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

Temporary President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

## AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Peru

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I declare open the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly.

## AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I request representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

Address by Mr. Víctor A. Belaúnde, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Peru

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The year since last September has been a test for our Organization. It began well with the unanimous election of a President, an election which I regarded as an honour conferred on my country and a symbol of a general desire to understand the grave problems to be settled. Subsequently, the resolution on disarmament [1378 (XIV)], embodying the various

drafts which had been submitted earlier, was also adopted unanimously. This recognized the interest of all peoples in participating in the Disarmament Commission and the principle of parity as a means of balancing the interests of East and West. With the same unanimity, the Assembly reconstituted the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [resolution 1472 A (XIV)].

4. Eagerly but respectfully we heard statements by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [799th meeting], Mr. López Mateos, President of the United States of Mexico [828th meeting], Mr. Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea [837th meeting].

5. The discussion of the Chinese aggression in Tibet did not affect the general orientation of our discussions, and in this same spirit the Assembly settled the difficulties in renewing the membership of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council.

6. We were not specifically called upon to settle the great questions, but it was our duty to preserve the right atmosphere for their discussion. The world was already concerned about nuclear disarmament and the related problem of the control of outer space. The great Powers should have taken a decisive step towards peace by embarking on a new and fair discussion of this question. The eyes of the world turned from our Assembly to the Summit Conference which was to be held in Paris. It is not for me, on leaving the Presidency, to comment on the collapse of that Conference or on the apparent or real reasons for it, for it is not the task of an outgoing President, and still less of the representative of a country outside the nuclear conflict, to intensify or aggravate the present disagreements.

7. The first result of this unfortunate collapse was a return to the atmosphere of the worst periods of international tension, and the struggle of ideologies and of words became even more bitter. The foundations of peace can only be laid in an atmosphere of mutual respect, understanding and the will for agreement.

*The printed official records of the General Assembly are published in fascicle form, the record of each meeting being issued separately. In order that the fascicles may subsequently be bound in volumes by organ and session, the pagination is continuous throughout each series of records of a single body. At the end of the session, a prefatory fascicle is issued for each series, containing a table of contents, a list of members of delegations, an agenda and other prefatory matter.*

*After the close of the session, collated sets of fascicles will be placed on sale for the general public.*

Insults and ideological intransigence can destroy in a moment the result of long years of negotiation and adjustment, just as, when a deep crevasse appears in a Swiss glacier, the vibration or echo of a voice is enough to start an avalanche and cause a catastrophe. The failure of the Summit Conference has also had repercussions on problems in the American continent and on the growing crisis in the Congo. I am happy to express to the Security Council and the Secretary-General our appreciation of the way in which they have carried out the provisions of the Charter, always taking the most judicious steps.

8. A new use has been found for the institution of the emergency force, which leads us to hope that it will become a standing body within our Organization.

9. We must emphasize the importance of the Security Council's resolution on the proper application of Article 52 of the Charter, which defines the relations between the world Organization and regional arrangements of agencies. These groupings, especially the first and foremost of them, the American system, must observe the principles of peace and security established by the United Nations. The American arrangement has everything necessary for the just, peaceful and effective solution of conflicts arising in our continent. The United Nations had to recognize that it was under a duty to call on regional organizations and to use all the resources which they fortunately possess. Regionalism is not a fixed rule, but a means of using the immediate relationship and effective link between neighbouring countries in order to place their problems in true perspective and thus isolate them from the disturbing influence of outside interests or tendencies apparent in the struggle for power.

10. The Congo crisis has also been dealt with as a regional matter. An appeal had to be made to the solidarity of the African peoples, who were concerned to save the young Republic from political anarchy and economic chaos. The Secretary-General deserves the thanks of all mankind for his decision, confirmed by the Security Council, to use forces from African countries and the co-operation of impartial European countries to keep order, to protect lives and to replace the forces of the former colonial Power. We can be proud of the manner in which the Security Council has risen to the high task entrusted to it by the Charter. The first thing to do in any conflict is to put it in the hands of an impartial body, which is free of any ambition for political or military domination and of all economic vested interests. This means discarding the old system of the balance of interests or of power of a minority of States, and replacing it by a new system which takes into account, first and foremost, the interests of the parties to the conflict and which uses the means offered by a common geography, history and culture, as well as the technical efficiency and moral authority of the United Nations.

11. Nothing could have given me more pleasure than presiding over the fourth emergency session of the General Assembly, at which we endorsed the wise resolutions of the Security Council and the vital work which the Secretary-General has carried out so efficiently. We can now hope that the Congo problem will soon be justly and peacefully solved, under the authority of the Security Council and the

Assembly, in other words, under the authority of the highest international body in the world. I do not think I am being unduly optimistic when I say that our Organization has emerged from its recent difficulties strengthened and respected, with a reserve of moral force which it is in duty bound to use in dealing with the grave problems of the moment.

12. As outgoing President of the Assembly, and as Head of the delegation of Peru for many years, I am very pleased that seventeen new States are soon to be admitted to the family of the United Nations. Ever since the Charter was signed at San Francisco, the Peruvian delegation has worked tirelessly to make the Organization universal. We can now say that we have almost reached our aim. I once said that the nineteenth century was the age of the arrival of the new Latin American nations. I should like to add now that the twentieth century will be the age of the arrival of the new independent nations of Asia and Africa. But there is a difference: When we gained our independence we were guided only by Bolivar's dream of establishing one day the unity and solidarity of the new nations. Today, however, our sister nations in Africa and Asia have a true home in the great United Nations.

13. Today we have among us not only many Ministers of Foreign Affairs, as on other occasions, but also distinguished Heads of State and Prime Ministers. This is indeed an unparalleled occasion, which clearly shows how well we realize that we are on the threshold of events which will be critical for mankind. I should like to welcome all these distinguished representatives, and I think I am expressing the will of the Assembly when I say that their presence here reflects a desire to use this Assembly in order to restore harmony and good will and to make possible the solution of all urgent and fundamental problems by the peaceful means set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

14. Owing to the unavoidable circumstances of the last war, our Organization was built on two foundations: an ethical and legal foundation, implying the unselfish and impartial co-operation of all peoples united in the Assembly, and a political and coactive foundation, which required agreement among the great Powers. Unfortunately, such agreement has constantly been prevented by crises, each of which has seemed worse than the last. But despite these disagreements, reflected in the vetoes in the Security Council, our Organization has survived all the crises by constantly—I repeat, constantly—emphasizing the ethical and legal precepts of the Charter, the affirmation of which has always had the support of world public opinion. Our future depends on this ethical and legal element, and the world public opinion which goes with it, as expressed in the Assembly, is exerting an ever greater influence on the great Powers to achieve not only the negative objective of mere coexistence, but willing co-operation in a spirit of true understanding and solidarity.

15. Peace is now the supreme concern and aspiration of all mankind. The day has passed when a military victory, even one bearing a new message for mankind, could compensate for the squandering of wealth and the bloody sacrifice of human lives. A lightning victory by surprise attack and the discovery of a weapon to end all weapons are now purely Utopian ideas.

16. Peace is not only an ethical ideal, but a vital need for mankind. We cannot allow mad obsessions, miscalculations or tragic emergencies to unleash the horrors of war and universal destruction.

17. It is an unfortunate fact of human history that economic and political systems have never at any time been content to develop within their own frontiers. They have always tried to reach beyond them, and have set up or attempted to set up systems of world supremacy. The danger of this tendency, apart from its economic consequences, is that it unfortunately involves political demands on other peoples. In another age these tendencies might lead to partially destructive wars, with long intervening periods of recovery. But now that nuclear weapons have been discovered, the dangers have reached such proportions that they are mathematically infinite and carry the seeds of their own tragic penalty of self-annihilation and the destruction of all others.

18. If we look at the nuclear problem from this point of view, we clearly cannot rely on the balance between the great Powers or on their judgement, which constantly changing circumstances often prove to be erroneous. Nuclear disarmament and the control of outer space are problems which directly concern all men and are therefore matters manifestly within the competence of our Organization.

19. The problem of conventional arms can be settled in practice by an agreement on ceiling figures for the great Powers. The regulation of the armaments of other States must be based not on political precedent, but on the objective facts of population, geographical position, length of frontiers and the true needs of legitimate national or continental defence.

20. The Assembly should devote all its efforts to nuclear disarmament. We can resolve the false antithesis between control without disarmament and disarmament without control by following the idea outlined at the sixth session of the Assembly, that disarmament and control are indivisible and must be simultaneous.

21. It would be best if control with proper safeguards were supervised by impartial countries, which means the small Powers. Those who took part in the Disarmament Commission know well that nuclear disarmament is not now impeded by technical difficulties; the few that exist can be solved. The obstacles to disarmament are today of an essentially political nature. Disarmament calls for the peaceful atmosphere, the pure air and the free spirit of the Assembly discussions. The specific measures can be left to the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, on which East and West are equally represented.

22. The conflicts which are bound to arise in any such body can be solved by the timely, intelligent and impartial intervention of the Assembly. The Assembly would thus have two tasks: to lay down the general conditions of disarmament agreed upon by all Powers; and to resolve deadlocks in the Ten-Nation Committee.

23. I hope the great Powers can accept the Assembly's arbitration. Otherwise, the differences would never be settled, and we would continue to be in the situation in which we have been for the last ten years. The fairest means of solving these problems

is to seek the opinion of the Assembly, which represents the conscience of mankind.

24. At moments such as this we must think not only of States, but of peoples. The Preamble of our Charter does not say "the Governments or States", but "the peoples of the United Nations". This does not mean that we should deny the importance of State or government representation but, at the historic moment when the San Francisco Charter was signed and welcomed by all mankind as a sign of new hope, the Assembly reflected and expressed the desires of all the peoples of the world. Now that the nuclear arms race, based on power politics, hinders the great Powers' plans for social reform and their God-given mission to help the less industrialized countries, we should return to that spirit of San Francisco.

25. It is not only a matter of human survival. Human life must also be made fit for the human being, both from the material standpoint of health and nutrition and from the spiritual one of culture and, above all, freedom.

26. An unstable nuclear balance might bring about a negative and sterile coexistence for a while. We do not think, however, that this tragic dilemma is inevitable, or that there can only be a temporary truce under the threat of total and immediate destruction. Let us work to create an atmosphere of understanding, involving the renunciation of all political domination, ideological supremacy and Utopian dogmatism, and leading to a clear acknowledgement of the fact that the principles of the Charter should govern the conduct of all States, great and small.

27. Spinoza thought that all men should overcome the limitations of time and act sub specie aeternitatis, ignoring the blood-stained myths of race, political domination and ideological Utopias. Let us, for our part, approach every question from the point of view of all mankind and always act sub specie humanitatis.

### AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

28. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Under rule 28 of the rules of procedure the General Assembly should, at the beginning of each session, appoint a Credentials Committee composed of nine members at the proposal of the President.

29. I therefore propose that the Credentials Committee for the fifteenth regular session should be made up of the following Member States: Costa Rica, Haiti, Morocco, New Zealand, Philippines, Spain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America.

30. If there is no objection, I shall consider these countries appointed to the Credentials Committee.

*It was so decided.*

## AGENDA ITEM 4

### Election of the President

31. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall go on to the election of the President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. It will be held by secret ballot, in accordance with rules 31 and 94 of the rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. McIlquham Schmidt (Denmark) and Mr. Gebreyegzy (Ethiopia) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

Number of ballot papers:	82
Invalid ballots:	2
Number of valid ballots:	80
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	80
Required majority:	41

*Number of votes obtained:*

Mr. Frederick H. Boland (Ireland) . . . . .	46
Mr. Jiří Nosek (Czechoslovakia) . . . . .	25
Mr. Thor Thors (Iceland) . . . . .	9

*Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Frederick H. Boland (Ireland) was elected President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and took the Chair.*

#### Address by Mr. Frederick H. Boland, President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly

32. The PRESIDENT: May I say first in a few words how deeply and how sincerely I appreciate the honour you have done my country and myself by electing me to preside over this fifteenth session of the General Assembly and how profoundly grateful I am to those delegations whose friendly support made my election possible. No one regrets more than I do that my election should not have had the support of all sections in the Assembly. Much as I regret the fact, I recognize the reasons for it. In that regard, I should only like to say that I assume the duties of this office with a deep sense of obligation and responsibility which extends in equal measure to every delegation in the Assembly. It will be my constant and sincere endeavour, while in this Chair, so to discharge the duties incumbent on me as to merit and receive the trust and confidence of the Assembly as a whole.

33. I will be immensely helped and fortified in this endeavour by the example set by my distinguished predecessors, and by none more than the example of my immediate predecessor, my good friend and colleague, Dr. Belaúnde. By his just, wise and unfailingly courteous conduct of the office of President, he has provided me with an invaluable source of guidance and inspiration.

34. I know, too, that I can count with absolute confidence on the assistance and support of the Secretariat and, above all, of the Secretary-General himself, than whom no one has given so many and such irrefutable proofs of single-minded devotion to the interests of the United Nations and of unselfish dedication to the aims of the Charter.

35. I take my election to the Presidency of this Assembly as being above all a compliment and a

tribute to the country and the people whom I have the honour to represent.

36. Ireland is a relatively recent Member of the world family of sovereign States. But we are an ancient nation and, throughout the course of the centuries, we have spread far beyond the limits of our national territory until today millions of people of Irish birth and descent are to be found among the populations of many countries in all parts of the world. Irish people, wherever they may be, have always been distinguished for their fidelity to the traditions and beliefs which form their heritage. The ideal of freedom, the essential dignity of the human person, the inherent evil of all forms of persecution and oppression, the right of every nation to determine its own destiny, in dignity and freedom, without outside interference or dictation, and the ideal of a world order based on justice and the rule of law as the surest guarantee of international peace and security—these are among the principles which inspired the men and women whose efforts and sacrifices made possible the measure of freedom we in Ireland now enjoy.

37. These same principles shape Ireland's role in world affairs today. The policies which Ireland pursues in this Organization are a consequence and a reflection of our national past; and for that reason, I venture to think in all humility that it will be a source of satisfaction and pride, not only to people in Ireland, but to many people of Irish birth and descent throughout the world, that a representative of Ireland should be chosen to preside at the Assembly of the United Nations at this critical moment in world history.

38. It is not for me, speaking from the Chair, to attempt to delineate the character of the session on which we are about to embark. That it will be unique in the history of the United Nations must be already obvious to us all. Never before will so many Heads of States and Governments have attended in one place to lend the emphasis and the authority of their physical presence to the presentation of their countries' policies. From that point of view alone, the forthcoming session may well come to rank in history as the greatest diplomatic gathering the world has ever seen. It may well come to rank also as the most momentous.

39. During the fifteen years of its existence this Organization has been confronted with difficult and dangerous political conflicts. It has successfully surmounted more than one sharp challenge, more than one serious threat to peace and security. The agenda of the present session includes items which will tax to the full all the resources of our past experience. Our conclusions with regard to them may well prove decisive for the future of the United Nations and, thereby, for the whole future evolution of world society.

40. The Assembly of the United Nations is a forum of free debate, and we must not be surprised if the fundamental differences of policy and outlook which divide the world find sharp and even vehement expression here in our discussions. That is something for which we must be prepared.

41. The peoples we represent, however, are entitled to expect that above the clamour of our differences,

there will also be heard in our debates the voice of reason and justice. Millions of men and women throughout the world, in spite of their differences of outlook and circumstances, are united in the hope and prayer that they and their children may be spared in their time the scourge of war, which has afflicted so many past generations. Millions of men and women in the world will anxiously seek in our proceedings an answer to the awe-inspiring question whether at long last, through the collective efforts of the United Nations, mankind at long last is gaining control of its own destiny or whether once again blind force is to decide the fate of the world.

42. In facing that challenge, our Organization can hope to draw on great resources—the almost limitless resources of courage, energy and imagination which, as history proves, exist among the nations represented here. The problem still remains, how best to draw on these resources for the common good rather than squander them in mutual destruction, according to the cruel usage of the past.

43. It is to solve that problem that our Organization exists. It is making, amid tremendous difficulties, progress towards a solution. The progress made, indeed, has led mankind to place more hope than ever before in the possibilities of combined action by the world community. Because of recent events, these high hopes are now to be severely tested.

44. Every delegation here present, no matter what its frame of reference, can help the Assembly to meet that trial. We are not required to dissemble—rather we should express clearly, without malice—our divergences of outlook. What we do need to remember, however, and to hold constantly in mind is something far more important than any of our divergences—the common aspirations, needs and interests of all the peoples of the world.

45. In a national parliament the normal human resentments and day-to-day clashes of interest are held in check by a common patriotism. In the session to come, may our divergences similarly be held in check by a sense of something larger—by the dawn of a truly international patriotism.

46. The new Member States which we shall shortly have the pleasure of welcoming will bring the Assembly nearer in practice to what it ideally is: an Assembly fully representative of the whole human race. If, to match this accession of strength, we can bring to our work a corresponding sense of community, as dwellers on this small and threatened planet, then indeed this Assembly may deserve a noble title: the Assembly of humanity.

## AGENDA ITEM 20

### Admission of new Members to the United Nations

47. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of the General Assembly, I now propose to put before it—and I do so with great satisfaction—item 20 of our provisional agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations".

48. The special procedure of dealing with this matter before the adoption of the agenda has been used on earlier occasions and it does not constitute any precedent for the future. My reason for suggesting this procedure on the present occasion is to give

the newly independent States which have requested membership of our Organization the opportunity to participate from the outset in the work of the present session. Furthermore, I feel, as I am sure the Assembly will also, that we owe these newly independent States the additional consideration of acting on their requests for membership on the day of the opening of the session, thus underlining the importance to the Organization of this considerable addition to its membership.

49. The Assembly already has before it, I think, a number of draft resolutions recommending the admission of new Members. The Security Council, in each case, has unanimously recommended positive action to be taken by the Assembly. I therefore take it that the Assembly may also wish to be given the opportunity to receive each of these new Members, one by one, by acclamation.

50. After the votes on all the draft resolutions before us, Members of the Assembly will have an opportunity to take the floor in order to welcome the new Member States.

51. If it is agreeable to the Assembly, I shall put to the vote first the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.295] recommending the admission of the Republic of Cameroun to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

52. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of Cameroun admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Cameroun was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

53. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.296] recommending the admission of the Togolese Republic to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

54. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Togolese Republic admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Togolese Republic was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

55. The PRESIDENT: The third candidate for admission to membership of the United Nations is the Federation of Mali. In this case the Assembly has no draft resolution before it.

56. A number of delegations have intimated to me that, in existing circumstances, they are not ready to act on this candidacy and, therefore, they would prefer that the matter should be held over. I am sure that the Assembly will feel that, in the circumstances, that is a reasonable request. If there is no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

*It was so decided.*

57. The PRESIDENT: The fourth candidate for admission to membership in the United Nations is the Malagasy Republic. I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.297] recommending the admission of the Malagasy Republic to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

58. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Malagasy Republic admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Malagasy Republic was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

59. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission to membership is the Republic of Somalia. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Italy, Tunisia and the United Kingdom [A/L.298] recommending the admission of the Republic of Somalia to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

60. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of Somalia admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Somalia was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

61. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission is the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). The Assembly has before it a draft resolution sponsored by Tunisia [A/L.299] recommending the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) for admission to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

62. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) admitted to membership in the United Nations.

63. As Members of the Assembly are aware, the situation in the Congo has been the subject of much discussion in the United Nations within recent weeks and even within the past few days, and the constitutional and political position in that country still remains, unhappily, far from clear. In these circumstances, we are faced with a difficulty as regards the implementation of the resolution we have just adopted. The difficulty is one for the Assembly itself, and I would suggest to the Assembly that the best solution of this would be to refer it to the Credentials Committee. As I hear no objection to this proposal, it will be considered as adopted.

*It was so decided.*

64. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission to the United Nations is the Republic of Dahomey. I would ask the Assembly to vote now on a draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.300] recommending the admission of the Republic of Dahomey to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

65. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Republic of Dahomey admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Dahomey was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

66. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission to the United Nations is the Republic of the Niger. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.301] recommending the admission of the

Republic of the Niger to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

67. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Republic of the Niger admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of the Niger was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

68. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission to membership is the Republic of the Upper Volta. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.302] recommending the admission of the Republic of the Upper Volta to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

69. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Republic of the Upper Volta admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of the Upper Volta was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

70. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission to membership is the Republic of the Ivory Coast. I will ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.303] recommending the Republic of the Ivory Coast for admission to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

71. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Republic of the Ivory Coast admitted to membership in the United Nations.

72. I understand that the delegation of the Republic of the Ivory Coast has not yet arrived in New York and that they will be unable to take their seats this afternoon, but no doubt we shall all have an opportunity to welcome them personally and individually on a later occasion.

73. The next candidate for membership is the Republic of Chad. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.304] recommending the admission of the Republic of Chad to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

74. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of Chad admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Chad was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

75. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for membership is the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). I would ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.305] recommending the admission to membership of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

76. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

77. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for membership is the Gabon Republic. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.306] recommending the admission of the Gabon Republic to membership of the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

78. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Gabon Republic admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Gabon Republic was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

79. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for membership is the Central African Republic. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution sponsored by France and Tunisia [A/L.307] recommending the admission to membership of the Central African Republic.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

80. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Central African Republic admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Central African Republic was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

81. The PRESIDENT: The last candidate for membership is the Republic of Cyprus. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Ceylon and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland [A/L.308], recommending the admission to membership of the Republic of Cyprus.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

82. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of Cyprus admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Cyprus was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

83. The PRESIDENT: Now that these new delegations have taken their places, I feel I will be expressing the desire of all of us if I extend to them a sincere and cordial welcome on behalf of the Assembly as a whole.

84. Within recent years, the representatives of African States have won the admiration and respect of the United Nations as a whole by the wisdom and authority with which they have made the voice of Africa heard in our councils. The emergence of the peoples of Africa into freedom and independence has greatly strengthened the position of the United Nations. I am sure that the new Members from the continent of Africa who have taken their seats among us today will further enhance the advantages which our Organization has already derived from the great liberation movement in Africa.

85. All lovers of freedom everywhere hailed with joy the splendid conciliatory efforts which resulted in the independence of Cyprus. The presence of the delegation of Cyprus among us today symbolizes a triumph of statesmanship and human understanding, the qualities which we all ardently desire to animate our proceedings here. I extend a special welcome, therefore, to the delegation of our new Member,

Cyprus, whose history and culture will, I am sure, enable her to make a distinctive and valuable contribution to our work in the United Nations.

86. Quite a large number of Members of the Assembly have expressed a wish to speak on this item. I shall now give them the floor in turn, in the order in which they were inscribed. I would just ask delegations to bear in mind that, in view of the heavy programme which the Assembly has to face, the utmost brevity which is consistent with what people may have to say will be highly useful and will be a positive contribution to the dispatch of the Assembly's work. I would therefore ask Members of the Assembly kindly to limit their interventions on this particular item to as small a compass as they feel they reasonably can.

87. Mr. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, permit me to convey to you the congratulations of the French delegation on your election to the highest office of our General Assembly. Your outstanding qualities, your experience and the esteem in which you are held by all give us the assurance that you will carry out this difficult task with success and distinction. You may count on our friendly support in accepting your decisions and we offer you our warm and sincere good wishes.

88. I am sure the Assembly will understand why, immediately after the voting, I wished to speak in the name of France in order to voice our satisfaction at the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of Cameroun, the Togolese Republic, the Malagasy Republic, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Dahomey, the Republic of the Niger, the Upper Volta, the Central African Republic, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Republic of Chad and the Gabon Republic, countries which have long been associated with France and which have now, in complete agreement and friendship with her, become fully independent.

89. The unanimous adoption of the resolutions which the French and Tunisian delegations submitted jointly to the Assembly is a source of great joy and pride to us. It represents the crowning achievement of years of effort, indeed of more than a century in some cases, in the process of methodical evolution which has now brought all these new States to a point where they can take their place in the international community. Together they represent a considerable part of Africa, and that is why their accession to independence has inspired many to call the year 1960 the year of Africa. My country claims its share of responsibility and credit in this historic development and is particularly proud of two facts which emerge from it.

90. First of all, there are the circumstances in which these countries have attained independence and are now being admitted to membership in the United Nations. During my speech in the general debate last year [814th meeting], I had occasion to refer to the new provisions of the French Constitution of 1958, to the Community régime, and particularly to the fact that all members of the Community had been granted the right to ask for full sovereignty at any time. Now they have achieved that sovereignty, without hesitation or reserve, in friendship and concord. And in similar conditions two former Trust

Territories, Cameroun and Togo, have become completely independent. Our first cause for satisfaction, therefore, is this excellent understanding between France and all these countries now reaching the culminating point of a long period of evolution.

91. Our second reason for feeling satisfied is the very fact that this process of evolution is now complete. For a long time, Africans and French have worked closely together in mutual confidence to build the foundations on which future States could develop an orderly and progressive way of life. The time has now come to harvest the fruits of our labours through many generations, and particularly in the last ten or fifteen years. It is with complete confidence that we now see our African friends assuming full responsibility for their destiny. We are convinced that they will acquit themselves honourably of their new tasks and especially those they undertake in becoming members of the United Nations. They will represent elements of progress and vitality, enthusiasm and reason in the international community.

92. The eleven African countries recommended for admission by France and Tunisia are in many respects vastly different. Cameroun, the first Trust Territory to become a sovereign State, after forty years of particularly close co-operation with the Administering Authority; Togo, which over the same period has brought about its unity, developed its economy and organized its political life; Madagascar, that great island with a political personality that has made itself felt for centuries which constitutes a link between Africa and southern Asia; the Ivory Coast, an old country with deeply rooted traditions yet a new nation, proud of its tremendous vitality; Dahomey, a country limited in area but great by reason of the quality of its people; the Upper Volta, a country as hospitable as it is picturesque, the source of such skilful, tenacious and valuable manpower; Niger, situated where two worlds meet, the melting-pot where the white and black races mingle; Chad, so long the meeting-place of caravans and now one of the most lively centres of the new Africa; the Central African Republic, country of old traditions, isolated for a thousand years, but now in touch with the world through modern communications; the Congo centred on Brazzaville, whose capital has been one of the strongholds of liberty, occupying a key position as the great transport and redistribution axis for the four States of the former Equatorial Africa; and lastly, Gabon, whose natural resources hold out the promise of a most prosperous future. All these States, so diverse by nature, have one thing in common: they are governed by truly democratic institutions, are animated by sincerely peaceful instincts, have at their head a capable "élite", and can build sound economic structures which will enable them, with the help of their friends, to view the future with confidence. As I said before, the participation of these countries and their leaders in the work of our Organization will enrich it to an extent that France, better than any other country, is in a position to appreciate.

93. Among the States whose admission had been recommended by the Security Council at the request of France and Tunisia there is one, the Federation of Mali, whose case cannot, unfortunately, be decided today by the General Assembly. It is not that Senegal

and Sudan, which had decided in June 1960 to unite in that Federation, are any less prepared or less anxious to become Members of the United Nations, but recent events of which the Assembly has been informed and which have prevented the setting up of federal institutions in Mali make it necessary for us to reconsider the question of its admission. We must wait for a clarification of the situation there, which only concerns the interested parties and in which our Organization should not intervene. France will be the first to rejoice at what it is hoped will be a speedy restoration of normal relations between those parties.

94. I should not wish to encroach on what certain delegations may have to say about other States which our Organization is welcoming today and whose application for membership they have sponsored. May I be permitted, nevertheless, to greet these new Members and to say how delighted my delegation is to see them taking their place amongst us. I am sure that they, like the African countries I have just mentioned, are fully conscious of the fact that on their admission to membership of the United Nations they not only see their independence solemnly and internationally recognized but also assume new responsibilities. In the troubled world of today, the dominant note is one of disputes, threats and fear. Our Organization, where only the theme of peace and international concord should be heard, has itself become the breeding ground for the great conflicts which divide men, for reasons of political doctrine or of differences in their stage of development and race, or which merely arise through the desire of some for political expansion and domination. It is to be hoped that the newly elected Members of our world community, who are still immune from the virus of dissension which sets their elder brethren at variance, will inject into the stormy and profitless debates which we only too often witness here a note of objectivity, of optimism and good will and, above all, of the spirit of tolerance which the rest of us so often fail to display.

95. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, first and foremost, I should like to congratulate you most sincerely on behalf of the Tunisian delegation on the General Assembly's expression of confidence in you, which is a fitting tribute to your high qualities and to the fine country that you represent.

96. I have particular pleasure in welcoming to the United Nations, on behalf of the Tunisian people and the Government of the Republic of Tunisia, the fourteen new independent States of the Mediterranean and Africa, whose admission has been approved today at the opening of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. Two others will certainly be joining us at the beginning of next week in an atmosphere of concord, friendship and conciliation. It is particularly heart-warming for the young African State that I represent to see the African continent fill the void which has subsisted so long in our Organization by reason of its absence and enjoy, on the same footing as the other continents, a representation more in line with its possibilities and its rapid political development. And it is still more heart-warming, on a more general plane, to see the United Nations coming closer to universality, which we still regard as its primary characteristic

and one that must be reflected in its membership. We feel that there is a greater chance of international relations returning to normal, of fundamental human rights being safeguarded and of the values inherent in human dignity being respected if the Organization is really universal, thus excluding all bias.

97. The peoples of Africa certainly are, to use a common expression, "young peoples". Compared with the peoples of an old continent like Europe or an ancient one like Asia, the nations of Africa have accumulated fewer international traditions. We all know that the newly independent peoples of Africa are bringing into these august precincts, where the fact that a nation is young sometimes gives rise to misgivings, their ardour and their profound attachment to liberty, peace and justice, ideals which the United Nations has always championed everywhere in the world. We all feel convinced that the cause of human freedom has been greatly strengthened by the admission of these new African States today, and that there is more support for justice and dignity within the Organization. In the end, man and all the values for which he stands will certainly be much strengthened as a result. That is why we feel that 20 September will be an important date in the history not only of Africa but of the United Nations.

98. Because of Tunisia's position as a Mediterranean country and because it is part of Africa, it has several reasons for welcoming this event. The bonds of friendship and brotherhood which unite the Tunisian people to the ancient peoples of these new Member States have won for the Tunisian delegation the outstanding honour of submitting the candidature of several of them to the Security Council, an honour of which it may well be proud. Allow me to convey the most sincere good wishes of the Tunisian Government and people for the happiness of their peoples in a stable and peaceful future and the consolidation of their sovereignty and independence to all our friends—the Republic of Cameroun, the Republic of Togo, the Malagasy Republic, the Republic of Somalia, the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), the Republic of Dahomey, the Republic of the Niger, the Republic of the Upper Volta, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Chad and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Gabon Republic, the Central African Republic and the Republic of Cyprus.

99. I am convinced that the new nations whose admission to the United Nations has been approved today will be able to draw from their inherited traditional wisdom, their own genius and what they have acquired from contact with the modern world enough spiritual and moral strength to save them from the convulsions of independence, to help them overcome the obstacles with which they will soon be faced and to forge for themselves a prosperous and happy future. For us, the young countries of Africa, the achievement of independence involves the assumption of major responsibilities and duties to our peoples, the international community and our brothers of the African continent, some of whom are engaged in a long and murderous struggle to recover their freedom and dignity. We are convinced that the new Members of the United Nations are fully aware of these different duties and responsibilities. I am sure that they will strive to work for peace and freedom, in Africa and in the world.

100. Mr. MARTINO (Italy): I am very glad, Mr. President, to offer you my heartiest congratulations on your election to preside over the work and the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly. It is without doubt a fully deserved tribute and an acknowledgement on the part of the Assembly of your experience and wisdom in the conduct of international relations, as well as of your outstanding record of service in the pursuit of the aims of our Organization. For the Italian delegation especially your election is a matter of gratification because of the traditional bonds of friendship between our two countries, their common heritage in the ideals of the Christian tradition and the friendly sentiments which you have always shown toward the Italian people.

101. I have asked for the floor on this significant occasion when the General Assembly has decided upon the admission of fourteen new countries to membership in the United Nations. From all of them we feel certain our Organization may expect a substantial contribution from which to derive new vigour for the attainment of its goals, the furthering of friendly relations amongst the peoples of the world and their constructive co-operation in the achievement of social and economic progress and well-being.

102. My delegation regrets that, owing to the constitutional situation in the young Republic of the Congo, the matter of its representation in this Assembly should have to be deferred. My delegation sincerely hopes that the problem will be solved before long, in the interests of the Republic of the Congo and as a sign that peace and harmony have been fully re-established in that country.

103. To all of the new Member countries, their peoples and their leaders, I wish to express here the sincere and warm feelings of friendship of Italy. I welcome heartily their representatives in this Assembly and look forward to a most fruitful collaboration with them.

104. The Italian delegation is gratified at the admission of a sister Mediterranean country, the Republic of Cyprus. Our relationship with the peoples of Cyprus may be traced back to the very beginning of history and civilization in the Mediterranean area, and it may well be said that through centuries of intercourse and common history Italy has shared with the peoples of Cyprus a most significant heritage.

105. The admissions of all of the new Members sanctioned by this Assembly today are a reason for rejoicing. However, may I say, without being suspected of partiality, that in one of the admissions Italy finds also a reason for pride. I refer to the Republic of Somalia, concerning whose admission Italy was privileged to co-sponsor, together with Tunisia and the United Kingdom, a draft resolution [A/L.298]. The relationship between Italy and Somalia, indeed a long and healthy one, has developed through the years into the closest ties of friendship, co-operation, mutual confidence, respect and esteem between the two peoples. Members of this Assembly are especially familiar with the period of our association with Somalia when one part of the territory of this recently born Republic was entrusted by the United Nations to Italian administration under a Trusteeship Agreement. We are indeed proud that the objectives

of the Agreement have been attained fully and with the utmost success in all fields.

106. The Republic of Somalia has attained independence fully aware of the duties and responsibilities which fall upon it as a member of the international community, and we know that it is in this spirit that the newly-born African State is joining the Organization for the purpose of contributing to the fulfilment of the aims and principles of our Charter. We are indeed gratified that the Assembly has decided to sanction the admission of Somalia to membership by adopting the draft resolution sponsored jointly by Italy, Tunisia and the United Kingdom, for we are confident of its contribution to the stability and well-being of the African continent, which is becoming so important a factor for harmony and progress in the world at large.

107. Lord HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I am happy that my first words to the General Assembly of the United Nations should add to the unity of our proceedings, and it is immensely gratifying to me in particular that I find myself sitting under your presidency. We were colleagues together in London, and therefore from my own personal knowledge I know that we could have no wiser guide and no greater and more devoted champion of peace than you.

108. I would also like to add my congratulations to Mr. Belaúnde, who conducted the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with such conspicuous success.

109. The third purpose for which I come to speak at this rostrum now is to add my welcome to that which has been given by the representatives of other countries to the fourteen States which, by the unanimous vote of the Assembly today, have been admitted to our Organization. I welcome them by virtue of their own claims to recognition, because much of the history of the next hundred years will be shaped in the continent of Africa and many of them are African States, and because the United Kingdom is in the process of converting a dependent empire into an independent commonwealth of free nations. For us, the transition is from dependence to independence to interdependence, and that is the order of our going.

110. I wish especially to acclaim the admission of two Members. In this Organization, cultures and traditions meet, and by meeting they are enriched. The President and the representative of Italy have said that the history of the island of Cyprus stretches far back into the past, and the island of Cyprus today is the heir to those priceless gifts which the Mediterranean has brought to the civilized world and in which the United Kingdom has been privileged to share. This is, therefore, a particularly happy day for us when Cyprus is admitted to membership in the United Nations.

111. In history, the relationship of the United Kingdom and Cyprus has been comparatively brief and, over all, it has been happy. Of course, the General Assembly has been seized of the troubles we had, which extended over two or three years, in trying to solve the constitutional problems involved in the search for independence for the island, and during those years we had violence and we had deadlock.

To solve the deadlock and to end the violence, sacrifices had to be made by four parties, by the Cypriots, by the Greeks, by the Turks and by the United Kingdom. I will not recall to the General Assembly now nor rehearse the whole story of these years, but I would suggest that the moral is clear, that any problem, however stubborn, can be solved if there is the political will to do so and if we find the necessary patience, restraint and determination. Therefore, I extend to the representative of Cyprus who has joined us the most warm and friendly greetings from the United Kingdom.

112. It gives us great satisfaction, too, that today Somalia has been admitted to the United Nations. We have had very special ties with one part of the new Republic. When the independent State of Somaliland freely entered into the union which now comprises the Republic of Somalia, we were pleased and acclaimed the move as increasing the strength, the cohesion and the influence of the whole, and we look forward to working with Somalia in this Organization and in co-operating in the high and creative purposes for which the United Nations stands.

113. The events of the last few years have thrown upon the General Assembly many duties and responsibilities which the authors of the Charter did not foresee. Upon the Assembly now lies the task of seeing that justice is given to all nations, both great and small, and it is because I and the United Kingdom Government have faith that the introduction of the new Members today will add to the harmony of nations and see that justice is done in the world that I have much pleasure on behalf of my Government in welcoming them all to the United Nations.

114. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): Permit me, Mr. President, to express our pleasure on your elevation to this high and distinguished office, which, from our previous knowledge of you, we have no doubt that you will adorn. There can also be no doubt that you will fulfil your duties with the greatest distinction.

115. On 24 August 1960, we had the privilege of being associated with the representative of the United Kingdom in co-sponsoring a draft resolution in the Security Council recommending the admission of Cyprus to membership in the United Nations [S/4458], and today we had the added pleasure of following that up with our support. The representative of the United Kingdom has already spoken of the various constitutional developments that preceded the declaration of independence by Cyprus and the details of the democratic system of government which has been established in the new Republic. I do not wish to go into these matters, in order that I may make my statement as brief as possible.

116. Cyprus has had a memorable history and an ancient civilization. It has been at the crossroads of many civilizations for thousands of years, and it is also in the happy position of having been able to achieve freedom and independence after only thirty-five years of foreign rule. I take this opportunity, therefore, to congratulate Cyprus on its freedom and on its admission to membership in the United Nations, and also to congratulate the United Kingdom on granting independence to another of its colonies and,

further, for its promise of considerable financial support in the early years of Cyprus' existence as an independent nation, thus showing the United Kingdom's interest in the well-being of its erstwhile colony.

117. We would also like to extend our warm congratulations to the Governments of Greece and Turkey for their valuable contribution in facilitating the harmonious achievement of the independence of Cyprus.

118. On this historic and unique occasion, we have just had the happy privilege of witnessing the admission of fourteen sovereign States to membership in the United Nations. I would like therefore to take this opportunity of extending to all those States, on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Government and the people of Ceylon, our sincere congratulations, our warm welcome and our best wishes for their success and welfare.

119. There is one particular point to which I wish to refer before I conclude. That no less than thirteen of the fourteen States admitted to membership by the General Assembly are States from the vast continent of Africa is a matter of special gratification to my Government, to my delegation, and to me personally. The liberation movement of Africa is perhaps the greatest single political phenomenon of this century, and it is our hope that with the spread of this movement all the other States which are still not free will soon become independent and enter our great international family, thus bringing the United Nations still closer to the objective of universality which, as the outgoing President stated earlier today, is the basis of our efforts here.

120. The African States which are already Members of this Organization have shown, if, indeed, any proof was necessary, that their sense of responsibility, their sagacity in approaching complex problems and their willingness to join in the sorrows as well as the joys of the United Nations are second to none. In recent times, by their contributions, material and otherwise, to the valuable, constructive efforts of the United Nations they have proved to the world how much the world has benefited by their membership in this Organization. We have no doubt that the new African States which have joined us today and to which we offer a warm welcome will add in no uncertain measure to the sum total of the already considerable African contribution to our work.

121. They, like all States elsewhere in Europe, in America and in Asia, will certainly undergo a period of stress and difficulty which is inevitable in the transition from colonial status to true independence. We have not a scintilla of doubt that our new Members will prove themselves fully worthy of the confidence the General Assembly has placed in them by unanimously admitting them to membership in the United Nations, and we have no doubt that they will play a very active role and enrich the United Nations by their membership. I convey to the Member States admitted to membership today, on behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, our best wishes for their success.

122. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I should like to thank you briefly for the generous remarks you have made

about me. It is a privilege and a compensation of old age that our colleagues often choose their seniors, both in years and in service to the United Nations, for a particularly congenial duty such as that of welcoming the States we have just received so warmly.

123. I wish to summarize the tribute due to these young nations in two words: joy and hope. All the peoples of Latin America rejoice because our dream of universal membership has come true and because in this great adventure of freedom we have always considered ourselves the brothers of the peoples of the African continent and of the new countries of Asia. We know well that independence carries with it great responsibilities, and that no stronger ties of brotherhood exist than those which link peoples working towards a common destiny. We know now that the countries of South America and the young countries of Africa are destined to share a common future. The representative of Brazil said eloquently that the race of Iberian America may be called a cosmic race [859th meeting]. We have never known any racial discrimination, and there may well be, in our sense of rhythm, in some turns of our imagination and in the way we express our feelings, traces of a precious African heritage. Moreover, we also have to struggle against forces of nature which have always seemed unconquerable, and we are destined to conquer them for the good of mankind. That is the cause of our joy.

124. And now I shall tell you what are the grounds of our hope. In the United Nations, the small Powers must always support just causes and demand strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter. Our young sister republics are thus also our new allies, who will work towards the glorious destiny of the United Nations. The United Nations welcomes them enthusiastically and with a tremor of hope.

125. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, no amount of words can suffice to express our joy at your election as President of this session—I dare say, this summit meeting of the United Nations. Your election is not only a matter of honour to your person and to your country, but it is a great asset to the United Nations. You not only preside over the Assembly in accordance with certain rules and procedures, but you import to this house all the noble traditions of your noble country. The bravery of your people—and how brave they are—their chivalry and gallantry, and their deep attachment to the sacred concepts of sovereignty, liberty and human dignity are all the qualities that are needed for our guidance in our deliberations.

126. Looking back for a moment at the records of the Organization ever since its establishment, we can hardly find an achievement more thrilling and more inspiring than the adoption of the resolutions on the admission of the new Members to the United Nations. For all of us this is an historic moment, ushering in a history-making era. Its far-reaching results, no doubt, are bound to influence the future destiny of the continent of Africa, the course of human history and, I would emphasize, the evolution of the United Nations.

127. Coming from Africa these nations bring to the United Nations something more than additional Members. This Organization is not in dire need of

numbers—just numbers; it craves for believers, for crusaders and for ardent Members. Its agonizing necessity cries out not only for peace-loving peoples, as required by the Charter, but for freedom-observing, independent-thinking and liberty-struggling nations.

128. The United Nations stands in need of a new force, and the nations we have admitted are the vanguard of this force, to be followed by all peoples now fighting for their liberty and independence. We applaud their arrival after this heroic journey. We rejoice in their admission to the Organization, and from this rostrum we send to their peoples our heartfelt congratulations.

129. In expressing this joy, I would not fail to make a special mention of Cyprus, whose people have fought gallantly for their independence. With Cyprus, its land and its people, we have ancient associations which are deeply rooted in the history of the Mediterranean and its civilization. Cyprus, we hope, shall no more be a base of aggression against the Arab world, but an island of peace, tranquillity and friendship.

130. This is a memorable occasion for all of us to pay warm tribute to the memory of all their heroes who fell as martyrs on the soil of Africa in defence of the liberty of their peoples.

131. The fact which should capture our attention is that these African States do come to our midst with fresh wounds, with glimmering sweat and with sparkling tears—the three medals in the battle for freedom. Such qualifications can revitalize the United Nations, can reinforce its Charter and can bring its objectives to realization.

132. A membership of this calibre helps to balance the imbalance which for a long time has existed in the United Nations. It helps to establish the equilibrium which the United Nations has never enjoyed. The entry of the new Members could be a milestone in the history of our Organization.

133. These nations come to us at the right time to meet the requirement of the moment, and that is what we have longed for. They come to us with an independent will, for they have fought for their independence. They come with an independent judgement, for they have been the victims of dependence. They come to join their African and Asian colleagues in the pursuit of a policy of positive neutrality and non-military alignment, as the last refuge for world peace and security. Lastly, they come to join the States of the Bandung Conference in striving to bring the United Nations back to its Charter so that all its potentialities may be marshalled in the battle for freedom, peace and human dignity.

134. Thus, the admission of these new Members marks the beginning of a new United Nations, a United Nations very different from that of 1945. The admission of the new Members highlights the emergence of a new force and points the way towards universality.

135. I emphasize universality, for it is still lacking. Many nations are still outside the United Nations. The admission of the African States is a step in the right direction. The whole of Africa finally should be emancipated. Not one acre of African soil

should continue to remain under foreign rule in any of its manifestations.

136. What remains of colonialism, of the vestiges of imperialism and the relics of European domination should be liquidated, and liquidated forever. The United Kingdom, France, Spain and Portugal—and I say this with all due respect, bearing in mind the importance of international friendship and harmony among the nations of the world; after all, the United Nations is the centre for harmony and genuine friendship among the nations of the world—must now be ready to leave the continent peaceful for its own peoples, and the peoples unmolested.

137. Of special mention in this regard is Algeria, which should no longer be dominated when the countries of Africa, one after the other, are elevated to the status of independence. It would seem a tragic paradox if France should delay the liberty and independence of Algeria, since France itself has endorsed the admission of fourteen sister countries on the same continent.

138. This new membership should open new vistas of hope for all peoples fighting for their liberty in Asia and everywhere else in the world. The people of Malta, of Oman, and of Palestine, we hope, will soon join the Organization, fully independent and fully sovereign. In Palestine, particularly, the people are reorganizing their national ranks to emancipate the Holy Land. We trust that they will soon occupy their place in the United Nations as an independent State representing all the legitimate people of Palestine: Moslems, Christians and Jews alike.

139. There remains one other major issue and it is the last point to which I shall refer. Neither the United Nations nor its Members should hamper the movement for unity now prevalent in the minds of all African peoples. The movement may take the form of a federation, a confederation of any African system which will recognize the living realities of African life. Such a union, whatever its form, should be unhampered. There should be no intervention and no interference. It should be left to its fullness. The area should be kept out of bounds for all except Africans. Such a union will doubtless reflect the solidarity of Africa and, in the memorable words of Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Salmon P. Chase, such a union would be "an indestructible union composed of indestructible States". Lastly, the admission of the African States invites our attention to the future of the white man in the whole continent of Africa. A number of States represented in this Organization, we know, have this problem very much on their minds. The moving question is: what is the destiny of the white man in Africa after the independence of Africa? Is the white man finished? I shall not attempt to answer the question myself. It was Jan Smuts who volunteered a reply when he said: "The old Africa is gone, and the white races must face the situation which they themselves created."

140. The matter does not rest with Africa and the Africans. It lies with Europe and the Europeans themselves. Responsibility for the white man is the white man's responsibility. It is he, not the African, who should shoulder the responsibility fully.

141. The white man will not be finished if he behaves himself as he behaves himself in Europe. Let us hope that he will behave, and let us pray that the whole of Africa will become a continent of peace, a continent of liberty, a continent of prosperity, and a continent for human brotherhood for all creeds, for all races, and for all peoples.

142. Mr. JOSEPH (Haiti) (translated from French): It is a great pleasure for me, Mr. President, to convey to you the congratulations of the Haitian delegation; we are happy to see such an outstanding personality as you presiding over the fifteenth session, which will certainly be one of the most important in the annals of our Organization.

143. On this historic day, fourteen free and sovereign States which have newly achieved independence have been received into the great United Nations family. The Haitian Government and people, whom I have the honour to represent here, are full of joy at being able to welcome them as brothers. We are bound to thirteen of these young republics by unbreakable bonds arising out of our common ethnic origins and a cultural unity which has been neither destroyed nor weakened by centuries of history. Our forefathers, torn from our Africa-mater and transplanted to America to replace the Indians, the unfortunate victims of exploitation, handed down to us a treasure which we have faithfully guarded, the imperishable spirit of black Africa, so that at this historic moment Haiti, which was the first Negro State to free itself from slavery, is singing with joy to see the young family of the coloured peoples, bowed for so long beneath a pitiless yoke, grow ever larger.

144. Our thoughts fly to Toussaint Louverture, the uncompromising champion of the freedom of his race, one of the pioneers of Haitian independence, who, on board the ship Le Héros carrying him to cold and solitary exile and death, said these prophetic words: "With my defeat, only the trunk of the tree of liberty of the black peoples has been cut down. It will grow again, for its roots are deep and strong."

145. Our thoughts turn also to the great Dessalines who, carrying the struggle on to victory, raised the flag of liberty and independence in the blazing sunlight on 1 January 1804.

146. For many years we have been the only black people to be heard; we leave it to others to judge whether we have spoken selfishly or whether our voice has not always been raised to defend the ideals of freedom and human brotherhood and solidarity, and in support of all peoples who were striving towards nationhood.

147. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, led by Dr. François Duvalier, the spiritual leader of our nation and an internationally known expert on African affairs, on behalf of the Haitian people, united in a common joy, and on behalf of the Haitian delegation, I extend our most cordial good wishes for a prosperous future in concord and co-operation to the Governments and peoples of the new African States.

148. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Fourteen new States have just been admitted to membership in the United Nations. These States have subscribed

to the Charter of the United Nations, which was drawn up, while the last guns of the Second World War were sounding, in order, as the Charter itself says, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace.

149. The Soviet Government is profoundly gratified by this new addition to the ranks of the United Nations. It considers it an important event—and not merely because of the substantial increase which it represents in the number of States Members of the United Nations, although the fact that the United Nations is drawing closer to the status of a genuinely universal organization should in itself be welcomed.

150. It is enormously significant that all of the fourteen new countries admitted to membership in the United Nations are young States which have endured a long period of harsh colonialist oppression and have only very recently attained independence. For these States, membership in the United Nations is one of the important stages in the consolidation of their political independence—one of the principal ways in which to escape from the harsh lot of their past position, and to establish co-operation and friendship on a basis of genuine equality with the other States of the world and with other peoples.

151. Close to the heart of the Soviet peoples, and fully understood by them, are the concerns and aspirations of the young countries who have freed themselves from centuries-old oppression and are exerting every effort to overcome poverty and backwardness, to banish this painful legacy of colonialism forever, and to stand on their own feet economically.

152. We fully appreciate that, if only for these reasons, the new sovereign States are vitally concerned with the safeguarding of peace and the development of peaceful co-operation between all countries, on the basis of full equality of rights and strict respect for the independence and sovereignty of each of them. We therefore have no doubt that this new addition to its ranks will help the United Nations to become an ever more effective instrument of peace and international co-operation.

153. The simultaneous admission of fourteen new independent States—thirteen of them African countries—to membership in the United Nations is a very significant event, primarily because it reflects the great changes in the life of humanity which are taking place in our time. Let us consider what is happening in Africa. For many decades, the mention of Africa called forth the image of a continent which, although very wealthy, was groaning under oppression, its population dominated by foreigners and its territory divided up by foreign occupiers. The map of Africa was a map of colonies. Now the African continent is squaring its powerful shoulders and awakening to a new, independent life. The system of colonialist oppression is collapsing like a house of cards. In one year alone, fifteen new independent States have appeared in Africa. And the time is not far off when the dawn of freedom will break over the entire African continent.

154. Now a new map of Africa must be printed. On this new map the African lands will be designated as belonging to the peoples who have lived and worked on these lands from time immemorial. Such a course

of events cannot but be welcomed by everyone who genuinely desires that the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter regarding equal rights for all peoples should be put into effect.

155. Unfortunately, in this matter a great deal remains to be done. But one can confidently assert that the time is approaching when all peoples under the colonialist yoke will obtain their freedom and independence and take their place in the United Nations as equals among their peers.

156. History and experience show that, while the attainment of formal independence by the former colonies is an important step, alone it is not enough; the principal task consists in achieving genuine independence, and in the first place economic independence, so that the new independent States can stand economically, on their own feet. This is all the more important in that the colonialist Powers, while prepared to accept the formal independence of the new States, are striving to convert the older forms of colonialist oppression into new forms which are, in essence, much the same. They are trying in effect to continue the exploitation of these new States, their peoples and their natural resources.

157. Experience shows that, with this end in view, they are trying to install governments convenient to the colonialists, governments which will help the colonialists to pursue their former policy of colonial oppression. It is appropriate to recall this fact today, when we are welcoming new independent States whose representatives are present in this hall together with the delegations of all the other States.

158. Life is always yielding further instances of States which, having recently attained to independence, despite all the difficulties and obstacles placed in their path, contribute remarkable examples of peace-loving policy and co-operation in the strengthening of international peace.

159. Quite frankly, it would be no bad thing if this example of a peace-loving policy were followed by certain countries whose ruling circles, while not averse to boasting about their ancient culture and democratic traditions, in fact strive in every way to maintain the colonialist order, and look down on the peoples of Asia and Africa, as if these peoples were immature, unable to govern themselves, and incapable of deciding their own fate and their own affairs.

160. It is no secret that the successes of the popular national liberation movements are not to everyone's taste. To one accustomed to impose his will on others, the changes which these successes have wrought in the United Nations are not welcome. Some people are already beginning to regret the expansion of the United Nations membership and to express the apprehension that the United Nations, with the addition of the new young States will become a politically immature body. But those who value the strengthening of peace and friendship between peoples can only rejoice, sincerely, at the new addition to the United Nations' ranks.

161. The Soviet Union's position on this matter is clear. The Soviet State steadfastly pursues a policy of friendship and co-operation with the countries of Asia and Africa, and furnishes them with disinterested help and support. In their righteous struggle,

the African peoples can always count on the friendly assistance of the Soviet State.

162. The Soviet Union, which consistently supports the principle of the self-determination of peoples and their striving for national independence, was among the first to welcome the appearance of Africa's new independent States, and of the Republic of Cyprus. The Soviet Government solemnly recognized them as independent and sovereign States and announced its willingness to establish diplomatic relations with all of them. And subsequently the Soviet Union expressed its full support of these States' applications for admission to membership in the United Nations. It made a statement to that effect during the consideration of these applications in the Security Council, and formally repeats it here in the General Assembly.

163. The Soviet Union heartily welcomes the new members of the United Nations accepted today, and expresses its confidence that they will make an important contribution to our common cause of strengthening peace and international co-operation.

164. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): This is a great, historic occasion for the entire world, but even a greater moment for the peoples of the United Nations. The first day of this year was marked by the attainment of independence of a former Trust Territory, an event which has been followed by the attainment of independence of more peoples and nations.

165. In no period of history have the peoples of the world rejoiced with so much cause, and perhaps this occasion will remain unique in its grandeur and significance. It is not only my pleasure and privilege to welcome the new Members of the United Nations, but it is also a great honour to join the voice of Afghanistan with that of other Members in this most hearty and most sincere welcome.

166. It is also a special privilege for me to speak on behalf of some of Asia's great nations and Afghanistan's great friends—Iran, Iraq, and Japan.

167. We are very happy to have seen this day arrive, for throughout the struggle of these new Members for independence, we have always supported their cause with a hope that shall be fulfilled. Therefore, the fulfilment of their aspirations is the fulfilment of our own aspirations. In the joyful thoughts that we have at this moment, one is most strongly attached to the success of all dependent peoples whose struggles for independence have not yet come to the same happy end. This thought is most overwhelming in our minds; but stronger than our sentiments is not only our hope, but our deep and unchangeable conviction that one day the world will be truly free, a place of beauty and joy for mankind, and that the United Nations will be a gathering place for all peoples and nations of the world.

168. The entry into the United Nations of the new Members means the entry into force of the universal principle of the equality and dignity of man. This event took place at a time when the United Nations had less power to terminate the domination of one nation over another. No one can deny that the dependent people will have more support than ever before by reason of the increase in the number of independent nations in our Organization.

169. We not only congratulate these fourteen new Member States, but we extend to all of them our fullest co-operation and our most friendly hand. We wish all of them eternal dignity and prosperity; we wish them success in their new responsibilities.

170. Allow me, Mr. President, to congratulate you not only on your election as President of the General Assembly at this session, but also on the fact that this great event has taken place under your presidency.

171. Mr. HERTER (United States of America): Mr. President, let me begin by offering you the congratulations of the United States on your election to the high post of President of the General Assembly. By your past distinguished services to this Organization, you have earned our confidence and respect. We wish you every success.

172. The United States wholeheartedly welcomes the admission into the United Nations of the newly independent States of Africa and the State of Cyprus. Their achievement of independence represents a dramatic expansion of freedom. This strikes a responsive note in the hearts of the people of the United States, for it was less than 200 years ago that the United States achieved its own independence, and we do not forget that our national existence stems from a declaration stating that all men are created equal and that they have a God-given right to certain basic freedoms.

173. I need hardly add that with freedom comes responsibility; responsibility for national development as well as for participation in the international development of the world community. Just as freedom for individuals is an essential for a free nation, so the freedom of individual nations is an essential part of a healthy world community.

174. By entering the United Nations, these nations are taking on a share of the task of maintaining and expanding liberty in the world.

175. With the conclusion last night of the emergency special session on the Congo, the United Nations has successfully met a severe test on an issue of particular importance for the new States. The United Nations is now in a position to deal even more effectively with matters of vital concern to peace and security and to the welfare of its Members. The United Nations, by its very nature, is in a unique position to help newly developing States to attain stable and democratic government with higher living standards for their peoples. The United States will continue to support and co-operate with the United Nations effort. We are confident that the admission of the new States today marks the beginning of a long and fruitful collaboration of these countries in the work of the United Nations. As one of their new partners, we extend to them our warmest welcome.

176. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland) (translated from French): Mr. President, let me begin by congratulating you, on behalf of my delegation, on your election to the high position of President of this Assembly. Your devotion to the United Nations cause, your competence and the impartiality and sense of justice which you bring to the task of presiding over our discussions are well known to us. We know that you will make a valuable and effective contribution to the session which is opening today.

177. The delegations of Austria, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden have done the Finnish delegation the honour of asking us to extend their welcome together with our own, to the States that have just been admitted to our Organization. I feel that everyone will understand the pride with which I am carrying out this task today, a red-letter day in the annals of the United Nations. These six delegations extend a friendly, cordial and fraternal welcome to the fourteen delegations who will now be sitting beside us.

178. We feel sure that there is a deep significance in the fact that, no sooner had these States achieved their national sovereignty, than their Governments all decided that one of their first acts should be to indicate their desire to participate in the work of the United Nations and solemnly to recognize the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, accepting all the rights and responsibilities involved.

179. We feel also that much encouragement is to be drawn from the unanimous welcome which our Organization immediately extended to you, thus renouncing the hesitations that have impeded its growth in the past. We are sure that you are going to give us abundant proof that, by taking this just and unanimous decision, which does us as much credit as it does you, the United Nations will, with the growth in membership, increase its possibilities of working in a spirit of mutual respect and brotherly co-operation in the interest of our common future.

180. We are deeply and sincerely happy to be able, side by side with you and with the advantage of your valuable contribution, to devote ourselves to this far-sighted and painstaking endeavour, to the continual reconciling of different national interests which the peaceful development of the international community towards the universally desired reign of justice and peace requires of us all, for our own and in the common good.

181. Most of you come from the great African continent so rich in potential and promise, whose many nations will now be able to devote their efforts, their energies and their ambitions to the great national tasks that the world expects of them. We, for our part, will do everything in our power to facilitate these tasks and to co-operate with you in attaining our joint objectives.

182. Lastly, we welcome the presence of the Republic of Cyprus, the beneficiary of the three great heritages of Greece, Christianity and Islam, each of which has contributed so much to our respective civilizations and taught us the value of such ideals as humanism, moderation, wisdom and faith, ideals we must all be guided by as we start the work of the fifteenth session.

183. The PRESIDENT: Before we adjourn, I should like to inform the Assembly that the representatives of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, which became a Member of the United Nations this afternoon, have now arrived in New York and, I have been advised, are present at this moment in the hall. In order that the Assembly may have an opportunity to extend its welcome to the representatives of this new Member State, as I am sure it would wish to do by

its acclamations, I would ask the Chief of Protocol to be good enough to escort the representatives of the Republic of the Ivory Coast to their seats on the floor of the Assembly.

*The delegation of the Republic of the Ivory Coast was escorted to its place in the Assembly hall.*

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*