

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**909th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 31 October 1960,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 68:</i> <i>The status of the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano (Bozen); implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946</i> <i>Report of the Special Political Committee. . .</i>	783
<i>Agenda item 8:</i> <i>Adoption of the agenda (continued)</i> <i>Second report of the General Committee. . .</i>	786

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

AGENDA ITEM 68

The status of the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano (Bozen); implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/4553)**

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

Mr. Sanz Briz (Spain), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4553) and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. SANZ BRIZ (Spain) (translated from Spanish): As Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report [A/4553] by that Committee on its consideration of agenda item 68, entitled "The status of the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano (Bozen); implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946". The Special Political Committee devoted ten meetings to this item, which was thoroughly discussed in a debate in which more than forty delegations took part. Although, at first, the viewpoints of the two parties most directly concerned appeared irreconcilable, the conciliatory attitude adopted by both the Austrian and the Italian delegations made it possible for a group of representatives to draft a text which was generally acceptable. Taking some clauses from previous draft resolutions, and adding others which they themselves formulated, seventeen Powers prepared a draft resolution which appears in the report of the Committee [A/4553, para. 16] and was adopted by acclamation. The seventeen delegations to which I refer were those of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ghana, India, Iraq, Ireland, Jordan, Mexico, Norway, Paraguay and Uruguay. Later, during the debate, the representative of Cuba expressed the wish that his delegation should also appear among those who had sponsored the draft resolution.

2. All members of the Committee cherish the hope that the spirit of conciliation and concord to which I have referred, and which was most clearly apparent in the debate, will constitute a happy augury for the future negotiations to be embarked on by the Governments of Austria and Italy as a consequence of the recommendation which the Special Political Committee now has the pleasure to present for the approval of the General Assembly.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Chair will now call, in turn, on the representatives who have expressed a desire to explain their votes on the draft resolution before the Assembly.

4. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): Permit me first to express my gratitude to the General Assembly for having put the question of the South Tyrol on its agenda. This august body has thus given evidence of its willingness to deal also with such matters which are not within the immediate sphere of world-wide political contest.

5. May I also express my appreciation of the fact that the Special Political Committee has, in a long debate, subjected this problem to a searching examination which bore the stamp of high competence and authority. It should be noted that roughly more than one-third of all States represented in the United Nations participated in this debate—which is the more remarkable as it dealt with a problem which until a short while ago had not received world-wide attention. This development attests to our view that here we are indeed dealing with a serious political problem.

6. Originally, the Austrian delegation submitted a draft resolution [A/SPC/L.45/Corr.1] which expressed the conviction that a speedy solution—and, of course, a solution satisfactory to the South Tyroleans—could only be brought about if substantial and effective regional autonomy were granted to the Province of Bozen.

7. Of course, the Austrian delegation has been aware from the very beginning of these proceedings that the General Assembly could only recommend that negotiations be conducted between the two States concerned, with the aim that autonomy be granted to the Province of Bozen as stipulated in the Paris agreement.^{1/}

8. Perhaps it ought to be stressed that the Paris Treaty gives clear title to this demand; specifically, annex IV of the Treaty states in its paragraph 2 with reference to the present territory of the Province of Bozen that it:

"...should be granted the exercise of autonomous legislative and executive regional power".

9. The draft resolution now before the General Assembly in its operative paragraph 1: "Urges the two parties concerned to resume negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences relating to the

^{1/}United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

implementation of the above agreement". It is a source of great satisfaction to the Austrian delegation that this resolution does not exclude any article, nor indeed, any part, of the Treaty; it follows then that it also provides for negotiations concerning article 2 of the Paris agreement to which I have just referred.

10. Another point which I should like to stress is the following. In the past, only conversations could be held on the problem of the South Tyrol since Italy insisted that we lacked the title to conduct negotiations. Should the General Assembly pass the draft resolution now before it, this state of affairs, long held objectionable by Austria, will be substantially changed.

11. From the Austrian point of view this draft resolution contains in its operative paragraph 2, in addition, a particularly valuable recommendation which will be of the utmost importance during the forthcoming negotiations.

12. The draft resolution explicitly states that it is within the discretion, as well as the choice, of both parties to avail themselves of the means—any means—provided by the Charter of the United Nations; the peaceful means to which the draft resolution refers are enumerated in the Charter; they are: inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice. We shall thus be enabled, in the event that the negotiations should fail, to resort to the means and methods appropriate for any given situation.

13. Most important from the Austrian viewpoint, however, is the fact that the language of the Paris agreement, which is most expressive of its spirit, has been included in the preamble of the present draft resolution. I should like to refer in this context to the third preambular paragraph, citing the text of the Paris agreement, that the South Tyroleans should be granted "...a complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element".

14. My delegation therefore agrees to the present draft resolution which, as I already said in the Special Political Committee, is designed to create fundamentally new conditions for negotiations on the problem of the South Tyrol.

15. The Special Political Committee has unanimously resolved to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the present draft resolution. This unanimity could be achieved only because the representatives of a number of countries took upon themselves the difficult task of seeking formulations which would enable both parties to the dispute to approve of this draft resolution. May I take this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of the Austrian delegation to those representatives. We are also greatly indebted to the Chairman and the officers of the Special Political Committee who have guided the lengthy discussions in a painstaking, patient and sympathetic manner.

16. In conclusion, may I say that I sincerely hope that the spirit which led to the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution may continue to bring its influence to bear upon this issue and help create an atmosphere which will allow the problem of the South

Tyrol to be brought to a solution satisfactory to all concerned.

17. Mr. MARTINO (Italy): In taking the floor to explain briefly why the Italian delegation not only is glad to support the draft resolution that is before you, but actually urges you to adopt it, I wish to express my Government's great satisfaction and appreciation for the manner in which the draft resolution was brought about in the course of the Special Political Committee's debate. The foresight which manifestly inspired the debate cannot but be truly gratifying to all who have sincerely at heart the destiny of the United Nations.

18. The reasons why the Italian delegation finds this draft resolution entirely acceptable can be enumerated as follows: First, taking the outcome of the entire discussion in the Special Political Committee as its inspiration, the draft refers unequivocally to the implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946 which has governed, and still governs, the status of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bolzano. All wrangling aside, I should like in this connexion to stress the satisfaction of the Italian delegation at the acceptance of this fundamental premise on the part of the Austrian delegation. The Italian Government could never have agreed either to a different framework for the problem, or to any reference to territorial claims or to impossible treaty revisions. May I say, moreover, that such a territorial question could have been nothing but an anachronism in the world in which we live. The trend today is for national States to give way, inevitably and unrelentingly, to the formation of great supra-national entities. What Guizot prophesied a century ago is now coming true. Only within the framework of such entities is it possible today to make sufficient progress to solve the great issues at stake in the modern world. This world strives to progress, and all its toil and travail stems from the urgent desire for progress latent in the hearts of all men. Being aware of this, I have devoted the best and most significant part of my political life to this very task of surmounting traditional frontiers and seeking to unite the peoples of Europe, thus interpreting the deepest and truest aspirations of the Italian people.

19. Secondly, the draft resolution, in urging the resumption of the bilateral Italian-Austrian negotiations on the problems relating to the implementation of the Paris agreement, disregarded until the last moment by the Austrian delegation, meets a wish and a hope expressed time and time again by the Italian Government. But I wish to point out quite clearly that this does not mean that the Italian Government shares with the Austrian Government the point of view that no autonomy has been granted to the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province of Bolzano. The contrary is the truth, as I had the honour to state in the debate in the Special Political Committee. It is our firm conviction that the resumption of negotiations, thus placed in their proper setting, might well lead to a solution of the differences relating to the implementation of the Paris agreement, and thus put an end to the present dispute. Such an understanding, arrived at along the high road of direct negotiation—let me repeat here once again—is what we desire and what we seek above all.

20. And may I say that the distinction between conversations and negotiations, to which the Foreign

Minister of Austria has made reference, is not an important one. The fact that the draft resolution invites us to resume negotiations means that the Committee has not considered the previous conversations as something different. Otherwise, how could one resume something that had not happened?

21. One of the vital concerns of the Italian Government is to see the relations among Italian citizens who speak different languages and dwell in the same region established on the basis of trust and co-operation. Its constant aim and pledge will be to see that such an atmosphere of harmony and fellow-feeling is fostered and developed.

22. Third, in the unfortunate event that the efforts made in the course of future negotiations be not met by complete success within a reasonable period of time, the draft resolution recommends that the parties should give favourable consideration to the possibility of submitting the dispute to the International Court of Justice or of seeking a solution by any other peaceful means of their own choice. This part of the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution likewise meets with the full approval of the Italian Government, which had already taken the initiative of proposing recourse, by mutual agreement, to the International Court of Justice for a final judgement of the issue. It seems to me that if the matter cannot be settled quickly in the course of direct negotiations between the two parties, it ought not to be difficult to reach agreement on any appropriate procedure, due to the very nature of the dispute, that is, to its strict delimitation to the implementation and to the interpretation of an existing agreement. It would certainly not be wise or conducive to harmony if the question were allowed to drag on, should the bilateral negotiations fail to reach a successful conclusion. So long as both parties abide faithfully by the solemn recommendation contained in the draft resolution, all real concern about what is going to happen will vanish and we shall be able to count with reasonable confidence on a satisfactory settlement of the present dispute.

23. Fourth, I should like to add a word with regard to the recommendation to the two Governments in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution now before the Assembly to refrain from any action which might impair their friendly relations. I hardly need say that this course will be followed by Italy, as it always has been, most willingly and diligently, and I trust that the same will be the case with Austria.

24. Here, in a nutshell, are the reasons why the Italian delegation is happy to support the draft resolution now before the Assembly and hopes that it will receive the unanimous vote of the Assembly, just as it received the unanimous vote of the Special Political Committee.

25. In concluding these few remarks I cannot help but express my joy and pride in being called to represent my country here on this day which marks an important act of international co-operation, an important milestone along the thorny path to peace among men.

26. Our age demands an infinite number of such acts; and each of them, however small, is essential for the unity of the human world. Needless to say, no single act, no single day will meet this purpose; but every day calls for its act, its milestone, on the rough road towards the final goal which all men of good will yearn for in their inner hearts.

27. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): When, on 24 October 1960, I spoke for the first time in the Special Political Committee [181st meeting] on the item dealt with in the report we are now discussing, I had occasion to state that in the opinion of the Mexican delegation any recommendation which the General Assembly might make in connexion with this matter could only be of a formal nature.

28. I also said at that time—and these are my exact words—that in our view "the procedure which might be considered the best one and the one which would doubtless offer the best prospects of success would be that which might enlist the spontaneous support of the two States that are parties to the controversy since it would thus, from the very outset, undoubtedly also have the loyal and determined support of those States". Then, as a conclusion to that part of my statement at the same meeting, I said, and I again quote: "In the light of the facts brought before us in the documents submitted by the Austrian and Italian delegations and the statements made by their representatives, my delegation considers that it is feasible to find a means of peaceful settlement from among the many set forth in the United Nations Charter."

29. In the two main statements which I later made in the Special Political Committee on 25 [182nd meeting] and 26 October [184th meeting] respectively, I gave special emphasis to the same idea that the procedure to be recommended must be acceptable to both parties to the dispute.

30. My delegation is gratified that its views have been fully endorsed by the draft resolution whose text appears in paragraph 16 of document A/4553 which was adopted by acclamation in the Special Political Committee and which, we are sure, will also be unanimously adopted by the General Assembly. We are convinced that when this draft resolution, which has been expressly accepted by both parties, becomes a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, it will constitute a solid foundation for the achievement by the two States directly concerned of what we venture to hope will be a lasting and stable settlement of the unhappy dispute which has been disturbing their traditionally friendly relations.

31. It is particularly gratifying to the Mexican delegation that it has been able, to the extent of its inodest possibilities, to contribute to the achievement of such a happy result, since Mexico maintains the most cordial relations with both Italy and Austria.

32. I should like, in conclusion, to express my delegation's conviction that the present case is a further example of the fact that where there is faith, perseverance and genuine and mutual goodwill, the United Nations is still a splendid centre for harmonizing the actions of its Members as, in the words of the Charter, they strive to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of disputes which may arise between States.

33. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The report [A/4553] of the Special Political Committee on the item relating to the status of the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano has just been presented to the General Assembly by the Rapporteur of that Committee.

34. This document contains in its paragraph 16 the draft resolution, submitted by a group of countries in various continents, which gained unanimous approval in the Special Political Committee.

35. As was said from this rostrum a moment ago, the draft resolution that was unanimously approved by the Committee and is today being presented to the General Assembly by the Rapporteur represents a happy compromise and is the outcome of a series of efforts in which the generous spirit of the parties and the desire for harmony on the part of many delegations taking part in the debate were equally in evidence. That is sufficient reason for the General Assembly to give a sympathetic reception to the report now under discussion.

36. I should merely like to mention what, in my delegation's opinion, are the fundamental concepts on which the draft resolution is based. It was happily apparent, from the very beginning of the debate, that no delegation in discussing item 68 was raising any question affecting the territorial status of the two countries, which had been established by treaties solemnly entered into by them. Thus, there was not, in connexion with this item, any problem concerning the principle of self-determination. Secondly, the draft resolution adopted by the Committee is centred around the implementation of an international agreement freely entered into by the parties concerned, the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946.

37. That agreement, therefore, is at the centre of the problem which must now be solved by voluntary agreement between the two countries concerned. The agreement—as, in our view, is clear from the draft resolution—establishes the foundations on which the two countries, in a spirit of mutual co-operation and harmony, may find it possible to reach a stable agreement.

38. The draft resolution invites the two parties to resume negotiations in order to give effect to the agreement and thus make possible an amicable solution of the main points which are still in dispute between them. As a precaution, however, in the event that those bilateral negotiations, which we ardently hope will be successful, do not lead to satisfactory results within a reasonable period of time, the draft resolution recommends that the parties resort to other procedures envisaged in the Charter, including recourse to the International Court of Justice or to other procedures of their own choice.

39. The draft resolution thus allows the parties to agree on what procedure should be followed in the event of their direct negotiations producing no result. It is clear, in the view of our delegation, that such procedures must, of course, be those most appropriate to the nature of the problem as seen by the Committee; they must, in other words, be those most appropriate to a dispute involving an international agreement.

40. The draft resolution now being considered by the General Assembly contains provisions which, it is to be hoped, will make it unnecessary for this international Organization to deal with this subject again in the future, because procedures are indicated which will facilitate a peaceful and equitable solution of the problem by the parties concerned without its being submitted to the United Nations.

41. In conclusion, I should like to say, as I did during the debate in the Committee, that we welcome the acceptance by both parties of this equitable arrangement arrived at in the Committee as indicating the dawn of a new era in the relations between two noble countries linked by long tradition and a common spiritual heritage, to which history and the future offer the promise of great achievements under the aegis of international co-operation.

42. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended and unanimously approved by the Special Political Committee. The draft resolution was the result of constructive joint efforts, and since my delegation took an active part in drafting the text which was finally adopted, I should like here to pay a tribute to the spirit of understanding and compromise that was displayed at all times both by the co-sponsors and by the parties directly concerned.

43. The draft resolution which is being put to the vote is something more than work well done; it represents an excellent example of international co-operation and shows what can be accomplished when we act in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. International law—and in this case international law in the literal sense is what is at issue—cannot fully achieve its objectives unless there is a disposition to comply with it and to submit voluntarily to its provisions.

44. True to their great traditions of civilization, Italy and Austria have in the present instance given evidence of their political, cultural and moral maturity. That is the example which we wish to set before you.

45. The PRESIDENT: No other representative having expressed a desire to explain his vote, I take it that the Assembly is now prepared to proceed to a decision on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 16 of document A/4553. Since the Committee adopted the draft resolution by acclamation, may I take it that it is now likewise adopted in plenary?

In the absence of any objection, the draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/4549)

46. The PRESIDENT: I would invite the Assembly to turn its attention now to the second item on its agenda this afternoon, which is the second report of the General Committee contained in document A/4549. In accordance with the usual practice, I would venture to remind representatives at this stage that we are not concerned for the moment with the merits or the substance of the items dealt with in the General Committee's report. We are concerned with the question of their inscription and allocation, and discussion of the substance or merits is only relevant to the extent to which it bears directly on the question of inscription and allocation.

47. The first of the two items dealt with in the second report of the General Committee is the item entitled:

*Resumed from the 904th meeting.

"The question of Oman". The General Committee has recommended that this item should be inscribed on the agenda and that it should be allocated to the Special Political Committee. Are there any observations or comments on these recommendations of the General Committee? If there are no observations or comments, may I take it that the Assembly approves these recommendations?

In the absence of any objection, the recommendations were adopted.

48. The PRESIDENT: The second item has also been recommended for inclusion in the agenda. It is entitled:

"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."

49. The General Committee recommended the inclusion of this item on the agenda without objection. Before we come to the question of the allocation of the item, may I ask whether there are any observations or comments on the question of inclusion.

In the absence of any objection, the item was included in the agenda.

50. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the question of the allocation of this item. The General Committee has recommended that this item be referred to the First Committee for consideration and report. In this connexion there is before the Assembly an amendment submitted by Cuba and contained in document A/L.321. This amendment proposes that the item be dealt with in plenary. In connexion with the consideration of this question of allocation, I call first on the representative of Cuba.

51. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Cuba proposed that the agenda of the fifteenth regular session should include an item 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. In making this proposal, my delegation requested that in view of its urgency and importance the item should be assigned to the plenary General Assembly and that the matter should be dealt with as speedily as possible. At a meeting held on 25 October 1960, the General Committee at its 131st meeting unanimously decided to recommend the inclusion of the item; but, at the urging of the United States representative, it decided by a majority to recommend that the item be allocated to the First Committee, despite the recognized and growing seriousness of the situation complained of by the delegation of Cuba. Once again, the appeal of a small country in defence of its self-determination, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty went unheeded by the Powers controlling the so-called free world. Once again, United States imperialism dictated a decision by the General Committee.

52. Since the arguments designed to prevent the voice of Cuba from being heard in the forum of the plenary General Assembly will be repeated once again at this

meeting with mechanical uniformity, and only serve as a smoke-screen for the plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States against my country, I think it appropriate to continue to refute them; but before doing so I wish to express the gratitude of my delegation to the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Libya, Yugoslavia, Romania, Iraq and Bulgaria, which stood up for a country subjected to threats and aggression, and supported it by their voice and their vote. As for the delegations of our sister countries in the General Committee, while I regret exceedingly that they did not vote in favour of allocating the item to the plenary General Assembly, I am no less grateful to them on that account.

53. In their laconic statements it was easy to perceive their own deep concern and their inmost desire to help the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba to emerge from the present dramatic situation with their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence unscathed. "In our America", José Martí warned, "there should be no Cains"—although such have existed and still exist.

54. The delegation of Cuba insists that its charges of aggression and intervention against the Government of the United States should, in view of their urgency and importance, be aired in the General Assembly in plenary meeting. Naturally, this is not the time at which to go into the substance of the question, in all its background, aspects and forms; but it is appropriate now to cite facts and reasons in support of the request I have just made.

55. Before continuing, I deem it essential to reaffirm the right of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, freely and in full sovereignty and without prejudice to its right of self-defence, to choose the course open to it under Article 11, paragraph 2 and Article 35 of the United Nations Charter, rule 40 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, and article 102 of the charter of the Organization of American States (OAS). Article 11, paragraph 2 of the United Nations Charter provides that "the General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations", and Article 35 provides that "any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly". Article 102 of the charter of the OAS states: "None of the provisions of this Charter shall be construed as impairing the rights and obligations of the Member States under the Charter of the United Nations."

56. The situation created by the Government of the United States is more than a regional situation, in that it endangers the security and the peace of the whole world; it therefore not only concerns the two States and the other American Republics, but interests and affects the international community as well.

57. Nevertheless, in the discussion which took place in the General Committee, the representative of the United States made so bold as to blame the Revolutionary Government of Cuba for appealing to the General Assembly and for not having had recourse to the Organization of American States or to the Security Council. It would appear, then, that the exercise of a right specifically prescribed in the Charter

of the United Nations, without the prior consent of the State Department, constitutes an act of insubordination.

58. Very well, so be it. Cuba is a free, independent and sovereign State, and as such has stopped acting the part of satellite to the State Department, the Pentagon, and United States monopolies. It has an inalienable right to appeal to the General Assembly, and it exercises that right fully and unconditionally. That is why the Cuban delegation has lodged its complaint here, and not with the Security Council or the OAS.

59. But if this were not enough to make us choose the course we have chosen, there is further abundant support for that choice in the fact that the State Department insists on the complaint of the Cuban delegation being directed to the Security Council or the OAS.

60. Is not this insistence more than suspicious at the very time when the Government of the United States is trying to strangle Cuba economically and is preparing to unleash a large-scale invasion of its territory from bases on United States soil, in the Republic of Guatemala and on Swan Island, in conjunction with self-aggression at the naval base of Guantánamo?

61. In keeping with its "cold war" strategy, last Saturday the United States Government sent the OAS a note in which, while maliciously imputing to the Revolutionary Government of Cuba the procurement of substantial quantities of arms and aircraft in the socialist countries for the alleged purpose of spreading the revolution to the rest of the continent, it significantly repeats the offence of objecting to Cuba's right to have recourse to the General Assembly, and taxes Cuba with an obligation to act first within the OAS, as if Cuba were a vassal with no option but to do what is ordered by its feudal lord. The obligation referred to is one of the servitudes which have been abolished by the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba. The note goes on to say that consideration of the charges against the Government of the United States in the Security Council was adjourned pending a report from the OAS; and finally, it refers to the *ad hoc* Good Offices committee created by the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs for the purpose of dealing with and resolving disputes between American States.

62. It would not be a waste of time to spend a few moments on a matter that is so closely linked to the question before us. The Government of the United States of America, after grudgingly agreeing to the inclusion in the agenda of the item proposed by my delegation, is, as we have seen, stubbornly trying to compel the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to exercise its rights in international organizations only in the Security Council or the OAS.

63. Permit me to describe our experience in this respect.

64. On 18 July 1960, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba appealed to the Security Council to take appropriate measures^{2/} with regard to the serious situation that existed, with manifest danger to international peace and security, as a consequence of the repeated threats, harassments, reprisals and aggressive acts to which my country had been subjected by

the Government of the United States of America. On behalf of and as representative of the Revolutionary Government, I made a detailed presentation of incontrovertible facts [874th meeting] which proved the entire validity of the charges put forward.

65. The resolution that was adopted in the Security Council^{3/} could not have been more strange: it adjourned consideration of the question pending the receipt of a report from the OAS, because the situation was under consideration by OAS. At the time, I categorically denied—and I deny again—that the situation was, or is, under consideration by the Organization of American States. Neither the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, nor the Government of the United States, had—or has—submitted the matter formally, in accordance with the appropriate procedure, to the Council of the Organization. Therefore, the consideration mentioned in the resolution is purely mythical; nevertheless, it was used to dispose of Cuba's irrefutable allegations until the imperialist calends.

66. Even stranger was what happened at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960. Although this meeting had been concocted in order to punish the Cuban people for having emancipated itself from the imperialist yoke, the name of Cuba was not mentioned, either in the agenda or in the Declaration of San José. There, too, I presented a thick dossier of charges in respect of all the various acts of aggression and manifest acts of intervention perpetrated by the Government of the United States against Cuba. The result was the exoneration of the aggressor intra-continental Power, which can violate regional and international charters, treaties and agreements with impunity, and the condemnation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China, which had had nothing whatever to do with the protection of Cuban war criminals, the clandestine bombing of cane fields or the predatory cut in the sugar quota.

67. But before leaving San José, Mr. Christian Herter, the Secretary of State, utterly disregarding the reservations of Mexico and the decision of the representatives of Venezuela and Peru not to sign the Final Act, publicly raved about the Declaration of San José being a condemnation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. Since United States imperialism thinks—naïvely or cynically, I do not know which—that the fact it had its way in both cases implies that the charges are non-existent, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has decided, in exercise of its rights and in view of past experience, to present its new charges to the General Assembly for consideration, and not to the Security Council or to the OAS. This, in sum, is Cuba's answer to so crude a trap.

68. This meeting of the General Assembly has to discuss and decide the question of the allocation of the Cuban complaint. There is no doubt that this is the question before us; the delegation of Cuba therefore renews its request that, in view of the urgency and importance of the matter, it be considered by the General Assembly in plenary meeting. But the question before us is also, and above all, a question of principle for the United Nations and a matter of vital importance for Cuba.

69. I would like to draw the attention of representatives to this point. Although the matter under discus-

^{2/} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960*, document S/4378.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, document S/4395.

sion appears to be a procedural one, what is really at stake is the fate of a small country, threatened and attacked by a great Power which is attempting to curb that country's sovereign will by economic strangulation and to overthrow its freely elected Government through invasion of its territory by a mercenary force, trained partly in that Power's own territory, financed in large measure by secret funds of the Central Intelligence Agency and led by United States adventurers of all types.

70. This small nation, in which it is sought to stifle the lawful aspirations to political, economic, social and cultural development of all peoples subject to colonial exploitation, lies only four hours by air from the United Nations. It is 114,000 square kilometres in area and has slightly more than 6 million inhabitants. It is this small country, whose resources were drained ruthlessly by the United States imperialists until the overthrow of the Batista tyranny, which the Department of State, the Pentagon, the monopolies and the Presidential candidates are now with unheard-of shamelessness holding up to United States public opinion as an economic aggressor of the United States and as an imminent threat to its safety. This small country, which attained the stature of a giant when its people finally swore to defend its rewon inheritance and national dignity with its blood, claims the solidarity of the other small peoples here represented and asks justice of the United Nations.

71. This is a matter of life and death to Cuba, but it also poses a question of principle for the United Nations. Well-founded charges made by a small country against the most aggressive, voracious and unscrupulous imperialist Power of our time must be heard and evaluated in plenary meeting of the General Assembly. As a Member State of the United Nations, Cuba is entitled to present those charges before the entire world. No other nation, however large, powerful or arrogant it may be, has the right to prevent it from doing so.

72. The importance and urgency of the complaint made by the Cuban delegation are apparent from what I have already said. However, I consider it necessary to strengthen our claim by outlining the facts supporting it, some of which have already been mentioned in the explanatory memorandum [A/4543] and in my statements in the General Committee.

73. The United States representative in the General Committee stated that the present tension between his country and Cuba was due, not to the continued threats, harassments, tricks, reprisals, attacks and acts of intervention which Cuba had suffered at the hand of the United States Government, but to the support given to the Revolutionary Government of Cuba by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China, which were attempting, through it, to gain a foothold in the Western hemisphere and to break the close ties existing between the American peoples. This is the much-played record of today; the older one indiscriminately accused the Revolutionary Government of Cuba of "being influenced by the communists", of acting like "a Soviet satellite", or of "serving as a spearhead for international communism". For the last twenty months they have played the same records and repeated the same infamies for a single purpose: to bring about the necessary climate and conditions for carrying out, in connivance with puppet Governments like that of Guatemala, the planned

aggression and intervention which the Cuban delegation now denounces before the General Assembly.

74. In view of its logic and dialectic, United States imperialism could be expected to reply in no other way to the fact that, since 1 January 1959, Cuba has ceased to travel in the economic, political, diplomatic and military orbit of the United States and has become a small planet travelling freely in its own historic and completely independent orbit. Unable, in its befogged decadence, to appreciate the profound and extensive changes which are taking place in the structure of contemporary society, it can conceive of only two alternatives: one must be its own satellite, or the satellite of another. And, since it will allow of no other relationship between peoples than subservience to its political and economic might, it can accept only unconditional surrender. Accustomed to intimidating, commanding and plundering small, weak and defenceless peoples, it is incapable of understanding that its pawn, once liberated, can have relations of equality with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that the latter can have concluded with the Revolutionary Government trade and technical assistance agreements, with no political strings attached, which are contributing greatly to the economic development of the Cuban nation.

75. However, the charge that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is communist was made well prior to the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other socialist countries. Although this is almost inconceivable, the charge dates back to 15 January 1959, just two weeks after the revolution had triumphed, at which time not a single revolutionary law had been promulgated and Mr. Fidel Castro was not yet Prime Minister. Initially, the United States Government took care to use indirect methods and agents, such as Senators, Representatives, journalists and, occasionally, Admiral Arleigh A. Burke. It even entertained the illusion that the Cuban revolution might be like so many others in Cuba and Latin America, a revolution in name only. However, when it became convinced that the Cuban revolution was a true and complete revolution which, fearlessly and uncompromisingly, was demanding the full exercise of national sovereignty, the elimination of the colonial basis of the Cuban economy and the placing of that economy at the service of the people, a systematic campaign of defamation was launched and open help and comfort were given to Cuban war criminals, corrupt apostates and counter-revolutionaries. Common malefactors were allowed to address the Senate, and protection was given to air pirates who burned and machine-gunned our cane fields from aircraft of United States registry, almost all of which were manned by United States crews. The source of these acts of vandalism was denied, until the explosion of one of the aircraft, and the revelation that it was registered in the United States and that its crew were United States citizens, compelled the Department of State, then faced with undeniable evidence, to apologize to the Revolutionary Government. The sole effect of the exceptional measures alleged to have been taken by the United States Government to prevent these clandestine flights has been that more than 300,000 tons of sugar cane have been reduced to ashes.

76. The promulgation of the Land Reform Act was the signal for a methodical plan of sabotage, subver-

sion, aggression and intervention, which was reflected in increasingly hostile economic measures, such as the denial of credit to Cuban banks, the demand by industrial firms maintaining relations with Cuba for payment in advance, the freezing of bank accounts, repeated seizures of commercial aircraft, a drastic reduction of the sugar quota and an attempted petroleum boycott, as well as in such aggressive political measures as the financing of the counter-revolution, threats by the Pentagon and the revival of the Monroe Doctrine, and, finally, the supply of arms to the lackeys of the United States, the dispatch of pirate expeditions, the training of mercenaries in United States territory, the imposition of an embargo on essential exports, the organization of a large-scale invasion based on United States territory, the Republic of Guatemala and Swan Island and preceded or accompanied by self-aggression in the Guantánamo naval base, and the scandalous argument between Vice-President Nixon and Senator Kennedy, in which both Presidential candidates confirmed—with obvious disregard for world opinion, the United Nations Charter and the charter of the OAS—the plans for aggression and intervention which the Cuban delegation has denounced.

77. Can an international body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security have any more important or urgent task than to prevent the violation, before its very eyes, of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of a small country, and the start of a conflict of inconceivable proportions and consequences? For one thing is certain: in present international circumstances, the imperialist invasion of Cuba means, not the end of the Cuban revolution, but the beginning of the third world war. The United States Government has artificially converted Cuba into a crucial area of the "cold war", and will therefore have to bear the responsibility of having unleashed the "hot" war.

78. The United States representative said in the debate which took place in the General Committee, and will say again here, that both the earlier and the new charges made by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba against the Government of his own country are false. In the Committee, he concealed United States imperialism behind a façade of innocence, and he will do so again here. That is the technique which he uses. Let him not, in seeking to justify acts of depredation, drag in quotations from José Martí. Although no Marxist—he did not need to be one for that—the apostle of Cuba's independence pierced the monster's entrails and offered his life, as he said in a memorable letter, in a dramatic effort "to prevent in time, through Cuba's independence, the spread of the United States over the Caribbean and, thus strengthened, over the entire continent. What I have done thus far, and shall continue to do, has been for that sole purpose."

79. The spokesmen of an imperialist Republic which has seized the fruits of the sacrifice made by José Martí, and of the heroism of twenty generations of Cubans, cannot quote him without profaning his memory. He can be quoted by those North Americans who are faithful to the testament of Lincoln, by that brave group of writers, artists, educators, journalists and ordinary men and women who dare to defy the governing caste and struggle against its injustices, prejudices, evil practices and greed. The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba pay an admiring and grateful tribute to such right-thinking

and spirited Americans. They also understand and forgive the hysterical reactions and attitudes of the great mass of people who are the victims of the poisonous propaganda put out by the Department of State, the Pentagon and the large corporations. The Government and people of Cuba are aware of the qualities of these confused people, and are confident that the clear light of truth will soon set them on the right track.

80. I wish to stress that neither the Revolutionary Government nor the people of Cuba has any quarrel or problem with the people of the United States. Their problems and quarrels are with the imperialist Government of the United States, which in its negotiations with small countries will accept only unconditional surrender. For it, there is no other alternative: either the small country must give in, or it must be destroyed. That is the alternative which the United States Government has offered to Cuba; but my country, small and defenceless though it is, has honourably opted for destruction rather than for submission. It is therefore untrue to say that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba refuses to negotiate its differences with the Government of the United States. What we have refused, and still refuse, is to negotiate with any country which adopts an attitude based on force.

81. Nor will the Revolutionary Government of Cuba be intimidated by the attachment to it of the well-known label. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is not communist, but it does not fear that label. The Cuban revolution knows whence it came, what it seeks and where it is going. Its source was not the writings of Rousseau, of Jefferson or of Marx. It was conceived in the hearts and minds of the Cuban people, and is completing, in the fullness of time, the task undertaken by José Martí. It is not a political revolution of the nineteenth century, but a social revolution of the twentieth century. It did not occur in a highly developed country; it took place in an under-developed country subject to the economic exploitation and political rule of United States imperialism; and because of its origins, nature and objectives, it is and must be a nationalist, popular and democratic revolution. It was not undertaken for the purpose of redistributing privileges, sinecures and powers. It is a revolution of the humble, by the humble and for the humble, which has abolished in Cuba, for all time, colonialism, privilege and the exploitation of man by man. Concurrently, it has identified itself with the aspirations and needs of all under-developed peoples of the world. If the imperialist Powers unite to impose their investments, prices, tariffs, quotas and military alliances, the small countries have the right and duty to unite in order to free themselves. An atomic war can destroy humanity; but united international action taken by peace-loving peoples against the imperialist Powers can prevent an atomic war.

82. The gravity and urgency of the complaints by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba against the Government of the United States can be seen—if the facts and reasons already stated are not sufficient—from a brief analysis of the charges which I shall now give.

83. Firstly, physical violations of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cuba.

(a) On 29 September last, a four-engined United States aircraft, coming from United States territory and manned by United States airmen, violated national

air space and dropped a cargo of arms of United States manufacture, bearing legible numbers and marks, on the Escambray Hills in the province of Las Villas, where it was all immediately seized by Government militia. The cargo included large quantities of bazookas, machine-guns, rifles, hand-grenades, demolition charges, radio equipment, detailed maps of the area, communication codes and much other material. Permit me to show, although rapidly, some of the photographs of the arms seized. The numbers and identification marks are perfectly clear, as is the indispensable "U.S.A. Made.—Burgess Battery Co.". So complete a supply, in such detail, of war material could not possibly have been acquired by gun-runners. The object of this secret air-drop was to strengthen counter-revolutionary elements which, in vicious alliance with the Government of the United States and supported by ex-soldiers of the fallen tyranny and by privileged groups affected by the revolutionary laws, had tried to form a spearhead of the large-scale invasion which it is planned to launch at any moment. The photographs which I have shown prove beyond a doubt the identity of the seized cargo. This act of piracy violates the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the OAS, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the Convention on Duties and Rights of States in the Event of Civil Strife.

(b) Early this month, a shrimping boat, under United States registration and flag, brought from Florida in the United States a band of mercenaries who invaded Cuban territory; units of the force entered the district of Cupay, in the Oriente Province, where, after destroying farms which lay in their path, they seized a number of peasant families and forced them to serve as guides and beasts of burden. The invaders were quickly dispersed and arrested. Most of them were convicted and confessed criminals, and they included the United States citizens Anthony Zarba, Allan D. Thompson and Robert O. Fuller.

84. These facts are common knowledge. The United States representative himself, in the General Committee, was compelled to announce that his Government was not responsible for the United States citizens who were involved in the abortive invasion. The participation of the State Department, the Pentagon and the United States monopolies in such actions has been proved by the Revolutionary Government, and forms part of the series of acts of aggression and intervention about which it has already complained in the Security Council and at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. They are a prelude to the large-scale invasion to which I have referred and which, according to reliable information in the possession of the Cuban authorities, it is intended to launch in the next few days.

85. Secondly, large-scale invasion of the territory of Cuba, with operational bases in the United States, the Republic of Guatemala and Swan Island. The conception of this plan and its conformity with the imperialist policy of the State Department can be traced in various places, including certain organs of the Press, especially The Journal of Commerce and The Wall Street Journal. In its issue of 11 June 1960, The Wall Street Journal announced that United States diplomats were going ahead with their plans against Castro. It added that, in agreement with officials who had taken part in the conference on strategy, the State Department had decided to bring the Cuban crisis before the Coun-

cil of the OAS. The United States would first urge that the Castro régime should be stigmatized as a threat to the security of the hemisphere. If OAS accepted this, the State Department would put forward specific proposals for isolating the Castro régime. The details were secret and subject to change. The underground work that might be carried out by the United States would not be publicly admitted by any United States official. The United States had—the newspaper added—already been involved in similar situations, when it had supported rebel forces friendly to the United States and to the West against the communist Government in Guatemala, at the time of the victorious revolution in 1954. The Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and all the aggressive measures adopted, in the past and at the present time, by the Government of the United States against Cuba confirm the strategic plan divulged by this genuine organ of United States monopolies. In its issue of 13 July 1960, The National Review forecast the modus operandi of the plans currently being prepared:

(a) A diplomatic and economic break with the Castro Government will precede the beginning of military operations by the "liberation forces" of Cuba.

(b) Congress will invoke the Monroe Doctrine and declare that an extra-continental Power is indirectly attacking the United States and other American nations by creating a satellite régime in Cuba. This might be followed by a ban on United States shipments to Cuba of supplies including spare parts for machinery and mechanical equipment, which are essential to a country where, of course, all machinery is of United States manufacture. The United States might refuse permission for the shipment to this hemisphere of arms destined for the Government of Cuba, and might order the Atlantic Fleet to send patrols to prevent European vessels from delivering arms to Castro.

(c) A lightning blow could be struck by a concentration of military, naval and air units under the direction of officials of the Central Intelligence Agency. Once a strong beach-head had been established, "patriots" could form a provisional government and ask the United States Government for open assistance with a view to pacifying the country.

86. Thirdly, the provocative role of Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, United States Chief of Naval Operations in the Caribbean region. Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, a friend of ex-dictator Fulgencio Batista and a partner in his crimes, is the "agent provocateur" of the Pentagon in the imperialist plot against Cuba. He came on the scene as early as 13 July 1959, scarcely a month after the promulgation of the Land Reform Act. He told the Press that there was a danger of the communists "taking over" the Cuban revolution, and that they were, indeed, already using it to the peril of the United States: he urged reserve officers of the armed forces to do something about it. On 15 September 1959, he again resorted to Hitler's technique, complaining that Soviet submarines had surfaced in Cuban territorial waters. In reply to a strong protest by the Revolutionary Government, spokesmen of the State Department and the Navy Department, to save his face, admitted that the information was inaccurate. On 20 May 1960, Admiral Burke declared that, if necessary, the United States would retain the Guantánamo naval base by force. In June of this year, a suspicious Inter-American Naval Conference was held at Key West, the geographical point of the United States near-

est to Cuba, at which Admiral Burke stated that he had "a real and personal interest" in the establishment of a hemispheric submarine network, to be used in case joint action were needed.

87. Joint submarine action in the Western hemisphere? Against whom? Against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? No. Against Cuba. When asked by the magazine U.S. News & World Report whether the Navy was concerned about the Cuban situation, Admiral Burke replied that the Navy was concerned, not only about the Guantánamo base, but about the whole Cuban situation; not merely the Navy but the whole country was concerned. A man had, he said, come to power in Cuba with a band of hardened communists who were determined to change everything; Castro had preached hatred of the United States and had gone far to ruin his country. At the recent Convention of the American Legion at Miami, Admiral Burke no longer hesitated to urge armed intervention by the United States in Cuba, in complete agreement with J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who had said that the "bandit régime" in Cuba should be exterminated. The lying epithet is easily explained: the greatest bandit in the United States judges others by himself.

88. A notice printed in May 1960 by the United States Embassy in Cuba clearly indicates the underground activities of the Pentagon. It says: "This building or location is under the protection of the Embassy of the United States of America." The reference is not to the buildings or locations of the Embassy, but to those of Cuba. The notice revealed, not only that an invasion of Cuba was imminent, but that, when it took place, the United States Embassy would cease to recognize the authority of the Cuban people's lawful Government. Several members of that diplomatic mission have been caught in flagrant acts of espionage, and expelled from the country.

89. At about the time when that notice was printed, clandestine incursions of United States warships into Cuban waters began. The Cuban authorities have complained of eleven such incursions.

90. Finally, military training of counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries in United States territory. This training was begun, many months ago, at various places in the United States, particularly in Florida. The camps where it is carried out are under the direction of United States officials of the Central Intelligence Agency. Before leaving for those camps, the counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries are examined at the Schriber Medical Laboratory, located at 1451 North Bayshore Avenue, suite 401. I have here this photograph, published in Life magazine, which shows a group of future invaders receiving military instruction at a camp near Miami. In New York City, there is a recruiting office at 341 West 45th Street, suite 509. And since the State Department believes it has proprietary rights in the United Nations and the OAS, and that the United States Government is entitled to scorn the most elementary rules of international law, no attempt was made to prevent the transmission, at 7 p.m. on 25 October 1960, on channel 2 of the Columbia Broadcasting System, of a programme televised from Miami on the subject of "men on the march and military exercises" broadcast by Ralph Remnick. Yesterday's Daily News contained an article glorifying, just as barefacedly, the counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries who are being trained by the United

States Government for an invasion of Cuba, with the connivance of the Government of Guatemala and the tacit or express complicity of other Governments.

91. The PRESIDENT: I interrupt the distinguished speaker with reluctance, but I feel that he has enjoyed a great deal of latitude, and the point has now come at which I feel I must remind him that we are discussing the question of whether this item should be allocated to the plenary Assembly or to the First Committee, and that discussion of the merits or the substance of the item are in order only to the extent to which they relate directly to that question. I would ask the speaker, therefore, to try to relate his remarks somewhat more closely to the purely procedural question now before the Assembly. I ask the speaker kindly to continue.

92. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I thank you, Mr. President, for your observations; but I must point out that I am, in my statement, preserving the closest possible link between substance and procedure. It is impossible to deal with matters of procedure without referring to substance—which is what I have done. Everything I have so far said has a direct connexion with the reasons for which the Government of Cuba requests that this important and urgent matter be dealt with in plenary General Assembly and not in the First Committee.

93. The funds with which these illegal activities are financed come from the Central Intelligence Agency and the so-called International Rescue Committee Inc., the real aim of which is to shelter and protect those traitors to the Cuban revolution who seek asylum in the United States.

94. Self-aggression in the Guantánamo naval base. Despite the Cuban people's inalienable right to the restitution of that part of its national territory where the Guantánamo naval base is established, the Revolutionary Government has declared on innumerable occasions that it has no intention of asserting that right by force.

95. That statement was repeated by the Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, during the general debate [872nd meeting], and by the Revolutionary Government only a few hours ago. What that Government and the people of Cuba will not renounce is their desire to raise, at the right time and within the framework of international law, the question of the return of that part of their fatherland which was taken from them by intimidation, coercion and force. Furthermore, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba are seriously concerned at the possibility of finding themselves involved in an atomic war if the United States Government engages in some crazy war-like adventure.

96. The pretext of a possible internal or extra-continental attack on the Guantánamo base has been carefully built up as plans for attacking and invading Cuba have progressed. During the last few days the United States Press has been full of every kind of threat and boastful utterance. The United States Government knows perfectly well that the Guantánamo base will not be attacked by the Government of Cuba. But it has to conceal the real motives of its conduct—in this case, to cloak its own spurious objectives.

97. The Government of Cuba knows equally well that the United States Government is preparing self-

aggression in the Guantánamo base, with an eye to the forthcoming elections. The victory obtained by President Eisenhower in 1956 was largely due, as everyone knows, to the imperialist invasion of Egypt and the paralysing admonition of the Soviet Government. It is now hoped to produce similar results by self-aggression in the Guantánamo base. According to Drew Pearson, the author of this Machiavellian scheme is Robert Hill, the meddlesome United States Ambassador in Mexico. In recent statements, Hill deliberately reverses the picture and fathers on our Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro, the idea of self-aggression. One has only to read those statements aright to see to what extent United States imperialism can resort to the most unscrupulous methods.

98. The landing this week-end, on the Guantánamo base, of 1,074 marines belonging to a naval squadron marauding around the coasts of Cuba is a clear act of provocation.

99. Guatemala and Swan Island as operational bases for the invasion of Cuba. The General Assembly will assuredly recall the denunciation by the Cuban delegation of the subversive activities which the Government of Guatemala, with the connivance of the United States Government and the United Fruit Company, is undertaking against the Government of Cuba. Guatemalan territory has become the hide-out and fortress of hardened Cuban war criminals and foreign mercenaries, trained and organized by United States Army technicians on private estates in remote parts of the country. Numerous clandestine airports have been built, and military aircraft and transport vessels have been purchased in large numbers. The delegation of Guatemala, well primed, has denied those charges.

100. A few days ago, the President's Information Secretary, Augusto Mulet, publicly admitted that the Government of Guatemala was training mobile military units on more than twenty private estates. He naturally asserted that those units were being trained, not to invade Cuba, but to repel any attack by Castro guerrillas. He also admitted that thirteen transport ships were anchored at Puerto Barrios. These declarations preceded the motion submitted to the Guatemalan Congress by representative Julio Valladares, in which it was requested that a commission be appointed to investigate the charge that foreign military bases had been established, and that foreign bomber aircraft had arrived, in Guatemala. The President of Guatemala himself declared—and this justifies the accusation made by the Cuban delegation—that there was no reason why his Government, in defence of Guatemalan sovereignty, should not offer the United States Government the use of military air bases.

101. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has proof that, on 20 October 1960, seventeen B-26 bombers took off from the United States airport of Salinas, in the Guayama district of Puerto Rico, and landed at a secret airport in Guatemala.

102. The plan is to invade Cuba by air and sea from Guatemala. The general headquarters of the expeditionary force trained, organized and financed by the United States Government, is located in Guatemala.

103. On Swan Island, a territory belonging to Honduras but arbitrarily occupied by the United States Government, is a powerful broadcasting station in daily use by the counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries for incitement to subversion, aggression and intervention.

The United States Government finances and supports such incitement.

104. The establishment of aggressive measures for the control and prohibition of essential exports to Cuba is part of the United States Government's strategy of intimidation, and epitomizes its vain efforts to reduce the Cuban people to submission through hunger and to cripple the plans of economic development initiated by the Revolutionary Government.

105. The Nixon-Kennedy controversy concerning Cuba. So much has been heard and said on this matter that there is no need for me to spend overmuch time on discussing the argument between Vice-President Nixon and Senator Kennedy with regard to Cuba. Suffice it to say that both of them have discussed the destiny of Cuba as if that country were a province or a piece of real estate belonging to the United States Government. Both of them have constantly advocated aggression, subversion and invasion as methods to be used against the Government and people of Cuba. There is nothing new in this, since the United States Government has done nothing but encourage that trend, without any attempt at concealment. The peoples of Latin America know very well what to expect from the triumph of either candidate: absorption and strangulation.

106. The United States Government is never tired of lauding the inter-American system and the substantial contributions it has made to the economic development of Latin America. The delegation of Cuba challenges it to prove, with facts and figures, the practical results of those contributions in permanently beneficial industries, in commercial treaties that are truly reciprocal, in the stabilization of primary commodity prices, in the abolition of latifundia, in improved land distribution and in more favourable balance-of-payments positions. While the growth of population in Latin America is assuming explosive proportions, the United States Government, more concerned to defend the interests of the monopolies than to collaborate for the well-being of the Latin American peoples, has offered a grant of \$500 million as a contribution to their "social development"—a new subterfuge invented to maintain the metropolitan ratio between consumer goods and raw materials, and the single-market structure.

107. What Cuba advocates as the most effective way of expediting Latin America's economic development was clearly defined in the meeting of the Committee of Twenty-one at Bogotá,^{4/} by our Minister of Economy, Dr. Regino Boti, as follows: a planned national effort and indirect foreign investment, without political "strings", through an international credit institution without commitments to imperialist monopolies. The fact that the Cuban proposal was not adopted in no way detracts from its validity.

108. These are the facts as I submit them to the General Assembly.

109. Is the complaint lodged by the Cuban delegation one of importance and urgency, or not? Should it be brought as soon as possible before the General Assembly, or not? Can it be relegated to the First

^{4/}Third Meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of Twenty-one) held at Bogotá, Colombia, from 5 to 13 September 1960.

Committee without serious responsibilities being incurred?

110. The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba are on guard, ready, in unity, to repel the large-scale invasion now afoot. Certain newspapers have already announced the departure of expeditionary forces from Guatemalan territory. The men and women of my country are preparing to resist the invaders, whom, we are confident, we shall bring to bite the dust of defeat. No alternative exists for the Revolutionary Government and people of Cuba, since for us defeat means collective destruction. That is why our motto is "Country or death! We shall conquer!" But collective destruction, or victory over the invader, will have an immeasurable effect on the history of America and of the world. Either will mark the end of United States imperialism.

111. The question before us now is a different one: whether or not the United Nations General Assembly can remain with folded arms when plans of aggression and acts of intervention on the part of a great Power in respect of a small country are going forward. The Organization came into being in order to save mankind from the scourge of a new war and to defend the right of small countries to self-determination, sovereignty and independence.

112. A small country, Cuba, which is a Member of the Organization and enjoys rights equal to those of the great Power that threatens and attacks it, is only asking for its accusation to be heard and judged by the General Assembly. This appeal cannot fall on deaf ears. We may be sure that any General Assembly resolution on the matter will decisively influence the future of small countries. The cause of Cuba is the cause of the under-developed peoples of Africa, America and Asia. It is also the cause of international security and peace.

113. With that I conclude. But I must first ask these questions: Can the General Assembly wait for the invasion of Cuba to take place before adopting a resolution to protect it? What explanation can be given to world opinion if Cuba is invaded while the General Assembly is entangled in academic discussion as to whether or no, or where and when, the Cuban delegation is to be enabled to substantiate its accusation?

114. The delegation of Cuba repeats its request that its charge against the Government of the United States, in view of its importance and urgency, be referred to the General Assembly in plenary meeting.

115. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): I should not like to prolong our debates by an unnecessary intervention. Our session is already sufficiently lagging behind its schedule. However, I am persuaded to speak because of the importance of the issue.

116. Its procedural aspect is clearly misleading since we all know well that if, following the recommendation of the General Committee, we allocate the complaint of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba against the United States Government to the First Committee, we will not be able to deal with this item within a reasonable period of time. The First Committee has on its agenda seven important problems the consideration of which will require time and patience. The addition to this already full agenda of another item can only cause a very definite postponement of its examination. The complaint of Cuba should

therefore, in the submission of the Polish delegation, be allocated to the plenary meeting of our Assembly and should be taken up rather speedily because of its political importance and the other circumstances involved.

117. We are therefore concerned here with a procedural problem of political import—and here we fully agree with the Foreign Minister of Cuba who preceded me on this rostrum. We are about to decide whether the discussion of this pressing issue will be postponed or whether we shall devote to it, and possibly quickly, all the attention it deserves.

118. Cuba is a small country. With its six and a half million inhabitants, it can hardly compare with the great United States, 181 million strong. Thus we have on the one side the greatest Power of the capitalist world, a military and industrial Power, a vast reservoir of productive potential and industrial technology; on the other side we have a relatively small island whose economy was based on monoculture, namely, that of sugar cane, a country until now exploited economically by foreign monopolies, lagging behind in its development, politically dependent on foreign control, should I say paralysed. And it was this Cuba which dared to break the bonds of economic and political dependence, the bonds about which the United States sociologist Leland Jenks wrote in his study *Our Cuban Colony* (1928). Mr. Jenks wrote:

"American capital's preoccupation with the sugar industry and with railways principally devoted to carrying sugar and cane has promoted the unbalanced economy of the island. It has made it possible for irrevocable decisions vitally affecting most of the Cuban population to be taken in Wall Street ... It has been making of Cuba a sugar estate run by chartered accountants and bond salesmen."

119. The Cuban revolution decided to change this state of affairs and has already changed a lot. We have heard from this rostrum in the course of the general debate Prime Minister Fidel Castro reporting on the achievements of his Government. Is there any need for me to recall the then quoted facts?

120. Since the victory of the revolution, ten thousand new schools were built and twenty-five thousand new houses in towns and the countryside. One hundred thousand land labourers were given the ownership of land. Unemployment decreased considerably. All this was accomplished in hardly twenty months. Within a score of months Cuba will become the first country in Latin America able to claim that it has completely eliminated illiteracy. The successes of the revolution are a source of the growing support which the Cuban masses give to their Revolutionary Government, and this mass support provides the Revolutionary Government with ever greater strength at home and ever greater authority abroad. One of the many eye-witnesses, a United States journalist, I. F. Stone, wrote after his visit in Cuba in July 1960—and I should like to remember this quotation when we decide on the issue before us; he stated:

"I believe Fidel Castro and his able group of young associates are bringing about a social revolution of an admirable humane quality with amazing swiftness and order, that they deserve the esteem felt for them by the masses all over Latin America, and that the re-establishment of friendly relations with Castro's

Cuba would do more than a 'Marshall Plan' to win the hearts of our Latin American neighbours."

121. However, the reaction of the other side to the events in Cuba has been a different one, and this in spite of the fact that on 27 January 1960 of this year, the President of Cuba, Dr. Oswaldo Dorticos, made known to President Eisenhower Cuba's readiness to maintain and extend diplomatic and economic relations on the basis of the principle of mutual respect and benefits. The note of the Government of Cuba to the United States Government of 20 February 1960 expressed readiness to enter into diplomatic negotiations on subjects of mutual interest provided, of course, that neither the United States Government nor Congress would take unilateral steps which could prejudice the outcome of such discussions. Mr. Roa renewed this offer a few moments ago.

122. Since the very first moment of its coming into power, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, as we read it, has been anxious to settle its relations with the United States on a proper basis, that of equality and mutual advantage—the only acceptable one in relations between sovereign States. Did the Cuban Government meet with understanding and with a favourable attitude on the part of its stronger neighbour in this respect?

123. The postulate of equality and mutual advantage was of course a novelty in relations between Havana and Washington. The changes, the economic and social reforms effected in Cuba have provoked a sharp and determined protest on the part of American vested interests attempting to defend their positions in Cuba.

124. Instead of bilateral talks and negotiations a situation arose which forced the Cuban Government to bring a complaint to the Security Council, and now to the General Assembly, regarding—and I quote the item before us:

"... 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."

These charges are serious. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to them. What we need is a speedy and effective consideration of these charges here in this plenary meeting.

125. The July meeting of the Security Council, which dealt with the first complaint of Cuba, already supplied many facts then indicating the concern of the Revolutionary Cuban Government as to the possible results of all the harassing, anti-revolutionary actions originating in the United States. I ask these questions: could the Government of any country not react to this and not turn to the United Nations with a request for assistance should hostile planes incessantly engage in air raids from the territory of a neighbouring State? Could such a Government hesitate to draw attention to the great publicity which is being given in the United States Press to the preparations made in the United States by armed bands which may land in Cuba tomorrow? Could it disregard the landing of such bands in Cuba?

126. The Security Council has rendered little assistance to Cuba. Similar were the results of the Seventh

Conference of the OAS held in San José in August 1960. In the meantime acts of pressure against Cuba have continued. What is more, they were even intensified. The United States Government has ordered an embargo for United States exports to Cuba. The problem of a still more active interference in the internal affairs of Cuba has become one of the main items of the United States electoral campaign.

127. The United Nations Charter and other instruments of international law impose upon States an obligation to refrain from any steps which could constitute a threat to independence and territorial integrity of other States.

128. This is not only, I submit, the prohibition of the use of force or the threat of its use, not only the prohibition of intervention in the sphere of the exclusive jurisdiction of another State. What is involved here is also a prohibition of permitting a State's territory to be used as basis for an attack against another State. This principle, among others, is formulated in the Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States elaborated by the International Law Commission, which was discussed at the fourth session of the General Assembly in 1949. Its article 4 provides:

"Every State has the duty to refrain from fomenting civil strife in the territory of another State, and to prevent the organization within its territory of activities calculated to foment such civil strife."

This principle was earlier confirmed by the Havana Convention on Duties and Rights of States in the Event of Civil Strife of 1928, article 1 of which stresses the need:

"To use all means at their disposal to prevent the inhabitants of their territory, national or aliens, from participating in, gathering elements, crossing the boundary or sailing from their territory for the purpose of starting or promoting civil strife."

129. International law clearly defines the obligations of States in this respect. One can, of course, criticize decisions or measures taken by foreign Governments, but a completely different thing is tolerating preparations for acts of violence and of the overthrow of Governments with which diplomatic relations are maintained.

130. The notion of economic aggression was, and still is, being widely discussed. We have discussed it in the various organs of the United Nations. It was the representative of Bolivia who said the following in the Special Committee on the question of defining aggression in 1953 when speaking about this subject. I will quote his words:^{5/}

"... economic aggression violated fundamentally three basic principles of the United Nations: the principle of the political independence of States, that of their sovereign equality and of non-interference in their domestic affairs... Political independence was closely linked with economic independence; thus anything which threatened economic independence was as much an act of aggression as was armed aggression. Aggression was not merely the use of armed force. Economic pressure often produced the same effects as did military aggression."

^{5/}Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Supplement No. 11, document A/2638, para. 70.

131. Strong economic pressure was brought to bear against Cuba. No measures were discarded which could weaken the revolutionary Government. Those measures cannot be treated otherwise but as an economic aggression endangering the sovereignty and security of a State Member of the United Nations. Should not such an action, applied inexorably by a great Power against a small country, be immediately discussed and thoroughly examined at the plenary meeting of our Organization, or are we to wait for the materialization of new threats?

132. The history of Cuba is marked by too many acts of foreign intervention in its internal affairs for any Cuban patriot to be able to neglect not only threats but the even more openly hostile acts against Cuba. Alien United States forces have intervened on three occasions in the internal affairs of Cuba—in 1906, 1912 and 1917. It is only understandable that with such an experience in mind Cuban patriots are disturbed by marines weekending in Guantánamo. In 1920 the Cuban Government was subjected to a complete control by American political and financial advisers. In 1933 it was the United States attitude which caused the downfall of Grau's Government which enacted during the four months it was in office a number of positive measures: an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, the initiation of a programme for agrarian reform, a reduction in electricity rates. In the report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs published by the Foreign Policy Association in 1935 we read:

"The Grau Government aroused intense hostility on the part of business interests... Critics declared that the administration represented only a small fanatical minority dominated by students, kept in power by an undisciplined army. They charged that the Grau régime was demagogic, anti-American and incompetent."^{6/}

133. But we should not and cannot compare the Castro Government with Grau's administration. It is another historical period. The Cuban Revolution is neither a local nor a transitory episode. It cannot be overthrown either by threats of landing parties and tanks or with those of subversion and economic boycott. The Cuban Revolution is an historical phenomenon. Walter Lippman recognized it when he wrote:

"What is going on in Cuba today is no mere palace revolution at the top, in which one oligarchy has ousted another. This is a social revolution involving the masses of the Cuban people, and its aim is not to install a new set of rulers, but to work out a new social order."

134. There are States which will give support to the efforts of the Cuban people, efforts aimed at strengthening complete independence and building a better future. There are provisions of the Charter and rules of international law which cannot be seriously infringed and violated. It is in the interest of all States and of all peoples that these facts be fully recognized. As a result of this recognition, the establishment of proper conditions for co-operation and friendship between the peoples of Cuba and the United States can be brought about on a new basis. Who could deny that this is in the true interest of peace? It is clear to us of Poland that the Cuban Revolution is not aimed

against the United States. It struggles solely and exclusively for the welfare of the people of Cuba, and I submit that no independent nation can be denied this right.

135. The Polish delegation is therefore in favour of discussing the complaint of Cuba at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, since such a decision would allow us to start the discussion without too much delay, and would stress the importance of the matter. We are supporting therefore the Cuban amendment contained in document A/L.321.

136. In conclusion, may I state that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms the equal rights of States, big and small alike. The small country of Cuba feels endangered by its great neighbour. Therefore, its voice should be heard here speedily and with attention.

137. Mr. BRUCAN (Romania): From the very outset I should like to point out that while the issue before us is a procedural one, in fact it is one of the most serious tests this Organization has ever undergone. This Assembly is once again requested exclusively to focus its attention on the letter of the issue and to forget about its spirit. The contention goes as follows. The issue is whether an item should be discussed in plenary Assembly or in a Committee. What difference does it make? This is an ordinary item; this is business as usual. The General Committee has made the recommendation for a Committee. Everything is in strict accordance with the rule. Why all this fuss about it? Does anyone try to reverse a decision made by an organ as important as the General Committee? How could one dare to touch the established order, the due process of law?

138. Unfortunately, that is the way in which the case is presented to the Assembly. Everything was so perfectly and well arranged that the United States delegation does not feel it necessary even to speak before the Assembly. It remains silent because everything is under control.

139. First of all, the issue is not a mere choice between two forums for a debate. Let us not delude ourselves. This is not an ordinary item; this is not business as usual. The issue is, rather, whether an urgent appeal by a small nation threatened as to its very existence should be heeded or not by the United Nations. Everybody in this chamber understands very well that to send the Cuban complaint to the First Committee, which is now engaged in a long debate on disarmament and is committed to take up afterwards other matters of extreme urgency, is another way of saying, "Let us bury the Cuban complaint and, as a consolation, let us make arrangements for a first class funeral with a black Cadillac limousine."

140. After all, it was the United States which presented in the General Committee the motion to allocate the Cuban complaint to the First Committee. Could anyone suppose that the United States representative did not know about the debate on disarmament, about the item on Africa and about Mauritania—items to whose urgent consideration the First Committee is already committed? Of course he knew about them, and yet he acted as he did.

141. Much has already been said in this Organization about the small nations. "It is the small nations that need the United Nations", has been the theme of the tune. The trouble is that the small nations are not

^{6/}Problems of the New Cuba (Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York, 1935), p. 14.

able to use the United Nations when they need it. Yes, when the vote of the small nations is required they become important. However, when a small nation such as Cuba wants to air its serious grievances against the United States it is the United States that decides how the affair should be handled by the United Nations, against the wish of the complainant.

142. This adds a new page to the ordeal of Latin American complaints against the United States in the United Nations. In 1954, when Guatemala⁷ asked the Security Council to prevent the disruption of peace and international security in Central America and to put a stop to the aggression in progress against Guatemala, the complaint was killed by the United States with the kind assistance of the OAS. Everybody knows what has happened in Guatemala in the meantime. Just the other day, on 24 October 1960, Mr. James Reston wrote in The New York Times:

"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."

143. In other words, the technique used by the United States when it deals with Latin American Governments which wish to take an independent course of action is to keep the Security Council out of its business so that it can deal with them effectively.

144. The same technique was used again last summer when Cuba requested the Security Council to examine the acts of intervention and economic aggression undertaken by the United States. Again the United States managed to prevent the Security Council from considering the Cuban complaint, and stifled that complaint in one of the organs created within the OAS for that purpose. Nobody has ever heard since about its fate.

145. Now Cuba has turned to the General Assembly. If that door, too, is found closed where should a Latin American Government air its grievances against the United States? Where could it find protection against such unheard of threats, harassments, reprisals and provocations? Should the United States delegation succeed once more in preventing an early consideration of the Cuban complaint, the conclusion that world public opinion would draw from that would be a tragic one—indeed a fatal one—for the United Nations.

146. The point to be emphatically stressed is that this item is both important and urgent. More precisely, its importance is inextricably linked with its urgency. In other words, one cannot accept its inscription on the agenda without accepting at the same time its urgent—indeed its immediate—consideration. Since the Cuban Government feels that the debate should take place now, and since there are irrefutable facts which show that an invasion of mercenaries is being financed, organized and armed by the United States, how can this Assembly accept a postponement of this debate indefinitely? Who can take upon himself the responsibility of delaying action on a conflict which could easily develop into a major conflagration?

147. At a time when high officials in the United States are debating whether United States intervention in

Cuba should be overt or hidden, the United Nations should raise its voice and issue the following warning to these hotheads: "Neither overt nor hidden intervention, gentlemen. Hands off Cuba."

148. United States policy towards Cuba runs counter to the most fundamental principles of the United Nations and its Charter. It has been generally recognized and reaffirmed time and again by the United Nations that Governments are under a solemn obligation not to engage in any activity which is intended or is likely to incite sedition or revolt against the Governments of other States. Well, we are all witnessing various activities conducted by the United States Government and its agencies with the obvious intent of inciting sedition, fomenting civil strife and organizing an invasion against the legal Government of Cuba.

149. What is more, official United States pronouncements concerning Cuba have reached such a high degree of cynicism and open defiance of United Nations principles that one begins to wonder where the United States Government stands with regard to the Charter.

150. It is indeed alarming and also amazing to hear United States leaders talking these days about quite a number of States as though they were United States property. The talk goes like this: "You lost Cuba; you lost Ghana and Guinea; you lost half of Indo-China", and so forth. What kind of language is that? Since when have those remote areas belonged to the United States? And, mind you, in the same speeches and statements one finds passionate professions of allegiance to the United Nations and its Charter.

151. The truth of the matter is that the United States monopolies are used to owning the most important riches and resources all over the world. Cuba is a good case in point. Since the revolution the Government of Fidel Castro has rightly proceeded to nationalize foreign-owned enterprises, turning back to the Cuban people the riches and resources of their land. What does that show? It shows that every single resource of the country, from sugar to cattle and minerals, and every single commodity necessary to its people was owned and exploited by the greedy, profiteering United States monopolies. The Cubans had to pay a toll to those monopolies even for the air they breathed in their own land. But at that time, since Dictator Batista took care of the interests of United States capital and faithfully served foreign monopolies the independence and sovereignty of Cuba was above reproach. Now, when the Cubans have gained real freedom, both politically and economically, the United States owning—and governing—class, which sympathizes with its injured members who have lost their property in Cuba, loudly and noisily cries that Cuba is not independent any more.

152. The same remarks apply to armaments. If one buys United States armaments, that is all right; one is blessed by Washington as being independent, sovereign, and so forth. But, if one buys weapons elsewhere, that is wrong; that is a sin; one has ceased to be independent and must have some sinister plans. This rather strange and dubious doctrine has been applied to some Arab States and African States and now it is being applied to Cuba. In other words, United Nations Member States should apply to Washington for a licence in order to be able to take care of their security. And what if that very security of those sovereign States is threatened by the United States itself?

⁷/See Official Records of the Security Council, Ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1954, document S/3232.

I submit that such an arrogant and bosslike mentality not only is at variance with our Charter but constitutes one of the most serious dangers to international peace and security, since the United States Government is taking upon itself the right to decide what other Governments should do—or else.

153. Let us take, for instance, the decision to land now—when tensions are high in the Caribbean—almost 1,500 United States marines at Guantánamo Bay, on Cuban soil. Anyone who knows the role played by the landing of Yankee marines in Washington's dealings with Latin America during the last two centuries understands the gravity of this provocation.

154. In this connexion, it is extremely significant that United States newspapers have recently emphasized that United States military intervention could take place as a result of a Cuban attack on Guantánamo. However, United States officials know very well that the Cuban Government has no intention whatsoever of attacking the base. Why, then, does the United States Press hammer at this "leit-motif"?

155. In the meantime, the Generals of Batista, who are at home in Florida, are feverishly recruiting and training mercenaries and exiles, as recent photographs in *Life* magazine show. They are preparing the invasion against Cuba, in collusion with other gangs in Central America.

156. As for the assurances given by the United States representative, one cannot put much stock in them since the United States has claimed time and time again that in view of the great number of privately owned aircraft in Florida it is difficult to prevent unauthorized flights to Cuba. This is a rather naïve "cover story" for a State that has the largest police and secret service in the world.

157. To sum up, the issue before us is not a mere procedural issue. If the United Nations turns a deaf ear to the cry for help and protection of a small nation like Cuba, this may deal one of the saddest blows to this Organization. Let us not forget that the issue is not between a plenary meeting and a meeting of the First Committee, but between heeding the Cuban complaint and burying it.

Mr. Fekini (Libya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

158. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The United Nations has before it the request of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to place on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, and to examine as soon as possible in plenary meeting, the grave question of the various plans for aggression and acts of intervention by the Government of the United States of America against the young Republic of Cuba. The hostile activities of United States imperialism against Cuba are there for the whole world to see. They are increasing daily in scope and frequency, and are aggravating the danger to the existence of a Member of the United Nations as an independent sovereign State.

159. The Cuban Government's complaint involves not only the vital interests of the Cuban people and its sacred right to defend its independence, but also international peace and security, which are threatened by the aggressive machinations of the United States Government and monopolies.

160. There is no hiding the fact that military aggression against the Republic of Cuba might be the prelude to a third world conflagration. Hence under the Charter, the Cuban Government's complaint now before our Organization imposes upon the United Nations the essential duty of defending by all means at its disposal, before it is too late, the peace of the world and the right of peoples to self-determination and to a life in peace and freedom.

161. The representative of Cuba, Mr. Raúl Roa, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has painted the true picture—and a disturbing picture it is—of the criminal activities which the Government of the United States is carrying on against his country, thus unscrupulously trampling underfoot the fundamental principles of our Charter and of the law of nations. The irrefutable facts he has just cited, and those given in the Cuban Government's explanatory memorandum [A/4543], are specific cases of violation of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cuba. We should remember, for example, the recent dispatch of American troops and the provocative action in preparation at the naval base of Guantánamo. I should like to recall what the Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, said in his speech to this Assembly on 26 September, telling us of his Government's concern:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly expressed its concern lest the imperialist Government of the United States should use this base on our territory as a pretext for self-aggression which would justify an attack on our country." [872nd meeting, para. 158.]

162. Other speakers before me have given evidence proving that the Republic and people of Cuba are imminently threatened. The list of United States aggressive activities is long, and many others could be mentioned. The United States Press itself furnishes case after case, showing the increased speed and intensity with which United States aggression against Cuba is now being prepared. It is also clear from the Press that the territory of the United States and of other countries in the Western Hemisphere is being used as a base for operations led by Cuban war criminals and counter-revolutionaries in the service of the State Department, the Pentagon and United States monopolies.

163. The United States magazine *Life*, in its last issue of 31 October 1960, shows photographs of bands of Cuban war criminals training and preparing aggression in and around Miami, and its comments on the importance of the United States Government embargo on exports to Cuba as a means of exerting economic pressure show how cynically the two presidential candidates in the United States of America defend the policy of intervention and aggression against the Republic of Cuba designed to turn Cuba once again into a colonial dependency of the United States imperialists.

164. *The New York Times* of 30 October also deals with the various means, including armed intervention, to be used for overthrowing the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and restoring the United States colonial system in the country.

165. The question of intervention in Cuba is therefore very much in the minds of United States ruling circles and is a propaganda issue in the United States electoral campaign.

166. As part of this policy of positions of strength and of aggression, United States imperialism cites the alleged communist danger threatening the United States from Cuba, as international imperialism has always done whenever it has tried to subjugate by force any people fighting for independence and freedom. Naturally, there is no shadow of doubt that the real reason why the United States is using every means, including force, to overthrow the present Cuban Government and to subdue the country again, is that the Cuban people is determined, by its heroic and resolute struggle, to achieve an historic victory over the United States imperialists and their Cuban lackeys and to enable it to establish in Cuba a democratic system in which the interests of the people—incompatible as they are with the interests of the United States monopolists who have plundered the country—are paramount. Unfortunately the United States is not pleased because the Cuban Revolution is an attractive example for the other peoples still under the domination of the United States monopolies.

167. The Albanian people have followed the Cuban people's heroic struggle for freedom with deep sympathy, rejoicing in its victory over American imperialism. The Albanian people and Government thoroughly approve of the important steps and reforms which the Cuban Government has carried out to free its people from the bonds of American imperialist exploitation and to bring about the essential conditions for the development and prosperity of the country in freedom and independence.

168. Thus the scale and the speed of its military preparations, and the absurd pretexts it uses, show that the United States Government has shown itself resolutely preparing to commit aggression against Cuba and the Cuban people. A large-scale invasion may take place at any time. We must consider the complaint of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba without delay.

169. Since this complaint is both serious and urgent, the Cuban Government rightly asks that it should be considered by the General Assembly in plenary meeting and as soon as possible. It is the United Nations duty to comply with this legitimate request and to give the Cuban people a hearing immediately, through its representatives, in the highest organ of the United Nations, at this grave moment on which its whole future depends.

170. The hypocritical statements of the United States representative in the General Committee can delude no one. The preparations being made by the United States for aggression against Cuba in the near future cannot be denied. The United States representative has tried to have the matter sent to the First Committee, in other words to postpone consideration of the item indefinitely, since that Committee's agenda is already too full. To agree to this would be to play into the hands of the American imperialists, who are preparing to unleash armed aggression against Cuba at any moment.

171. In this grave and urgent situation, which threatens the existence of a Member of the United Nations, increases international tension and endangers world peace and security, the United Nations has no choice but to examine as soon as possible, in plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the complaint of the Revolu-

tionary Government of Cuba, and to take the necessary steps to stop the rot before it is too late.

172. For these various reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania gives its unreserved support to the Cuban delegation's amendment [A/L.321] which provides that its complaint shall be considered in plenary meeting.

Mr. Boland, President, resumed the Chair.

173. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): The General Assembly has before it a complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding preparations by the United States Government for acts of aggression and intervention against Cuba. Within the brief period of several weeks, the General Assembly is again faced with the serious task of considering actions of the United States which are in contradiction to the generally recognized and accepted standard of international law, as well as the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

174. However, similarly, as in the case of the complaint by the Government of the Soviet Union against the aggressive actions by the United States, we are again confronted with an endeavour to prevent a thorough consideration of this serious question in the plenary session of the Assembly. On the other hand, however, it is well known that, under pressure of the United States, the General Committee recommended, and the General Assembly approved, the consideration in the plenary of such non-existent questions as the so-called question of Hungary or Tibet.

175. The fact that the request of the Cuban delegation is justified and urgent becomes clearly evident in the light of the acts of aggression that have been committed or are being prepared by the United States against the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cuba. Some of these acts which have been committed recently are set forth in detail in an *ex parte* memorandum which is contained in document A/4543.

176. There is every indication that these acts of aggression are a part of the large scale plans of intervention by the United States Government aimed at a forcible overthrow of the legitimate Government of Cuba and its replacement by a Government which, as in the past, would be submissive to orders coming from the United States.

177. The reason for the hostile policy of the United States Government against Cuba is because the Government of Fidel Castro began to pursue a policy of real national independence which is in harmony with the vital interests of the Cuban people, and that it decided to free the country from the domination of United States imperialism.

178. It is well known that, in its endeavour to strangle the democratic national revolutionary movement in Cuba, the United States Government took a number of measures constituting large scale economic aggression and violations of many contractual obligations towards Cuba to which the United States Government was committed under international law. These acts of aggression by the United States have recently become manifest by imposing practically a complete embargo on United States exports to Cuba. Thus, economic aggression goes hand in hand with intensified political attacks on the Government of Cuba.

179. According to reports recently published in the United States Press, bands of counter-revolutionaries, to be used against the Government of Cuba, have been, for quite a long time, receiving training in Florida. As early as the beginning of October, a band of terrorists invaded the territory of Cuba. It is well known that this action was prepared and carried out from Florida, that a boat flying the United States flag was used for that purpose, and that United States citizens were involved. United States aircraft are systematically supplying weapons to bandits who, by terrorist actions, try to disrupt the economic and political life in the country and weaken the position of the Government of Cuba. Of late, the United States has stepped up provocative actions at the Guantánamo base. This fact fully confirms the correctness of the words of Prime Minister Fidel Castro when, speaking in the general debate, he pointed out that the United States was going to use this base for acts of aggression.

180. All these facts demonstrate that the aggressive acts of the United States against Cuba constitute a grave threat to international peace, as well as to the security and independence of one of the Member States of our Organization. It is therefore the duty of the Assembly, directly arising from the Charter, to consider this question as early as possible and to take appropriate steps aimed at averting the danger of impending aggression by the United States against the heroic peoples of Cuba. It is essential for the Assembly, as an organ co-responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take resolute action against the policy of unscrupulous trampling on the basic standard of international law and the principles of our Charter—the prohibition of the use of force or threat of force in relations between States, the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States, the principle of meeting obligations assumed under international law, and many others.

181. The gravity and urgency of this question require that it be given a most responsible consideration by the General Assembly. In view of the number and importance of items on the agenda of the First Committee, it is most likely that the consideration of this question could not be given such attention as its importance deserves. From the character of this question, which comes from the course of action taken by the United States, and from the intensified campaign of hostility to which we are witnesses, and whose aim is to create an atmosphere favourable for the early unleashing of aggression against Cuba, it follows that the consideration of this question is one of exceptional importance and urgency.

182. In view of this fact, the Czechoslovak delegation fully supports the request of the Cuban delegation for the earliest possible consideration of the complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding the aggression of the United States, in the plenary session, and the Czechoslovak delegation will vote for the amendment put forward by the delegation of Cuba in document A/L.321. We think that only then will the General Assembly fulfil its obligations to defend international peace and security, which is a task set up by the United Nations in its Charter.

183. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bulgaria on a point of order.

184. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): We are now discussing a very important question, namely whether we should refer the urgent matter of the complaint of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to one of the Main Committees. The proposal to refer the question to the First Committee was first made of course by the representative of the United States of America, who undoubtedly had very cogent reasons for doing so.

185. We have not yet heard the representative of the United States, who should give his reasons. Presumably the United States delegation is preparing a major statement, for we do not believe that it can continue to take part in the conspiracy of silence on the matter. We cannot think that the delegation of the United States of America wants to join in such a conspiracy or that, until the question is discussed here, everything can be allowed to happen as if it had been arranged in advance by certain groups.

186. For this reason, in view of the lateness of the hour, and because I myself wish to speak in the debate, I move the adjournment of the meeting under Rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

187. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Bulgaria has moved the adjournment of the meeting under Rule 78. Rule 78 provides that motions for the adjournment of a meeting shall not be debated but shall be put immediately to the vote. I propose, therefore, to put to the vote at once the motion for the adjournment of the meeting made by the representative of Bulgaria.

The motion was adopted by 20 votes to 5, with 49 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.