

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1282nd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 16 December 1963,  
at 3.30 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

CONTENTS

*Agenda item 86:*

<i>Admission of new Members to the United Nations (concluded) . . . . .</i>	<i>1</i>
---	----------

*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).*

AGENDA ITEM 86

Admission of new Members to the United Nations  
(concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): This afternoon the General Assembly welcomes Zanzibar and Kenya as new Members of the United Nations. A few moments ago, we participated in the ceremony of raising the flags of those two countries. As President, I have the honour to extend to the representatives of Zanzibar and Kenya the cordial welcome of the General Assembly, in which we include the peoples and Governments of two new Members of the world community of the United Nations. We wish them success and prosperity in their national lives. For me personally, it will be a source of pride to have presided over the eighteenth session, when Zanzibar and Kenya were admitted to the United Nations.

2. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): As the President has reminded us, many of us have just had the pleasure of participating with him in the ceremony of raising the flags of the two new Members of our Organization, Zanzibar and Kenya. May I say that the climate outside may have been a little cold, but the atmosphere was not.

3. We share the pride which the representatives of these two countries must have felt upon seeing their flags fluttering in front of this General Assembly building, together with the flags of the other 111 independent nations represented in this hall. Their admission to this Organization increases not only the stature of Zanzibar and Kenya: equally it increases the stature of our own family of nations.

4. We have now come together to express in words our happiness at the events which culminated in the ceremony that took place a few moments ago.

5. It was my delegation's great privilege and pleasure to co-sponsor, with our fellow members of the Commonwealth and many other Members of the United Nations, the resolutions which recommended to the General Assembly that Zanzibar and Kenya should be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

6. My delegation introduced their applications for membership this morning in the Security Council, and it was unanimously accepted by all members of

the Council that Zanzibar and Kenya were fully qualified for our Organization.

7. I shall therefore not rehearse again the considerations which led the Security Council to recommend, and this Assembly to agree—both unanimously—that Zanzibar and Kenya had in full measure the institutions and resources to sustain independence and to play a full and active part in the United Nations.

8. I wish now to make only one or two brief observations—brief, not because our feelings are slight, but because we have respect for others who wish to speak and for the Ministers of Zanzibar and Kenya, whom we all look forward to hearing shortly.

9. May I first say a few words about Zanzibar. In speaking of independence for Zanzibar, I should remind the Assembly that Zanzibar has never been a colony. My country's connexion with Zanzibar began early in the nineteenth century and was confirmed in 1890, when Zanzibar came formally under British Protection. This continued until 10 December 1963, when full sovereignty was restored to the Government of Zanzibar—I use the word "restored" advisedly, because, in the words of Zanzibar's Prime Minister, Mr. Muhamed Shamte, the envoys of Zanzibar who took their place this morning in our Assembly do not represent "some modern national creation, but one of the oldest States in the world".

10. I personally have been lucky enough to visit Zanzibar, and I can testify that it is a country of great beauty. The captain of the first British ship to drop anchor there towards the end of the sixteenth century wrote home:

"This place, for the goodness of the harbour and watering and plentiful refreshing with fish, and for sending sorts of fruits of the country . . . is carefully to be sought for by such of all ships as shall hereafter pass that way."

I very humbly endorse his conclusion.

11. Nature's favour and its famous history under its ancient Arab dynasty lend us confidence that it will enjoy a distinguished future. Certainly, if we are to judge by the wisdom and tolerance shown by the different communities and political parties in Zanzibar in the last few months, and the enthusiasm with which they participated in the last elections, we can expect from Zanzibar a model to us all in the working of true democratic processes.

12. I turn now to Kenya. Kenya's independence has brought to our community of sovereign nations one of the most substantial, well-endowed and vital States of East Africa. The history of my Government's responsibility for Kenya has been comparatively short, spanning less than the lifetime of one man. Much has been accomplished in these few years, as those who, again like myself, have been fortunate enough to visit

Kenya and its flourishing capital, Nairobi, can confirm. Progress has been particularly rapid in the years since 1959, which have been devoted to intensive preparations for independence by progressive constitutional development and by the training of local people for posts of high responsibility. The task of welding together the different races has not been an easy one, but fortunately, the leaders of Kenya saw clearly that unity was essential. As the report of the Kenya Constitutional Conference, held in London in 1962, put it:

"Our objective is a united Kenya nation, capable of social and economic progress in the modern world, and a Kenya in which men and women have confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties and in the proper safeguarding of the interests of minorities."<sup>1/</sup>

It is to the great credit of all concerned that the goal of the 1962 Conference has now been achieved, enabling Kenya to move to independence and membership of this Organization under a constitution which stresses both the importance of effective central government and the need for proper safeguards for the rights of minorities, individuals and tribes.

13. The foundation for successful independence has been laid, and it is now for Kenya's people to build the superstructure. In the words of H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh, commenting on the challenge of Kenya's independence on 13 December:

"As one nation you can prove to the world that it is possible for people of different races and creeds to live together in one country in peace and harmony."

May I be allowed to conclude by quoting to the Assembly from the English translation of Kenya's national anthem:

*Oh God of all creation,  
Bless this, our land and nation.  
Justice be our shield and defender;  
May we dwell in unity,  
Peace and liberty.*

14. In these words Kenya's aspirations are summed up, and, I venture to suggest, those of Zanzibar as well. They express extremely clearly the ideals for which all of us in the United Nations are striving. We can therefore all join, I am sure, without any reservation at all, in wishing Zanzibar and Kenya fulfilment of their aspirations and in welcoming them as our colleagues in our common effort to secure these ideals for the world as a whole.

15. Mr. QUAISON-SACKKEY (Ghana): On behalf of the African Group—that is: Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic and Upper Volta—I, as Chairman of the group, congratulate the peoples and Governments of Zanzibar and Kenya and welcome to the United Nations the delegation of Zanzibar, headed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhamed Shamte, and the delegation of Kenya, headed by Mr. Oginga Odinga.

16. The birth of a new nation should be the occasion for happiness and rejoicing. But today we have a double cause for rejoicing, in that we welcome not one but two new African arrivals at our Headquarters of the United Nations—Kenya and Zanzibar. This brings the number of African States up to a total of thirty-four. We rejoice also in the fact that alphabetically the names of African States now run the whole gamut, as it were, from A to Z, and hope that this will prove a favourable augury for the day when the whole of the African continent will be free, from Algeria to Zanzibar, and in command of its own destinies beyond the peradventure of a doubt, and with the shadow of tyranny vanished from our continent as completely as if it had never been.

17. Zanzibar, the "Isle of Cloves", has an ancient and historic name, almost equaling that of Ethiopia in its antiquity. Today Zanzibar has taken its place within our ranks.

18. The history of Kenya has been fraught with so many difficulties and hardships that if we were to go into the history of Kenya we should have to spend the whole evening on it. Everything that has happened in Kenya belongs now to history. Altogether the notorious "emergency" lasted from 1952 to 1960, a total of seven years and three months. These were seven terrible years of which the full story is not yet known. It is written in terms of a hundred personal tragedies. Do I say a hundred—a thousand, many thousands. But, once one enters into statistics, one forgets, one no longer understands. A school-teacher whose husband was arrested and taken from their village, never to be seen again, for no crime committed in this world, but for his stand against colonialism—an educated woman who has studied and persevered to help her people and her family—was reduced to walking through the streets dressed only in a tattered blanket. A proud woman, this, and yet reduced to the last extremities of existence. How can one reflect a thousand, ten thousand, stories like this in statistics? This too, it must be remembered, belongs to the colonial heritage.

19. Kenya was one of the first African countries where independence has come not without bloodshed. Kenya's struggle has been long, hard and heavy with suffering. For this reason the independence of Kenya will always be held in high respect by other nations. One's thoughts turn naturally to the long struggle of the Algerian people, who also fought for their God-given rights under the terrible conditions that we all know. Unhappily, not only Kenya but also some other African countries have had to pass along the path to Calvary.

20. The Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, bears a name that is held in highest respect throughout Africa and throughout the world. Like my own President, Osagyefo Nkrumah, like Mr. Bourguiba of Tunisia, like Mr. Ben Bella of Algeria, like the late Mr. Patrice Lumumba of the Congo (Leopoldville), like Mr. Azikiwe of Nigeria, like the Emperor of Ethiopia, like Mr. Obote of Uganda, like all the other African leaders, Mr. Kenyatta is a man whose faith in his purpose has been tried and tested. The sympathy and identity of view between Kenya and other African countries will be evident if we may take the liberty of recalling words that Mr. Kenyatta himself uttered many years ago:

"The struggle of Africa is inspired by two watchwords: freedom and unity."

<sup>1/</sup> Report of the Kenya Constitutional Conference, 1962. London, H. M. Stationery Office, Cmnd. 1700, appendix II.

21. It is not in the nature of Africa to harbour malice. Africa seeks to emphasize the positive and constructive aspects, to find a way of establishing those stable conditions in which a society may freely flourish.

22. Today, as we welcome Kenya and Zanzibar into our ranks, we cannot forget the work that has been ably done by the Special Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Coulibaly of Mali. May the work of that Committee continue. May all Africa be free and united.

23. The day of Kenya's and Zanzibar's dependence is over. The opening day of their relationship with the United Nations has now dawned. May this relationship be happy and mutually beneficial. On behalf of the African group, of which I am at present Chairman, I have the honour to salute the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar. Long may they flourish. May health, prosperity and happiness be the lot of the peoples and Governments of Kenya and Zanzibar. All Africa salutes them.

24. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): This very morning, my delegation, together with the delegations of Ghana and the United Kingdom, had the honour of submitting to the Security Council two resolutions recommending that Zanzibar<sup>2/</sup> and Kenya<sup>3/</sup> should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. The unanimity with which the Council adopted these resolutions and the unanimity with which the Assembly carried out the Council's recommendations reflect the joy of the entire international community in welcoming the accession of these two countries to independence and their admission to our Organization.

25. The United Nations, unfortunately, has often had to concern itself with the future of these two countries, at times in the gravest and most dramatic circumstances. Those who called attention to those problems at the time were not always understood or heeded. If today they express their joy, it is solely with profound satisfaction at having been proved right.

26. But the struggle of these countries deserves retelling. Throughout its seventy years under British administration, Zanzibar has experienced several crises with the habitual aftermath of exile and imprisonment; and although the island always possessed a constitution preserving its original and distinctive political structures, the fight, first to obtain the most elementary freedoms, then to improve the constitution, drew Zanzibar into the wider struggle which the other African or Asian countries with the same sufferings and hopes were still carrying on. All Africa is pleased to see that this struggle is over and that Zanzibar is now taking its place as a member of the independent African community and of the universal Organization.

27. Zanzibar and Morocco have always been linked by special ties, which are at one and the same time, spiritual, cultural and ethnic. Our commercial relations also date back many years; ranking only after a few Asian countries, Morocco is one of the leading purchasers of Zanzibar's cloves, pepper and coconuts. After 1957, when the new régime in Zanzibar had become slightly more liberal and when the leaders

of the nationalist organization had more freedom of movement, my country received a visit from some of these leaders with whom the Moroccan Government and people had expressed their complete solidarity. Today I am happy to see some of them as members of the delegation which is representing the people as part of Zanzibar in the Assembly.

28. I should like, then, on behalf of Morocco, to congratulate that delegation very cordially and through it, the Government and people of Zanzibar, and assure them that my country wishes to strengthen the ties that link our two peoples, in the same spirit of fraternal solidarity which inspired our common struggle and in the spirit of co-operation which ought to exist between Members of our Organization.

29. Another East African people attained independence on 12 September 1963. The people of Kenya was of all African peoples perhaps one of those whose struggle was at a certain moment the most poignant and the least known. The repression and reprisals which Jomo Kenyatta had to endure moulded his courage and gave him the opportunity of displaying his qualities as a fighter and a statesman. When the most optimistic observer could see no future in his struggle, the personality of this leader gave a form and a name to his great cause in which he stood out as a man of courage and dignity. Since his liberation, he has managed with much wisdom to chart a political course and spared his people the renewal of an armed conflict which had already made many victims.

30. Morocco has always supported Kenya whatever form its struggle might take and evidence of that solidarity was shown at the very moment when the Moroccan people was fighting for its independence, during the most arduous stages on its way to freedom. With independence, we were able to strengthen that solidarity in every way and very strong personal bonds have been established between the rulers of Kenya and Morocco.

31. In welcoming the delegation of Kenya today upon the admission of its country into our Organization, I wish once more to congratulate the members of that delegation, one of whom I know paid my country throughout Kenya's entire struggle the honour of considering it as his second homeland, and to ask them to convey to the Government and people of Kenya our joy and our determination to strengthen the bonds uniting us.

32. In its struggle to attain independence and ensure its unity, Africa, a continent still torn apart by conflicts in other territories can well consider the independence of Zanzibar and Kenya and their admission to the United Nations as its own victory. As much was won by suffering, repression and imprisonment as through the less difficult but more peaceful medium of negotiation. The African peoples, that have no longer the time or the leaders to sacrifice, are glad more than all others to attain their aims by means of negotiation and mutual understanding. The example of the countries that we are welcoming today strengthens us in that conviction. It must also give pause to those who, clinging still to methods of a past era, maintain other African peoples under a domination which it is no longer necessary to condemn since all are agreed that it is a lost cause.

33. I am sure the United Kingdom shares Africa's joy today. May the example of its attitude serve as

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1963, document S/5486.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., document S/5487.

proof that an empire built on friendship may be vaster and more enduring than an empire based on force and that the ties which diplomats can establish in equality and friendship are more lasting than those which only navies or trusts can establish.

34. In Kenya as in Zanzibar, the diversity of the ethnic groups and religions and the differences of colour ensure the strength of the nation. The unity which brought them to independence today will certainly be that very unity which will lead them to prosperity tomorrow; and the example which they will set us of stability and harmony will inspire Africa to attain its own unity.

35. The contribution to the international community which the African continent hopes to make will be meritorious only if made in peace and harmony. But with the help of these two new African nations, Africa can be more certain every day that the more it works for the international community the more it is working for itself.

36. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): This is indeed a historical occasion. We have met here today to welcome, as new Members of this Assembly, the free and independent States of Zanzibar and Kenya. The struggle against colonialism in Asia and Africa will always find a prominent place in the annals of mankind. It is a matter of gratification for all of us that two more independent African States have come into being. The people of Africa have crossed two more hurdles towards the ultimate goal of setting the whole of Africa free.

37. As the representative of India, as also Chairman of the Commonwealth group this month, it is an honour and a privilege for me to extend, on behalf of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malaysia, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, a most cordial welcome to the two sister members of the Commonwealth which have today taken their rightful place in the community of nations. Until 1947 the Commonwealth had been an exclusive association of peoples of European origin. With the emergence that year of two independent States of India and Pakistan, the Commonwealth changed its character and included, for the first time, among its members peoples of different races, religion and colour. The process of liberation has continued ever since and, with the addition of other Asian, African and Caribbean States, the Commonwealth today is very different from what it was sixteen years ago.

38. The emergence to freedom of Zanzibar and Kenya is another significant landmark in our struggle against colonial rule. This is the first time that a British colonial territory with a multiracial population has achieved its independence. This is the first example in British colonial history of the setting up of a democratic government where the principle of a rule by the majority has been established, with full assurances of fair treatment for all racial minorities. Kenya may well serve as model for other colonial territories with similar problems. The combined wisdom of the British Government and the statesmanship of the leaders of Kenya have succeeded in checking the centrifugal forces and fostering a sense of common nationality. The independence of Kenya therefore assumes a special significance from this point of view.

39. The people of Zanzibar, the island famous all the world over as the "island of spices", an island

of tropical charm and beauty, have, after nearly eighty years of foreign rule, regained their independence. We rejoice at their freedom. We are fortunate in having in our midst today the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhamed Shante and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zanzibar, Sheikh Ali Muheir. We extend to them our warmest welcome. Both of them are well known to a number of delegations here, particularly to those of the Committee of Twenty-Four who had the privilege of visiting Dar es Salaam last year and having consultations with them.

40. From time immemorial, ties of friendship have linked the peoples of Zanzibar and India. Flourishing trade has been carried on by the two countries from the beginning of time. We are confident that these ties of friendship and co-operation will be still further strengthened in the days to come. A special delegation was sent from India to take part in the independence celebrations and our President sent a message of congratulations and good wishes on that occasion to His Majesty the Sultan.

41. I now need only say that my delegation, as also the delegations of the other Commonwealth countries on whose behalf I am speaking, looks forward to working in close co-operation with the delegation of Zanzibar in the United Nations towards our common objective of advancing the interests of humanity and peace.

42. We are tied to Kenya not only on account of our historic association, but also through our contemporary contacts with her people and her leaders. It is therefore with genuine joy and satisfaction that we greet the 8.5 million free Kenyans and salute their brave leader, Jomo Kenyatta.

43. The world is only too well aware of Mr. Kenyatta's long struggle against heavy odds. In her struggle for freedom, Kenya passed through many ordeals and her dynamic and heroic leader languished in prison or was kept under detention for almost ten years. We in India watched this struggle with close interest and tried to render such assistance to the freedom fighters as we could. It is a matter of jubilation for us to see once again history repeating itself—that the prisoner of yesterday is the Prime Minister of today. It is an interesting coincidence that when Mr. Kenyatta was under detention, one of the books that he asked for was the Bhagavad Gita translated into English by Mr. Tilak, an eminent leader of Indian nationalism. Mr. Tilak translated the book in the Mandalay prison in Burma, where he had been deported by the British Government in 1908.

44. As I have said earlier, the independence of Kenya has a special significance not only for Africa but also for the whole world. Its people and leaders are engaged in the exciting and challenging adventure of building a genuine multiracial society—or should I, in the words of Mr. Tom Mboya, call it a non-racial society: Mr. Kenyatta's determination to ensure equal treatment to citizens of European and Asian descent is yet another example of his wide vision and wider sympathies. He wants to forget the past and look only to the future.

45. His will not be an easy task and he will need the co-operation and active support of all men of goodwill. I can do no better than quote an extract from my Prime Minister's message to the Prime Minister of Kenya on the day of independence: "We wish you success in your endeavours in the creation of a



strong multiracial Kenya with the economic advancement and development of people of all races as your goal."

46. Before concluding, I would like to extend to Mr. Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs for Kenya, and the members of his delegation, our most sincere and warm welcome. Kenya, under wise and enlightened leadership, is certain to make important contributions to our deliberations in the United Nations.

47. Mr. KIRONDE (Uganda): The admission of Kenya to the comity of independent nations marks the beginning of a new era in the annals of the African struggle against colonialism. On this day Kenya formally takes her place side by side with Algeria on the exalted pedestal of the heroes of colonial Africa.

48. As in Algeria, the struggle in Kenya has been a pronounced conflict between the practical implementation on the ground of the policy of colonization as laid down by the Imperial Powers at the Berlin Conference in 1855 and the determination of the indigenous peoples to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism and to manage their own affairs.

49. The struggle of the indigenous peoples of Algeria and of Kenya bears the same characteristic features as the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, Northern and Southern Rhodesia. In all these countries the coexistence and interplay of the elements of colonialism and settlerism have had the effect of producing a situation which is sui generis. The phenomenon of "settlerism" is not a new element in the history of colonialism, but it is only in recent years that the experts have succeeded in diagnosing and isolating it from other maladies that afflict colonial peoples. As in Algeria, prescription of the usual remedies that have proved effective elsewhere could produce no satisfactory results. This was indeed a desperate situation and only desperate measures could be effective. For the right remedy it was necessary to look in new and unfamiliar directions, and the results in both Algeria and Kenya have been as unfortunate as they have proved effective. The struggle in both cases was long and bitter and many people lost their lives. The past cannot be forgotten because it is a part not only of Kenya, but forms an integral episode in world history. It is, however, most encouraging that the Kenya Government is determined to forgive and start on a fresh sheet.

50. Mr. Kenyatta has already declared, and even given practical demonstration to the avowed intention of his Government to let bygones be bygones and to create a political atmosphere where Whites and Blacks will live in peace and harmony enjoying the same political rights as equal citizens of Kenya.

51. We have thus a situation where the most significant feature in the world today is the existence of two diametrically opposed policies on the same continent. One is in accordance with the principles of Christianity and of all the great religions of the world which are founded on the concept of the brotherhood of man and the dignity of the human being and is in strict accord with the Charter of this Organization, and the other is founded on fear as a master principle and for its implementation is forced to exploit with devilish skill the hatred, fears and prejudices of its citizens.

52. Thus today two highly dissonant voices are clearly audible in the world. One voice emanating

from Pretoria is the voice of a white man preaching apartheid and racial discrimination, and the doctrine of the innate superiority of the white people over the Blacks. The other voice is from Nairobi and is the voice of a black man and, what is more, a former victim of racial arrogance and colonialism and bears the glad tidings of equality, justice and fair play for all regardless of race, creed or colour.

53. One epitomizes the time-worn doctrine of racism and settlerism and has no room in the modern scheme of things, and the other gives effect to the spirit of Addis Ababa and is a practical illustration of the renowned magnanimity, generosity and kindness of the African peoples. Thus Kenya's independence has generated anew that old, tested and worthy African heritage, and the members of the Organization of African Unity are determined to translate that African heritage into practical realities for the betterment of mankind, in the sure and certain knowledge that whatever happens, even if the white peoples in Africa and elsewhere should arm themselves for suicide, the African and the multitude of non-whites who form the vast majority of the human race will march on and over them to freedom and self-determination.

54. As has been amply demonstrated in Kenya and in Algeria, the African has no time for revenge or for sneering at the white man's tragic mistakes. What he wants is a decent world where the most significant thing about a person will no longer be the colour of his skin and where social justice and international peace will take the place of violence and war.

55. Kenya has a great future and a great opportunity to provide that break-through for the liberation of colonial Africa. The road to the total emancipation of the African Continent has been winding uphill all the way. The difficulty of attainment of that goal and objective is only exceeded by the determined resolve of the independent African States now happily joined by the industrious people of Kenya and Zanzibar. With the help of God the day shall surely be when Africa from Cape to Cairo, from Lagos to Mombasa shall be free of the shackles of colonialism to the benefit of all freedom-loving people of the world who are dedicated to the realization of peaceful coexistence in a society where the dignity of man is respected regardless of colour, creed or ideology.

56. Mr. MANG'ENYA (Tanganyika): This day and the last few days have been highly momentous for the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya. The days upon which Zanzibar and Kenya acceded to their independence were declared public holidays in the Republic of Tanganyika, while the historic jubilation for "uhuru" swept throughout the country.

57. At this memorable hour, when we support witness and welcome the delegations of Kenya and Zanzibar to the Assembly of the United Nations, the Tanganyikan delegation is overwhelmed with joy and by a deep reflection over the historic events which have culminated in the independence of our sister States of Zanzibar and Kenya. No words can fully convey our profound feelings of relief and joy.

58. There can be no doubt that the African peoples who are still dominated by colonialism and European settler régimes in Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, South and South West Africa and elsewhere will receive a new and major inspiration from Kenya and Zanzibar. Kenya has provided the United Nations and the world with a glaring example

of the victory of freedom, justice, truth and dignity over oppression, humiliation and the false doctrines of hate and bigotry.

59. At this auspicious moment, therefore, the Tanganyikan delegation, the peoples of Africa and freedom-loving peoples everywhere join together to pay solemn tribute to the peoples and the martyrs of Kenya who fought bravely for the great ideals which are those of the Charter of the United Nations. Here we must take off our hats to Jomo Kenyatta, that brave and illustrious leader who led his country successfully to independence. We also pay tribute to the dead sons and daughters of Kenya who laid down their lives in the cause of African freedom.

60. We equally salute Zanzibar, another sister State which is our neighbour, since it is situated just over twenty miles off the coast of Tanganyika. The four States of East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika—have unbreakable bonds of fraternity forged by geographical proximity, historical experience, cultural affinity and, above all, by centuries of human and family contacts.

61. Following the First World War, Tanganyika shared British tutelage with the others until the day of independence. The natural bonds between the four States therefore continued, and new ones, such as those of the East African Common Services Organization, which include the University of East Africa, were established. The Swahili language, which is the medium of communication between the majority of the people of East Africa, continues to flourish and to contribute to the harmonious relations. It is, therefore, no wonder that serious preparations are now being made with a view to crowning the deep unity of the peoples of East Africa with a full, political federation.

62. All that I have just said demonstrates abundantly that Kenya and Zanzibar are States whose historical experience has similarities with many Member States of this Organization. They are States whose Governments and peoples have maintained fraternal and cordial relations with their neighbours. Free Kenya and free Zanzibar can now extend these admirable qualities to the world through their membership in the United Nations. This is a great cause for rejoicing for all of us in the Assembly.

63. Furthermore, Tanganyika and the other independent African States are especially happy and proud to see that the ranks of free nations in that part of Africa have been strengthened. The machinations of colonialism and imperialism still abound in the Southern part of Africa, but we are sure that even those territories will soon be free and independent and gain admittance to this Organization. We are confidently awaiting the independence in the near future of Malawi, now called Nyasaland, and Zambia, now called Northern Rhodesia. The independence of Zanzibar and Kenya has definitely given added inspiration to the people of those territories in Africa which are still under foreign domination.

64. In conclusion, on behalf of the Government and people of Tanganyika, I once again extend our warm congratulations to the peoples and Government of Kenya, whose delegation is headed by Mr. Oginga Odinga, and to the Government and peoples of Zanzibar, whose delegation is headed by Mr. Muhamed Shamte. On this very happy occasion, we inform the

two countries that we are going to work together in the cause of all the people in the world.

65. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): The ceremony of admitting newly liberated States to our Organization has become, in recent years, an annual event of General Assembly sessions. But, unlike other recurring events, it has not acquired, nor can it ever acquire, the usual characteristics of a routine. For the admission of new Members expands the family of nations dedicated to the Purposes and Principles of this Organization, adding to its strength in the pursuit of international peace and security. Moreover, it constitutes tangible proof that the pressure of national liberation movements is irresistible and that the process of decolonization bears new fruits each year.

66. This time we have the honour—and indeed the privilege, for we speak not only on behalf of the Polish delegation, but also on behalf of the delegations of the other socialist countries—to welcome in our midst the representatives of Kenya and Zanzibar. Independence is never granted by colonial Powers out of sheer generosity. Had it not been for the struggle, armed, political or otherwise, between the colonial and dependent peoples themselves, had it not been for the pressure exerted by world public opinion, and in the first place by our Organization, many a seat in this Hall would still remain empty. In the world of today, given the new relationship of forces, colonialism has become an utter anachronism, and we are convinced that those who still desperately try to arrest the course of history will eventually have to take into account the aspirations of oppressed peoples and their strivings for freedom from colonial bondage.

67. Thus, the freedom of Kenya was not a gift. The country has been liberated at the expense of enormous human losses and sacrifices sustained in an uneven struggle; it has been liberated because of the support, solidarity, example and inspiration given by other African peoples. In joining the great family of free African nations, the heroic people of Kenya and the people of Zanzibar, known for its ancient culture and civilization, will strengthen African unity and will accelerate the process of the final elimination of the remnants of the discredited colonial system. And we believe that the removal from the territory of Kenya of the military set-up imposed by colonialism in that part of the African continent would be another contribution to this cause.

68. The so-called "white highlands" of Kenya were often referred to as a paradise. Indeed, it might have been so for several thousand white settlers who owned the best and most fertile lands. But it was by no means a paradise for the indigenous population, deprived as it was of its property, its heritage. We cannot but bow to the statesmanship of the leaders of Kenya, who, while discarding the past experiences, are determined to build in Kenya a country in which race, tribe, colour or creed form no barrier and no obstacle to membership of a society of free and equal Kenyan citizens.

69. We pay tribute to the man who laid the foundation for Kenya's independence, for the cherished concept of "uhuru"; the leader of the country's liberation movement, an outstanding politician, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, the first Prime Minister of independent Kenya, rightly called by his countrymen the "father of the nation". For it is he, a long-time prisoner of colonialism, who has made his nation appreciate the

taste of free statehood. Despite intrigues, repressions and provocations, the Kenya African National Union was able to overcome, under his wise guidance, all the obstacles and to become the leading political force of the young State.

70. May we also pay tribute to the leaders of Zanzibar, to the Prime Minister, Mr. Muhamed Shante, who has pledged to make Zanzibar a prosperous, democratic State, to pursue the policy of non-alignment and to work for the cause of African unity.

71. We have no doubt that the people of Kenya and Zanzibar will follow the road of intensive development upon which the other independent African States have resolutely embarked. We realize that political independence is but a first step on this road and that under-development and backwardness cannot be overcome overnight. We feel confident, however, that with the assistance and support of the friendly African peoples and all peace-loving nations of the world, Kenya and Zanzibar will succeed in fulfilling the formidable tasks confronting them. And may I add that in their strenuous efforts they can count on the co-operation of the socialist countries.

72. I should like to extend the warm greetings of the socialist countries to the delegations of Kenya and Zanzibar; and their distinguished leaders—Mr. Muhamed Shante, the Prime Minister of Zanzibar; and Mr. Oginga Odinga, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya. We ask them to convey our sincere wishes of success to the people and Governments of their countries.

73. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): I have been deputed by my Government especially to come here to participate in welcoming the newly independent State of Kenya to this Organization and to co-sponsor its admission to the United Nations. It is a special privilege for me personally to come here to witness the ceremony of the admission of Kenya and Zanzibar.

74. Kenya, in particular, has a personal significance for me. From 1945 to 1947 I made the acquaintance of the leader of the people of Kenya in Manchester and London, when we were organizing a Pan-African Congress in Manchester. At that time we dreamed dreams and saw visions, and we made plans about how we would overthrow the colonialists and win independence for our respective countries. In addition to myself, there were Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Mr. George Padmore, Mr. Millard of British Guiana, Mr. Makonnen, Mr. Nkrumah and several others, and we brought from the United States the late Professor DuBois whom we regard as the father of Pan-Africanism.

75. I was privileged to speak at the close of the meeting, and the theme of my discussion was: where to begin. I had come from Ireland to attend that meeting. In 1945, after the Conference, we set up two journals: one a magazine and one a monthly paper called *The New African*; the editor was Mr. Nkrumah. There we wrote and we abused the imperialists; we said every terrible thing about them. But we were determined, and we agreed, that if we were to succeed, these conferences must not be held merely in foreign lands but we must finish our studies and go back to our respective countries, and damn whatever consequences that might befall us. Many of us have gone through various mills in different forms; some more severe than others; but all the same, the rigours of colonialism have been felt by all of us in one form or another; detentions, reporting, prosecution and so

on. We all went through these things. But the case of Kenya is of particular significance because Jomo Kenyatta, the Prime Minister of Kenya today, had to make a near supreme sacrifice in order that his country might become free.

76. There is one aspect that touches me particularly, the fact that after seven years of suffering and severe punishment, in spite of the cross he had to bear, at this time of victory we see generosity and magnanimity made manifest in his pronouncement with regard to those who had expropriated his people, those who feared vengeance. He changed that. He turned the tide and today the settlers in Kenya regard Jomo Kenyatta as the hope both for themselves and the people of Kenya, as the unifying factor in the whole system; indeed, he is the solvent in that present society.

77. We come here not only to welcome Kenya but also to welcome Zanzibar, that great island off the East Coast of Africa, to the community of independent nations. These two countries, by becoming independent and by becoming Members of this Organization today, complete a process that has been going on in eastern Africa; so that now you have, with the exception of a semi-independent enclave, Djibouti, from the horn of Africa right up to the border of Mozambique, this entire area liberated. And a great experiment is going on. Here you find a meeting of races, a meeting of religions, and the experiment that is going on will show us the way to the solution of certain burning questions and certain difficult problems that confront the African nations in the central and southern portion of our African continent.

78. Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta has pointed the way. He has shown that having won the independence that he was fighting for, there is no need to harp on the bitterness of the past, and that the spirit of accommodation is more important in order to weld the various elements together. It is our hope that those who live in those territories further south, in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, will learn from this clear example of the African spirit of accommodation that I had the opportunity to mention once from this rostrum.

79. Today we with Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar and Somalia complete a process that started after the late war. We hope that the new experiment that they have initiated of regional grouping in the form of federation will become a reality and that these countries together will become a bastion against any possible incursions again on that part of Africa, so that the African may never be a slave to any other human being again on God's earth.

80. My Government and my country, as it has done at all times towards other African countries, wishes to say here that the Government and People of Nigeria are quite prepared to extend to these newly independent countries the same fraternal hand of welcome and assistance within its power and resources as it has tried to do in regard to others. We hope that the spirit which has become manifest now in Kenya will continue, and will not in any way be affected by any attempt from whatever quarter to pollute the air that now blows so fresh in Nairobi when I visited it last week and met the Kenyans and the European settlers who have now accepted the fact that the majority must rule. We in Nigeria sincerely hope and pray that this spirit that has become manifest now will continue and

that the various races in that area will be welded together in harmony and friendship, to live together as citizens of one country, and build a new nation out of the diverse human resources that are present in that country.

81. I think Kenya and Zanzibar could not have won their independence if the United Kingdom had been stubborn like Portugal. I think, while we welcome our sister countries, it is right that we should also take this opportunity to show appreciation for what the United Kingdom Government has done in this particular respect. We hope that this process that has been completed in Kenya and Zanzibar this December will be followed up in respect of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia when the majority of the people there are placed in the position of having complete control over their territory; and they should fear no difficulty in doing that which is right.

82. We also hope that by next year Bechuanaland, and the other territories within its competence, will be welcomed by all of us here as independent and free countries, so that the African nations will concentrate their attention in the complete liberation of those areas which are controlled by such stubborn and unbending countries as Portugal and South Africa.

83. Kenya we welcome whole-heartedly. Nigeria has always adopted a policy of self-effacement. We sincerely hope that in the new status that Kenya and Zanzibar have now acquired, they will utilize their resources, in co-operation with their neighbours, to see to it that their talents are canalized to one objective, and that is the consolidation of African unity. So alongside all those who have already spoken before me, on behalf of Nigeria, the people and the Government of Nigeria, we welcome Kenya and Zanzibar to this great Organization, and I extend the warmest greetings to the representatives of these two countries which have come here today in order to be admitted to the United Nations.

84. Mr. COMAY (Israel): The Government and people of Israel rejoice in the admission to the United Nations of two new African Member States, Kenya and Zanzibar, thereby marking the freedom of all the peoples of East Africa. This is a development important not only to that region, but also in the wider context of the history of our times. At the turn of this century, only a minority of the world's population enjoyed independence; by now over 90 per cent of mankind lives in sovereign States of their own. This spectacular change has been compressed into two generations, and we devoutly pray for its rapid completion.

85. The link between Israel and East Africa goes back to very ancient times. I would recall that the present shipping route between Israel's Red Sea port of Eilat, and the Indian Ocean harbours of East Africa, is the same route as that along which King Solomon's galleys plied three thousand years ago. In the past few years, our ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation with Kenya and other East African States have been steadily consolidated.

86. On the morrow of independence, all we new States have faced formidable problems of nation-building and development. In our relations with the other young States, we have always tried to seek practical co-operation and the sharing of experience, in the belief that positive action matters more than verbal sentiments of goodwill. Between Israel and Kenya, there is

already a network of joint projects, technical co-operation and training programmes involving hundreds of young Kenyans; and with independence, these activities are likely to expand. As was said by my Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, who headed the Israel delegation to the independence celebrations in Nairobi:

"All through Kenya's long wait for freedom, we in Israel have felt ourselves close and concerned. Now that the objective has been attained, we want the gallant and gifted statesmen of the new Kenya to know that our goodwill and co-operation are unreservedly theirs to draw upon as they choose."

87. I have before me a volume which symbolizes our relationship with Kenya and the other free nations of East Africa. It is a translation into Hebrew, our Biblical and modern tongue, of Jomo Kenyatta's book, Facing Mount Kenya. In a special preface, Prime Minister Kenyatta wrote two months ago:

"The publication of this edition in Israel comes at a time when the struggle for freedom in Kenya has almost reached its climax. Both Israel and Kenya have had similar experiences in the struggle against forces which were determined to crush all opposition to colonialism. Yet in spite of the might of our oppressors, we have both emerged free peoples."

Mr. Kenyatta adds:

"Israel's experience, I am glad to say, is helping many emerging States in Africa and Asia to fight against our chief enemies — ignorance, poverty, disease."

88. Mr. President, after "uhuru" comes "harambee"—that is, the task facing every African leader of welding a nation out of diverse elements, in keeping both with African traditions and with the resources and skills of modern life. We feel certain that these two youngest Members of our United Nations family, together with their fellow African States, will make their own distinctive and precious African contribution to the world. And it is in this conviction that we join in welcoming their distinguished representatives into our midst.

89. Mr. ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): I have the honour, on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and the Government and people of Iran, to welcome heartily the admission into this great Organization of Zanzibar and Kenya. We bid them a joyful welcome.

90. I associate myself with all that has been said on this auspicious occasion with regard to this great event. We rejoice with the Governments and peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya and share in their joy. I have always felt, and I believe I gave expression to this feeling some years ago, that those of us who were fortunate enough to have won our independence earlier have throughout felt, and still feel, that our independence, is not complete until all of our brethren, whether of Asia or of Africa or elsewhere, are also free and independent in their own territories.

91. This process is now approaching completion. Today, important forward steps have been taken in that regard, and this adds to our joy.

92. There are many links that bind those of us of Pakistan and of Iran to the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya. These links will now grow stronger, to the benefit of the peoples, not only of these four lands,



but of all the peoples of Africa and Asia and indeed of the world.

93. While we congratulate the Governments and peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya on the achievement of their freedom and independence, we are conscious of the challenges that independence presents to the Governments and peoples of these two countries, as it has always presented to those who have been blessed and honoured with independence. In their efforts to meet these challenges successfully, the Governments and peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya may confidently rely upon the sympathy, support and assistance of the peoples and Governments of Pakistan and Iran.

94. As has already been stressed, one of these challenges, peculiar especially to Kenya, is of special interest to all of us around the globe. That is the challenge of the forging of a multiracial society into a harmonious, co-operative and beneficent society for the benefit of all its peoples equally. But this challenge does not bear particularly on the Government of Kenya. The peoples of Kenya—all sections of them, whether Africans or derived from Asia or Europe—are equally involved in the successful meeting of this challenge. While the various sections look to the Government for security, equality and justice, the Government has the right to expect from all the people of Kenya—from every section of them—the fullest loyalty and devotion to the true interests of the country.

95. I have had the privilege and the honour of meeting some of the revered leaders of Zanzibar and Kenya in their own lands—alas, only for a very short time in Zanzibar, but for a period extending over some days in Kenya. I have every reason to be confident that they and their peoples will rise to their fullest stature in the service of their respective motherlands. We wish them all success in their march towards security and prosperity.

96. Mr. Nur ELMI (Somalia): On behalf of the Somali people and their Government, I wish to express the warmest welcome to our neighbouring and sister nations of Kenya and Zanzibar on their admission to the United Nations. As the representative of an African, and particularly an East African, State, whose country is bound by historic ties of friendship with Kenya and Zanzibar, it has given me particular pleasure to co-sponsor the draft resolutions concerning the admission of Zanzibar and Kenya to the United Nations and to see these two sister nations among the members of this great international family.

97. While paying high and deserved homage to the people of Kenya and Zanzibar, and in particular to the leaders who have brought their respective countries to independence despite insidious colonial intrigues, I am confident that they will add their valuable contributions to the strengthening of the cause of international peace and security in general and the consolidation of African unity and solidarity in particular.

98. In this connexion, I deem it pertinent to mention that, after the liquidation of the last vestige of British imperialism in that part of Africa, the outstanding problems created deliberately by the colonial Powers will be easily solved within the context of the African Charter of the Organization of African Unity, so that Africa can show the whole world that it can maintain

its dignity, peace and tranquillity without interference or mediation by any colonial Power.

99. Mr. LEKIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation is exceptionally happy and pleased to welcome today two new independent African States, Zanzibar and Kenya, to membership in the United Nations. May I be allowed to avail myself of this solemn occasion to extend the warmest and most cordial congratulations, on behalf of my delegation, to the peoples of these two courageous African States.

100. Led by their capable leaders, the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya fought for many years for the ideals of freedom and successfully surmounted all the obstacles put in their way and finally emerged the victors in this struggle.

101. We all recall vividly the year 1960, when thirteen independent African States became Members of our Organization, because it was a very significant date not only in the history of the peoples of these countries and of the African continent, but also in the history of the whole world community.

102. Subsequently, we witnessed new and important successes achieved in the field of the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. This was the result of the constant and powerful growth of the anti-colonialist forces, which are today so strong that the question of the final liquidation of colonialism in all its aspects has become a direct and urgent task of all mankind.

103. The Yugoslav delegation sees in the accession of every new independent State to membership in our Organization yet another successful result of the efforts which all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples in the United Nations, and outside it, are exerting for the establishment of the new relations in the world—relations based on the principles and goals of the United Nations Charter.

104. We welcome these successes because they inspire and encourage all those peoples who are still struggling for freedom and independence and aspiring to take their just place in the international community on an equal footing with all other peoples and countries.

105. The Yugoslav delegation is convinced that the accession to independence of Zanzibar and Kenya will be of special significance in bringing the process of decolonization to an end and in fulfilling the legitimate rights of the peoples to independence and freedom, and for removing dangerous sources of international tension and conflict. We are also convinced that the membership of Zanzibar and Kenya in the United Nations will, for these reasons, contribute to the further strengthening of our Organization, and that on their part they will do their utmost to help fulfil the principal aims of the United Nations, namely the preservation of world peace and security and the further development of international co-operation.

106. I can proudly state that the Yugoslav Government, through its consistent foreign policy, from the outset gave its full and unreserved support to the legitimate demands of the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya, especially here in the United Nations. Our joy is enhanced today by the fact that in greeting the representatives of these two independent States we tender them welcome as representatives of two friendly countries. At the same time, it gives me

particular pleasure to assure them that in their efforts to obtain United Nations co-operation in solving the numerous problems inherited from their colonial past, they can count upon the sincere and friendly support and deepest understanding of the Government and delegation of Yugoslavia.

107. Mr. MUDENGE (Rwanda) (translated from French): It is with a great feeling of joy today that the Rwandese delegation, on behalf of the President, Government and people of Rwanda, welcomes Kenya, that brother country to which we are linked by so many ties—geographic, ethnic, linguistic and human. In September 1963, our Minister for Foreign Affairs had already said here how eager he was [1235th meeting] to see among us the representatives of the last East African territory still under British administration, and now the great day has come.

108. It is with the same feeling of joy that we welcome the admission of Zanzibar to the United Nations. Zanzibar is the second oldest East African State, after Ethiopia. Zanzibar was already independent in the days of Joan of Arc, and now it has finally regained its full sovereignty.

109. But we must also extend our congratulations to the United Kingdom which once again has shown itself able to lead two countries to independence. In so doing, it has proven that no difficulty is insurmountable, no problem insoluble, so long as goodwill is not lacking. We hope, and we trust, that the United Kingdom will do the same for every other Territory still under its administration provided that it has a government elected by universal suffrage.

110. Kenya and Zanzibar are attaining independence at a particularly opportune moment, for we know that they are going to demonstrate what most of the States Members of the United Nations have never ceased to affirm for years, namely, that it is quite possible for different races to live in contentment and prosperity within the same country without there being either oppressors or oppressed, that a multiracial government is not a Utopia and that within a country whose government is mainly or entirely in the hands of Africans, Whites are not in danger of losing either their property or their rights, and certainly not their lives. From this example, the whole world will come to understand that there is no reason why a similar situation should not exist in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, or the Territories under Portuguese administration, and that the doubts expressed by the present rulers of those countries are no more than feeble excuses made in the hope of hanging on a little longer to privileged positions which were wrongfully acquired. And let no one deceive himself, Kenya and Zanzibar will bear out these truths. Several other African countries have done so before them.

111. In Zanzibar the Government is composed of men of different origins; in Kenya, the Land Ministry, a post of great delicacy, is in the hands of a White. In Zanzibar a race of Arab origin lives together in peace with descendants of Bantus. Racial conflicts are a thing of the past. In Kenya, Mr. Kenyatta has promised that the white man will enjoy the same protection as any other citizen of the country, that he will be treated as an equal, and that no one will think of depriving him of his property. This shows once again that the African is not a racist and will never be one.

112. With regard to a problem as sensitive as land ownership, Mr. Kenyatta stated the following to 400 white settlers in August 1963:

"Some Europeans are worried about their future. I say to you today that we want you to stay and to farm—and to farm well—in this country. Let us join hands and work together for the betterment of the land. I beg you to believe that this is the policy of the Government. We must work together and try to trust one another."

113. The Minister of Commerce and Industry was entirely of the same opinion on 11 July 1963, when he said that foreign investments would be encouraged by the Government and would not be subjected to any kind of discrimination. For its part, KANU,<sup>4</sup> the majority party in Kenya, proclaimed the following in its electoral manifesto:

"The KANU government will welcome those non-Africans who choose to join with us in the noble task of building a Kenya nation. Their training, their skills and their knowledge will be of the greatest value to us ... they will be fully accepted by us, not only through legal forms, but in our hearts."

114. But in this connexion we need look no further than the motto of that new state for there we find an unequivocal expression in the simple word "harambee" (let us go forward together) of the state of mind of the Kenyan people and its philosophy of government. This motto is as natural as it is admirable for as we have often said, racial discrimination is foreign to the African mentality; he abhors it as much as apartheid and refuses to practise it in his own environment.

115. But first and foremost, we rejoice at seeing the representatives of Zanzibar and Kenya among us because their admission is a great step forward on the way to the total liberation of the African continent. It acts as an incentive to increase our efforts today, tomorrow and every day until not a single trace of foreign domination is left on the African continent, and every inhabitant of our continent has regained his dignity as a free man.

116. Kenya has already given us its precious aid in this direction. On 15 November 1963, its Government announced its decision that immediately after its independence it would boycott all South African and Portuguese goods. In adopting that measure, Kenya has made a real sacrifice for the cause of African solidarity, since in 1962 goods from Territories under Portuguese administration accounted for approximately 11.5 per cent of its total imports. The Rwandese delegation cannot but think that certain Powers which despite numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions continue to sell arms to Portugal and South Africa would do well to adopt the courageous attitude of Kenya and sacrifice some of their revenue for the sake of their moral principles.

117. This is why the Government and people of Rwanda are so pleased at the admission of Kenya and Zanzibar to this Organization.

118. In conclusion the Rwandese delegation would like to congratulate and pay tribute to Mr. Muhamed Shamte, Prime Minister of Zanzibar and Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, and wish their

<sup>4</sup>/ Kenya African National Union.

Governments and peoples peace, happiness and prosperity.

119. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): The admission of new Members committed to the principles of the Charter—and thereby the extension of the influence and the discipline of the United Nations to ever larger areas of the globe—is always an occasion for rejoicing. So it is today. The privilege of welcoming the new State of Kenya and the ancient State of Zanzibar and their distinguished delegations, on behalf of the United States, is an honour that I shall long remember.

120. In a message to the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla, upon the occasion of that country's independence, President Johnson wrote on 9 December:

"... we will continue to press for equal rights for all—both in my country and abroad—and will continue to assist the world's new and emerging nations in their efforts to strengthen their foundations in freedom and in independence."

121. President Johnson expressed similar sentiments in a message delivered to the people of Kenya at their independence celebration, in these words:

"... the United States is devoted to the same basic human aspirations as those of the people of Kenya—and, indeed, as those of people of goodwill throughout the world.

"To the courageous people of Kenya, the American people and I send the warmest good wishes as you enter into nationhood. Just as the infant United States was encouraged and strengthened by the sympathy of those throughout the world who loved liberty, so your young and vigorous nation will have the understanding support of free men in every land."

122. Both these countries comprise multiracial societies which are pledged to accord equal rights and opportunities to all their citizens in the eyes of the law, the Government and the world. As I said this morning in the Security Council [1084th meeting], the statesmanship of their leaders and of the United Kingdom and the negotiations conducted with honesty, forbearance and determination, which have concluded so happily and so peacefully, can serve as an example of co-operation and of tolerance throughout the continent of Africa.

123. We believe too that the statesmanship of Kenya and Zanzibar bodes well for the future of this great Organization, for the success of the deliberations of the United Nations also depends upon the equality of nations, forbearance, concern for the views and interests of others, and a sincere search for common agreement. No nation here is so big that it cannot profit by listening to the views of others, and no nation here is so small that it cannot make a useful contribution to our work. In the close exchange of views, in the frank expression of opinion, lie our hope for deeper friendship among nations and the best assurance we have against the dangers of misunderstanding, of mistrust and of conflict.

124. My country has long enjoyed friendly and mutually profitable relations with our new Members. The establishment of our first Consulate in Zanzibar predated the era of major European influence in Africa. An American Friends Service Mission was established in Kenya as early as 1904 and is still

functioning there. Large numbers of students from both of these countries have come here to study. More than a thousand from Kenya alone are now studying in United States schools and universities. Our aid programmes in these countries, worked out with the recipient Governments, along with private commercial relations, have further contributed to our respect and friendship for one another.

125. Hence we look forward to continuing this relationship as equal Members of this world Organization: in debates, in conferences and in all those exchanges of opinion which express our desire to create that world of free and equal men envisaged in our Charter.

126. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): I come to this rostrum to extend, on behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and Austria, a warm welcome to the new States which today became Members of our Organization: Kenya and Zanzibar.

127. During recent years we have been able to welcome in this hall the representatives of more than twenty newly-independent African States, and we have saluted the fact that Africa was thus, to an ever increasing extent, assuming its proper place in the international community. Two more nations from the continent of Africa have now achieved their independence and are assuming full responsibility for their own future. We are very happy about this and in particular about the fact that this day of solemn international consecration of their independence is not the epilogue of strain and violence but the crowning of peaceful and fruitful evolution.

128. We know that Kenya and Zanzibar will bring to our Organization the enthusiasm of their youth and its ardour in the quest for peace, justice and freedom. We extend to them a warm welcome and our sincere wishes for future stability, prosperity and welfare.

*Mr. Nur Elmi (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

129. Mr. ALVAREZ VIDAURRE (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The group of Latin American delegations has entrusted me with the honour of welcoming most cordially the new States, Kenya and Zanzibar, which now join us in this great Organization.

130. In this respect, I think it appropriate to recall that the countries of Latin America have always resolutely championed the cause of the colonized peoples and their independence, and we hope, therefore, that in the near future more new States will come to strengthen the United Nations.

131. Thus it is with real pleasure that I welcome Kenya and Zanzibar, whose co-operation, we are sure, will be an important factor for understanding, fraternity and the peace of the world.

132. Mr. MAHMOUD RIAD (United Arab Republic): The eighteenth session of the General Assembly has been described repeatedly as a session of harmony and understanding because of the auspicious atmosphere which preceded and has persisted all through the session. The unanimous admission of Kenya and Zanzibar is one more profitable landmark in our work during the eighteenth session.

133. Bearing this in mind, I come to this rostrum on behalf of the Arab delegations, including my own, to extend the most sincere congratulations to the Govern-

ments and the peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar, who won their independence after a long history of struggle and sacrifice to break the shackles of colonialism and to emerge as free independent States, able to play a positive role in our international community.

134. The struggle of the people of Kenya for their dignity and their liberty will always be a source of inspiration to the peoples who are still under foreign domination, and we wish to pay our tribute to the great leader, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, and the people of Kenya for their dedication to, and struggle for, independence and freedom.

135. In the same spirit, we salute the leaders and the people of Zanzibar for their struggle and determination to attain independence in spite of all the hardships and ordeals which they were forced to endure.

136. When the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya celebrated their long-awaited independence on 10 and 12 December 1963, the festivities which marked these two historic days were but one of the many occasions when, in our recent history, the African people celebrated freedom and independence. Kenya and Zanzibar will follow their sister nations in developing their political and economic constitutions in the interests of their peoples and for their welfare. We feel sure that they will develop their resources in such a way as to fulfil the aspirations of those who fought and those who sacrificed their lives to attain independence and statehood.

137. We have every reason to believe that the admission of Kenya and Zanzibar to this world Organization will make a positive contribution to our deliberations and will be an additional incentive for all of us to work hard to free the remaining colonized territories from imperialism and foreign domination. The United Nations as a world Organization has every reason to be proud of its record in helping many of its Members to attain independence. This achievement is, in our opinion, one of the most, if not the most, concrete and positive successes of which our Organization can be proud.

138. In conclusion, I wish to express to the Governments and the peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar a warm and sincere welcome and our hope that they will enjoy a durable peace and a prosperous future.

139. Mr. CAYCO (Philippines): I consider it a particularly gratifying privilege to extend to the newly-independent States of Kenya and Zanzibar the warm and deeply felt felicitations of the Government and people of the Philippines.

140. The Chief Magistrate of my country, President Diosdado Macapagal, has just completed a historic visit to the continent of Africa. He is the first President of the Republic of the Philippines to have made the long journey, half way round the world, to convey personally to the peoples of Africa the profound desire of the Philippine people to know and understand the new Africa better and to establish closer relations with its free emerging nations.

141. President Macapagal's visit pointed up the heartening fact that the vast distances that lie between Africa and the Philippines are no longer barriers to communication and understanding as they were in the past. Now that the unnatural barriers set up by colonialism have, for the most part, been removed, these vast intervening spaces have become wide avenues of

friendship and fraternal co-operation based on mutual respect and common interest.

142. The people of my country had to struggle for over four hundred years, resorting first to armed revolution and later to peaceful agitation, before they succeeded in establishing the Republic of the Philippines. They know from experience and, therefore, share fully the newly independent African peoples' feelings of joy, vindication and renewed dedication to the task of sustaining freedom and making it meaningful.

143. In this spirit we welcome the unanimous admission today of the new States of Kenya and Zanzibar to the United Nations. Their newly won independence advances by one more significant step the process of decolonization, to the speedy elimination of which this Organization is committed. We express here the fervent hope that this historic process will continue without interruption and without delay until all the nations of Africa which are still held in colonial bondage have become free—free not only in the sense of self-determination and independence, as in the case of Angola, but free also from all discrimination on account of race, such as that imposed as a matter of deliberate policy in South Africa.

144. What we hope for Africa, we hope equally for all the peoples in the world who are still struggling to be free. Africa in the past had contributed much to civilization. It is clearly destined to play a still larger role in world affairs in the years to come. But in order to be able to make its full contribution to the well-being of mankind, Africa itself must attain the fullness of freedom to which its peoples are entitled. What is true for Africa holds true for the rest of the world which has known, or is still suffering from the blight of colonialism.

145. May this happy occasion of the unanimous admission of the new States of Kenya and Zanzibar into the United Nations serve as a sobering reminder of a truth and a lesson so felicitously expressed by a great departed leader of the free world, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who once said that "those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable".

146. Mr. PAPAGOS (Greece) (translated from French): It is with real pleasure and great satisfaction that, on behalf of the Greek delegation, I add my most sincere congratulations to those which have already been extended to the delegations of Kenya and Zanzibar upon the admission of their countries to our Organization. Their presence among us most solemnly confirms the accession of their respective States to complete and sovereign independence. We welcome this happy event which reaffirms, in our view, the irresistible force of the movement towards the emancipation of the peoples.

147. We are sure that the presence of Kenya and Zanzibar in the United Nations and the participation of their delegations in our work will constitute a valuable contribution and, by bringing us closer to the universality to which we aspire, will help the United Nations to fulfil its noble and arduous tasks more effectively. Greece, which has always maintained very close and cordial relations with the African countries, shares whole-heartedly in the joy with which the friends of Kenya and Zanzibar have greeted this historic event.



148. Mr. NACO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is extremely happy at this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of the Albanian people and Government, the new States of Kenya and Zanzibar, which now become Members of our Organization.

149. The Albanian people have always followed with deep sympathy the long and tireless struggle for independence of the peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar. In welcoming the representatives of these countries, we extend to them our warmest congratulations on their peoples' heroic struggle against colonialism and for the conquest of national independence.

150. The admission to our Organization of new countries, which is the outcome of long and painful struggles, is for us a very happy event. The accession to independence of Kenya and Zanzibar is further proof of the certain victory of the peoples fighting resolutely to shake off the shackles of colonial servitude. It is a further source of encouragement for those who are still subjected to that system of imperialist exploitation. The victory achieved by the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya, after the victories achieved by many other nations that have acceded to independence in the last few years, attests also the continued disintegration and inevitable end of the system of colonial exploitation. It is true that the road to full and complete independence is not carpeted with flowers, but there is no doubt that peoples who have succeeded by force of arms in throwing off the colonial yoke will be equally successful in overcoming all difficulties, in particular in defeating new forms of colonial exploitation, and, enjoying in the new historical conditions the sincere support and assistance of peace—and freedom-loving countries and peoples, in consolidating their independence and ensuring for themselves, in freedom, a prosperous and happy life.

151. We are sure in advance that the representatives of the two new Member States that have won their independence thanks to the heroic struggle and heavy sacrifices of their peoples will contribute greatly in our Organization to the defence of the principles of the Charter, to the cause of the freedom of peoples, and to international peace and co-operation.

152. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania again extends to the representatives of Kenya and Zanzibar its sincerest and most cordial welcome to our Organization.

153. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): I have the honour and the pleasure to speak not only for my delegation, but also on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Nepal, in associating myself with the speakers who have preceded me in congratulating the representatives of Kenya and Zanzibar on their admission to membership in the United Nations.

154. We welcome them whole-heartedly as our colleagues, and we welcome their countries as fellow members of the comity of independent nations.

155. We are convinced that the addition of these two independent countries to the membership of our Organization will give it new strength and vigour in all the fields of its activities, especially in the field of decolonization which is one of the most important activities in which the United Nations is still deeply engaged. We have from the outset consistently and whole-heartedly supported the fight for freedom which those two countries have carried out and which

has eventually resulted in their independence and their membership of the United Nations.

156. We suffered with them when and where they had to sacrifice property, personal freedom and, too often, even their lives, in their endeavour to realize their ideals for "uhuru", which were also our ideals, and now we are gratified and filled with joy because these freedom fighters have at last succeeded and their countries have become Members of the United Nations to join us in our struggle for the complete defeat of colonialism.

157. I can assure the representatives of Zanzibar and Kenya that they will soon find out that they will be in the happy position of being able to do much more in our Organization than fighting colonialism only. They will soon discover that the United Nations is the best place where they can learn what other nations are striving for and what are mankind's desires. They will discover that our Organization gives them ample opportunity to work for their own development in the economic, social, educational and other fields to complement and complete the political independence which they have now achieved.

158. Speaking for the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and my own delegation, I welcome and congratulate once again the delegations of Zanzibar and Kenya, and, through them, the Governments and the peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar.

159. Mr. M'BALE (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): Yesterday we were thirty-two; today we are thirty-four and tomorrow we shall be even more numerous. The newcomers are Kenya and Zanzibar, two African countries which have at last joined the ranks of independent countries, free countries, sovereign countries. This state of affairs is the result of a long process of decolonization, beset by many difficulties and characterized by bitter struggles and heroic fighting. It constitutes incontrovertible proof of what the determination of one people and the co-operation of another can together achieve; it is also inescapable proof that the course of history cannot be reversed, no matter how desperately men may try.

160. On behalf of my Government and people, I greet the arrival in this Assembly of the representatives of these two countries. In thinking more particularly of the people of Kenya, I cannot but feel special respect for the admirable endurance and heroism of their leader Jomo Kenyatta, the Prime Minister of Kenya. He himself constitutes a challenge to those who believe there can be a better guarantee of security than sincere friendship, friendship in respect for human dignity and democratic principles.

161. My country and my Government, faithful to those principles of friendship which link us to various organizations, will continue to give the people and Government of Kenya all the necessary support and co-operation in the international family.

162. On behalf of my Government and my country, I want to assure the newcomers of our utmost sympathy and friendship. On this same occasion we express the hope that the United Kingdom, that may celebrate with us today the admission to the United Nations of two territories which the circumstances of history placed under its administration, will continue without respite its efforts to accelerate this process of decolonization in respect of the other colonial territories still under its administration. It will thus itself forge a

solid basis for lasting friendship and co-operation with its former colonies.

163. May this serve as an example to Portugal. May Portugal not imagine that it is too late to make amends. There is still time. May that country pull itself together, so that one day soon we may together celebrate the admission of Angola, Mozambique, Cabinda and so-called Portuguese Guinea to our Organization. Then only would the friendship which Portugal professes to feel naturally towards Africa be, if not natural, at least deep and lasting.

164. Once again I should like to offer my sincerest congratulations to the delegations of Kenya and Zanzibar on their admission to the United Nations. My delegation is happy to see them arrive as reinforcements in the fight for justice and equity which Africa is waging in the Organization.

165. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): On this day two new stars, Zanzibar and Kenya, have been added to the constellation of African States in our Organization. Thus the heavens above are further brightened; thus our membership steadily grows and becomes more broadly representative of the peoples of the world.

166. In Zanzibar, progress towards self-government and independence has been accelerated during the past several years, and has now culminated in the emergence of that country as a fully independent sovereign State, and now to our great satisfaction, as a Member of the United Nations. With equal satisfaction we greet the arrival among us of Kenya, which after a long history under colonial rule has now finally come forth to join us, and to join the Commonwealth, thanks, as in the case of Zanzibar, to the enlightened decolonization policies of the United Kingdom in recent years.

167. Japan's relations with Zanzibar and Kenya have not been in the past very extensive, but as the newest Members of the United Nations they have now become our brothers. As such, we welcome them into the United Nations family.

168. On behalf of the delegations of Thailand and Japan, we extend to both countries and to their distinguished representatives now sitting for the first time in this hall the most fraternal good wishes, and also our allegiance to the efforts we are entirely confident they will make, and very successfully so, for the realization of all the noble ideals for which the United Nations stands. We also pledge our warmest and most whole-hearted support for the efforts which will have to be made to help these two new countries achieve the maximum potential of their economic, political, social and cultural development.

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.*

169. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): This is a day of rejoicing for all. The day when new nations are born, when people emerge from colonial domination and attain their independence and their human dignity, is indeed a day for joy. My country whole-heartedly joins in this wide and general rejoicing.

170. We share with our African brothers their pride in witnessing two more territories of their continent becoming independent. We hope and trust that the time is not far off when all the peoples of Africa and other parts of the world will join us here in equality, in justice and in liberty.

171. On behalf of the Government and people of Cyprus, I extend a brotherly greeting to the Govern-

ments and peoples of the two countries, and more particularly to the two leaders of the delegations and the members of those delegations.

172. We express our deep gratification at the peaceful attainment of independence by Zanzibar, for which we congratulate Prime Minister Muhamed Shante. We express our profound admiration for the people of Kenya, who, under the inspired leadership of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, fought with determination and unparalleled endurance their long and hard struggle for independence. The people of Cyprus, in a spirit of solidarity, followed that gallant struggle, which had much in common with the struggle of our own people for their independence. The people of Cyprus and the people of Kenya had a common ideal of freedom and a parallel determination to achieve it. I was thus particularly pleased to greet at luncheon today, among the distinguished members of the Kenya delegation, an old companion in arms for the cause of freedom, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, with whom I had in the past long worked in London in the organization known as the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

173. In welcoming the two new States to the United Nations, we express our confidence that they will bring to the deliberations and decisions of the United Nations a constructive contribution, guided by their dedication to the principles of the Charter and by their enlightened patriotism and their spirit of paramount allegiance to humanity, of which the United Nations is the embodiment and the expression. For, indeed, progress on the road to freedom represents equal progress on the road to world peace, so inseparably bound up with the concept of freedom.

174. By the admission of these two new Members, the United Nations continues its healthy expansion. The original membership of fifty-one has now grown to 113. While we are gathered here to welcome these new States, and the corresponding expansion of the United Nations, in the Special Political Committee the question of enlarging the main organs of the United Nations is being considered, with a view to making those organs reflect this important expansion of membership and the new spirit that has been brought about by that expansion. This coincidence is perhaps a pertinent reminder of the need for an enlargement of the main organs, an endeavour to which these two African nations will no doubt substantially contribute.

175. Mr. KELFA-CAULKER (Sierra Leone): Rudyard Kipling, the English poet, once said, "East is east and west is west, and never the twain shall meet." Today, the twain do meet in Africa. East Africa and West Africa are meeting at the United Nations. We do meet, for we all live in one world.

176. I wish, on behalf of my delegation and my Government, and the people of Sierra Leone, to express our very warm and cordial congratulations to the delegations and peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya on this historic day of their admission to the world Organization, the United Nations.

177. As a member of the Commonwealth, Sierra Leone joins in welcoming Kenya and Zanzibar into the Commonwealth family and into the world family. My delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to the administering Power, the United Kingdom, for helping the people of Kenya and Zanzibar at last to achieve their independence in an atmosphere of friendship, co-operation and optimism. It is also gratifying to note that, so soon after the formation of the Organiza-

tion of African Unity, Africa can now lay claim to two more potential members of that organization. It is also a source of great gratification to say that, after the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, with unremitting rapidity the bastions of colonialism in Africa are giving way to the inherent right, before the whirlwind of change that has been set in motion over our beloved continent.

178. My delegation welcomes the delegations of Zanzibar and Kenya to the ranks of the advocates of freedom and justice and independence in the United Nations, the advocates of the elimination of racial prejudice from the African scene and from the world at large. It was a British Prime Minister who, in the apartheid-ridden country of South Africa, prophesied that a wind of change was blowing over Africa, and my delegation is pleased to note that in general the United Kingdom has sensed the direction of this wind and has steadily granted independence to the peoples in its colonies in Africa.

179. It is the hope of my delegation that the United Kingdom will continue its good work in the process of decolonization in Africa, and we look forward to the day when Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the High Commission Territories, still under United Kingdom rule, will be privileged to join our ranks in this Organization.

180. While we commend the United Kingdom for its co-operation in the field of decolonization, we cannot but deplore the attitude of some other colonial Powers in Africa, particularly Portugal, for their unwillingness to accept that colonialism is an anachronism which must be speedily eliminated from the face of the earth. It is the hope of my delegation that those who still desperately fight to keep their stranglehold on their colonies will endeavour to follow the good example of the United Kingdom so that colonialism can be eliminated from the continent of Africa.

181. My delegation once more heartily welcomes the delegations of Zanzibar and Kenya into this Organization and pledges them our support and co-operation in the years that lie ahead as we labour to maintain international peace and security, and to secure for nations great and small, for men and women without distinction as to race, colour or creed, equality and justice under the law. In the name of Sierra Leone, of Africa, and indeed of the United Nations, I say, in the Swahili word, to the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya, "uhuru"—freedom—to all people, throughout God's wide earth.

182. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I now invite Mr. Muhamed Shamte, Prime Minister of Zanzibar, to address the General Assembly.

183. Mr. SHAMTE (Zanzibar): It is a very great honour and a very great pleasure for me to be here as Zanzibar's representative at the moment when Zanzibar's application to join the United Nations Organization has been accepted by the General Assembly. Zanzibar's entry to this great Organization is, to my mind, of special significance, and this is that there is no country so small and so modest in its means that it cannot be represented here on equal terms with the great nations of the world. There are some people who consider this scheme of things to be wrong, but I consider it to be a source of strength to this Organization and one that will inspire Zanzibar to use its privileges with a sense of responsibility

and dedication to the ideals which prompted the establishment of the United Nations.

184. To our many friends throughout the world who have done so much in supporting our struggle towards national liberation, to the decolonization committee which has contributed so much in speeding up our march towards independence, and to this Organization of the United Nations to which we owe so much, I should like to convey my country's deep gratitude. To them we shall continue to look for aid and support in the development of our people so that we also may be able to contribute our humble share towards the solution of world problems.

185. To the representatives in the Security Council and in the General Assembly who paid tribute to the struggle and achievement of my country, I should like to convey the sincere gratitude of my delegation. To all those who have sponsored our application and to all the representatives who have unanimously voted us into membership of the United Nations I say, thank you.

186. Political problems tend to hit the world headlines, but it is not generally known for instance that malaria, which a few years ago used to cause as much havoc as any war, is now almost wiped out from Zanzibar as a result of an intensive joint effort on the part of WHO, UNICEF, and the Government and people of Zanzibar. It is also not known that, quietly but determinedly, we are trying with the aid of the ILO and FAO to do away with the curse of under-employment.

187. There are many other ways in which individual countries and international organizations have been co-operating with us in solving our problems. We are grateful to them all. Now that the energies of our people are unleashed by the restoration of our national pride and sovereignty, we can look forward with confidence to greater and more comprehensive assistance from every quarter.

188. Zanzibar is one of the smallest nations, in terms of population and size, to have been accepted for membership. This in itself entails sacrifices for Zanzibar, sacrifices which are of little significance to nations of great wealth but are of very great concern to us, of slender means; these sacrifices we are very glad to make.

189. If we are not rich in numbers, in territory, in material wealth, we do not account ourselves poor in the values of life which are so inestimably more important, and it is because of this that we feel we can contribute, even if only modestly, in the affairs of this Assembly. We have a long and honourable history and civilization behind us; like so many of the great peoples of the world our roots are sprung from many different sources, from Africa primarily, but also from Arabia, from the civilization of ancient Persia, from India and from many others. The Europeans in their great voyages of explorations found succour and sustenance on our shores, and men of many races found rest and stability in our islands, from where to organize the exploration and development of Central and Eastern Africa. It is due to these roots established over the centuries, the mixing of so many cultures, that makes us proud of our reputation for moderation and friendliness. While in the modern world we do not intend to keep looking back towards our past, it is this tradition on which we intend to build for the future.

190. Zanzibar is a constitutional monarchy, founded on liberal and democratic traditions, governed by a Prime Minister and a Cabinet of elected Ministers with collective responsibility and answerable to a National Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

191. The fundamental human rights to personal liberty and to protection against discrimination are entrenched in Zanzibar's Constitution. Our over-all aims are peace and progress at home and abroad. The chief object must be to help to create a political atmosphere in the world in which man's real enemies of hunger, ignorance and disease can receive full attention so that resources and time are not wasted on fruitless matters of dissension. Zanzibar's general policy is one of benevolent and positive neutrality without discrimination against any country on grounds of race, creed, culture or ideology, and it supports all measures for peace and progress in the world, on the basis of international co-operation.

192. On the achievement of its independence Zanzibar has freely elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, and it is fitting and pleasurable to pay tribute to the continuing harmonious relations which have obtained between Zanzibar and the United Kingdom. We believe in the Commonwealth as a large number of equal sovereign States of many peoples and cultures, who have voluntarily and democratically joined together and are dedicated to the furtherance of peace, co-operation and prosperity throughout the world.

193. It is the object of Zanzibar to strengthen the many ties it possesses with both Africa and the East, and to this end we subscribe to the principles of the Bandung Declaration of 1955 and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity framed at Addis Ababa in May 1963. Zanzibar has particularly close relationship with the other territories of East Africa and it is our intention to continue this in friendship and co-operation, whether inside or out, of a form of an East African federation. In this respect I am particularly glad that Kenya, with which Zanzibar has so many close connexions, is being welcomed into this Assembly at the same time. At this proud moment in our history I may be permitted to quote Shakespeare and say: "We are two lions littered in one day ...".

194. In submitting the application for membership for Zanzibar, I have made a solemn declaration, in common with that made by other nations represented here today, that on behalf of my Government I have accepted the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and undertaken to fulfil them. This solemn declaration is a very real one for me, and I pray, with the assurance that this will indeed be so, that Zanzibar in future years will honour it to the full.

195. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I thank the Prime Minister of Zanzibar. I now invite His Excellency Mr. Oginga Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs of Kenya, to address the General Assembly.

196. Mr. OGINGA ODINGA (Kenya): It is with deep feeling that I take this opportunity on behalf of the Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, and the Government and people of Kenya, to convey to you all our warm greetings and express our happiness to be here with you as representatives of a free and independent country. This is a matter of historical significance to us and we are sure that you share our feelings.

197. May I first of all say how deeply Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta regrets his inability to come here himself due to pressure of other State engagements. I am, however, sure that you are all fully aware of the great value which our Prime Minister attached to this world body and his dedication to the fight for freedom and world peace.

198. The Government and people of Kenya are honoured and happy to be admitted to this world Organization of free and independent peoples. We rejoice in the fact that today Kenya joins the free nations of the world as an equal partner. We are glad that Kenya now has the opportunity to contribute fully to the preservation of peace and progress of mankind, and not only to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations Organization was formed, but also actively to pursue the purposes enshrined in its Charter.

199. As we look back into the history of our country we cannot escape the fact that Kenya has for long been the victim of foreign domination. For too long have we had no say in planning our lives or in deciding our destiny. For much too long have we suffered the inequities imposed on us by foreign rulers whose interests were to exploit us for their own benefit. Now, in consequence of a great political revolution by the people of Kenya under the bold leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, we have become the masters of our own destiny.

200. Mr. President, for over sixty years Kenya, as is well known, has been under the oppressive yoke of imperialism and colonialism. During this period our people have been subjected to untold indignities at the hands of colonialists and imperialists. Our great leader, Jomo Kenyatta, and his brave colleagues were arrested, imprisoned, detained and restricted for no other reason than their insistence that Kenya shall be free. This is no place to relate the sickening brutalities, intimidation and blackmail which marked the seven years of terror against our people. Our Prime Minister has been the first to call upon our people to forget the past and work, in the spirit of "harambee", which means unitedly for the realization of a new Kenya based on democracy and justice for the masses. In undertaking the task of national reconstruction, we shall remain unswervingly loyal to the Charter of the United Nations, respect the fundamental human rights, and recognize the equality of all races and all nations, big or small.

201. Kenya is determined to support all attempts at solving international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation, conciliation and arbitration. We wish to reiterate that Kenya will pursue a policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality. By this we mean that, while steering clear of all power blocs and judging each issue on its merits, we do not intend to remain neutral or passive on issues which are manifestly wrong and unjust. For instance, Kenya will never be neutral on colonialism and imperialism. Kenya firmly believes that some of the major causes of international conflicts are the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. Our neutrality should not be construed as indifference and passivity to world problems, nor shall we adopt the role of seeking points of compromise between two sides without relating such compromises to the basic principle of justice.

202. During its fifteenth session, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the necessity of putting



an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Despite this resolution [1514 (XV)], imperialism has not loosened its grip over its colonies except where it has been forced to do so.

203. A good part of North and West Africa is now free. Freedom has also dawned over East Africa. But in Central and South Africa, and in parts of Asia and Latin America, imperialism, the arch-enemy of humanity, is digging itself in for the last battle. To annihilate this entrenched enemy of humanity, we need every ounce of our united strength in Africa and all the help of every anti-imperialist ally. Kenya, because of its geographical position and by virtue of being an independent country, will render all possible assistance—moral, mental and material—to the people struggling for their freedom and national independence.

204. It is over eighteen years since the United Nations was formed. During this period, a large number of resolutions have been passed condemning the Governments of South Africa and Portugal for their inhuman policies against the African people, but these resolutions appear to have had little effect in preventing persecution of the African people of these territories. On the contrary, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal appear to have developed a chronic contempt for the resolutions passed by this Organization, and have proceeded to indulge in crimes of mounting intensity against our brothers in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

205. How is it that a little backward, impoverished dictatorship like Portugal can flout the resolutions of this great Organization? What is it that gives strength to the fascist Government of South Africa to challenge with impunity the almost universal censure directed against its policies through the representatives of Governments belonging to this body? Before answering these questions, I should like to reiterate the deep intensity of feeling prevailing in all African States, which found eloquent expression at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of Independent African States,<sup>5/</sup> concerning the continued persecution of our brothers in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonies. This feeling is fully shared by our Government, and it is our view that the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal constitute one of the major potential causes of world unrest.

206. It is obvious to us that Portugal and South Africa are pursuing their present policies in the belief that this Organization is incapable of implementing its resolutions effectively. Portugal undoubtedly derives comfort from the fact that it is associated with NATO and, in fact, has not hesitated to use armaments derived from NATO to launch a barbarous war against African liberation movements. The Saracen tanks employed against the inhabitants of Sharpeville were not manufactured in South Africa. Both these Governments derive satisfaction from the existence of huge foreign investments in their respective countries and from the belief that the holders of these foreign investments will bring the requisite pressure to bear on their Governments to frustrate the implementation of effective sanctions passed by this body. In these circumstances, can we be blamed for regarding these countries—which, while professing adherence to Christianity and democratic principles, supply arms and ammunition to South Africa and Por-

tugal and promote economic and trade relations with them—as accomplices in the crimes perpetrated against our people in those territories?

207. It sometimes appears to the ordinary people of Africa that increased sophistication and higher civilization tends to blur our sense of realities. Our Government actively supports all the measures adopted by the United Nations to promote everlasting peace.

208. Nor are we oblivious of the plight of our brothers in Southern Rhodesia, where the United Kingdom seems to be on the point of transferring power to an unrepresentative, reactionary, racial minority. The Government of Kenya will take a very serious view of any attempt to transfer power to the European minority Government in Southern Rhodesia. Despite its protestations to the contrary, the Southern Rhodesia Government is following policies similar to those followed further south, and the British Government would be well advised to consider deeply the repercussions that will follow any attempt to differentiate between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia with respect to the immediate goal of a democratically-elected Government based on universal franchise. The existence of a few thousand extra Europeans in Southern Rhodesia does not mean that the irrevocable processes of democracy should be changed to suit their convenience. The Government of Kenya endorses the resolutions and views expressed on this issue by African and other peace-loving nations represented in this Organization, and will provide the African nationalists with all possible assistance in their just struggle for justice, democracy and independence.

209. We are honoured and grateful that Kenya, a newly independent nation of 8 million people, should be afforded the opportunity of contributing towards the great aims and objectives of this Organization, which represents mankind's only hope for survival and orderly progress. But we ask: can this assembly of independent nations successfully promote world peace and world prosperity when it denies admission to the representatives of a nation responsible for the destiny of 700 million human beings, or one-fifth of the total population of the world? Is it reasonable to accord recognition to the rulers of Taiwan as the representatives of these 700 million people, when we know for a fact that it is the People's Republic of China that constitutes the legal and *de facto* Government of that country? The Government of Kenya associates itself with the desire of all those nations which are anxious to see the proper Government of China take its rightful place in this Organization, so that the People's Republic of China can play its part in promoting peace and the welfare of humanity. In particular, I appeal to the Government of the United States of America to abandon its policy of denying representation to the People's Republic of China, in the interests of world peace. The policy of peaceful coexistence which our Government fully supports implies the need for countries with different social systems, or with competing claims, to discard the atom bomb and the machine-gun in favour of negotiations and arbitration. How can we achieve the latter course when we seek to deny the existence of the People's Republic of China?

210. The Government of Kenya will do its utmost to promote the solution of disputes by peaceful means. We realize that war in the nuclear era can well result in the destruction of the human race, and it will be

<sup>5/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States, held in Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

our constant endeavour to avert such a catastrophe. However, as experience has shown, it is not enough to desire peace alone. How often have we been on the brink of war? How often has it been said that a miscalculation of this or that leader might have plunged this planet of ours into a catastrophe from which the insects will arise as masters of all they survey? Such a catastrophe would engulf every one of us and destroy the civilization which has been painstakingly created by the combined efforts of the peoples of this planet for tens of thousands of years. If the leaders of mankind assembled in this Organization, through their representatives, are at times oblivious of, or even indifferent to, the thousands of reasons which are advanced in favour of international peace, then let the ugly prospect of the dreadful consequences which would follow World War III impel them into the realization that positive measures and positive thinking, aimed at removing the causes of war, can effectively prevent such a catastrophe.

211. The cause of world peace is not strengthened by condoning the racial and colonial policies of South Africa and Portugal, and by Member States refusing to adopt economic sanctions which are the only peaceful means available for world opinion in order to force a change in the policies of these Governments. Perhaps the greatest menace to world peace stems from the suicidal policy followed by some countries of building larger and larger weapons of mass destruction, and spending astronomical sums of money for the purpose of stockpiling tens of thousands of tons of nuclear and conventional weapons.

212. The problems posed by disarmament have rightly exercised the minds of all the statesmen of the world. Among the many issues which are involved in considering this problem, two aspects stand out prominently: first, the fact that increased expenditures on armaments increase the possibility of war and, in certain countries, create a powerful group who appear to have a vested interest in promoting world tension as a means of increasing their profits; and second, the insensate wastage of human and economic resources which can be better applied to raising the low standards of living of the majority of human beings instead of constituting the means of self-annihilation.

213. It would be a truism for me to conclude that the possibility of progress for all mankind would increase if the mad rush towards rearmament could be stopped, and if the vast energies and resources in this sphere were directed towards serving the realms of human progress.

214. Against the background of the present technological and scientific achievements of man, and the need to bridge the yawning chasm which separates the "have" and "have-not" nations, the question of complete and general disarmament becomes most pressing and imperative. If I may be permitted to quote a few figures, it will be seen that in 1961 the United States of America was spending an estimated \$47,966 million per year on defence and armaments alone. In the same year the United Kingdom spent an estimated £1,670 million on defence. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was estimated to be spending equally large sums on its defence programme, which in 1960 amounted to 745,800 million rubles. When you compare these huge amounts spent on armaments with Kenya's total annual budget of approximately £35 million, you will understand why we consider the armament race so dangerous and wasteful.

215. As stated by our Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, we welcome the efforts of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America which led to the banning of nuclear tests in space, in the atmosphere and under water, as a positive step towards the goal of general disarmament. It is our sincere hope that the big Powers will continue in their efforts to reach agreements on specific and general issues in an effort to reach total disarmament.

216. The Government of Kenya is of the opinion that one of the major factors contributing towards increasing world tension is the existence of foreign military bases. Experience has shown that the establishment of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa, Latin America and even in Europe is a source of constant friction, not only among the big Powers but also among the peoples of the countries in which the bases are located. These foreign military bases constitute a cancer within the body politic of the country in which they are situated, undermining democracy, fostering corruption and nepotism, and eventually transforming the rulers into puppets and stooges of the foreign Power. Like some of the huge armament manufacturers, these puppet régimes soon acquire a vested interest in promoting world tension, often to the embarrassment of the big Power that is operating the military base. In Africa, Asia and Latin America these foreign military bases have been used to suppress national liberation movements and to stifle the aspirations of the masses in newly-independent countries.

217. It is said that truth is bitter, and what I have said is not intended as strictures against those Governments that have military bases in foreign countries. There is already a lot of heart-searching going on among the leaders of such countries, who are questioning the use of these bases, especially as foreign military bases invariably evoke hostility and ill-will from the masses. It is unfortunate that some countries equate the establishment of military bases with the provision of foreign aid, and when they discover that the establishment of these bases has produced hostility and ill-will from the masses, the big Power then proceeds to indulge in an "agonizing reappraisal" of genuine foreign-aid projects. It is our sincere hope that saner counsels will prevail.

218. Former colonial Powers have been particularly anxious to ensure the continued retention of their troops in newly-independent countries, and have not scrupled to resort to intimidation and economic blackmail in order to secure this objective. Their economic stranglehold over their former colony, coupled with the existence of their military presence, enables them to continue the political domination and economic exploitation that characterized their rule in the past. Neo-colonialism has come to be recognized as the greatest danger facing newly-independent countries, and it will be the policy of the Government of Kenya to be ever watchful of those Powers that seek to influence our country with the ultimate objective of enslaving our people under a different guise.

219. Many of us in Africa are concerned with what appears to be the second scramble for Africa. This time our countries will not be subject to military invasion from countries outside our continent. The objective is to incite African to fight African. It was primarily to deal with this threat that the historic Addis Ababa Conference was held in May 1963. The charter signed by thirty-two Heads of independent

African States bears eloquent testimony to the consciousness of African leaders of the problems facing the continent and their determination not to allow their countries to become pawns in the "cold war" or to consider themselves free until the last vestiges of colonialism and racialism have been swept out of the continent. The desire for unity animated the hearts of all African leaders attending the Conference, and, as you are aware, the Prime Ministers of Kenya and of Uganda and the President of Tanganyika have given concrete expression to this deep yearning for unity by committing their respective countries to the formation of an East African Federation.

220. Already our countries are linked by a common market, a common currency, a common communications system and a common financial policy, and it is only natural that the three countries which for the last sixty years were separated by artificial boundaries should reunite, now that the colonial Government which arbitrarily divided our countries has departed. It is not merely the need to develop our countries as an economic unit or the desire to reunite tribes arbitrarily divided by the former colonial Power which impels us towards greater unity. The political philosophies of the three ruling parties, namely, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) are identical, and it is for this reason that, when the time comes, we shall gladly surrender our territorial sovereignty for the good of East Africa as a whole and in furtherance of the noble objectives outlined at the Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of African States and Governments.

221. A major task facing our Government centres on the problem of decolonization. The political emancipation of Kenya is no more than a prelude to the mobilization of our energies and resources aimed at freeing our people from hunger, sickness and ignorance. Decolonization implies the elimination of all those evils that are the products of colonialism. Some of these evils spring from the colonial policy of suppressing the human values inherent in our traditional society. Colonialism attempted the mental enslavement of our peoples, and it will be the policy of our Government to reverse this process by adapting all that is valid for the twentieth century in our indigenous cultures and ensuring the development of the African personality.

222. It is not my intention to delve into the reasons for the lop-sided character of our economy, as our colonial heritage will convey to you the fact that our economies were developed as appendages to those of the metropolitan Power. Furthermore, the existence of a powerful, privileged European settler community, with the exclusive right to own and farm 16,000 square miles of our land, has not made our task easier. Our country was regarded as a source of raw material for industrialized capitalist countries; the dumping ground for cheap manufactured goods; and the outlet for capital investments yielding high returns. Furthermore, political domination went hand in hand with economic domination. Most of the industrial, commercial and distributive agencies are in the hands of non-Africans. The reserved lands for Africans were transformed into reservoirs of cheap labour, and for a long time Africans were denied the right to grow cash crops.

223. It is the aim of the Government of Kenya to bring about the economic emancipation of the African people. But it is essential that those advanced nations that intend to assist the under-developed countries should understand the problems we are facing. Lack of understanding on these matters is reflected in the attitude of certain Governments that are not prepared to canalize foreign aid through public corporations and co-operative societies, since they mistakenly believe that this is tantamount to the "export of socialism". Such an attitude militates against the effective use of foreign aid in under-developed countries and only serves to increase the disparity in the standards of living between the "haves" and "have-nots".

224. The Government of Kenya would welcome aid of an international character to under-developed countries, as such aid would not be suspected of serving the ends of the "cold war" or becoming the instrument of neo-colonialism. But, as it appears that this ideal cannot be easily achieved, we shall be prepared to enter into bilateral trade agreements on condition that no political strings are attached.

225. Our Government is of the view that the most urgent problem facing under-developed countries is not so much the provision of aid as the establishment of international machinery which would ensure: (a) fair remuneration for our primary products; (b) the stabilization of prices for primary commodities and (c) readjustment of the terms of trade, which are at the moment detrimental to countries with a predominantly agricultural economy. The United Nations and its specialized agencies would make a major contribution to the economies of under-developed countries if such machinery could be evolved with the support of the highly industrialized, capital-exporting countries.

226. The Government of Kenya is dedicated towards the establishment of a Democratic African Socialist State. In defining our objective, I could not do better than to quote what Mr. Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika, had to say on this subject, and with which we are in full agreement. He said:

"We aim at building a classless society for one reason. In no State is there enough wealth to satisfy the desire of a single individual for power and prestige. Consequently, the moment wealth is divorced from its purpose—which is the banishment of poverty—there develops a ruthless competition between individuals... Wealth becomes an instrument of domination, a means of humiliating other people. The very basis of socialism is the rejection of this use of wealth. And within socialist countries personal wealth is not, and should not be, a symbol of power or prestige; it is used to banish poverty. This is what each of us is aiming at and working towards. Indeed an undeniable success of socialist teaching is that today social justice is an almost universally accepted objective..."

227. In the same vein, the Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, in a message to the people of Kenya declared:

"We aim to build a country where men and women are motivated by a sense of service and not driven by a greedy desire for personal gain."

The socialist way of life is not something new to Africa. It is inherent in our traditional customs, and

the most important example lies in the communal ownership of land and the acceptance of basic principles of social security for all members of the family or clan.

228. We have not struggled for our independence merely in order to supplant our masters so that we can adopt the same system of exploitation against our peoples. Freedom in this context is meaningless as it would do nothing to lessen the burden of the exploited peasant or worker. We appreciate the need for a period of transition so that people understand the new values which we wish to instill.

229. Our Government, therefore, while most anxious to avail itself of help from the advanced nations of the world, is nevertheless not prepared to compromise at the expense of the ordinary masses who have borne the brunt of colonial exploitation.

230. The Government of Kenya recognizes the dangers to world peace arising from what are sometimes called border problems. Whatever the reason for such problems, our Government is firmly of the opinion that resort to violence merely aggravates and enlarges the problem and offers no solution whatever. We welcome the solution of border problems by peaceful means, and we are surprised that the United Nations has not as yet been able to devise more effective machinery to deal with disputes arising from claims and counterclaims from different countries. The manner in which the recent border problem between Algeria and Morocco was solved through the aegis of the Organization of African States is to be highly commended, and it is our sincere hope that peace will prevail and the close bonds of friendship between these two sister countries be re-established.

231. When the United Nations was founded eighteen years ago, there were fewer Member nations than there are today. We are indeed most grateful to the leaders of Europe and America who took the initiative in creating this forum for discussing and implementing resolutions affecting the world. Since its formation, many new States were born and became Members of the Organization. This has given rise to a new force in the world, and it is important that if the United Nations is to play a positive and progressive

role, then its structure must reflect the composition of nations that make up the world community of today. Failure to do so will only reduce the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of world peace. The initiative must, of course, come from those who were the founder Members of the Organization and our Government is confident that they will rise to the occasion.

232. Before concluding I wish to take this opportunity to express the deep gratitude of my country to all freedom-loving and progressive nations which contributed so much to Kenya's struggle for independence. This is a debt which we shall never be able to repay. While the brunt of the struggle was carried out by the freedom fighters of Kenya under the courageous and inspired leadership of our Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta, we can never forget the unstinting support which we received from friendly nations throughout the world. These nations, in the spirit of Pan-Africanism, in the spirit of African-Asian Latin American solidarity, and in the spirit of world brotherhood, gave concrete expression to man's noblest ideals. Now that Kenya is free, I hope that the bonds of friendship created in the past will be further strengthened. We invite all Member States to join with us in Kenya to wage the struggle against the common enemies of mankind—poverty, disease and lack of education.

233. May I express my deep appreciation for the patient hearing which the Assembly has given to me. The Government of Kenya, under the leadership of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, recognizes that, despite its present limitations, the United Nations represents mankind's greatest hope of realizing the noble aims contained in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It will be the constant endeavour of the Government of Kenya, through its representative, to contribute towards the advancement and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace and the means of advancing the prosperity of the peoples living in the under-developed territories of the world.

234. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I thank the Minister for Home Affairs. That concludes our consideration of item 86.

*The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.*