa.

212. In less than two years, the African States have on three occasions brought before the Security Council the question of apartheid and its effects on international peace and security. That has been done solely because we are increasingly concerned at the continuous repression of the African majority in that country, and because of our love of justice, our dedication to the freedom of the individual and our desire to safeguard human dignity.

213. The Security Council on 4 December 1963 unanimously adopted a resolution^{11/} in which it appealed to all States to comply with its resolution of 7 August

^{11/} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for October and December 1963*, document S/5471.

1963;^{12/} urgently requested the South African Government to cease the imposition of discriminatory and repressive measures; condemned the non-compliance of South Africa with appeals made by the General Assembly and the Security Council; called upon that Government to liberate all persons subject to restriction for having opposed apartheid; and solemnly called upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of equipment and ammunition to South Africa.

214. In that same resolution, the Council requested the Secretary-General to create a small group of recognized experts to examine methods of resolving the situation. That group was headed by Mrs. Myrdal. The report which the group of experts presented to the Secretary-General, and which he submitted on 20 April 1964,^{13/} is available to all Members. I shall restate only three main points.

215. It was the view of the United Nations group of experts, stated in the introduction to the report, that "a primary principle of first importance" was that the future of South Africa should be settled by all the people of South Africa, and in an atmosphere of free discussion. The report asserts, again in the introduction:

"There can be no settlement and no peace while the great majority of the people are denied the fundamental freedom to participate in decisions on the future of their country. We are convinced that a continuation of the present position, including a denial of just representation, must lead to violent conflict and tragedy for all the people of South Africa. We wish, therefore, to emphasize the first and basic principle that all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and should thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at the national level."

216. In order to achieve that, the experts recommended that efforts should be directed towards the establishment of a national convention fully representative of the entire population of South Africa, in the hope of establishing a new course for the future of that country; and world opinion and the growing insistence on positive action should now be directed towards the achievement of that purpose.

217. The report reminded the Security Council that the Organization of African Unity had come to the most painful conclusion that, inasmuch as the Government of South Africa had disregarded all peaceful efforts to secure the abandonment of its apartheid policy, total sanctions represented the only sure means of peacefully resolving the situation.

218. It was in that context that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and the first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity called upon and subsequently entreated the trading partners of South Africa to desist from the encouragement they were giving to the policy of apartheid through their investment and trade relations with the Government

^{12/} *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5386.

^{13/} *Ibid.*, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5658.

in Pretoria, and requested them to cease their supply of oil and petroleum products to that Government.

219. But those appeals have not decreased the trade and economic intercourse between South Africa and those countries. Foreign reserves in South Africa have more than tripled since 1961, and so have its gold reserves. My delegation feels that, with this increased economic vigour, the dangers of race conflict in South Africa are being encouraged.

220. On 6 November 1962, by its resolution 1761 (XVII), the General Assembly called upon Member States to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. More than two thirds of the Member States supported that resolution.

221. Opposition to its implementation developed in some Member countries on the grounds that sanctions would be illegal, that they would be impracticable or that they would hurt those whom they were intended to benefit. But, as I had the occasion to explain to the Security Council on 8 June 1964 [1127th meeting], when this subject was raised, economic sanctions are legal because apartheid as practised in South Africa has indeed become a threat to international peace and security. That this threat does in fact exist was clearly implied in the resolutions of the Security Council on August and December 1963, and by a resolution of the Council in June 1964,^{14/} when the Council resolved itself into a committee to study "measures" that might be effectively taken on this matter.

222. That sanctions are impracticable can be answered by the report prepared at the recent International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, which was held in London last April [see A/5707]. It was shown in that report that, whilst there would be economic loss suffered by the individual countries involved in trade with South Africa, "a campaign of total economic sanctions would be very small compared with the loss inevitably accruing if South Africa exploded into full-scale racial war". The Conference noted that such sanctions would require the full and active participation of certain Members of the United Nations and other trading States, so as to prevent South Africa from evading the effects of sanctions by diverting its trade.

223. The programme of economic sanctions is not intended to destroy South Africa. It is intended to be maintained until South Africa's repressive policy of apartheid has been ended. Our objective is only to induce a healthy change in the Government of South Africa.

224. Finally, it has been argued that the effect of economic sanctions would hurt those that sanctions are calculated to benefit. That is hardly convincing. The Africans have suffered and continue to exist under the most extreme form of privation. Any further hardship would make very little difference. They have asked for sanctions and are of the opinion that a relatively short, if hard, sacrifice is preferable to an indefinite period of suffering. We are all agreed that sanctions will hurt, but this is a fact often and frankly expressed by those people whose interests in South Africa never seem to extend beyond opposing

all important measures intended to change the inhuman policy of that country.

225. The Government of the United States of America announced that at the end of 1963 its trade in military equipment with South Africa would come to an end. This is a move in the right direction, deserving full implementation.

226. My Government has greeted with much appreciation the decision of the Government of the United Kingdom to impose an arms embargo on military supplies and weapons to South Africa. We are happy that principles have finally prevailed over purely economic considerations. This action now brings the policy of the Government of the United Kingdom into line with the resolutions of the United Nations.

227. My delegation is inclined to the feeling that the other countries involved in the arms trade with South Africa will take the bold decision without delay, to prevent that country from circumventing the arms embargo that has been imposed by the Security Council.

228. At the second conference of non-aligned States held in Cairo in October 1964, forty-seven States agreed to take certain political and economic actions against the Government of South Africa, as well as against Portugal, which still refuses to adhere to United Nations resolutions on its colonial territories, while striving to maintain its decadent colonial policies by force. These actions, we feel, should amount to an economic embargo against these two professed enemies of Africa. My delegation is hopeful, therefore, that the United Nations will debate these problems created in Africa by the policies of these two States, and that Member States will give their definitive support to a final solution.

229. My delegation is unequivocally opposed to any illegal and unilateral declaration of independence secured by a limited referendum of African chiefs and headmen by the present Government in Southern Rhodesia, which is a minority racist government. Consultations with tribal chiefs holding office and exercising authority under the power and control of that Government could hardly reflect the true opinion of the majority of the people of that country.

230. My Government was pleased about the manner in which the present Government of the United Kingdom pronounced itself on this matter, but it needs to go further. I call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take the necessary actions that would bring about a constitutional change, in order to effect a rule by the majority.

231. Since last I had the occasion to address the General Assembly, the African States, through the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia, have not relented in their efforts to obtain for the people of South West Africa what is rightly theirs. We have sponsored and vigorously prosecuted the South West African case almost through the pleading stage. With the filing of the rejoinder by the Government of South Africa on 20 December 1964, it is our hope that the International Court of Justice will proceed to hear oral arguments on the case early next year, and that the final decision of the Court in the case will be before you when the twentieth session of the Assembly begins next September.

^{14/} Ibid., document S/5761.

232. Our efforts in that direction, however, have not been without difficulties, as the racist Government of Prime Minister Verwoerd continues to do everything it can to delay the case. As you are well aware, this case represents the efforts of a united Africa to ensure that South Africa does not further extend its racial policies to a helpless and defenceless people. For these are the same policies which you and I and everybody in the world have on so many occasions condemned as inhuman, degrading and in direct violation of all the basic and fundamental elements of human rights.

233. Consequently, we call upon all Members of the United Nations to stand firm in their determination to resist any attempt by the South African Government to undermine whatever decision the International Court of Justice may see fit to give.

234. The irresistible surge of dependent peoples to freedom and independence is a movement which all freedom-loving and peace-loving people must support. We hope it will not be long before we see our brothers in Angola, Mozambique and other parts of Africa, as well as in the rest of the world, take their rightful places in the international community.

235. I should like to express agreement with our Secretary-General who, in the introduction to his annual report in reference to the Congo, said:

"In responding to it, the United Nations served the interests of the peace of Africa and of the world, as well as those of the Congo, by preventing a power vacuum in the very heart of Africa which would have been extremely grave, with the inevitable risk of East-West confrontation as well as inter-African rivalry and conflict" [A/5801/Add.1, p. 6].

236. Regrettably, however, there seems to be a re-appearance of all these dangers and the Congo seems to be a victim again. All Members of the United Nations should resolve to adhere to the principle of non-interference in Congolese affairs, so that the people of the Congo may solve their own problems and live together in peace.

237. It may be necessary to draw the attention of Member States to resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII). Those resolutions called for the expansion of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and requested Member States to ratify the amendment of the Charter by 1 September 1965. However, there is some surprise that up to the present not one of the five permanent members of the Security Council has ratified them, although the arguments advanced over the years to show that amendments to the Charter were impracticable have very largely been overcome. My delegation feels that the permanent members, seemingly ever conscious of their responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, ought also to be very conscious of their responsibility for fair play and justice, and will therefore take the leading role to ensure equitable representation of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the main bodies of the United Nations.

238. It will be recalled that, in 1962, the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary-General to study the desirability of merging all, or at least

some, of the United Nations technical assistance programmes.^{15/} My Government accepted the recommendation of the Secretary-General on this matter. I believe the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance should be combined in a single operation for greater efficiency.

239. Liberia has consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations to fulfil its noble objectives because of our abiding conviction that the Organization represents mankind's greatest and best hope for human survival and peace. Our faith in it remains unshaken, and my delegation will spare no efforts in trying to ensure that its lofty principles find acceptance throughout the world.

240. We have the important task before us of trying to improve the international climate through the reduction of tensions, the finding of solutions to difficult problems and the strengthening of the United Nations.

241. Difficult as are the problems before us, they are not insurmountable. We must accept the hardship and personal sacrifices which the solution to our problems imposes. Progress towards peace will be long and costly. If we are wise in the progress toward the achievement of this goal we may minimize the cost; but if we are imprudent no one can predict the dangerous results that may occur.

242. The United Nations should be here to stay for the benefit of all nations, large and small. Our task must be to nurse it along and, by taking small but concrete steps, lead it ultimately to its ideals through moral strength, courage and faith in human destiny.

243. If we now rededicate ourselves whole-heartedly to these tasks, history may record that our deliberations contributed to enhancing international peace and security and that mankind benefited.

244. In achieving this end, Mr. President, I assure you that the Liberian delegation offers its fullest co-operation.

245. The PRESIDENT: In exercise of his right of reply, I give the floor to the representative of Spain.

246. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I should like to say very briefly in exercise of my right of reply, that the minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, in the statement he made today, has given clear proof of his very great lack of information regarding the present political, social and economic situation in Equatorial Guinea, as well as of all Spanish activities in Africa, which is rather surprising in such an outstanding statesman and political personality. Judging by what we have heard today, it appears that he knows nothing or next to nothing of these matters. I can only regret that he has not taken into account the abundant and positive information which we have for a long time been transmitting to the Secretary-General and that he is unaware of the wealth of data which we have submitted to the Committee of Twenty-Four. I regret further that, feeling obliged, in view of his anti-colonial feelings, to refer to us, he should have overlooked certain matters of keen interest to the Spanish public and to international justice.

^{15/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-Fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 900 A.

247. When the time comes, the Spanish delegation will be very happy to deal with these matters as fully as they deserve. For the moment I merely wish to express my surprise at the ignorance displayed by the Foreign Minister of Ghana with respect to Spain, and if he will permit, I will dare to suggest that he take care lest his good faith be abused, that he allow nobody to supply him with wrong information or, worse still, with falsehoods. I should not like to see him fall prey to such a mishap.

248. Spain's actions in Africa, and its hopes for those countries and peoples are inspired by the purest and loftiest principles. Spain has remained, and will always remain, faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Everyone who really wants to know the truth is already aware of this.

249. Mr. BOTSIO (Ghana): The representative of Spain who just spoke really stated nothing in his reply which justifies my making any further comment on what I said this morning. It is very clear what is meant by independence. The representative says that because of inadequate information and also because of our anti-colonialist attitude, we have not done justice to what Spain has been doing in its colonies.

250. What I said was very clear, and I would like to reiterate a few of the points and also add what we know about the situation in the Spanish territories. We know that some attempt has been made, as I said this morning, to, as it were, blindfold the world as to what Spain was doing in these territories. The question of independence is clear. It means that the people of the territory are independent, that they have the opportunity to elect their own government and to decide for themselves what they are to do.

251. Spain has never told us that it has abandoned the principle whereby it holds that these territories are an extension of Europe, that these territories are provinces of Spain. These are the things we expected the representative of Spain to tell us here: that Spain does not hold this position any longer, that these territories are going to have full independence, that they are going to have elections, and that they are going to have their own government. He has not told us here that these territories are no longer provinces of Spain.

252. It is ironical to read time and again that Spain itself is fighting for the independence of Gibraltar. Gibraltar is very near Spain. One can see what is happening there, let alone in the territories that are far away in Central Africa or very near Central Africa.

253. We state categorically that all those territories are part of Africa, and that if they are to have independence, then the world must be told that it is the aim of Spain, very speedily—in fact as soon as possible—to give them independence.

254. There is another point too. Last summer, there was held some sort of a referendum whereby the peo-

ple approved a sort of autonomy that had been declared for those areas. What sort of autonomy has been granted to these people? Autonomy at least means self-government, or internal self-government as a step next to independence. But that is not so. Spain has certainly appointed governors. Even though some Africans have been made governors, Africans are not electing their own assembly. In any event, we state categorically that the sort of autonomy given them is absolutely inadequate. It does not satisfy the demands of the people, the demands of Africa, for those territories to be independent.

255. We would like Spain to tell us now that those territories are going to be fully independent, that they are no longer provinces of Spain, and that they are territories in Africa that are entitled to full self-determination and independence.

256. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I am convinced that at this moment we are not defending, attacking or debating the question of policy in Equatorial Guinea. I presume—because if you can tell me that it is not so, if you can tell me that, as would appear from the attitude of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, that this is the right moment to discuss fully the question of Equatorial Guinea, I will have no objections; but I presume that it is not so.

257. Therefore, I shall defer any more detailed discussion of the matter until the right moment arrives. If, before I heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana speaking again, I thought his information on events in Equatorial Guinea inadequate, I now declare it to be scandalously bad. Anyone following even moderately closely the development of public life in Equatorial Guinea will be able to detect in his speech four or five departures from the truth.

258. I repeat that this is not the time to discuss the matter. I do not wish to disclose the fact that, when talking just now about the Spanish provinces, he shows that his statement is based on non-existent and obsolete information. I do not wish to say that when he asserts that the people do not elect their representatives in Guinea, he shows ignorance of existing facts, well-known to all; I do not wish to say that petitioners who have appeared before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations Assembly are members of the autonomous Government of Guinea, petitioners who came to complain against the situation at that time, and are now members of that country's self-government.

259. I shall not go on any longer. We shall, I repeat, discuss the matter in greater detail later, and I hope that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana will by then have revised his information and brought it up to date. I shall then be delighted to put myself at his disposal.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.