

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

**1332nd
PLENARY MEETING**
(Opening meeting)

Tuesday, 21 September 1965,
at 3 p.m.



TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

Temporary President:

Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Ghana

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the twentieth regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Ghana

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: It is with a deep sense of pleasure and relief that I welcome all representatives present in this Hall. As you are all aware, I assumed the onerous responsibility of guiding the work of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly in an atmosphere charged with tension, fear and uncertainty about the very future of our Organization. Today, thanks to the spirit of statesmanship, compromise and magnanimity displayed by all Member States, the way is now clear for the General Assembly to resume its normal functions. It is fitting therefore, that special tribute should be paid to all those who patiently and indefatigably gave their unstinted support and co-operation to me and to the Secretary-General, U Thant, during the protracted and difficult negotiations which have yielded this happy result.

4. I have no intention, as the outgoing President, to discuss the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, I should like to recall that the unprecedented crisis which threatened the survival of the United Nations prevented the nineteenth session from considering some of the burning issues of the world. Thus, we failed to discuss and take decisions on vital problems like disarmament, apartheid and racial discrimination, the representation of China and peaceful coexistence among States. The Assembly was also unable to take up the problems of territories that are not yet independent, foremost among which are Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and British Guiana.

5. In spite of this setback, we must concede that the nineteenth session had a few bright spots. The fact that ratification of the amendments to the Charter of the United Nations went through according to schedule should be a matter of gratification to all States Members of the Organization, particularly to African and Asian members whose legitimate aspirations have been satisfied. This achievement should inspire in us the hope that steps will be taken to convene a conference to review the Charter as soon as practicable. The time may not be opportune for further amendments of the Charter, but every effort should be made to strengthen the Organization as an effective instrument for peace.

6. The successful solution of the problem of Article 19 of the Charter is convincing evidence that there is no dearth of statesmanship in the world today. If this can be fully utilized by the United Nations, then we can approach many of the intractable problems of the world with hope and confidence. The ominous clouds

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which hovered over the nineteenth session have been dissipated, and the twentieth session provides a fresh opportunity for all to find solutions to the conflicts that are plaguing the world today. The prospects for a fruitful session are encouraging, and I hope that Members will seize this opportunity of making good the havoc that the locusts of dissension have created.

7. We are living in a very uneasy world. Therefore, guided by the moral conscience of the world which must be evident here in this very Assembly, we should bend all our energies to remove the root causes which produce conflicts between man and man, whether black, white or yellow, and between nation and nation. Let the twentieth session, which is a culmination of the International Co-operation Year, herald in an era of peace and harmony.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

8. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Under rule 28 of our rules of procedure, a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session. It shall consist of nine members, who shall be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President. I propose that the Credentials Committee for the twentieth regular session should consist of the following Member States: Australia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Iceland, Madagascar, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America.

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

It was so decided.

10. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the General Assembly decided at the close of the nineteenth session (1331st meeting) to refer the credentials of representatives to the nineteenth session to the Credentials Committee appointed at the twentieth session for study and report, together with credentials of the representatives to the twentieth session. It was understood that this action would be without prejudice to the positions of some delegations regarding certain credentials. The Credentials Committee just appointed will therefore examine the credentials of the representatives to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions and report to the General Assembly without delay.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

11. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the election of the President of the twentieth regular session of the General Assembly.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, U Ba Thaung (Burma) and Mr. Gómez Robledo (Mexico) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers: 114

Invalid ballots: 0

Valid ballots: 114

Abstentions: 2

Number of members voting: 112

Required majority: 57

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. Fanfani (Italy) 110

Mr. Popović (Yugoslavia). 2

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Fanfani (Italy) was elected President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly and took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Amintore Fanfani, President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly

12. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In assuming the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its twentieth session, my first thought is to thank you for the honour you have done my country in my person. It is a tribute to the ideals of peace and justice which have consistently motivated Italian foreign policy since the end of the world war. The confidence you have placed in me obliges me to do my best to be deserving of it. I shall faithfully interpret your will and I shall devote all my energies to discharging the responsibilities you have placed upon me, guided solely by the principles of law and democracy which alone can enable us to act realistically.

13. In this task, I shall endeavour to follow the example of my eminent predecessor, who directed the work of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly with self-sacrifice and wisdom. We all followed Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey's efforts to encourage moderation and conciliation, and I am sure that I interpret the feelings of all in expressing our deepest gratitude to him.

14. Frankness is a duty. I should be failing in that duty were I not to stress in unvarnished terms the gravity of the situation confronting the entire world at the present time. Immense responsibilities, both individual and collective, rest upon us all. Enormous difficulties face us. We must overcome them at all costs if we are to fulfil the anxious expectations of public opinion in our countries.

15. Our deliberations last year, unfortunately, were neither as productive nor as far-ranging as had been hoped. The twentieth session is opening now to the accompaniment of battles which are drenching Asia in blood, and progress is at a standstill. Our agenda, last year, included crucial items. It is most regrettable that, notwithstanding the President's efforts, we should have shelved them so long instead of dealing with them in clear-cut resolutions. Not only did we plunge the United Nations into actual lethargy, but we also believed that this international Organization could survive without taking any decisions. Harsh reality has proved the contrary.

16. Today, the obstacles which confronted us last year seem, fortunately, to have been overcome. Far be it from me to analyse here the reasons for the paralysis of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. What I wish to do is to emphasize the great responsibility which we all assumed in failing to agree in good time to clear up the misunderstandings which divided us concerning the interpretation of Article 19 of the Charter. By showing ourselves

incapable of agreeing, we dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the United Nations. We must therefore do everything in our power to prevent the recurrence of such a situation in the future. Vague declarations of goodwill no longer suffice. Deeds alone can show that we are able to build, and to build solidly. If we do not succeed in coming to practical agreements, the United Nations will perhaps remain an international forum, but we shall have abandoned all hope of making it the champion of law, the guardian of our security, the soul of peace. We shall have declared our own bankruptcy.

17. As I speak to you, guns are thundering in Asia. Houses are crumbling. Men are dying. More and more families are plunged in despair. Some of the armies which are fighting now belong to States Members of the United Nations, that is, to States which asked to sign our Charter, which prohibits the use of force, because they were "peace-loving."

18. Unfortunately, the conflagration appears to be spreading further and further. We have no right to close our eyes to these terrible realities. We cannot evade our stern responsibility to put an immediate end to such a state of affairs. We would be taking the easy way out were we merely to repeat appeals to common sense and feelings of humanity. Such appeals must not remain a dead letter; that would spell the doom of this Organization.

19. The madness which, twenty years after the First World War, ravaged the world a second time, can spread, as we know, like wildfire. This time, however, the destruction of the human race is at stake. We cannot allow this spectre to reappear without reacting with all our might.

20. The defence of peace is a collective task, and I am sure that we shall succeed in fulfilling it. It is my duty solemnly to draw your attention to the responsibilities incumbent upon us, upon all of us, and to the legal and moral obligations which we have all assumed. That is why I must say to you that it is good, of course, to deplore what is happening, but that it is essential to act. If we cannot manage, in all sincerity, to lay the foundations for equitable solutions capable of restoring peace and tranquillity to the regions torn by conflict, it will be difficult to regard the United Nations as a determining factor of international order and a rampart of our security.

21. Our Secretary-General, U Thant, was confronted with many difficulties during his recent mission to Asia. Nevertheless, he was able to discern certain positive elements. What we must do is to concentrate on those elements and take such action as will cause them to prevail over the rest. We shall certainly succeed if we do our utmost. In this case—and this is our dearest hope—the United Nations will emerge from the test acknowledged from all time as a source of life and not as a witness of death.

22. As regards disarmament, the Committee of Eighteen^{1/} has presented us with a report [A/5986] which, although it unfortunately records no agreement, does show that the work done at Geneva was useful and that progress will be possible once that work

is resumed. It is for us in this Assembly to give the Geneva talks the necessary impetus and encouragement, so that the difficult but so necessary task of disarmament may be pursued unrelentingly and with some hope of success.

23. The Committee's report contains useful ideas and many proposals. Our goal remains, of course, general and complete disarmament, but our endeavours must also be directed towards collateral measures whose urgency was clearly emphasized by the Committee, in particular, the prohibition of all tests, and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

24. In its work here, the Assembly will be able to take up either the interesting suggestions which have been put forward, or certain other practical proposals aimed at halting the spread of nuclear weapons. These proposals call for the conclusion, first and foremost, of a general treaty on non-proliferation; the draft of such a treaty has for the first time been deposited on the conference table at Geneva. That, of course, is the main goal: the conclusion of a treaty which would permanently bind both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers to collaborate in halting the spread of nuclear weapons.

25. There are decisions which even non-nuclear and poorly armed nations can take. There are examples which we must have the courage to give in order to lead others on to the right road and to be sure in our own minds that we have done everything in our power. That is why a proposal for a verified moratorium has been submitted at Geneva. It offers Powers which do not possess nuclear weapons the opportunity to prove that they do not just ask others to disarm. Preaching by their own example, they can show the whole world that it is possible to advance, not only in words but also in deeds.

26. Here we have an opportunity, and we should be wrong to let it go. It will give us the right to ask others, in all good conscience, to take the road of nuclear disarmament in their turn by practical and constructive action.

27. The debates at the twentieth session of the General Assembly will also bear on certain economic problems of fundamental importance, and, in particular, on the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.^{2/} The economic imbalance between the different parts of the world has worsened in recent years, despite the endeavours to increase economic assistance to the developing countries. Indeed, this imbalance is so great and so serious as to jeopardize the economic and social progress of all mankind.

28. We thus have before us a task no less important and urgent than that of disarmament. The two problems are, in fact, closely inter-related, because, if we can achieve real progress in disarmament, we shall be able to mobilize more resources and greater energies for economic development. We have to look upon the problems of world peace and economic stability from a world-wide perspective; therefore they must be solved together.

^{1/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

^{2/} The Conference met at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

29. The twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations must not mark the failure of our Organization; it must, on the contrary, mark its revival. In a dark hour of our century, during the final convulsions of the bloodiest tragedy in the history of mankind, we saw a light shining over San Francisco. When we became Members of the United Nations, we all undertook, before our consciences, to feed that flame, to maintain it and to spread the ideals it inspires.

30. Leading figures from all nations and continents are gathered together here to reaffirm those ideals, mindful of the deeds and words of President Kennedy, and of the sacrifice of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. If we forget the lessons offered to us and show ourselves incapable of honouring our signatures, then the responsibility towards the entire international community will fall upon us, upon our countries, upon our children.

31. In a few days' time, the Holy Father, Pope Paul VI, will come here to remind us of this and to encourage us to remember this obligation. The announcement of this visit has been received as a token of confidence in the spiritual values, of universal application, whose preservation all the States Members of the United Nations are called upon to ensure.

32. In conclusion, may I express the well-pondered hope that the work of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly will prove that we live up to our duties and obligations.

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the Assembly to consider agenda item 20, entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". This procedure has been applied on previous occasions in order to give newly independent States which have applied for membership in our Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly accedes to their request, of participating in the work of the session from the outset. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in this manner.

34. The Security Council has unanimously recommended to the General Assembly the admission of the Gambia [A/5911], the Maldives Islands [A/5981] and Singapore [A/5982] to the United Nations.

35. I suggest that we should consider first the draft resolution recommending the admission of the Gambia [A/L.462]. May I take it that the Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution by acclamation?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare the Gambia admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the Gambia was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

37. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now consider the draft resolution recommending

the admission of the Maldives Islands [A/L.463]. May I take it that the Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution by acclamation?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

38. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare the Maldives Islands admitted to membership in the United Nations.

39. The representatives of the Maldives Islands have not yet arrived at United Nations Headquarters. Upon their arrival, we shall arrange to have the flag of their country raised at a special ceremony and to seat them in the General Assembly Hall.

40. We shall now take up the draft resolution recommending the admission of Singapore [A/L.464 and Add.1]. I shall ask the Assembly whether, on the recommendation of the Security Council, it adopts the draft resolution by acclamation.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

41. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare Singapore admitted to the membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Singapore was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

42. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I am happy to welcome the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to the United Nations. I should like to address to the Governments and peoples of the three new Member States the warmest congratulations of the General Assembly on this happy occasion, and to convey to them our best wishes for their future. It is a great pleasure for me to extend a very warm welcome to the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, which have just been admitted into the great family of the United Nations by the unanimous vote of the Assembly. These are three newly independent countries whose history, civilization and attachment to the ideals of peace and freedom assure us that their contribution to the work and deliberations of the United Nations will be useful and important. I extend to the three countries my most sincere and cordial congratulations on their admission to the Organization, and to their peoples and Governments my personal wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

43. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first let me offer my respectful congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the Presidency. Equally, we congratulate ourselves. How fortunate we are that you, who have held high office in the service of your own great country, should now come to preside over the deliberations of this world assembly.

44. It would be impudent for me to attempt to enumerate your personal qualifications for the unique position which you now occupy, but we know how diverse and extensive those qualifications are. You combine—and this is surely a rare combination—the qualities of the scholar, the writer, the distinguished professor of political economy, with the qualities of a man of action, the creative orator, the political organizer, the fearless reformer. And I would add that we are glad that amongst your main interests and

aims is a special concern for the problems of the emerging nations, and a determination to improve relations between the West and the East.

45. When we think of your country all of us have in our minds the glories of Rome. From ancient times, Rome has represented to the world the conceptions of order in society and discipline under the law, devotion to the arts and sciences, and the ideal of a universal and indivisible peace. It is well that we should be reminded by your Presidency of those principles—and it is not unsuitable that I should pay tribute to them, for I represent a country which greatly benefited from being colonized by yours. Fifteen hundred years of subsequent independence have not diminished our respect for Julius Caesar.

46. All of us can join in rejoicing that in this critical year, in which we hope to see a revival of the authority of the United Nations—a renaissance in international endeavour—we shall be led by such a distinguished Italian.

47. At the outset of this momentous session it is fitting that we should start our proceedings by extending a welcome to new Member States. It is happily the kind of ceremony in which my country has had long and wide experience.

48. Last year, at the opening of the nineteenth session, I had the honour of welcoming and congratulating three new Member States. I have the honour of welcoming three more this year: the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. With all three we have long enjoyed relations of true friendship.

49. The path to self-government and independence is now a well-trodden road, and we rejoice together as each traveller along that road arrives at the destination of full sovereignty.

50. At the same time we recognize that this is not only a time of fulfilment and achievement. It is not an end but a beginning—a new start in a renewed friendship of equality and freedom.

51. The Gambia is the last of the West African States previously under British administration—Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia—States with a total population larger than that of my own country—to attain independence. But, small as the Gambia is in comparison with its great neighbours, it has made and will make, we are sure, a distinctive and constructive contribution to the advance of Africa.

52. On behalf of my country I wish to add a special word of respectful greeting to the distinguished Prime Minister of the Gambia and to the other members of his delegation who are seated with us today.

53. Singapore has long played a leading role in the East, and we are confident that this island State will continue to put to good effect the vitality and the experience and the enterprise of its people both at home and in the wider world of international affairs.

54. We are happy to welcome very warmly the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore and the other members of the Singapore delegation, who have come to take their place amongst us.

55. The State of the Maldives Islands comes to us with the qualifications of free government, friendly

relations with all, a devotion to the principles of Islam, and a love of freedom.

56. In our Commonwealth, with a total population of nearly a quarter of the population of the whole world, we are proud to share common traditions and common ideals, and we are proud that more than 99 per cent of the population of the Commonwealth now lives in self-governing and independent countries. We also believe in diversity. We like to remember Lord Acton's famous phrase, "Liberty provokes diversity; diversity preserves liberty".

57. We believe in diversity not only in geography and religion and race, but also in size, for while we respect numbers and power we respect justice and liberty more. Our welcome is therefore no less genuine to these States comparatively small in population or in area than it has been to States with far greater resources and populations.

58. We warmly welcome these new Members to the family of sovereign States, and respectfully wish them all good fortune as fellow Members of the United Nations.

59. Mr. PONNAMBALAM (Ceylon): Mr. President, I find myself in the very happy position of being able to tender the felicitations of the Government and people of my country on your elevation to the office of the highest dignity that this Assembly can offer.

60. In thinking of your country one cannot help thinking of Rome, and while I may not be able to echo the sentiments of the representative of the United Kingdom in regretting that my country was not colonized by Rome, I should like to state that one cannot think of Rome without recalling the legal institutions to which she has given birth. In the regulation of any orderly society, the rule of law as we understand it has to be observed, and when one considers law he is reminded of the great Roman emperor Justinian, whose institutes and Digest have been the inspiration of legal systems not only in my nation but in a number of other progressive countries.

61. If it is not impertinent I should like to say this: having held the highest offices which your country can offer to any citizen, you bring here, Mr. President, a sense of impartiality and dignity in the conduct of the proceedings of this Assembly. May I very humbly, on behalf of my delegation, offer you our fullest co-operation in the work you will have to face.

62. I now turn to the new Members which have been admitted to the brotherhood of nations in this Assembly. It may be invidious to single out one or two, but the Members of this Assembly will pardon me, I am sure, if I refer first to that little island State of Singapore, which, during the British era, was a country with which my Government was closely associated. Singapore evokes sentiments of friendship and cordiality in us. If I may be permitted, I should like to tell them that Ceylon, during the British era, contributed in some small measure to the development and progress of Singapore, and Singapore in return was a home away from home to a number of us who had to leave our shores to seek work elsewhere.

63. May I say that it is a matter of personal gratification that the Foreign Minister of Singapore, who is

present along with his Deputy Prime Minister, is a countryman from Ceylon.

64. May I now turn to the Maldives Islands. I welcome the Maldives Islands not merely because of geographical proximity, of certain common ethnic origins and of linguistic similarities, but because of a close and intimate association from time immemorial.

65. All these countries are very small, but may I be permitted, as the representative of a small country myself, to assure members here that they and we yield to none of the bigger, more powerful and more gifted nations in our devotion to peace and its pursuit. I have no doubt that they will, each in their own way, assist in the defence of the Charter of the United Nations. My country and its neighbours in Asia, on whose behalf I speak, sincerely welcome the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to the community of nations.

66. I should like to take this opportunity to say that it must be gratifying to the United Kingdom to witness the ease with which an evolution has taken place and to see those small States, which were under its wings and its tutelage, today take their places as fully fledged nations exercising sovereign independence.

67. To the other larger and more powerful countries, I should like to say that it is particularly gratifying to note the spontaneity and enthusiasm with which they are here to welcome smaller, less fortunate and less developed countries into the world Assembly. By the admission of smaller nations on terms of complete equality, you have set the seal of sovereign national independence and raised the dignity of man wherever he may be found.

68. Dato' ISMAIL (Malaysia): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to congratulate you, on behalf of the Government of Malaysia, on your near unanimous election as President of this important session of the General Assembly, the jubilee session. Mr. President, your career, among other things, as the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Italy, has been in the public eye for many years and your standing and reputation as a European statesman are so well known as not to need any special mention by me.

69. I am particularly happy to recall the close association between your great State and mine, extending back to several years. It therefore gives me particular pleasure, as a Minister of the Malaysian Government, to extend to you a very warm welcome and convey to you my delegation's and my Government's good wishes for your tenure of office as President of the Assembly for its twentieth session.

70. I have come to this rostrum on this occasion to perform the very pleasant task of welcoming three new Members to our great Organization. The Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. The admission of more members to the United Nations increases the influence of the Organization, not merely in numerical terms but also improves the status and the stature of the Organization by helping it to get closer to the ideal of universality. It goes without saying that the broader its base in terms of membership, the more meaningful becomes its authority, so that the United

Nations may gain the power and the strength it needs in the translation of the noble ideals of the world body into practical reality.

71. I wish to offer, in the first place, my sincere congratulations and good wishes to the Gambia and the Maldives Islands and we look forward to close co-operation with them in the activities of the United Nations.

72. Of Singapore, I claim a special privilege to speak. Singapore is our closest neighbour whose progress and welfare are so inter-linked with those of Malaysia, particularly with its peninsular part, that until the other day it was an important constituent part of Malaysia.

73. The peoples of Malaysia and Singapore have been thrown together by the inescapable incidents of geography and long subjected to a common administration by the accidents of history. Hence, notwithstanding the separation, there is the fullest awareness in the leadership of both States that, constitutionally separated as they may be, their identity of interests and the inter-twined activity of their peoples in every facet of human life will, as in past decades, create the incentives and provide the encouragement for them to live together as good neighbours. In a variety of common tasks, we share the same attitude and prize the same ideals. The constitutional bond has been severed; the human bond remains.

74. Singapore has a great contribution to make in the field of international co-operation in the United Nations and has adequate resources, both human and material, to enable it to do so.

75. My Government therefore welcomes Singapore's admission to the United Nations with particular pleasure and wishes it all success.

76. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French): The delegation of Senegal would like, first of all on behalf of the Senegalese Government, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election by such a notable majority. We echo the well-deserved compliments which previous speakers have addressed to you. You are already well known to us by reputation, and your outstanding career as a statesman, both national, in Italy, and international, is for us a guarantee supporting our conviction that you will bring the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

77. On behalf of the Government of Senegal, my delegation wishes to convey its warm congratulations to the new Member States—the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Island—on their attainment of international sovereignty and their admission to the United Nations.

78. The Senegalese Government, may, perhaps, be allowed to make special mention of the Gambia since, more than any other Government represented in this Assembly, it welcomes the Gambia's accession to national independence and its entry into the United Nations.

79. We shall be recounting nothing new if we recall briefly the close ties which exist between the Gambia and the Senegal, in particular their geographical

and economic ties. The territory of the Gambia is deeply embedded in our country, and the river from which the new African nations takes its name is, in its upper reaches, a Senegalese river, whose basin constitutes the area of Senegal known as Upper Gambia or Beledougou.

80. Moreover, our two countries are inhabited by peoples of the same ethnic groups: chiefly Malinkes, Volofs and Diolas. On either side of the official frontier live populations which are very closely related. Trade relations between the Gambia and Senegal follow age-old economic channels. Since markets are not far distant from one another, goods transport costs are low, so that Senegal and the Gambia are mutually advantageous trade outlets for each other.

81. Consequently, as President Senghor has already stated, it is Senegal's hope that the collaboration between the two countries will expand increasingly. The future of the Gambia and Senegal and their economic and social development are interdependent.

82. We again convey to the Prime Minister of the Gambia, Mr. D. K. Jawara, who is present in this hall, and to his delegation, the most sincere congratulations of the Government and the delegation of Senegal on the accession of their country to national independence and its admission to the United Nations. We express our warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Gambia and the happiness of its people.

83. In addition, I should like to thank the Government of the United Kingdom, which is thus continuing its work of decolonization in Africa, and I hope that this good example will shortly be followed in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South Africa and Rhodesia.

84. Mr. MISHRA (India): Mr. President, your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly is indeed an auspicious augury. May I, before anything else, offer you the congratulations and greetings of the Government, the people and the delegation of India on your election to this exalted office. In your own country, where you are responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs, you are known as a scholar of eminence and a political leader symbolizing courage and integrity. Italy and India have had the friendliest relations from the days of the ancient Romans. During that era—the period of the Kushan and Maurya emperors in India—the cultural, literary, artistic and industrial mores of either land found reflection in the other. Even today we venture to hope that your Presidency will serve as a rallying point for a troubled world, and the people of India will derive hope and inspiration from your occupation of this high office.

85. My delegation has had the honour of co-sponsoring all three resolutions for the admission of the Gambia, the Maldivé Islands and Singapore—three new States which have just become Members of our great Organization. Their admission no doubt brings the Organization one step closer to attaining the ideal of universality. These three new Member States belong to the Afro-Asian family, and therefore we have even greater cause to rejoice. The Maldivé

Islands and Singapore are both our close neighbours. Their peoples and ours have had friendly contacts through the ages, and they have a heritage that we share. Their admission into this Organization is, therefore, a source of strength to us. Though the Gambia faces the Atlantic Ocean on the west coast of Africa and is geographically not as close to us as the Maldivé Islands or Singapore, our common Afro-Asian heritage, our common faith in Afro-Asian ideals and the quest for justice through peace bind the Indian people to the brave people and land of the Gambia. In this case, let us pray that the Gambia's admission into the United Nations is a precursor of the eventual admission of Angola, Mozambique and other territories of Africa which are still groaning under the colonial yoke.

86. In welcoming these three countries to membership of the United Nations, India extends to them the hand of friendship and assures them that they will not find us wanting or tardy in promoting technical and economic co-operation with them to the fullest extent possible for attaining our common goals of social and economic development.

87. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): It is with great pleasure that I join my colleagues who preceded me in congratulating Foreign Minister Fanfani on his election here today. I congratulate him both as an old friend, personally, and as a friend of my country. It was my pleasure not so long ago to see him in Washington, and I am sure that neither of us realized at that time that we would renew our friendship here in this Assembly Hall.

88. I hope you will forgive me, Mr. President, if I have a special message for Lord Caradon. If Lord Caradon takes justifiable pride in the fact that his country was colonized by Italians fifteen hundred years ago, I must remind him of that great and peaceful voyage of Christopher Columbus which opened the way for his country's colonization of my country, and the subsequent Revolution and the subsequent independence of my country. And, to emphasize the peaceful character of Italian colonization of the United States, I now extend a most cordial welcome to Lord Caradon to join me on the stand at the forthcoming Columbus Day Parade in New York.

89. I take pleasure in welcoming the three new nations as Members of the United Nations. The United States has long enjoyed cordial relations with the Gambia. In fact, if my history is correct, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first President of the United States, in his official capacity—there were others who did so as private citizens—to visit the African continent, and he enjoyed several stops in the Gambia during the Second World War. The United States therefore welcomes the Gambia as a Member of the United Nations, with the conviction that its role in this body will be a positive and constructive one in the important work which stands before all of us. We wish the Gambia and its people all success and godspeed.

90. It is always gratifying, further, to welcome to the family of nations a State which has achieved its independence through peaceful negotiation. The United States therefore has the pleasure of noting the

admission of the Maldives to the United Nations. We are certain that within the framework of this world Organization which recognizes the equality of all States, large and small, the Maldives Islands will make great progress towards the ultimate goal we all share, of economic and social justice.

91. Similarly, I take particular pleasure in extending the welcome of our country to Singapore on its admission as a Member of this great Organization. It was my pleasure to visit Singapore last summer, and I can bear personal witness to the energy and capacity of the people of that country. We confidently expect the Government and people of Singapore to make a significant contribution to the deliberations and councils of this Organization, and we are convinced that Singapore will apply to our common problems of world peace and security the dynamic and constructive approach which has been a hallmark of the extraordinary social, economic and political development of this Asiatic State.

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to thank Mr. Goldberg for the words which he has addressed to the President and, by leave of Members of the Assembly, to thank him also on behalf of the peaceful Italian colonizers of this hospitable land.

93. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): May I first of all, Mr. President, congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. You have come to us, Sir, with a very well-established reputation as a scholar of renown and a statesman of great distinction. In your own country you have occupied the highest position. Your wise and varied experience in world affairs eminently qualifies you to lead us and guide our deliberations in this important session of the General Assembly. You represent a country that has contributed immeasurably to human civilization and that has always played a central role in the progress of mankind towards a better and fuller life. I happen to come from a very ancient country myself, and your people and ours have crossed paths on many occasions during the last 2,000 or more years. Our histories have been so long that it is difficult for me to remember how many times we colonized you and how many times you colonized us. But I can say, as you know, Sir, that we have the closest and most cordial relations with your great country.

94. It gives me great pleasure now to speak on behalf of the Arab States Members of the United Nations, who have been kind enough to ask me to speak on their behalf, in welcoming the three new Members of the United Nations.

95. It is always an important occasion when new Members are admitted to the United Nations. It brings us nearer to the goal of universality for which we all strive but which we have not yet attained. We are particularly gratified in this case that the three countries that have become full-fledged Members of this Organization have always had the closest and friendliest relations with the Arab people.

96. The admission of the Gambia and its accession to independence is particularly gratifying to us because as Members of the United Nations, and particularly

of the Committee of Twenty-Four,^{3/} we have seen at first hand the progress of the Gambian people toward liberty and independence. We hope that the independence of the Gambia and its admission to the United Nations will accelerate the process of liberation in the entire African continent, which has stayed too long under foreign domination and has suffered the indignities of being ruled by others.

97. The Maldives Islands have a special relationship with the Arab nation. We have the closest historical and cultural ties with the people of the Maldives Islands, and our own language is spoken by them.

98. We are also very happy to see Singapore admitted as a Member of the United Nations. The Arab people and the people of Singapore have had a long association, and we have always had the most cordial and the closest relations with them.

99. It is therefore my very great pleasure to welcome very warmly these three new Members of the United Nations and to wish them success. We are sure that they will enrich our debates and will help us very greatly in achieving our objective in handling the tasks that lie ahead.

100. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): Mr. President, may I first offer to you the warm congratulations of the Japanese delegation on your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, an event that gives us the greatest satisfaction. We look forward to working under your very distinguished leadership, and we are sure that this session will produce an abundance of fruitful results under your wise guidance.

101. May I, at the same time, express our profound thanks and appreciation to our former President, His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, who at a moment of crisis in the United Nations was able to discharge the heavy responsibilities placed upon him and guide the nineteenth session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

102. The Japanese delegation has deemed it a high honour to participate as one of the co-sponsors of the resolution proposing Singapore for membership of the United Nations, and we now take great pleasure in extending to the delegation of Singapore our warm congratulations and a hearty welcome.

103. Singapore is a relatively small country perhaps, but we all know in the United Nations that small countries frequently make the largest contributions to the successful outcome of our tasks. The truly remarkable progress Singapore has made under the leadership of its highly respected Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, in the few short years since it became fully self-governing, is ample evidence of what we might expect from Singapore in the United Nations. We are confident that the delegation of Singapore will have many very substantial contributions to make to our deliberations and to our work for the freedom and independence and the peace and prosperity of mankind.

^{3/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

104. On this occasion, the Chairman of the Asian group has asked me to speak on behalf of this group and to extend the warm congratulations and the hearty welcome of this group to the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore. We are sure that those delegations will also contribute very substantially to our work. We are happy to pledge our unstinting co-operation to the delegations of all three of our newest Members, and we look forward to a close, continuing and very harmonious relationship with them.

105. Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): As I am speaking for the first time in this Assembly, I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Australian delegation, our congratulations on your election. It is a tribute to your very great country; it is a tribute to you personally, to the qualities and experience that you have, and a tribute to the high offices you have held in the past and hold today. I assure you of the co-operation of the Australian delegation to the best of our ability in the performance of your tasks this session.

106. I should also like to say a few words about the retiring President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who is an old colleague of mine and an old friend. I am afraid that the circumstances of the last session made it impossible for him to preside at the rostrum here as long as and on as many occasions as some former Presidents. But this same circumstance called for more effort from him in keeping the Organization going and in trying to overcome the obstacles that were preventing its meeting. This is one of the occasions when the absence of work for the Assembly meant more work for the President. We are all very grateful to him for the devotion and imagination that he showed throughout the year that he was President.

107. I now turn to the admission of new Members, and on this subject I am speaking not only for the Government of Australia, but also for the Governments of Canada and New Zealand. We are very glad to welcome these Members. They are all countries with which we have had some connexions in the past through membership of the Commonwealth or through other Commonwealth links. I shall discuss these countries in the order in which they have come before us for approval.

108. The Gambia is a fellow member of the Commonwealth. It is another African member of the Commonwealth. We already have the most friendly and co-operative arrangements with the existing African members of the Commonwealth, and we look forward to the same intimate ties with the Gambia.

109. The Maldive Islands are close to Australia. We have only a stretch of the Indian Ocean lying between us and we are deeply interested in the continued progress and stability and security of those islands. We look forward to good relations with them and we hope that they will play their part, their worthy part, in this Assembly.

110. I turn now to Singapore. Singapore is a State with which Australia and New Zealand have particularly close associations. We are in much the same geo-

graphical region of the world. We have over a period of many years developed ties with them. There are ties of trade, for example. There is a considerable amount of trade between Australia and Singapore. We have many hundreds of students from Singapore in Australia. There are students from Singapore in New Zealand.

111. The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, paid a most successful and impressive visit earlier this year to Australia and New Zealand. Only a few weeks ago the Minister of Law, Mr. E. W. Barker, was in Australia with the Chief Justice, representing Singapore at the Commonwealth Law Conference, which was the first Commonwealth conference to be held since Singapore became a new State. So the three of us—Australia, New Zealand and Canada—look forward with particular pleasure to having Singapore in our midst. We look forward to the very close and intimate relations with them. We look forward to doing what we can to further the continued progress of Singapore.

112. Singapore and Malaysia and all the other Commonwealth countries in this region have a particular interest in the welfare of a new State. Therefore, on behalf of the three Governments I have mentioned—Australia, Canada and New Zealand—I take pleasure in welcoming the new Members.

113. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (translated from French): It is a real pleasure for me, Mr. President, to present to you the warmest congratulations of the Republic of Haiti on your almost unanimous election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The choice which the delegations here have made is a well-deserved tribute to your well-known qualities of moderation and wisdom, and is a happy reflection on your great country, Italy, the mother of literature and the arts. The wishes of the delegation of Haiti for your success go with you in the arduous task that lies before you during the present session.

114. I am particularly happy to welcome, on behalf of my country, the entry of the Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore into the great family of the United Nations which, it is our cherished hope, will grow until it embraces all the nations of the world.

115. The countries which are today being admitted to participation in the life of the Organization are not large countries, countries with exceptional economic and human resources, the use of which could be a threat to anyone or anything. These are countries which ask only to live in peace with their neighbours, to develop harmoniously for the well-being of their citizens, and to partake of the benefits and achievements of civilization, while respecting the principles, purposes and ideals of the United Nations. Their accession to full political independence is, nevertheless, a new victory for justice and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, in brief, a victory for the principles of self-determination and non-intervention on which the political balance in the world is founded.

116. Haiti, a weak country without great resources but proud of its glorious past and one of the first countries in America to have thrown off the yoke of

colonialism, wishes its brother countries which have just been admitted to our Organization a happy existence as free and independent peoples.

117. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, I wish to extend to you, on this first opportunity, my sincere congratulations on your election to the high post of the President of the General Assembly. I take great pleasure in expressing our warm congratulations to the representatives of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore on the unanimous admission of their respective countries to membership of the United Nations.

118. I have been instructed to fulfil this pleasant duty in the name of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Mongolian People's Republic.

119. In expressing the common feelings of the peoples of the above-named countries, I extend to the peoples of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore our best wishes for their well-being and prosperity.

120. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, before I go on to congratulate you on behalf of the African group, I should like to say a word or two about the former President. Although we had the opportunity of paying tribute to the Foreign Minister of Ghana for the excellent way in which he conducted the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, I want once again, on behalf of the African group, to pay him a great tribute for his great statesmanship. In our memory, he will remain the son of Africa who served the world Organization at a time when a statesman like him was needed.

121. It also gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the African group, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Your distinguished career in the field of international affairs is very well known and highly appreciated. It is therefore most opportune that the destiny of this august body should be in your very capable hands.

122. Italy is the cradle of past and present civilization. Rome, to many of us, is still the capital of all that represents progress, peace and prosperity. During this session, we therefore have every right to be optimistic about the furtherance of the worthy ideals of international peace and prosperity.

123. The twentieth session begins with grave international problems still unresolved. We feel confident, however, that your election to the office of President will make a positive and significant contribution to a lasting solution of the complex and vexing issues facing mankind today.

124. I have great pleasure, again on behalf of the African group, in welcoming the new Members to this august body. One of the happy signs of dynamic growth of our present Organization is the annual

admission of fresh blood and new thinking to the deliberations of the United Nations. But it gives particular pleasure to my delegation, on behalf of the African group, to welcome the sovereign States of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

125. The Gambia has had a long colonial history, like that of my own country, and indeed like that of many African countries. It had to fight for its independence under the wise and able leadership of its Prime Minister. The admission of the Gambia to the United Nations is therefore to us a symbol of the growing forces of the Third World, the forces which are dedicated to the ideals of international peace and world security, the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism, and the betterment of the economic conditions of the overwhelming majority of the human race.

126. Singapore, an independent and sovereign State, is destined to play its positive part in the liberation of the peoples who are still under the colonial yoke. I am therefore greatly privileged on this historic occasion to welcome Singapore into the membership of the United Nations on behalf of the African group.

127. We also are very happy to welcome the Maldives Islands to our midst. We are privileged to extend the hand of friendship and comradeship to the leaders and the people of these islands. We feel that their active participation in the deliberations of this Organization will certainly further international peace and international understanding.

128. At the same time, while we take this opportunity to welcome the new Members, the occasion also reminds those of us from Africa of many of our brothers who are still under the yoke of colonialism. Here I am reminded of such countries as Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and many of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and indeed of the many colonies elsewhere in the world. Therefore, while we take pleasure in welcoming the new Members, we hope at the same time that this process of decolonization will soon be completed.

129. Once again, on behalf of the African group, I take this opportunity to welcome the States of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to this Organization.

130. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The Western European group, comprising eighteen countries, has requested me to act as its spokesman, Mr. President, and to congratulate you most warmly on your election by a sweeping majority to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twentieth session. It is a duty which I fulfil with great pleasure.

131. History and geography have given Italy a special and eminent position in Europe. Many Europeans regard themselves as sons, or rather, great-grandsons of Rome, that extraordinary civilization which to a great extent helped to shape the emerging European societies. Many European States owe to it an essential part of their institutions. Italy has been and remains for us a marvellous source of culture without which

the world would not be what it is today. Allow me to recall that there is not a single principle of action upon which our national or international policy is based which can be better formulated than it has been in Latin.

132. Your qualities as a statesman, Mr. President, are well known, and I am happy, as a Frenchman and as the representative of the Western European group, to associate myself with the many and well-deserved tributes which have been paid to you. The Western European group expressed the warmest hopes for the success of the lofty and difficult mission which has been entrusted to you by the virtually unanimous vote of this Assembly.

133. My country is gratified at the admission of the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, and extends the most cordial good wishes to their leaders on the occasion of their admission to the Organization.

134. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The kind remarks which many representatives from different countries have made about me make me very conscious of the need to do my best to deserve the confidence which the Assembly has expressed in me today. After thanking all those who have shown the desire to reiterate that confidence, I take pleasure in inviting the Prime Minister of the Gambia, Mr. D. K. Jawara, to address the Assembly.

135. Mr. JAWARA (The Gambia): Mr. President, please allow me to add my own and the Gambian delegation's warmest and most sincere congratulations to those of so many other distinguished representatives on the occasion of your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Although we are relative strangers here, the services and achievements which have earned you this distinction are no secret to us, as has been evidenced by previous speakers. It is a matter of immense satisfaction to us, and I dare say it is to everyone here, that your untiring efforts in the cause of world peace, international fellowship and co-operation should now be given the recognition which they so eminently deserve.

136. I should also like to congratulate your immediate predecessor, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, for having given in the course of the past year, wonderful and devoted service to this Organization during a period of crisis and anxiety.

137. It is with a sense of deep sorrow that I address the General Assembly for the very first time: sorrow because of the fratricidal war in which two of our Commonwealth brothers—India and Pakistan—are at the moment engaged. It is my earnest hope that these two great countries will heed the counsels of peace emanating from this United Nations and bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities in accordance with the Security Council resolutions.

138. But it is also with a deep sense of pride and humility that I avail myself of the honour and privilege of addressing this Assembly. With my people, I take pride in the thought that, without ever departing from the path of peaceful and orderly progress, the Gambia has taken its rightful place in the family of nations. But I am all humility when I reflect that, in terms of size, population and resources, the Gambia

is one of the smallest countries to achieve national sovereignty and a place in the international community.

139. This presents very special problems when a country like the Gambia finds that it is expected to contribute to the expenses of the United Nations on the basis of a minimum contribution which is out of proportion to its resources, and to join specialized agencies which intend to assess the country's contribution on the basis of the same minimum rates. This problem has been explained to the Secretary-General and, unless a solution can be found, it may well mean that my country may not be able to participate in the affairs of the United Nations to the extent which we would wish.

140. The Gambia, as you may know, is a very small country which, in material terms, has little to offer this Organization. With a population of just over 300,000 and a one-crop economy, our circumstances cannot be said to be exactly comfortable; and in this regard, my people and I are certainly grateful to the British Government for the assistance which we have received in the past and are still receiving from it.

141. My Government, being conscious both of the close ethnic ties between the Senegal and the Gambia, and of the problems which a small independent country would eventually have to face, has always felt that the future of the Gambia lies in a close and friendly relationship with Senegal. With this uppermost in mind, my Government held discussions with the Senegalese Government which led to the commissioning of a team of United Nations experts, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to whom I owe a personal debt of gratitude for his generous offer of assistance, to examine and report on the possibilities of closer association between the two countries on the attainment of independence by the Gambia. The report was considered by the two Governments, and Senegal and the Gambia have agreed to a partnership based on a loose entente regulated by treaties.

142. I am happy to be able to inform this Assembly that the two Governments have agreed to co-operate in the fields of foreign policy, security and defence. In implementing these agreements, the Gambia and Senegal have exchanged High Commissioners with a view to furthering the cause of closer co-operation. I must also mention that a team of specialists from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), who were seconded to the United Nations Senegal-Gambia Mission, have examined the implications, for agriculture, of economic integration between the Gambia and Senegal, and have laid the groundwork for a development survey of the Gambia River basin on a regional basis. The report has been examined by both Governments and the recommendations accepted in principle. Arrangements to provide the finance required for a feasibility survey of these projects are now being examined.

143. Whilst admitting that the Gambia has many problems, particularly economic and financial, I take comfort from the fact that, having regard to the sympathy and impartiality which characterize the brotherhood of nations, my country is no longer alone in its struggles now that it has gained admission to this society.

144. I am happy to say, and I am sure every member will support me in this, that despite its temporary difficulties over contributions to the United Nations peace-keeping operations, this Organization is becoming a more potent factor year by year in the maintenance of world peace. This notable achievement is in a great measure attributable to the dedication and the vision of its Secretary-General. We in the Gambia have always followed with great interest and admiration his efforts and those of his predecessors to settle international disputes, and their successful interventions in various political and economic crises.

145. Everything, therefore, which can be done should be done to maintain and further strengthen such an effective instrument for the improvement of the lot of mankind. It is in this spirit that I pledge the unqualified support of my country for any cause which this Organization may decide to make its own, and which aims at recognizing the uniqueness and the value of the individual and the common humanity of all peoples.

146. Before I finish, I should like to express my personal gratitude and that of my Government and the people of the Gambia to all those nations which have, at various stages in the proceedings, sponsored my country's admission to membership in the United Nations, as well as to all those representatives who have spoken so eloquently today to bid us welcome to this Assembly.

147. Finally, I must say that this day will live with me for as long as memory lasts, and I pray that the Almighty will watch over the liberties and the destinies of all Members of this Organization which, it is true to say, has upheld the finest traditions of this century and all that is noble in humanity. May continued goodwill and success attend its deliberations.

148. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): After congratulating the Prime Minister of the Gambia once again upon the admission of his country to the United Nations, I have pleasure in inviting His Excellency Mr. Rajaratnam, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, to address the Assembly.

149. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): Mr. President, permit me to add the congratulations of my delegation to those of other representatives on your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. It is undoubtedly your great experience and wisdom in the ways of men and nations which prompted your colleagues to elect you to this high and responsible office. As a new Member, my delegation will rely on your wisdom and experience to guide it through this session and my delegation will, for its part, try to lighten your burden by giving you the fullest co-operation throughout the proceedings of this session.

150. I also take this opportunity to thank all members of the Security Council who scrutinized our application for membership and did not find us wanting. We are particularly grateful to Malaysia, Jordan, the Ivory Coast and the United Kingdom for jointly sponsoring our application for membership. Last but not least, I must thank all those Member States which co-sponsored the resolution welcoming our admission into the United Nations.

151. I should like also to congratulate the Gambia and the Maldives Islands on their admission to membership of the United Nations. This is a momentous occasion for them as it has been for us, and like us, they see in their membership of this Organization, international endorsement of their sovereignty and integrity as nations.

152. Now that Singapore has been received into the fold of the United Nations, I would like to assure this Assembly that my country will join with other nations in their efforts to realize the aims and objects of the United Nations Charter. For us, the essentials of the Charter are the preservation of peace through collective security, promotion of economic development through mutual aid and the safeguarding of the inalienable right of every country to establish forms of government in accordance with the wishes of its own people. My country stands by these three essential principles and will give loyal and unflinching support to the United Nations in its efforts to promote them.

153. We support these ideals because we realize that the well-being, security and integrity of our country can be assured only on the basis of these principles. It is practical self-interest and not vague idealism which makes it necessary for Singapore to give loyal support to these basic elements in the Charter of the United Nations.

154. World peace is a necessary condition for the political and economic survival of small countries like Singapore. For one thing, we want peace simply because we have not the capacity to make war on anybody. We are surrounded by bigger and more powerful neighbours with whom we cannot afford to settle issues by force of arms. So it is natural that my country should adhere firmly to the policy of resolving differences between nations through peaceful negotiations, not by violent means.

155. At the same time my country is well aware that it is situated in a region of the world which has traditionally been the battleground of big power conflicts. Singapore itself, by virtue of its strategic location, has attracted the attention of nations which have wished to dominate South-East Asia. Under British colonialism, Singapore was developed not only as the commercial hub of South-East Asia, but also as a military base for consolidating Western imperialism.

156. Today, with the granting of independence to Singapore, the role of this base is no longer to underwrite British colonialism in South-East Asia. My country has made it clear that it will never allow the base to be used for aggression. The base is there with our consent to ensure our own security in an area of increasing military instability. The moment we can be assured of effective alternative arrangements which will guarantee our security, that moment foreign bases will have to go.

157. My country feels that money spent on weapons of war and armies is money wasted. Furthermore, it is obvious to us that, given modern techniques of war, a country of about 2 million people can never, on its own, adequately secure its own defence. Modern defence has to be collective in character, especially for small nations, and that is why we believe that ultimately our defence and security must be secured

through the collective and effective strength of the United Nations. We shall therefore support any and every move to strengthen the peace-keeping effectiveness of the United Nations. But until such time as the United Nations can really safeguard the security of small nations we shall have to find such temporary solutions as we can to assure our security.

158. Singapore is essentially a trading community. Almost all our energies, resources and talents are devoted to developing our trade and our industries. We have no military aircraft and no tanks. Our army is small. Instead, we have devoted our resources to building homes for the people as well as schools and hospitals. We seek a welfare state, not a warfare state. If independence and freedom are not to be empty slogans, then we must continue to spend as much of our resources as we can on fighting the only war that matters to the people—the war against poverty, ignorance, disease, bad housing, unemployment, and anything and everything which denies dignity and freedom to our fellow men.

159. To fight this kind of war we need to live in peace with our neighbours. And we want to live in peace with all our neighbours simply because we have a great deal to lose by being at war with them. All we ask, therefore, is to be left alone to reshape and build our country the way our people want it. We have no wish to interfere in the affairs of other countries or to tell them how they should order their lives. In return we ask other countries to be friendly with us even if they do not like the way we do things in our own country.

160. This is why my country has chosen the path of non-alignment. It simply means that we do not wish to be drawn into alliances dedicated to imposing our own way of life on other countries. Friendship between two countries should not be conditional on the acceptance of common ideologies, common friends and common foes.

161. However, this does not mean that my country equates non-alignment with indifference to basic issues of right and wrong, or that it will evade taking a stand on matters which it considers vital lest it displeases some Member nations, including those with which it has close ties. Non-alignment is only in regard to narrow power bloc interests and not in regard to the basic principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. To be non-aligned in regard to the basic tenets of the Charter is to destroy the integrity and effectiveness of the United Nations in which small countries like mine place their hopes.

162. My country, by the very nature of its historic experience, is aware that in the contemporary world a developing country must learn to cherish independence without denying the reality of interdependence of nations. Our abhorrence of dependence on others should not drive us into embracing the dangerous myth of absolute sovereignty. In order to learn to live in peace with other countries there must be willing acceptance of the need for interdependence. The cultural and political development of my country has for decades been based on free intercourse and exchange of ideas drawn from many races and from

many continents. We are a multi-racial society constituted out of the three major racial stocks of Asia—Chinese, Malay and Indian, in addition to Arab, Ceylonese, Eurasian and others.

163. Four major cultures—Malay, Chinese, Indian and Western—and their respective languages are allowed free and equal development on the basis of cross stimulation. We think of ourselves not as exclusively a Chinese, Indian or a Malay society but as a little united nations in the making. The four cultures which flourish in my country collectively represent the historic achievements of more than half of humanity, and we see no reason for suppressing other cultures in order to ensure the supremacy of only one of them. The multi-racial and multi-cultural character of my country has made us somewhat sceptical of those who preach the superiority and exclusiveness of one culture and one race. In a multi-racial society one soon learns that no one people has a monopoly of wisdom and that one's own culture is not without flaws. This not only breeds tolerance for different viewpoints but also a readiness to learn and borrow from the accumulated wisdom of other peoples. These are, we have discovered, attitudes of mind essential for the smooth and constructive development of a multi-racial and multi-cultural society.

164. The United Nations is also a multi-national and multi-cultural Organization trying with some measure of success to develop an international solidarity and common purpose among the nations of the world. We shall therefore bring to the work of the United Nations the attitude and approaches of a multi-racial nation aware that independence and interdependence of peoples and nations are not incompatible goals to pursue.

165. Finally, though we are a small country not endowed with ample natural resources, and though we cannot be counted among the highly advanced nations of the world, we are nevertheless a highly urbanized community that has acquired experience and knowledge which we are prepared to share with others in the regional co-operation schemes organized by the agencies of the United Nations. Undoubtedly these offers of assistance can be carried out only on a modest scale, but if we obtain help from others we must be ready to help others as much in return.

166. This is what the United Nations means to us and despite the cynics who focus attention on its many shortcomings, my country has faith in the future of the United Nations simply because, without it, there is no worth-while future for humanity.

167. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore for his statement and to congratulate him once again upon the admission of his country to the United Nations. Singapore, I am confident, will make a valuable contribution to our work.

168. Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to announce that the flags of the Gambia and Singapore will be raised at a ceremony which will take place at 10 a.m. tomorrow, opposite the delegates' entrance.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.