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

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

**SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/4549) (continued)**

1. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation has the following comments to make on the second report of the General Committee [A/4549] and on the Cuban amendment [A/L.321] to that Committee's recommendation.

2. The United States yesterday demonstrated its complete contempt for the General Assembly, giving us plainly to understand that it does not feel called upon to make any effort to justify its position, however dubious it may be, and that even so, it can still scrape up an automatic majority in support of its proposal, however harmful that proposal may be for the peace of the world. At the same time, the revealing silence of the United States delegation cannot fail to place members of the General Assembly on their guard. What lies behind it, surely, is the desire to reassure the States represented here and to try to create the impression that the charges made by the Cuban Government are not of any immediate significance and can therefore be taken up later. We know, of course, that during the meeting of the General Committee [131st meeting] the representative of the United States declared that his Government was not planning any aggressive action against Cuba. But if the United States really intends to fulfil these assurances then why, it may be asked, does its representative remain silent at General Assembly meetings instead of going up to the rostrum to explain his Government's position in this high forum, so that the whole world may know that the United States undertakes not to do anything which might impair the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cuba?

3. In view of the fact that the United States representative has not yet made such a statement in plenary, we are compelled to consider the resulting situation as extremely alarming and as one requiring the adoption of urgent measures. Indeed, in all its history the United Nations has scarcely encountered a situation fraught with more dangerous consequences than is that in which one of the States Members of the Organization—the Republic of Cuba—now finds itself.

4. At any moment the courageous and freedom-loving people of Cuba who have, at the price of heavy suffering, asserted their right to be free and themselves to dispose of the fruits of their labour may be the object of a direct armed attack by a neighbouring imperialist Power.

5. There is an obvious parallel with the time when the United Nations was compelled to act in defence of the United Arab Republic, also the victim of an unprovoked attack by imperialist Powers—the United Kingdom, France and their myrmidon, Israel. There is, of course, a difference, too. In 1956 the United Nations was not sufficiently alert; it ignored the warning of peace-loving peoples and followed in the wake of events, so that it was confronted by the fact of an accomplished act of aggression. Great suffering was consequently inflicted on the peace-loving Egyptian people. Today there is still time, and before it is too late we should take the necessary measures to curb the aggressor, to stop his attempts to bring the peace-loving people of Cuba to their knees by force of arms. This, in fact, is the task of the United Nations today.

6. The procedural nature of the report of the General Committee which is now before us should not be allowed to mislead anyone or to obscure the substance of the issue. For the real question is not simply when and where it would be preferable to discuss the Cuban complaint, but something much more important. Essentially, the question we are now deciding is whether the General Assembly is going to follow the lead of the imperialist Powers or shake itself out of its lethargy and prevent the launching of an attack on the Republic of Cuba which might develop into an armed conflict on much more than a local scale.

7. What, then, is the purpose of the proposal foisted upon us by the United States that the Cuban complaint should be referred to the First Committee for consideration? It is perfectly obvious that it is not intended to facilitate the timely adoption of a just decision. The United States is trying to delay a discussion which would expose it; it is playing for time, the time it needs to carry out the measures worked out by the Pentagon for the initiation and conduct of **direct armed intervention in Cuba**. But can we permit the consideration of a question of a genuine and immediate threat to peace, the discussion of a well-founded complaint of aggressive acts by the United States, to be put off for an indefinite period or to be hastily disposed of in the usual press of work at the close of the Assembly session? It is just such a course of action which an attempt is being made to force on the Assembly by the representatives of the United States—a country whose aggressive activities and interventionist designs are confirmed by many authenticated facts.

8. The General Assembly ought not to follow the lead of an aggressor, no matter what specific influence or

pressure he may attempt to exert on a certain group of States Members of the United Nations. It is only necessary to take a look at the actual state of affairs in order to be convinced of the correctness of the line the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is taking in the matter.

9. The United States, as you know, categorically denies the charges of acts of interference in and plans for armed aggression against the Republic of Cuba. But this is far from being a novel procedure, as everyone is aware. Certain United States leaders—and highly responsible leaders at that—have, you might even say, acquired the habit of basing their public statements on the discreditable precept that the only crime is to get caught. The shameless distortion of the truth, as we have had occasion to learn from the revelations of United States leaders in connexion with the failure of their U-2 espionage operation, is specifically sanctioned by the moral code of the present United States Government and comes under the cynical heading of "cover statements".

10. How can we be certain, in the present instance, when we hear the assurances of the United States Government, that this is a sincere statement of their position and not another "cover statement?" I think that we could not have been certain even if the facts indicating that the United States is preparing for a large-scale attack on Cuba had been more carefully concealed. But the facts are well known; they are obvious to all who do not deliberately turn their backs on them. They prove irrefutably and beyond all shadow of doubt that the United States Government is even now perpetrating acts of blatant intervention in the affairs of the Cuban people and, more than that, that preparations for a large-scale armed assault by the United States on the Republic of Cuba have begun and are now proceeding at an alarming rate.

11. In order to decide the question of whether the issue raised by the Government of Cuba should be discussed in plenary meeting or in the First Committee, let us look at certain well-known facts. In view of the nature of today's debate, we shall not, of course, go into these facts in substance, but shall simply mention them in order to show that the Cuban delegation is fully justified in pressing for the complaint of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba concerning aggressive acts by the United States to be considered directly in plenary meeting and without deliberately contrived delay.

12. The facts show that, in the economic sphere, the United States Government has recently taken a large number of steps undoubtedly intended to disrupt Cuba's national economy. The United States has stopped giving Cuba technical assistance; it has reduced the quota for imports of Cuban sugar; it has introduced many other restrictions on trade with Cuba and as recently as 19 October it declared an embargo on practically all trade with that country. What is this if not a means of putting pressure on the Cuban people, on a régime which is objectionable to the United States? What is it but an attempt to throttle Cuba by means of an economic blockade? In terms of international law this is true economic aggression.

13. It is pertinent to recall in this connexion that the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS), which the United States Government takes much pleasure in using as a trump card from time to time,

specifically prohibits economic measures of any kind which are designed to influence the sovereign will of another country. And the United States, which is openly flouting this provision of the OAS Charter and shamelessly using, one after another, all possible means of economic pressure on Cuba, is thereby not merely committing acts of hostility towards the Cuban Government but is also defying all the Latin American countries which signed the OAS Charter. This policy of the United States Government clearly shows what value is to be attached to the "disinterested" economic assistance of the United States to other countries. In fact this "assistance" involves the recipient country in military and political obligations towards the United States; it is in effect compensation for the country's loss of its independence in foreign policy. When one or another country, as has happened with Cuba, begins to strive for real independence, this much-flaunted United States "assistance" becomes a rope which is openly used in an attempt to bind and even simply to strangle the mutineer.

14. In the political sphere the hostility of the United States authorities towards the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is expressed in actions of a kind which normally precede the start of open hostilities. The United States Department of State has advised United States residents in Cuba to leave the country; it has in effect prohibited travel to the island for United States tourists and it has recalled the United States Ambassador in Cuba for an unspecified period. At the same time the United States Government is attempting to isolate Cuba politically from the other Latin American countries, to force these countries, by the exertion of crude pressure on them, to support its aggressive policy aimed at the armed overthrow of the democratic régime in Cuba, or at any rate to acquiesce in this policy. This is how the "political isolation" of Cuba is being engineered.

15. In the ideological sphere malicious propaganda has been organized in the United States against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. The United States Government and Press vie with each other in making calumnious assertions about Cuba, with the purpose of disorienting public opinion and instilling the fear of non-existent dangers. This entire campaign is an evident attempt to prepare the public psychologically for the direct invasion of Cuba.

16. A by no means insignificant part is being played in United States ideological preparations for armed attack on Cuba by the insinuations of the State Department as exemplified by the United States representative's letter to the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States of 28 October 1960, which declares, in effect, that Cuba is preparing to attack practically all the American States. There is no need to prove the falseness and absurdity of these charges.

17. In its attempt, for appearance's sake, to find some sort of justification for its policy of ceaseless acts of provocation and the planning of direct intervention in Cuba, the United States has even pushed its propaganda to the point of producing the ludicrous thesis that all United States aggressive actions towards Cuba are dictated solely by "considerations of self-defence". But can it seriously be said that a small country like Cuba, with a population of 6.5 million, is threatening the security of a country like the United

States which is one of the great Powers? Is it not more logical to suppose that the various ideological pretexts which are given for the intervention being planned in Cuba in reality cover other—genuine—motives for the United States' aggressive policy towards that country?

18. In fact the imperialist groups in the United States have no fear whatever of a military threat from Cuba. What they are afraid of is that the example of a small country which has successfully carried out a social reformation and is conducting a truly independent foreign policy will prove too tempting to other Latin American States over which the United States is already having some difficulty in maintaining its control. Consider, for example, the article published on 27 October in the Wall Street Journal. It speaks openly of the apprehension of the imperialists at the fact that "the Castro appeal already runs deeply among farmers and other low-paid citizens of many Latin American countries" and of their fear that Cuba may soon be followed by other countries in Latin America. To remove the ray of hope which Cuba represents for other Latin American countries as an independent State, not bound by shameful chains to the Pentagon chariot—that is the real intention of the ideologists of the intervention against the Cuban people.

19. Lastly, in the military sphere, there has been a hasty mobilization and concentration of the troops which are to form the striking force in the attack on Cuba. On United States territory, military units formed from counter-revolutionary elements which have fled from Cuba and whose base is in the State of Florida, are engaged in final preparations. Attempts are also being made to use the territory of a number of Caribbean countries, in particular Guatemala, as a staging area for these interventionist forces. There is abundant information showing that the territory of Guatemala is being turned into a military camp for the organization of gangs of hirelings, some thousands strong, composed for the most part of traitors to the Cuban people. These gangs are being fed at the United States expense; United States instructors are training them; they are equipped with United States weapons; United States transport facilities are available for their shipment to the shores of Cuba. Thus, in carrying out its aggressive, predatory purposes, the United States is acting as if it owned the territory of Guatemala, the country where, as a result of its efforts, a bloody counter-revolution took place which led to the overthrow of the lawful democratic Government. It is this very "Guatemalan experiment" that the United States would like to repeat in Cuba.

20. As regards United States troops proper, the main starting point for their attack will obviously be the military base at Guantánamo. This is what the United States periodical, U.S. News & World Report, says in its last issue (of 31 October) about the state of military readiness of this base: "Combat ships of the Atlantic Fleet are often in the harbour. Jet fighters are two hours away at U.S. bases. Marines could be landed in two days. Spearhead troops could be flown in before then". This cynically uncovers the real motives of the statement about the "firm resolve" of the United States Government to retain the Guantánamo base in its own hands and not return it to Cuba. According to the plans of United States aggres-

sive groups, this base, it seems, is to serve as the spring-board for the attack on Cuba.

21. We are thus faced with large-scale economic, political, ideological and military preparations for the direct invasion of the territory of Cuba by the United States. There can be no doubt about the purpose of this intervention. Preparations are being made for an attempt to overthrow the democratic régime in Cuba by force, with a direct threat to the independence of that small State. There hangs over the Republic of Cuba, over its heroic people, the threat of an invasion which may be launched at any moment.

22. In discussing today the procedural question of where the complaint submitted by the Government of Cuba should be taken up, we must also touch upon those explanations and pretexts which are now being given by the Government of the United States of America to conceal its real purposes. United States militarists are attempting to cloak their predatory plans with respect to the independent Republic of Cuba with fabrications about the alleged intrigues in Cuba of "international communism" which, they say, has expansionist intentions towards no more nor less than the whole of the Western hemisphere.

23. To anyone, however, who is in any way acquainted with United States diplomacy and its methods, it is obvious that in their futile attempts to turn back the wheel of history the Washington politicians are resorting to the old and hackneyed method of branding any national liberation movement communist and regarding all those fighting for the freedom and national independence of their countries as communists. For it is a fact that, in the language of the imperialist warmongers, any actions contrary to the aggressive policy of the United States are always labelled "intrigues of international communism"; in the past they used even to speak of "the hand of Moscow". We need only recall, in this connexion, that, at the time, the United States Government described as communist plots the Egyptian revolution overthrowing King Farouk, who was hated by the people; the July revolution in Iraq which put an end to the effete régime of Nuri es-Said; the expulsion of the Syngman Rhee puppet government from South Korea, and the overthrow of the pro-United States régime in Laos. International communist intrigues, it appears, are behind the profound dissatisfaction with United States imperialist policy which has become so evident throughout Latin America in recent times.

24. It is common knowledge, however, that the Soviet Union's policy towards Cuba is a policy of peace and friendship based on the principles of non-interference and respect by each for the sovereign rights of the other. The Soviet Union has no military bases, banks, factories or plantations either in Cuba or in any other Latin American country, and it does not wish to have any of these things.

25. In supporting the courageous Cuban people in their just struggle for independence and freedom, the Soviet Union is following its invariable policy of supporting all peoples who raise the standard of the struggle against oppressors and colonialists on any continent on earth. "The Soviet people", as Mr. Khrushchev, Head of the Soviet Government, said in his broadcast address to the citizens of Cuba, "rejoice at the liberation of Cuba from oppression by the imperialist monopolies. We have supported, we are supporting

and we shall continue to support your struggle for political and economic independence, your struggle to improve the material well-being of the people We are with you today and we shall be with you throughout your struggle for your independence". There is no doubt that this position of the Soviet Union is fully in accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the cornerstone of which is the recognition of the right of every people to free and independent existence and development.

26. In speaking in defence of the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Union is at the same time defending the interests of international peace and security. The Soviet Union, like any other peace-loving State, cannot remain indifferent when there is a possibility of an armed conflict arising in any part of the world. While it was recognized as much as a quarter of a century ago that peace is indivisible, this has today become axiomatic. Only those who have lost all contact with reality can fail to realize the simple fact that, with modern means of waging war, the distances between the most widely separated points on the earth's surface can be covered in a matter of minutes. In other words, it is perfectly obvious that any local conflict can now develop into a major war with lightning speed. War may thus become wide-spread and many countries may be drawn into it to a greater or lesser degree. Aware of the gravity of the situation resulting from the threat of a large-scale invasion of Cuba, all States Members of the United Nations, both large and small, should therefore raise their voices in protest against the dangerous machinations of the warmongers and make their voice heard in the cause of preserving peace and security.

27. In the light of all the foregoing the Soviet delegation wishes strongly to re-emphasize the urgent need for the speediest consideration of the important question put before us by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. We consider that, in view of its overriding importance for peace, it should be dealt with at a high level—by the General Assembly in plenary meeting.

28. The United Nations has a duty to extend immediate help to the freedom-loving Cuban people, over whom there hangs a real threat of imperialist aggression. In his talk with Cuban journalists on 22 October 1960, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said:

"The peoples should tie the hands of the imperialists and adventurers and put a straitjacket on those who favour a new war. Efforts should therefore be directed towards ensuring peace for all peoples, both large and small. Only thus can we secure peace on earth."

29. That is why the Soviet delegation considers it necessary that the question of the threat of aggression by the United States against Cuba should be urgently discussed at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly, and it will vote for a decision to that effect, that is to say, for the amendment submitted by the Cuban delegation.

30. Mr. SIK (Hungary): My delegation has carefully studied the memorandum explaining the request of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba that the agenda item "Complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba" be considered in the plenary session of the Assembly [A/4543]. We can state with satisfaction that

the General Committee has decided unanimously to propose this item for inclusion in the agenda of the present session. This fact, however, gives rise to concern that the General Committee, with the majority decision of the military allies of the United States, wishes to relegate this question—so important and urgent from the point of view of maintaining international peace and security—to the First Committee.

31. A thorough and analytical study of the documents relating to the debate at the meeting of the General Committee on 25 October throws some light on the fact that not a single argument was advanced which would have made it convincingly justifiable for the General Assembly at its fifteenth session not to deal with the request of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba as an important and urgent question which should be considered in the highest forum of the United Nations, namely, the plenary session.

32. During the debate at the aforesaid meeting of the General Committee, and also during our present debate, we have heard, on the contrary, extremely important and irrefutable arguments, all bearing out the fact that we are indeed facing a problem the rapid and proper solution of which can be hoped for only if it is allocated to plenary.

33. This point is substantiated by the fact that for a long period of time now the Government of the United States of America has taken measures against the Republic of Cuba which can be considered as direct preparations for overt or indirect military intervention and aggression. I will confine myself to listing only a few of these. There is the continued violation of the Cuban airspace, the organization of and supplying with arms counter-revolutionary forces with the openly admitted aim of overthrowing the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and of eventually starting an open economic war against Cuba with an economic blockade. The latest event, that of the redeployment of American marine light infantry men at Guantánamo base under the pretext of a week-end rest only adds to the pressing character of this question and to the need for its discussion.

34. Today, however, the date is 1960, and very true are the dramatic words the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Cuba spoke in the General Committee when he said that a direct or indirect attack on the Republic of Cuba might easily become the prelude of a third world war. In such a situation, the adoption of a proposal that would refer this question to the First Committee, which is overcharged with items requiring long debates, involuntarily raises the question of whether it would not indirectly encourage those who plan aggression, and whether the adoption of such a proposal would not mean that we would deny to one of the Member States the quick and effective assistance of the highest forum of the United Nations in the hours when this small country is threatened with the armed intervention of a great military Power.

35. In our opinion, the representative of every Member State which is deeply concerned about the cause of maintaining peace and security can only answer that we have to consider the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in plenary meetings.

36. The representative of the United States declared at the meeting of the General Committee that the United States does not intend to attack Cuba. Allow

me to remind this Assembly of July 1958. It was at that time that the marine infantry of the United States landed in Lebanon, and it seems that the expression "week-end rest" was not current at that time. British airborne troops were sent to Jordan. The United States and United Kingdom Governments at that time made a joint declaration that they would not attack Iraq except, as it was reported in The New York Times, in the case the Government of that country failed to respect Western oil interests.

37. Following this, as is publicly known, a special session of the General Assembly was convened, not the First Committee but a plenary session of the General Assembly. It was only the joint and resolute intervention of world public opinion that saved the independence of the young Republic of Iraq and prevented the outbreak then of a third world war. With these lessons in mind, shall the General Assembly decide on a question which constitutes the subject of our present debate?

38. The Hungarian delegation is led by these thoughts and facts not to accept the proposal of the General Committee. I can add that the cynical game the representatives of the imperialist Powers openly play in the General Assembly in connexion with the allocation of agenda items is especially clear to us. They openly force non-existent question on the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, and at the same time prevent the discussion in plenary meetings of real problems which most seriously affect international peace and security. My delegation will vote in favour of allocating the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to plenary meetings and will support the amendment proposed by the Cuban delegation.

39. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supports the Cuban delegation's proposal that the General Assembly should consider immediately in plenary meeting the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding the various plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security.

40. There are more than adequate grounds for considering that question in plenary meeting. It is no secret to anyone that preparations are being made for an armed intervention against an independent State which is a Member of our Organization. The preparations for this intervention are a logical extension of the aggressive policy of provocation, intrigue and economic pressure which the United States is pursuing with respect to Cuba for the sole reason that the Government of that country is taking steps to strengthen its political and economic independence. I also feel it is essential to stress the urgency and importance of considering the Cuban Government's complaint in plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

41. The Byelorussian delegation cannot understand the reasons behind the General Committee's decision to refer that question not to plenary meeting but to a committee which is merely a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. No doubt a discussion of the question at the plenary level would be disadvantageous

to those who support the unjustified decision of the General Committee, i.e. primarily to the United States and those who follow in the wake of its policy.

42. It is fully appreciated in the United States that the victory of the Cuban revolution is a victory of the forces which are fighting for peace and national progress, that it is a severe blow to the whole system of imperialism and colonialism, and to the system of aggressive military blocs and pacts. The United States monopolies and military circles which determine the course of United States foreign policy are seriously disturbed to see that the successful development of Cuba's national revolution is being warmly supported by the majority of countries, including those of Latin America, which have long been regarded by the United States as its own private domain where it could do as it pleased. The United States is trying to represent that support as an attempt by Cuba to spread its revolution to the rest of Latin America. That is why it is stepping up preparations for its military intervention against Cuba, and that is why it is our duty to give this question thorough consideration in plenary meeting. We feel that all delegations which are anxious to adopt resolutions conducive to fruitful activity by the United Nations should support Cuba's proposal.

43. We feel compelled to draw the attention of representatives to the fact that the item submitted by the Cuban delegation is of great importance because it provides irrefutable proof of a violation of the basic principles which govern relations between States and which are clearly formulated in the United Nations Charter. We know that such violations have become a systematic feature of United States foreign policy and that the United Nations invariably finds itself powerless to deal with them. This creates a bad precedent in United Nations practice, a precedent which is in the interests only of the aggressors.

44. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the decision taken on the procedural question we are now discussing will show the whole world how effective the United Nations is and whether it is capable of reacting swiftly, or only with intolerable tardiness, to events which may have far-reaching consequences for the peace and security of the peoples and for the recognition and observance of international rules and reciprocal obligations. We believe it is in the interests of all peace-loving countries, large and small, to support any measure aimed at strengthening the principle of respect for the sovereignty of every State irrespective of its geographical situation, size or social and economic structure. The United States does not want the Cuban Government's complaint to be considered in plenary. This makes us think that it fears a comprehensive discussion and the exposure of its aggressive acts against Cuba. Hence it is all the more essential for that question to be considered in the body providing for the broadest and most authoritative representation, which is the General Assembly meeting in plenary, so as to avoid a repetition of the tragic events which have previously occurred in a number of countries owing to the expansionist policy of the United States.

45. The delegations of the socialist countries have frequently drawn the attention of the United Nations to the need for careful consideration and strong condemnation of the aggressive policy of the United States, the aggression against Cuba being merely one

link in the chain of that policy. But the United Nations, which does the bidding of the United States, has not taken the requisite decisions. In those circumstances, how can we know whether a State is insured against the possibility of becoming the next victim of the expansionist policy of United States imperialism? What country can be certain that its legitimate aspiration to be free from alien political or economic domination will not lead to a charge of "communist practice", to direct interference in its domestic affairs and to foreign intervention, unless the United Nations takes appropriate action regarding Cuba's complaint?

46. According to the United States Press, the President of the United States stated on 11 August 1960 that the United States would have to take "very definite action" if Cuba or any country in the American hemisphere (I emphasize the words "any country") was "controlled by international communism".

47. But it is quite easy to see that the accusation of communism made against Cuba—an old cheap trick of United States propaganda—is based on distortion of the facts for the purpose of denigrating the Cuban revolution. Take, for example, The New York Times of 6 April 1960, and you can read a statement signed by a group of prominent individuals in the United States and Europe which clearly exposes the slanderous campaign of official United States propaganda against the essential character of the Cuban revolution. The true situation at once becomes plain if the United States assertion that the Government of Cuba is guided primarily by the desire to diminish international economic co-operation in the free world and particularly in the Western hemisphere, which appears in a United States memorandum to the Inter-American Peace Committee, is considered in conjunction with the introduction of a trade embargo on Cuba in the United States, which is, incidentally, prohibited by the Charter of the Organization of American States.

48. Consideration of the question of the aggressive plans of the United States against Cuba in plenary meeting does not conflict in any way with United Nations practice or with the rules of procedure, and it is in complete harmony with the recommendation of the Special Committee on Methods and Procedures which was approved by the General Assembly at its fourth session [resolutions 362 (IV)]. Paragraph 23 of that Committee's report, which is quoted in annex I of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, points out that there are certain advantages in considering questions in plenary meetings and, having regard to the importance and urgency of the issue under discussion, we must not disregard those advantages.

49. At present, irresponsible statements are being made by highly placed officials in the United States, advocating the use of armed force to undo the gains of the Cuban revolution. And those are not mere empty words.

50. In his statement yesterday, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Mr. Roa, once again exposed the shameful rôle of the Guatemalan Government in preparations for military intervention against Cuba. Whenever aggressors prepare to attack another country, they accuse that country of aggression and cry "stop thief" louder than anyone else. The Government of Guatemala has shown itself to be the puppet of the

United States, an obedient tool of the United States monopolists and an active participant in the various imperialist plots against Cuba.

51. We learn from the United States Press that military training camps have been set up on United Fruit Company plantations in Guatemala in which mercenaries and adventurers, partisans of Batista, are being trained under the supervision of United States instructors. According to the newspapers, about 5,000 men are involved. In August and September of this year, more than 100 United States airmen arrived in Guatemala as "tourists". There are more than forty jet aircraft and various types of bombers in the area. They all belong to the armed forces of the United States, which is now secretly planning an air attack on Cuba. Before that occurs steps will be taken to fake a "Cuban aggression" against Guatemala.

52. That is what we expect. Huge quantities of arms from the United States are being stockpiled in the Guatemalan city of Gracias a Dios for this purpose. The Guatemalan Navy is being concentrated on the country's Atlantic coast.

53. The United States is trying to cover up this part being played by Guatemala in the aggression against Cuba by the false statement that Cuba is preparing to commit aggression against Guatemala and it is demanding an immediate investigation into the supply to Cuba of the arms which it needs for its own protection. But seeing that the United States is demanding an investigation, would it not be better to investigate how the United States is preparing to use Guatemalan territory to carry out military intervention in Cuba? That is the question we put.

54. These are the facts which point to preparations for aggression. These preparations for aggression are not being made by Cuba but against Cuba.

55. The United States is actively planning acts of provocation involving the use of the United States naval base at Guantánamo on Cuban territory. The New York Times reported on 30 October that 1,450 United States Marines were landed at Guantánamo on the senseless and ridiculous pretext of getting a week-end of shore leave.

56. On the other hand the Government of the United States is attempting to whitewash itself in advance before world public opinion. Thus, on 13 October 1960 the United States sent an official statement to the United Nations [A/4537] in which it said that the Government of Cuba appeared intent on "provoking an incident" concerning the United States naval base at Guantánamo. That was a flagrant attempt to attribute its own intentions to the Cuban Government and to justify military intervention in Cuba on that basis. But the United States aggressors must know that they will not succeed in conquering the little State of Cuba, because Cuba has on its side the sympathy and support of the peace-loving peoples of all countries. They should remember the Bible story of David and Goliath; David, though small of stature, was not vanquished by the giant Goliath. Like David, the Cuban people is unconquerable.

57. The United States Government should listen to the voices which are being raised even in the countries which are its allies. Thus, the British newspaper Reynolds News has warned the United States that practically the whole world would be against it if

it attacked Cuba. Not only the Communist bloc, but also all the more important allies of the United States in the West, would turn against it. The newspaper condemned the landing of United States marines in Cuba, regarding it as a deliberate act of provocation, and urged the immediate withdrawal of those troops.

58. An alarming situation has arisen, which makes it imperative for the United Nations to give urgent consideration to the question submitted by the Cuban delegation so as to prevent developments that would threaten the existence of a sovereign State carrying out measures which are enriching the experience of all under-developed countries in their struggle for real independence. It is the duty of the United Nations to undertake a serious and thorough examination of the question of aggressive activities aimed at overthrowing Governments which are uncongenial to the United States, activities camouflaged by fine words about sentiments of friendship for the Cuban people. If the United States framed its foreign policy in the light of its own declarations about justice and humanity, it would have to refrain from making preparations for intervention and taking economic sanctions against Cuba; instead, it would have to give the necessary aid to a country which it has mercilessly exploited as if it were a colony.

59. In view of what I have just said, we consider that the Cuban Government's complaint regarding the various plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence and a clear threat to international peace and security, definitely merits consideration in plenary meeting on account of its importance and urgency. It is, furthermore, quite clear that full provisions for this is made in the rules of procedure.

60. We must not allow the United States to bury that item in the overloaded agenda of the First Committee so as to gain time to carry out its aggressive plans.

61. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully supports the Cuban Government's proposal that the item should be considered in plenary meeting, and urges the representatives of other countries to vote for that proposal.

62. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I have now listened to eight statements in favour of allocating this particular item to plenary rather than to the First Committee, as recommended by the General Committee. I must confess that I have found myself very sorely tempted to follow the road so clearly blazoned by my predecessors in this debate and to get into a long and perhaps intemperate discussion of the issues themselves and their merits. I have here a statement which, in my opinion, would thoroughly answer all, or most, of the allegations that have been made against my country. But I have decided to heed the warning which the President gave when this debate first started, and I shall attempt to confine myself strictly to the procedural aspects of this matter. I may say frankly that I am not happy with this decision because, as can well be understood, my resentment has been extreme at some of the monstrous distortions and downright falsehoods that have been leveled against my country in the past several hours.

63. The United States voted in the General Committee to include this complaint in the agenda. We did so although the complaint itself is, in our opinion, unworthy of this great body. We did so because we have confidence in the judgement of the General Assembly and in the ability of the representatives, freely and without pressure, to arrive at their own conclusions.

64. We, against whom these falsehoods are aimed, have the least reason of any nation to shrink from a discussion of them. I am sure that the source of these charges and the character of the support for them that we have heard has not been lost upon the representatives.

65. We are charged with aggression and with the intent to commit aggression. The charges are false. We have been the target of similar false charges in the United Nations in past years, and this year as well, stemming from the Soviet Union. The United Nations has refused to sustain any of them, and not because of any overweening pressure on the part of the United States. They have died a natural death because it was enough to expose them to the light of day, and so it is in the present case. It is not we, but the authors of this complaint, who have cause to worry about the result.

66. Our position in favouring the allocation of this item to the First Committee is based on the same motives which we stated before the General Committee last Tuesday: we wish to bring out the truth of this question. To achieve these ends the question must, of course, be calmly, deliberately, and thoroughly discussed and examined. And traditionally the First Committee has proved itself the proper forum for deliberate discussion and examination of each political problem.

67. A variety of reasons have been put forward here for assigning this item to the plenary. The urgency of the item has been most often mentioned, I think, as the main reason for necessitating this.

68. But the facts are that the urgency of the sort alleged does not exist. There is no threat from the United States of aggression against Cuba. If such urgency really did exist, and if Cuba honestly believed that it did, then let the Government of Cuba take the issue to the Security Council, which is the organ of the United Nations established to deal with emergency threats to the peace.

69. The fact that the issue was taken not to the Council but to the General Assembly shows its essentially political character. This issue should be discussed. Extremely serious charges have been made, and they should be given every consideration. We have no intention of seeking to prevent discussion. In fact, we invite more discussion, and we voted for the inclusion of the item in spite of our view that it is politically inspired. But we think it should be considered in the normal manner, and when men step to this rostrum and tell you that they believe it should be given the widest possible discussion, I say to you that we agree with this and that the widest possible discussion that you can get is, first, in the First Committee and then in the plenary.

70. As far as the Committee is concerned, the United States will interpose no objection to having this item considered early, if the First Committee so desires.

There are items already scheduled on the agenda of the First Committee; but if those delegations that are interested in these items would be willing to give way to this particular item, the United States will interpose no objection.

71. Mr. Roa, in the General Committee, said that his Government's request for the consideration of this item in plenary was a matter of principle to test the protection that a small nation could secure against larger nations in the United Nations. We sincerely hope that all nations, both large and small, believe that they have the same rights and the same protection, regardless of their size, in all the forums of the United Nations; and this, in our category, would include protection against irrational and irresponsible charges. If this is not true we will have to turn around again, because if this is not true the basic objectives of the United Nations have indeed been corrupted.

72. However, the protection to Member States which the United Nations can provide does not depend on whether an issue is considered first in plenary or after consideration in Committee. The First Committee has proved it is—as I have said before—an effective forum for cool and deliberate consideration of important political problems. The United States Government believes that if Cuba truly wants—as we do—a thorough examination of the charges levelled against the United States, then the First Committee provides the right and proper forum for the discussion of this item. Its assignment to the First Committee, in support of the action of the General Committee, would reassert the confidence of Member Nations that the various bodies of the United Nations can properly fulfil their mandates. It could also take away any hint of a stigma, any hint of an absolute belief that the United States is completely guilty of these charges without them having been heard in the proper forum.

73. I hope the Assembly will vote in favour of the recommendation of the General Committee to allocate the item to the First Committee, and will vote against the Cuban amendment to take it up in plenary.

74. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is now considering the General Committee's recommendation concerning the inclusion in the agenda of the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba which, as is known, is concerned with acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security.

75. One cannot but be struck by the fact that, both in the General Committee and here in the General Assembly a few moments ago, the United States delegation has spoken in favour of including the Cuban complaint in the agenda of the present session. This is evidence that the United States can no longer silence the voice of this small but freedom-loving country. None the less, the United States has not given up its attempts to extinguish the bright beacon of freedom which Cuba has lit in Latin America and which has inspired many honest hearts with a passionate resolve to combat the imperialist enslavement of their countries.

76. The Ukrainian delegation considers that the United States request that the Cuban complaint should

be discussed by the First Committee and not directly in plenary meeting reveals a highly unsubtle scheme on the part of the United States delegation to frustrate any effective discussion of the acts of aggression committed by United States imperialism against Cuba.

77. What is the significance of the proposal to allocate the Cuban complaint to the First Committee? A glance at that Committee's agenda, which is heavily overloaded, provides an answer to the question. While the Committee could, of course, decide to rearrange the agenda items, such a course is hardly practicable in view both of the attitude of the United States and its allies and of the urgent character of most of the items before it. Although events and the pressure of public opinion have forced the United States to raise its hand in favour of discussing the Cuban complaint, it is trying with the other hand to prevent the Assembly from speaking out forthwith in Cuba's defence at a time when the sword of aggression is indeed poised above it. Mr. Raúl Roa, the Cuban Minister for External Relations, in his statement at this session, provided us with irrefutable evidence of preparations for an attack on Cuba; he showed who it is that is making these preparations and from what quarter the danger of a breach of the peace emanates.

78. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR unhesitatingly supports the amendment which Cuba has submitted to the General Committee's recommendation and under which its complaint would be considered by the Assembly in plenary meeting.

79. It is no accident that rule 65 of the rules of procedure lays down that the Assembly, in case of an emergency special session, shall convene in plenary session only. It clearly follows that emergency situations—and it is precisely such a situation that has now arisen in the Caribbean region—must be discussed in plenary meeting as being the most appropriate forum in all cases when a direct threat to peace develops while the General Assembly is in regular session.

80. In denying that discussion of Cuba's complaint is a matter of pressing urgency, the United States representative in the General Committee asserted *inter alia* that the Cuban Government had failed to produce any evidence of aggressive flights by United States aircraft over Cuban territory. But surely no one can seriously believe that the United States Government needs evidence in order to admit its guilt. We, at any rate, were led to this conclusion by the case of the U-2 aircraft's espionage flight over the territory of the Soviet Union. The peace-loving countries know from their own experience that the shameless and brazen aggressors immediately invent so-called cover stories in an attempt to conceal the commission of an act of aggression. In the present case, too, we might well have heard, for instance, a story to the effect that the crew of a United States aircraft had been "poisoned" by the noxious vapours of the Caribbean or had experienced "acute oxygen deficiency" and that that was how they had come to be in Cuba's air space.

81. The hostility of the United States or, more precisely, of the imperialist circles in the United States, has assumed truly incredible proportions and, as is known, has become one of the major issues, if not the major issue, in the election campaign in the United States, in the course of which a cynical discussion

has been proceeding on the form and timing of punitive action against free Cuba.

82. I should like to ask the United States delegation and the United States citizens who I assume are present in this hall whether the Cuban revolution threatens the people of the United States. The answer is that it does not; the people of the United States have a friend in the Cuban people, and the leaders of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba have repeatedly said so. It is a well-known fact that the aims of the Cuban revolution in no way threaten the people of the United States. Those aims have recently been restated with the utmost clarity in the historic Havana Declaration, a declaration of Cuba's independence from the United States.

83. Cuba's independence does not constitute a threat to the people of the United States, and is unpalatable only to those who have become accustomed to exploiting Cuba and who would like to retain it in semi-colonial dependence even in our days, when the complete elimination of colonialism is on the agenda. Unfortunately, it is precisely these forces that now determine the foreign policy of the United States.

84. It has already been stressed here that the acts of aggression against revolutionary Cuba do not date from today. The United States Government began to have recourse to such acts immediately after the downfall of Batista's mercenary clique and the people became the masters in their land. The United States monopolies realized that the Cuban revolution was not only a blow at their own interests but was also the shining embodiment of the hopes of many Latin American countries. It is for that reason that, for nearly two years now, the United States has been waging undeclared war on Cuba. Its arsenal contains numerous weapons: slander and the fabrication of rumours, each one more absurd than the last, their reduction of import quotas for Cuban sugar, the termination of United States technical aid, the refusal of United States-owned oil refineries in Cuba to process oil belonging to the Government, and so on. With the knowledge of the United States Government, gangs of mercenaries are being sent to Cuba and are being equipped with United States weapons which are often dropped to them from the air. And, after all that, the Government of the United States has the temerity to assert—and here I quote the final words of the fourth paragraph in section 1 of document which was circulated at the request of the permanent representative of the United States on 13 October 1960 [A/4537]—that the "Good Neighbour" policy towards Cuba has remained consistently in effect.

85. The proud and freedom-loving Cuban people is about to become the victim of armed intervention which is now in preparation and may begin any day. The United Nations should not merely react *ex post facto* to the acts of aggression committed by certain of its Members as it did after the notorious Suez venture; it should nip aggression in the bud and not allow it to develop into the conflagration of a war that might easily spread to many parts of the world.

86. The pressing and urgent need for discussion of the question proposed by the Cuban Government is borne out by recent events, and here I have in mind the report that some fifteen hundred United States Marines have been landed at the United States naval base at Guantánamo in Cuban territory with the full

approval—and I wish to stress these words "with the full approval"—of the President of the United States. We remember, however, how other bases were utilized in the attack on Egypt. It is true that for purposes of camouflage, the base in Cuba has been represented and described as a fine place for rest and recreation, where the United States Marines can get a good sun-tan. It has even been pointed out that the base can accommodate 20,000 men at once for rest and sun-bathing. This leads one to the legitimate question of whether the United States Marines have nowhere else to go for rest and recreation. We know, for instance, that such facilities could be provided in Florida which lies only 495 miles away from the Guantánamo base. None the less, it is in Cuban territory and at this precise moment that the Marines are looking for beaches.

87. We are about to decide where and when to discuss Cuba's complaint. Our decision will determine whether the aggressors will get a free hand or whether they will be called to order without delay. By way of emphasizing the reality of the threat hanging over the world, the Ukrainian delegation would draw attention to the fact that a few days ago the representatives of international banking, i.e. the very circles that exercise a strong influence in determining the foreign policy of the United States, expressed the conviction that the country would soon be involved in a minor hot war; they referred directly to small Cuba as a possible objective of such a war. But who, in our days, can guarantee that a small local war will not spark off a world conflagration? The General Assembly should therefore come to the defence of the Cuban Republic's sovereignty and its right to develop freely without interference from United States monopolies, and to the defence of peace.

88. Simón Bolívar, Latin America's national hero and a leading figure in the struggle against foreign domination, once wrote that the United States seemed to be predestined to bring calamities upon America in the name of freedom. The United States is bringing one calamity after another upon many countries in Latin America. Now it wishes to silence the Cuban bell of freedom. It is precisely for that reason that we, the representatives of the socialist countries, are pressing for Cuba's complaint to be discussed in plenary meeting and that we shall vote in favour of Cuba's amendment to the General Committee's report. The character of the support given to Cuba, to which Mr. Wadsworth has made reference, is entirely open and we are proud that we, the representatives in the United Nations of the millions of people in the socialist countries, are defending Cuba's just cause openly and in good faith.

89. In conclusion I should like to say a few words to the Cuban delegation, which represents a comparatively small but heroic country, marching in step with our great era, an era of the triumph of light over darkness and of truth over evil. I would ask Mr. Raúl Roa, Cuba's Minister for External Relations, to convey to the Cuban people the Ukrainian people's best wishes for happiness and peace on Cuban soil.

90. At the same time we should like to express our firm conviction that, should the United States lose its head and launch an armed aggression against Cuba, it will discover that the days when the peoples of other countries could be subdued by force of arms have passed.

91. Cuba will not stand alone if it has to rise in defence of its freedom and independence.

92. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The issue before the General Assembly is the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding the various plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security. This is a matter of extreme urgency and exceptional importance at the present moment. It relates to a threat hovering over the independence and sovereignty of a Member of the United Nations; it relates to aggression by one Member State against another Member State, aggression which is being prepared before the very eyes of the entire world.

93. The threat is such that unforeseeable consequences—but ones of unquestionably exceptional gravity—may ensure for world peace. This is the reason why we hold that the question should, as proposed in the Cuban amendment, be discussed immediately in plenary session.

94. The facts set forth in the explanatory memorandum attached to the letter of 18 October 1960 from the Minister for External Relations of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba [A/4543] leave no doubt whatsoever that the imperialist circles in the United States are making accelerated preparations for aggression against Cuba. These preparations, started when the Revolutionary Government of Cuba first emerged, are being steadily intensified and have lately assumed alarming proportions. Side by side with the acts of aggression described in the memorandum, and the direct and multiform instances of interference in the country's domestic affairs, an unprecedented campaign against the people and Government of Cuba is being carried out in the United States itself. This campaign is an outrageous defiance of all the rules of international law, usage and custom. It is being spread over the pages of the newspapers with unparalleled cynicism in the United States electoral campaign, and is being magnified by the radio and television networks.

95. The candidates for the United States presidency have made the internal administration of Cuba—a free and sovereign State—into an issue in United States politics. It is noteworthy that the problem posed by the two parties is not whether Cuba should or should not be attacked, but simply the best tactics to be employed in overthrowing the present Cuban régime. The choice is between a strategy of aggression and direct intervention and a more subtle strategy, but one no less dangerous for the Cuban people. Serving United States generals and admirals are also taking a part in this strange contest to find the best method. Paramilitary organizations like the American Legion discuss the problem of Cuba at their congresses and adopt resolutions urging the United States Government to act, that is, to intervene by force.

96. It can hardly be thought, in this instance, that these are merely words. On the contrary, they are a distinct aspect of the aggression which is already in the process of execution. We are now in what might be called the political and psychological phase of the

preparations, a phase designed to create a suitable climate and pretext for aggression.

97. The representative of the United States solemnly declared in the General Committee, and has done so even here, that his Government did not intend to interfere in Cuban affairs and was not preparing any aggression against Cuba. The United States representative, in the General Committee had said that the United States Government had already given a clear assurance that it had no intention whatever of launching a military attack against Cuba and he could but repeat that solemn assurance: Cuba need have no fear of attack from the United States; the United States Government adhered to the principles upon which the United Nations and the Organization of American States were founded.

98. Instead of reassuring world public opinion—and this is why we want the question to be put immediately before the Assembly—these many solemn declarations, delivered at a time when feverish preparations are openly being made, cannot but increase existing disquiet and anxiety. This is all the more so since at the time when intervention was being prepared by United States imperialist circles against another Latin American State, Guatemala, similar statements were made by official representatives of the United States; similar assurances were given that nothing was being prepared either in the United States or by the United States which could threaten the internal régime of Guatemala.

99. But now that the United States electoral campaign is in full swing and the question of Cuba has become an important issue in that campaign, the truth comes to light. Vice-President Nixon, one of the presidential candidates, has come out against the methods for overthrowing the present Cuban régime proposed by his opponent, Senator Kennedy, and has expressed the view that the same methods should be used as were used earlier to overthrow the progressive Government of Arbenz in Guatemala.

100. The PRESIDENT: I sincerely hope that the speaker at the rostrum will be able to make his argument without going too deeply into the statements made by, and the issues existing between, the candidates in the present election in the United States.

101. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): In referring to individuals who are now candidates, I am simply citing what is reported in the United States Press. I have no intention of implicating any official persons but am simply speaking of candidates, individuals, who may in due course hold public office.

102. The PRESIDENT: I am sure I can rely on the co-operation of the speaker at the rostrum. I am sure he will see that it is not desirable in the interests of the United Nations as a whole that the rostrum of the Assembly should be used for the discussion of personalities or issues involved in the internal politics of the United States.

103. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): We do not advocate interference in the domestic affairs of the United States, and we are not going to take sides with either of the presidential candidates. On the contrary, we wish to ascertain the position of United States policy today, and that is why

we should like to cite certain statements which the candidates have made during the campaign.

104. The Vice-President has said, among other things: "We quarantined Mr. Arbenz. The result was that the Guatemalan people themselves eventually rose up and they threw him out". The commentary printed in The New York Times at the time is particularly illustrative:

"This is the joke of the week-end in the Latin-American Embassies. For every official who knows anything about the fall of the Arbenz Government in Guatemala knows that the United States Government, through the Central Intelligence Agency, worked actively with, and financed, and made available the arms, with which the anti-Arbenz forces finally "threw him out".

"In fact, the Eisenhower Administration, and Mr. Nixon personally, have taken credit in public for getting rid of Arbenz. They did in Guatemala what Senator Kennedy is proposing to do in Cuba: They helped the opposition to a pro-Communist dictator, and the only difference is that the Eisenhower Administration was prudent enough to keep quiet about it in advance (but not after the event), whereas Senator Kennedy has been imprudent enough to suggest financing an anti-Castro revolt in advance and in public."

105. I think this does not require comment. It is extremely important, however, that these facts should have been uncovered at the very time when the United States is preparing to interfere in the same way, or in some other way, in the internal affairs of Cuba. The economic blockade, a favourite weapon of the imperialists, and one they have always used against revolutionary Governments, is now being very carefully organized against Cuba. In adopting this course, the United States authorities make no attempt to conceal their intentions and their political aims. As the U.S. News & World Report writes in its issue of 31 October: "If the United States decides not to buy Cuban sugar next year, then a disaster is seen ahead for the Cuban economy—and Castro's days may be numbered". Other United States magazines and newspapers have openly stated in the past few days that the aim of the economic blockade and the discriminatory measures in Cuban-United States trade is to throw Cuba into an economic crisis and thus foment opposition to the Revolutionary Government, opposition which the United States could put to use.

106. There are also many instances of systematic intimidation and provocation directed against the Republic of Cuba, such as the dispatch of aircraft over the island to create tension among the people and the sending of United States military units for the alleged purpose of spending a week-end in Cuban waters. We cannot over-emphasize the danger of these activities; they reveal the true scale of the threat of aggression against Cuba, a threat which is becoming more palpable and real with every passing day and hour.

107. It will therefore be understood why the intention of the United States representatives not to discuss the matter here is of concern to us. It is true that in the statements made a while ago, and in the statements made in the General Committee, the United States representatives have tried to convince us that the United States is not preparing aggression against Cuba

and has no aggressive designs on that country. But on behalf of what Government are those statements made? Would it be on behalf of the Government of the present United States Vice-President, Mr. Nixon, the candidate who proposes to organize intervention and aggression against the Cuban people as was done against the democratic Government of Arbenz, and in that way to get rid of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba? Or are these statements made on behalf of a future United States Government of which Senator Kennedy may be the chief? Senator Kennedy has clearly defined his stand on United States policy towards Cuba and what he intends to do if elected President. On 23 October he said: "We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro." As he himself states, he hopes to organize the counter-revolutionary forces abroad that are working ...

108. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to have to call the speaker to order. I think the Assembly as a whole understands the importance of avoiding, in our discussions here, direct interventions into political issues and political campaigns in this country. It is not within the ambit of the discussion we are now having to speculate as to who the next President of the United States will be or what his policy will be. What we are discussing is a complaint by the Government of Cuba of a threat of acts of intervention existing now. I would ask the speaker kindly to refrain from further references to internal politics in the United States.

109. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I have no intention, as I said a while ago, to go into the differences which exist or may come to light in the United States. I have no preference for either presidential candidate, but am describing the positions which have been taken during the electoral campaign and which foreshadow future United States policy, if not the policy that exists today. That is why I stress these quotations from statements made in this country. I am saying nothing else; I am simply quoting.

110. Whether the United States representative speaks to us here of United States non-intervention in Cuba on behalf of the present United States Government or of some future Government to be constituted by others, his statements are at complete variance with the clearly defined positions of the two candidates for the United States presidency, one of whom is now a member of the Government. In such cases, of course, one should not believe those who are authorized to make verbal statements, but rather those who determine their own policies and who are in a position to issue orders both to the United States representatives in the United Nations and to the military chiefs and United States agencies whose task it is to organize the conspiracy and aggression against Cuba with the help of counter-revolutionary elements.

111. Another important fact which emerges from our debate and which is at complete variance with the statements made a while ago by the United States representative is worth noting. We are aware that the United States Government has declared itself incapable of controlling United States airfields as it has indicated in the document that has been circulated [A/4537]. The Government cannot, therefore, guarantee that future air raids will not be carried out against Cuba.

It has further stated that it cannot prevent military or other aircraft from taking off or landing at foreign bases. The Cuban representative recalled yesterday [909th meeting] that seventeen United States military aircraft had left for Guatemala with the intention of organizing an invasion of Cuba from that country. In its document replying to the statement of the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Fidel Castro, the United States Department of State acknowledges only five flights over Cuban territory—which would, in any case, be quite sufficient.

112. Relying on their own explanations in the Security Council, the United States representatives say that the charge against their country of having organized the bombing of civilians and the burning of sugar plantations has been proved false by the investigations carried out by United States authorities. Are such devices to convince public opinion and this Assembly of the truth of the United States representatives' assertions? What sort of strange procedure is it that entails "investigations" by the very people who have organized and directed the acts of aerial aggression against Cuba?

113. In the same document published by the Department of State it is asserted that the United States authorities asked for Cuban help and co-operation in ascertaining the facts, but received no reply. But can we really conceive of co-operation between the aggressor and the victim of aggression? What good is it to supply information to a Government which is always ready to deny any act of aggression or any incursion into the air space of other countries unless it is caught red-handed? In this connexion, it would not be out of place to recall that the United States Government has always denied its incursions into the air space of the socialist countries, except for the occasions when it was caught in the act. The U-2 story is on record to demonstrate the attitude of the United States in such circumstances.

114. We cannot stress too strongly the threat to world peace inherent in the United States policy of aggression towards Cuba. This is all the more true as many things have changed since the summer of 1954 and the international situation is quite different from what it was when the United States committed its aggression against Guatemala.

115. Thus, if there ever was an instance where the General Assembly should take up a question of this kind, it is clearly this one. In such grave circumstances as these, every Member State has a right to turn to the United Nations and ask it to examine the situation without delay. In similar circumstances in the past, a remedy has on several occasions been sought in the calling of a special session of the General Assembly. It is particularly important, therefore, for the General Assembly to proceed immediately to an examination of the Cuban request in plenary session. Any proposal to refer this matter to the First Committee carries with it dangers which no one should underestimate. Because of the very heavy agenda of the First Committee, there is a risk that this problem might be deferred for some indefinite time. But who can say what will happen in the meantime, and is it not a part of the plans of those who are preparing aggression to put off a discussion which might hinder them?

116. It is quite clear, furthermore, that a decision to refer the item to the First Committee would only encourage those who are preparing aggression against Cuba. They would seize upon that decision and claim that there was no emergency because the General Assembly had set the matter aside; and from there to the assertion that there are no preparations for aggression is just a short step which would quickly be taken. The United Nations cannot allow itself thus to serve the purposes of aggressors, nor to lull the legitimate apprehensions of peoples. Only an immediate and urgent discussion of the situation created by the aggressive acts of the United States against Cuba and by the open preparations for military intervention would give the General Assembly the proper opportunity to help a threatened Member State and to prevent, while there is still time, a sharp deterioration in the situation. And only by such urgent action can the Assembly perform in the cause of peace the service that it is obliged to render, under the Charter, whenever the peace is threatened.

117. There is no doubt that the countries profoundly devoted to peace, the countries devoted to the principle of national independence, the countries that are the friends of the Cuban people, will do everything necessary to ensure that the tragic story of Guatemala, revived by the presidential candidates during the current United States electoral campaign, will never again be repeated. If urgent steps are not taken, however, there may be people who will think that this time, too, an invasion and an aggression against the Republic of Cuba and the heroic Cuban people might go unpunished. Any such mad venture must be cut short, and immediately we must hold back the criminal hand of those who are openly preparing intervention and aggression against Cuba, for, as has been repeatedly stated here, the results of such actions would be a disaster not only for those who dared to raise their hand against the Cuban people, but for mankind as a whole.

118. For all these reasons, the Bulgarian delegation supports the request of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, as well as the amendment it has submitted with a view to having the question of United States preparations and acts of aggression against Cuba considered in plenary session. My delegation will vote in favour of that request.

119. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala in exercise of the right of reply.

120. Mr. CORONADO LIRA (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): I am sorry to take up the Assembly's time but, as the representative of Guatemala, I cannot allow the false statements of the Cuban representative to go unanswered. With an obstinacy worthy of a better and juster case, he has said again and again that my country is acting as a spokesman for bodies outside the full sovereignty of Guatemala; he also dares to assert that my country is an aggressor against Cuba, when, as I shall show, the opposite is true.

121. We are nobody's puppets. We are nobody's mouthpieces and we are in nobody's orbit. It is true that for a few years Guatemala, under a Communist President, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, learnt what it means to be within the orbit in which Cuba now moves, i.e. the Soviet orbit.

122. But now that we have defeated the Communist Government led by Arbenz, who is now in Havana

brooding over his hatred and his shameful flight, we can proclaim loud and clear that we are independent; that we are sovereign; that our authorities are the result of free popular elections and not of army revolts; that our President was elected by a majority of free citizens not appointed by a dictator; that his successor will also be elected and will not be an official or a favourite chosen by the dictator; that we have a completely independent judiciary and that we abolished years ago the vindictive people's courts, which were special courts set up to give a predetermined verdict and to wallow in the blood of countrymen condemned in that wicked way; that our laws are made by a freely elected Congress which includes a worthy opposition, not by the whim of one man; that we have wide freedom of the Press and do not infiltrate staunch government supporters into our free newspapers; that we have the widest freedom of expression and association and that the Government is not only criticized but even insulted; that we have freedom of movement and do not need permits to enter or leave the country or to travel within it; that our newspapers and magazines are published in Guatemala and do not need to go into exile in order to publish their opinions freely. We respect the right to live and to own a piece of land or an industry, and we detest the police State. We respect the sanctity of the home and we shall never issue a diabolical order like the following: "We are going to set up a system of collective vigilance; we are going to set up a system of collective revolutionary vigilance and we shall see how the lackeys of the imperialists can move about here. We are going to introduce a system of vigilance, so that everyone may know who lives in his block or his building, what he does, what his relations with the dictatorship have been, who his friends are, what activities he engages in and whom he meets." Our people live in peace and happiness in Guatemala and are not obsessed with a desire to flee to Miami.

123. This means that Guatemala is not an aggressive country; we have no intention of attacking Cuba or any other nation and we keep ourselves strictly apart from the domestic problems of the Cuban people. On the contrary, it is my country, Guatemala, that is going to be attacked. We have more than once denounced the aggressive plans of the present Government of Cuba.

124. In declaring that an attack by Cuba is imminent we base ourselves on the following concrete facts: the admission that guerrilla fighters are being trained throughout Cuba; the fact that there are jet aircraft from behind the Iron Curtain on Cuban airfields, where aviators from the People's Republic of China are training Cuban airmen; the recent attack on the military base of Cobán, in the north of the country, in which the pro-Castro Cubans, Fernando Golán and Eudaldo J. Matas, were implicated; the discovery of a shipment of canned goods from Cuba, which were said to contain grated coconut but which, when opened, was found to contain hand-grenades of Czechoslovak origin, as diplomats and journalists can confirm; the presence of submarines lurking off the coast of Guatemala which have been seen twice, once by airmen spraying cotton plantations and once by farmers tilling the fields; the steady flow of money to subsidize acts of subversion; the constant sending of agents provocateurs and indoctrinators, the most recent of whom was captured on the Honduran frontier last week when he was trying to enter Guatemala on a

forged Spanish passport—a Cuban revolutionary agent who answers to the name of Fernando Galán Capilla, alias "el Angelino", and who fought beside Castro in the Sierra Maestra; the fact that the Cuban Embassy in Guatemala was turned into a centre for conspiracy against the present Government, so that we were forced to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba; the attempt of the armed schooner "La Cubana" to unload military stores on the Guatemalan coast at the beginning of this month; it was turned back by our air force and in fleeing ran aground on the coast of Cotzumel; the capture of the armed schooner "Los Sauces" in Puerto Cortés, with seventeen Cubans aboard over and above its crew; the fact that Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, the Communist ex-President of Guatemala, was received in Havana as a guest of honour; this is clear from the magazine *Bohemia*, in which the following comments appear at the foot of his photograph: "In Castro's Cuba, Mr. Jacobo Arbenz is paraded as a hero of American dignity. The legend of Guatemala is the excuse for this picnic, for which the Cuban people are paying. Yet this is one of the many lies of Castro's Government. Mr. Arbenz is neither a hero nor anything of the kind. He is simply a cowardly leader who could not do his duty. One thing that Arbenz did not forget when he fled—and we shall not forget it, either—was to carry off the Guatemalan people's money. This is the 'hero' whom Castro's Government is now parading round Cuba!" Arbenz Guzmán himself has said publicly, before the Cuban leaders, that he intends to invade my country, overthrow the Government, dissolve the army and shoot all the opposition, as in Cuba.

125. We may wonder why Guatemala has been singled out as a base for invasion, and not some other American country. Why is the present Cuban Government so anxious to invade Guatemala? The answer is very simple: it wants to carry out the communist orders first to discredit, and then to attack, the only country in the world in which, when the communist system of government had already been installed, a virile people proved themselves great enough to overthrow it, to drive it from power and to put it to shameful flight.

126. An ambassador is accredited to the United Nations in order that everything he says in the exercise of his plenipotentiary powers may be believed. Very well, then, I am going to use a favourite aphorism of Roa, which he repeats in every one of his speeches: "If one party confesses, the other need not prove his case." Mrs. Teresa Casuso, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cuba to the United Nations, accredited by Fidel Castro, told the Press two weeks ago when she resigned from office: "Fidel Castro is ambitious for power; he is a man of war and must be at war with everybody. He is obsessed with death and destruction. He cannot build anything because he is so full of hatred. He cannot control himself and that is his tragedy. He talks about freeing us, but he is a dictator." I have Mrs. Casuso's statements here and no one has denied or disputed them.

127. The present Communist Government of Cuba arrogates to one person or one country the right to quote Martí, as if Martí was its own exclusive property. No, gentlemen, it is quite wrong. The great Martí, with his purity, his selflessness and his love for mankind, is a universal figure. The efforts of the sycophants surrounding Castro to show him in films and

biographies as a man like Martí are as grotesque as they are irreverent.

128. When Martí was exiled he came to Guatemala, where he lived a dignified life as the mentor of a generation. Martí gave all his love to Guatemala, and a Guatemalan girl gave him more than her love; she gave him her life and it was she who inspired the poet in Martí to write his immortal *La niña de Guatemala, la que murió de amor*. Guatemala, which spared no efforts to bring about the independence of Cuba, will always be connected with the name of Martí, for Guatemala was the first country in the world to recognize his army as belligerents in their noble crusade. That is why, when Martí cautioned "In our America there should be no Cains", he was certainly not referring to Guatemala but to others which were to be born much later.

129. Martí preached love; Castro, as Sra. Casuso said, preaches hatred and war. Martí loved Guatemala and Castro wants to invade it; Martí loved a girl of Guatemala; today she is replaced by the communist Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, a child of Castroism. But while the girl of Guatemala moves our hearts, this spurious child of Guatemala will move our guns, in the legitimate exercise of our right to defend ourselves and to ensure respect for our sovereignty.

130. Yesterday the representative of the present Cuban Government accused my country of becoming a hide-out for hardened Cuban war criminals. May I remind him that my country respects the right of asylum, which is one of the legitimate achievements of Latin American international law. He also accused Guatemala of building airports. Airports are a symbol of progress. That is absolutely true. They are being built to open up new areas for production, and the Press and the diplomatic corps are invited to attend their inauguration. This shows that there is nothing clandestine about them, as Cuba has alleged. The Cuban representative added that Augusto Mullet, the Secretary for Information to the President of Guatemala, publicly admitted that mobile military forces are being trained on private estates in Guatemala. That, too, is quite true; these are the forces which will repel the communist invader from Cuba.

131. The Prime Minister of Cuba has an obsession; he sees invasions everywhere. Newspapers like the one I have in my hand, which says "Cuba expects an invasion from Guatemala", give news from Havana according to which last Saturday was to be D-day, invasion day. D-day passed and nothing happened; the next day, Sunday, was to be another D-day, yet nothing happened. Yesterday was M-day, Monday, and nothing happened; today is T-day, Tuesday, and still nothing has happened. And Castro's Government can be sure that if it goes through the whole alphabet nothing will happen, because, as I said before, my country is not an aggressor.

132. Roa referred to the motion submitted to the Guatemalan Congress by a deputy, Julio Valladares Castillo, calling for the setting up of a commission to ascertain whether it is true that bases for an attack on Cuba have been established in Guatemala. It is quite true that Valladares Castillo, an opposition deputy, submitted this motion, which is being freely discussed in Congress. Mr. Valladares Castillo is completely free, and the President of the Republic himself, General Miguel ydígoras Fuentes, said that

he was glad that the motion was being discussed. I wonder what they would say to a Cuban deputy if there were any deputies in Cuba—belonging to an opposition party—if there were an opposition—who was bold enough to submit such a motion. The only answer could be "Traitor! To the firing squad!"

133. In conclusion, may I recall my Government's timely request to the Council of the Organization of American States that a commission should be set up to go to Guatemala and Cuba to investigate on the spot which country was preparing to attack. I confirm this request, because for my country it is still valid. Guatemala is not afraid of any kind of investigation and we trust that, here and now, Cuba can say the same.

134. Finally, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to explain the vote it will cast in a few minutes. My delegation will vote against the Cuban amendment and in favour of the recommendation of the General Committee. In view of the gravity of the charges, I do not think it appropriate that this campaign of slander, directed against various countries in a complaint—in which there was no mention of Guatemala, either in the memorandum, the agenda item or the covering letter—should be used for the purposes of demagogic communist propaganda in the Assembly. My delegation thinks that this unfortunate matter should be calmly examined by all delegations. This can only be done in a Committee.

135. I hope that the President will take rule 15 of our rules of procedure into account and require the prescribed majority for adoption of the Cuban amendment.

136. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): Acting under very precise instructions from its Government, the Costa Rican delegation feels obliged to set out very clearly and explicitly its position with regard to the vote it cast in the General Committee and which it will again cast here in favour of the discussion in the First Committee rather than in plenary of this complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba against the United States of America.

137. In America there is an international institution known as the Organization of American States, the purpose of which is to deal with all disputes between the States of this continent. It is a regional organization of the kind which the United Nations Charter implicitly recognizes when it sets out the functions of regional agencies in general. At the same time, the Charter quite clearly safeguards the higher jurisdiction of the United Nations and the right of Member States to have recourse to it.

138. Accordingly, all American Member States have the right to bring their complaints before either of these bodies; that is why we are voting for the inclusion in the agenda of the item submitted by Cuba.

139. Mainly for the benefit of the new Member States, I should like to explain briefly what our American organization is and what are the ends which it pursues. At the beginning of the last century, during the wars of independence, Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, conceived the brilliant idea of establishing a union of the new nations which were achieving freedom and which were united by a similarity of language, religion, customs and origins: the idea was to ensure that they would develop with the same vitality as that

already apparent in the thirteen States then constituting the United States of North America. Simón Bolívar convened the first meeting, known as the Congress of Panama. It failed, but the idea lived on and in the course of the nineteenth century it came to fruition through the component States of a continent linked by the similarity of their histories and a common destiny. The first Pan American Conferences were held and, during this century, the men of America strove to establish the Pan American Union; and so we have the organization as it exists today which, through its regular meetings, its permanent representatives at the organization's headquarters in Washington, its meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and its special committees, deals with all our problems. Through treaties such as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro and declarations such as the Act of Chapultepec, which was the source of the San Francisco Charter, Pan-Americanism has achieved so much progress in the sphere of law that distinguished legal experts in this continent speak of an American international law; from a large and abundant store of precedents and legal resolutions America has succeeded in evolving a partial codification of certain branches of the law which is in harmony with the special characteristics of the American continent. In my country, without the shadow of a doubt, there are feelings of great devotion and loyalty for this institution. Recently, at the sixth and seventh meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held at San José, a special committee of seven countries was set up to deal with any complaint or dispute which might arise in these days of grievous tension and to act as a mediator. It will be apparent, therefore, that the Organization of American States is in permanent session to deal with grievances.

140. The fact that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has chosen the United Nations as the vehicle for its complaint, as it was fully entitled to do, does not mean that the settlement of this matter does not come within the competence and the purpose of the Organization of American States. A very full study of the possible implications of this complaint must be made by those countries which, like my own, subscribe to the Pan American ideal. What is needed for such a study is an atmosphere of serenity, peace and equanimity, not the stormy atmosphere which is sometimes characteristic of the General Assembly and which was evident in the general debate which preceded these meetings.

141. Far be it from my delegation to assume or even to imagine that we might be in the presence of some manoeuvre designed to postpone the proper consideration of this complaint; but, anticipating that such a possibility might exist, we wish to state that we shall support any proposal that may be made for priority to be given to a debate on this subject in the First Committee. These then are the reasons why we shall vote against the Cuban amendment.

142. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cuba, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

143. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I have asked for the floor in the exercise of my right of reply, simply and solely in order to reply to the United States delegation. I mention this because it is unnecessary to add that the representative of Guate-

mala, who stood here a few moments ago pouring out at equal speed a string of falsehoods and a cascade of banalities, is in fact only a puppet of the State Department and the United Fruit Company. Hence in exercising my right of reply I shall address my remarks only to the representative of the father of the infant.

144. The representative of the United States declared in objecting to my delegation's proposal, that my country's accusation was unworthy of the United Nations. I need only affirm simply—and I have more than enough reasons and facts to justify my assertion—that if any great Power is unworthy of belonging to the United Nations it is the United States of America, which has violated, defiled and mocked all the principles of the Charter of the Organization.

145. The Government of Cuba appealed to the United Nations by virtue of a right embodied in an international instrument to which it has acceded, and in exercising that right it deliberately addressed itself to the General Assembly, because the question is an important and urgent one in that it affects immediately not only the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cuba but also international peace and security. That is the reason why—if the Costa Rican representative will permit me to defend our position—the Cuban Government has been and is unwilling to address itself to any other international or regional organ, whether it be the Security Council or the Organization of American States, because the question is one which by its very nature and scope goes beyond the regional sphere and constitutes a conflict, a situation, a controversy of an international character with which only the General Assembly can deal.

146. Yet in spite of all that has been said here, the Government of the United States has from the beginning opposed even the inclusion of the item on the agenda, although it later voted in favour of its inclusion, finally doing so in a spirit of condescension, although the statements made here by its representative are full of reservations and objections to the inclusion of the item.

147. The Government of Cuba has not come to raise a political issue, as has been asserted. It is raising a question of life and death, and not of life and death only for the Government and people of Cuba but for the principles of the United Nations.

148. The Government of Cuba has proofs—some of which it submitted yesterday, although the debate by reason of its nature, had to be conducted at a purely procedural level—irrefutable proofs of the acts of intervention and aggression now being perpetrated by the imperialist Government of the United States. It makes no difference that they are denied here and have been denied in the General Committee. The Government of Cuba knows, and the people of Cuba have known throughout their long history, from the joint resolution down to the recently imposed embargo, that the salient feature of the United States Government's policy with regard to small countries is that its words bear no relation to its deeds. That is one of the fundamental reasons why Cuba has not at this point appealed or had recourse to the Organization of American States.

149. At the end of the Seventh Meeting of Consultation, held in San José, Costa Rica, the United States delegation distributed a statement signed by

Mr. Christian Herter, the Secretary of State, in which he said the following:

"The Declaration of San José adopted at the Seventh Meeting constitutes a clear indictment of the Castro Government of Cuba, and particularly the role which it has played in furthering the Sino-Soviet efforts of intervention into this hemisphere. The United States delegation firmly associates itself with the feeling of so many of its colleagues in hoping that the people of the Dominican Republic and Cuba will have the opportunity quickly to return their Governments to the principles of freedom and true democracy within the inter-American system."

Who signed this statement? Was it a private individual? Was it a journalist? Was it a spokesman of the State Department? No: it was Mr. Christian Herter, the Secretary of State, who not only prides himself on having at the San José conference obtained a condemnation of the revolutionary Government of Cuba but also urges direct interference in the domestic affairs of my country.

150. This is one proof, which does not admit of discussion, among the many proofs that we have, such as the statement of President Eisenhower in which he said that the Government of the United States would never tolerate any action that might affect the economy and the people of Cuba, while at that very time the scheme for the abolition of the sugar quota was already being organized.

151. The embargo recently imposed by the Government of the United States undoubtedly constitutes the most drastic measure ever adopted against a people in time of peace. This embargo is an attempt to reduce the people of Cuba by hunger. The Government of the United States is apparently unaware that the people of Cuba, in the face of such attempts at subjugation, intimidation and oppression, is ready to die rather than to surrender. Threatened with the complete disappearance of chewing-gum from the Cuban market we answered "Instead of chewing gum we have malanga", malanga being an edible plant in my country.

152. What the Government of the United States will never be able to do is to shake the sovereign will of the Cuban State, still less prevent the people of Cuba from continuing the struggle for the attainment of the fundamental aims of the Cuban revolution.

153. In any event, the Assembly should consider carefully what it would mean if the appeal to the United Nations of a small country, threatened with intervention by a great Power and attack at any moment, merely encountered another of the many plots hatched here to transfer such urgent and important questions from the General Assembly to the First Committee. This is a question which the small countries represented here should bear in mind, for although the United Nations was created to defend and protect the rights of all nations, great and small, it is an obvious fact that the only defenceless countries in the Organization are the small countries, as is demonstrated repeatedly and with special force when they bring before it complaints regarding threats to their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

154. The other day one of the highest authorities of the United Nations declared in this forum that the United Nations had been founded basically to defend

small countries, that if the United Nations had any justification for its existence it was because the small countries received protection from it, that the United Nations had not been created to defend the interests of the Great Powers but to defend the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of small countries.

155. The Government of Cuba considers that its complaint should be ventilated in the General Assembly. There are many peoples represented here which have only recently attained independence and there are others which attained it earlier. All these countries, small in area, virtually unarmed, coveted for their natural riches, must bear in mind that this appeal of Cuba represents, after all, a potential appeal from any of them, for some day, without any warning, one of those small peoples will find itself obliged to appeal to the General Assembly to defend its independence and sovereignty. And it is probable that when that time comes the judicial precedent now established will be applied to the case. And if that were so the painful conclusion would have to be reached that the United Nations has become a mere paper jurisdiction.

156. The Cuban delegation repeats in this Assembly its request that its complaint should be discussed in plenary session because it is an important and urgent matter. Although the invasion has not yet taken place, it may happen at any moment. Those who have denied that invasion plans for D-day exist are adopting the old technique of "Stop thief!, Stop thief!". It is not by accident that they constitute the core of invasion operations and intervention in Cuba. Imagine what would happen if the invasion of Cuba were to take place while this debate is in progress. That is a serious and dramatic responsibility for all the countries represented in the United Nations and especially the small countries. I appeal once again to the solidarity of the small countries and I ask the United Nations for justice, requesting once more that this item may be allocated for discussion in plenary.

157. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Burma, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote takes place.

158. U THANT (Burma): My delegation will vote for the adoption of the Cuban amendment, and I feel that I owe a brief explanation to the Assembly regarding our stand.

159. Our vote is in no way motivated by any other consideration than our sincere belief that when a small country brings up a charge against a very powerful neighbouring country of having the intent to commit aggression, that charge should be brought to the attention of the General Assembly as promptly as possible. The allegation may be founded or unfounded, but that is not the immediate problem before this house. The immediate problem before us is that a very powerful neighbouring country exists. Those of us who look upon the United Nations as the only effective instrument of international conciliation and whose geography prompts us to put a very great reliance on this world Organization cannot but regard the present item as one which merits the earliest consideration. We feel that the allocation of this item to the First Committee would unduly delay its consideration, and, in the circumstances, my delegation will vote for the Cuban amendment.

160. The PRESIDENT: There being no further speakers on the list, perhaps the Assembly is now prepared to decide the issue before it. As representatives are aware, the recommendation of the General Committee in its second report, [A/4549] is that this item should be referred to the First Committee. To this recommendation, there is an amendment submitted by Cuba [A/L.321], the purpose of which is to allocate the item to plenary instead of to the First Committee. In accordance with rule 92, I shall first put to the vote the Cuban amendment. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Cuba, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon.

Against: Cyprus, Denmark, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville).

The amendment was rejected by 45 votes to 29, with 18 abstentions.

161. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly now has to deal with the recommendation of the General Committee that the item should be dealt with in the First Committee. In the absence of any comments or objections, may I take it that this recommendation is accepted?

162. I call on the representative of Liberia on a point of order.

163. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): I would request that a vote be taken on this recommendation and that that vote should be by roll-call.

164. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Liberia has asked that a roll-call vote should be taken on the recommendation of the General Committee.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Indonesia, having been drawn by lot by the President was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus,

Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland.

Against: Indonesia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India.

The recommendation was adopted by 53 votes to 11, with 27 abstentions.

165. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Ethiopia who has asked to explain his vote.

166. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): My delegation voted for the Cuban amendment because we felt that the complaint should be considered as expeditiously as possible, in order to avoid further deterioration of the relations between the two sister countries. We felt, without passing judgement in any way whatsoever on the complaint before the item is discussed, that it was in the interests of ameliorating the relationship of the two countries to discuss the complaint in plenary session instead of the First Committee where the priority of items has already been decided upon. In this connexion, the practical consideration which we have taken into account is the fact that as the agenda of the First Committee is already overcharged, it seemed to us advisable to discuss the matter only once here in plenary and thereby save much needed time for the items now pending in the First Committee agenda. Such an expeditious consideration of the item in plenary, we hoped, would contribute to reducing the tension as early as possible and thereby contribute toward the restoration of normal, indeed friendly, relations between the two countries.

167. Essentially, for the same reasons, we abstained in the vote on the recommendation of the General Committee.

168. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India in explanation of vote.

169. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I should perhaps preface my observations this afternoon by saying that it is not usual for my delegation to explain its vote; the vote speaks for itself. But there are very special circumstances in this instance, because, first of all, the Government of India and its delegation here have always been opposed to the modification of procedures as laid down, and we have in the past on various questions asked for a full discussion in Committee before a question comes to the plenary. We regret that our practices have gone the other way.

170. In this particular case the reason for our voting in favour of the Cuban amendment has no relation whatever to the substance of this question because what is before us is a procedural matter—whether it should be discussed here or in Committee. As I said, normally we should like to have it discussed in Committee. But when a small nation comes and—however exaggerated, and however unfounded its apprehensions are—tells the Assembly that its security is endangered, it is a matter of urgency. My Government feels

a responsibility to have the matter heard as quickly as possible. And taking into account the shape of our agenda and the items in the First Committee, and the fact that the Assembly has no authority to decide how it should be allocated in the First Committee—that is a matter for the First Committee—we have no option but to vote in favour of a discussion here, as, if a discussion is to have any value at all, there is no use discussing it at some far-off time.

171. We should also like to say that the Government of India does not cast any adverse reflection at all on the assurance given by the United States, on the one hand, nor can it assess the apprehensions of the

Cubans and the statements that it has made. And, therefore, it would wait in the course of orderly debate and hope that it will be concerned only with facts and not with allegations or matters which are irrelevant to it.

172. We have, therefore, voted in favour of the Cuban amendment and we want to make it quite clear that the Government of India at the present moment is keeping, as it should do, an entirely open mind with regard to the merits of this matter, as it has no sources of direct information.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.