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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): May I say first of all that my delegation greatly appreciated the election of Panama to one of the vice-presidencies allotted to Latin America at this session of the General Assembly. I should also like to express once again to the Secretary-General our confidence and gratitude in respect of the work he is doing in the interests of mankind and of the United Nations ideals.
2. The delegation of the Republic of Panama would like to point to two facts which it considers most significant and gratifying, as the fifteenth session goes into its second week of deliberations.
3. The first, Sir, is your election as President of the General Assembly—a well-deserved tribute to the small but energetic country you represent and to the outstanding personal qualities you have so often demonstrated in your work with the various organs of the United Nations.
4. The second fact is the admission to the United Nations of fourteen new States—indeed, from this afternoon, sixteen, with the admission of the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal, which to the satisfaction of all of us are to become part of the Assembly this very afternoon. The creation of these new States comes as a climax to the vigorous and untiring efforts made by their peoples in their determination to live their lives as free and independent communities. These youthful nations come to join in the debates and decisions of the General Assembly at a decidedly awkward juncture in international politics. The cancellation of the Summit Conference which had awakened high hopes of bringing to an end, once and for all, the long, senseless and dangerous period of the cold war, and the consequent interruption of the talks in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva are unhappy events that not only stand in the way of an era of international peace and security but also place an ominous question-mark against the whole future of mankind.

5. The advent of sixteen new Members to the United Nations is of the utmost importance for the Organization, since it brings nearer the time when this will be an Assembly of all mankind and emphasizes the increasing weight of the smaller States in the Organization's deliberations. To whatever part of the world they belong, these small States are united by a unanimous desire for peace with justice, and my delegation is therefore confident that in joining the United Nations they will not add to the causes of dissension and conflict, but will rather collaborate in preventing the disputes between the great Powers from degenerating into a new armed conflict that might well bring with it the extinction of the human race. Abundant examples show that the smaller nations are a factor making for conciliation and mutual understanding in regard to the disputes between the great Powers.

6. I should like merely to mention the recent meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which came about through the determination and astuteness of its Chairman, Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo, the Head of the Mexican delegation. He has earned the gratitude of all of us, inasmuch as, despite resistance at the outset from the Eastern countries, he succeeded in obtaining the agreement of both sides on a number of points. As we know, the Commission agreed [70th meeting]—and agreed unanimously—that the breakdown of the disarmament negotiations in the Ten-Nation Committee at Geneva was to be regretted. It also agreed to recommend that continued efforts for general and complete disarmament under effective international control should be made, and it recommended that the General Assembly give "earnest consideration" to the problem, reaffirming at the same time the "continuing and ultimate responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament". Thus I feel that I am not overstating the case if I say that the primary function of the smaller States in this Organization, side by side with their endeavours to secure the best possible safeguards for their own independence and development, is to make themselves a real force for mediation and agreement between the Eastern and Western Power blocs. The reason I feel this is because the rift between East and West casts an ominous shadow over the life of these small nations, as indeed of mankind as a whole, besetting with obstacles and uncertainties the path followed by the smaller nations in their efforts to solve knotty problems of social and economic development which will enable vast numbers of people to enjoy their fundamental rights and obtain the things they need for a free and worthy life.

7. The smaller nations have a very significant role to play in the creative tasks of the United Nations. But in referring to small nations, we should point out that the word "small" merely conveys the notion of size, which prevents us from appreciating the quality of the work achieved by these countries within our Organization. In the aggregate, the so-called small

nations total hundred of millions of people, and in a number of instances their destinies are ruled by men who in respect of intelligence, culture and high moral standards are among the most outstanding personalities of today. If all these nations can agree that it is in their best interests to establish and consolidate a kind of peace free from the suspicions and rivalries of the so-called great Powers, if they all adopt as their rule of conduct within and without this Organization the principle of not allowing themselves to be used as a pretext or a battleground in any cold war manoeuvring, there can be no doubt that the present rival blocs of Powers will soon find ways and means of settling their differences in a peaceful manner, and universal disarmament will enter upon a stage of real achievement.

8. It is, after all, not enough to repeat what we all know—namely that nuclear war is not only a monstrous crime against mankind, but is utter folly, since, whoever is foolhardy enough to start it, with the first clash the antagonists would both lie bleeding and prostrate, and any victory there might be would bear bitter fruit that none would wish to taste. It is not enough to know this and to repeat it over and over again, for, as we plainly see, this does not put an end to the tension and wrangling which keep the world on tenterhooks and prevent the systematic use of its resources for the task of ridding mankind of its age-old handicaps.

9. If the smaller nations can come to an agreement and adopt a policy, not of passive neutrality, but of active mediation designed to put an end to a situation fraught with dangers and alarming prospects, the moral force they muster will be overwhelming. But this implies, first and foremost, that side by side with the political independence now won by many nations there must be independence of thought and action, which will keep them free not so much from economic and political colonialism—now rapidly disappearing—as from ideological and spiritual subjugation and colonialism, whose slender, cunning web can enmesh us without our realizing it.

10. These are a few general ideas on the role which, in my delegation's view, the smaller Powers should play if their participation in the Organization's activities is to be fruitful for themselves and in keeping with the paramount interests of all peoples of the world.

11. With the permission of the Assembly, dedicated to the task of harmonizing the efforts of the nations of the world to achieve the common purposes set forth in the Charter, I should like now to refer to a question intimately bound up with the history, the present and the future of my country, the Republic of Panama. We emerged as an independent country in company with the group of Spanish-American peoples which shook off the Spanish yoke during the revolutionary period between 1810 and 1824. Of our own accord we joined with New Granada, Ecuador and Venezuela in what was then called Greater Colombia, and we remained united with the nation which grew out of the former vice royalty of Santa Fé until the dawn of the present century. In 1903 we became an independent republic, which was promptly recognized by the United States of America, and our infant nation negotiated with the United States Government the Convention which made possible the construction of the inter-oceanic canal. We have nothing to conceal in regard to these historical facts, for every nation's history demonstrates

that a country never rejects any help favourable to its aspirations towards independence. Nevertheless, the 1903 Convention, being the product of a particular period in the history of international relations—a period of ideas, tendencies, and procedures for the most part, fortunately now no longer current in the affairs of nations—contained provisions of the most serious import for our Republic's independent life. Hence, from the very day of its signature, generations of Panamanians have been fighting not only to eliminate such interpretations and applications of the Convention's provisions as they found unacceptable, but also to secure the amendment or suppression of those of the provisions which offended the national feelings of Panamanians or imposed an unduly heavy burden on the Republic. One will, one belief, one aim—this is what has guided and united all Panamanians, men and women, young and old, governing and governed, in their endeavour to place on a footing of equality and justice the relations between their country and the United States of America based on the construction of the Canal.

12. As regards Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone, Panama's position has never varied. "The strip of land known as the Panama Canal Zone", as Mr. Ricardo J. Alfaro put it, "has been neither purchased nor conquered nor annexed by, now ceded nor rented to, the United States, nor has its sovereignty been transferred by Panama to the United States". This, incidentally, has been corroborated by distinguished United States citizens in official or private opinions and statements. Let me quote a few of them.

13. During the negotiations which led up to the Isthmian Canal Convention of 1903, the United States Government issued an official statement to the effect that it disclaimed any intention to increase its own territory at the expense of any of the sister Republics of Central and South America and desired, on the contrary, to strengthen the power of the Republics of the continent and to promote, develop and preserve their prosperity and independence. President Theodore Roosevelt, during whose administration the Isthmian Canal Convention was signed, declared in an official letter to his Secretary of War, William H. Taft, later President of the United States, that there was not the slightest intention of establishing an independent colony in the centre of the State of Panama, let alone of interfering with the affairs and prosperity of the people of Panama. Mr. Elihu Root, attending the Third International Conference of American States held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 as Secretary of State, said formally, in an endeavour to allay suspicion and remove misunderstandings that had arisen during the previous year: "We [of the United States] wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves". Mr. George W. Goethals, the illustrious American engineer who completed the construction of the Panama Canal, stated bluntly in his book on the Canal project that, under the Convention with Panama, the United States had only a right of way for a canal.

14. Despite such categorical statements, consequences were drawn from the articles of the Convention of 1903 that impaired Panamanian interests and distorted the original purpose of that instrument. What was of vital interest to the United States, to Panama and to mankind generally was that the route should be

opened up so as to allow ships to pass between the two great oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific—that and nothing more. It could in no way be a matter of life and death for the United States, with its vast economic power, to establish commercial or industrial undertakings in the zone adjacent to the Canal, to the detriment of Panamanian commerce and industry. In no way could it be vital to North American democracy to show favouritism to American workers in the Canal Zone while giving inferior treatment to Panamanian workers. Likewise it could not be vital to the United States that the Government of Panama should cease collecting taxes in respect of activities unconnected with the operation of the Canal, or other revenues due to Panama; or that the Panamanian Government should in other fields be prevented, to the detriment of its fiscal interests and the economic well-being of the nation, from performing functions which are no less proper to that Government in the ports at either end of the Canal than in other areas of the country. Finally, it could not be a vital matter to the United States to see the Republic of Panama, a sovereign nation, deprived of the various benefits to which it is entitled by virtue of its geographical position and of the operation of the Panama Canal.

15. The prosecution of Panama's claims is certainly a dramatic story. After a long struggle, the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, against a background of facts and hopes, created conditions which have undoubtedly helped, and will in the future help, towards the solution of the problems to which the special relations between the two countries give rise. With the good-neighbour policy pursued by the second Roosevelt, who brought cordiality to inter-American relations, the first steps were taken towards eradicating in the Caribbean area certain practices which bore the odious mark of the colonialism that had prevailed at the beginning of the century. The 1936 General Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation modified or annulled some of the clauses of the 1903 Convention which were particularly offensive to the Panamanians' sense of independence, and thus raised relations between the two countries to a dignified level. Again, the compensation agreement of 1942 and the 1955 Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Co-operation—the latter drawn up thanks to the good will of President Eisenhower—represented, in certain ways, important contributions to better coexistence between Panama and the United States, and will have, in the future, to serve as a basis for a fundamental agreement between the two countries, constituting a full settlement of the problems to which the Convention of 1903 gave rise.

16. One feature of the 1955 Treaty was the adoption of a system for the classification of workers on the basis of merit, under which they were entitled to the benefits of the universal standard rules regarding equality of opportunity to work and equal pay for equal work. Nevertheless, the new scale of salaries introduced in the Canal Zone still involves some discrimination in connexion with the worker's nationality, for not only are wages fixed according to geographical areas but, apparently, there are two categories of wages—one for United States citizens, and one for the others. The complaints of the Panamanian workers, which bear also on equality of opportunity, are therefore justified; for although no single case has been recorded of treason or sabotage on the part of Panamanian workers—who, I must say, performed their

duties with exemplary loyalty throughout the two great wars involving the United States during the present century—in the Canal Zone the Panamanians are denied, in peace-time, access to so-called "security" positions which are, in fact, nothing of the kind. This very broad interpretation which it has been sought to give to the idea of "security" posts—of special military significance in time of war or threat of war—is an affront to the dignity of the Panamanians; and public opinion in my country accordingly denounces this type of discrimination, just as it denounces any "post classification" that is not based on professional competence and that reflects displeasing criteria whereby preferential treatment is given to workers having a certain nationality or brought in from a certain geographical area.

17. I should be betraying my own feelings if I did not acknowledge, here and now, the efforts made by responsible people in the United States and Panama to establish harmonious relations between the two countries and to improve the social condition of the Canal workers. We know that much remains to be done; but we cannot fail to mention the favourable measures which have recently been adopted for the benefit of our working class, thanks to the personal efforts of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and Mr. Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., President of my country. Not only did President Eisenhower, some little time ago, explicitly recognize my country's sovereignty over the Canal Zone, but on 17 September 1960 he ordered the public hoisting of the Panamanian flag at a certain spot in the Zone, as proof of the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama over that part of its territory which, by virtue of a public Convention, had been allocated for the special purposes of the operation of the inter-oceanic canal. This significant gesture is helping to create an atmosphere of understanding between the two nations; but we Panamanians hope that the order will be applied on a broad and general scale, so that our country's flag may fly proudly throughout the length and breadth of the Panamanian Isthmus. I wish, in any event, to express my gratitude to the Head of State who does such honour to the high responsibilities of his Government and his country.

18. At the same time, I must reject the insidious remarks of a certain North American politician who, prompted by purely parochial interests, has seen fit to attribute a deeper meaning to the civic demonstrations designed to ensure that the Panamanian flag should occupy its rightful place in the Canal Zone. To brand all Panamanians who defend the integrity of their national territory as radicals, agitators and instruments serving the objectives of communist mentors is to display abysmal ignorance of present-day realities. Perhaps he who does so is hoping to revive, at the international level, the anachronistic function of the inquisitors, forgetting that it was the founding fathers of the nations of North and South America who inspired in the present generations their patriotic eagerness to enhance the prosperity, dignity and prestige of their countries in this hemisphere.

19. I shall now refer to some specific questions appearing on the agenda of this session which concern the nations less favoured by the scientific revolution that began at the end of the last war. The most urgent of them all is, as we well know, industrialization. The struggle against poverty, neglect and privation is

an all-out battle to transform the economic structure of the backward countries. The inter-dependence of the nations is a reality which provides the basis for the plans for combining the resources of the highly developed countries in order to increase production in the countries that are still under-developed. Economic co-operation emerges as the inseparable counterpart of political co-operation, and is one essential means of banishing from the world the conflicts by which it is now shaken. Latin America is among the regions afflicted by what it has been agreed to call "under-development"—a social, economic and cultural condition affecting every aspect of its collective life. For some years now the more far-seeing minds of America have been calling for concerted basic action on a hemispheric scale and level in order to deal with this situation. Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of Brazil, aroused public opinion in the nations of the continent when he proclaimed Operation Pan-America, which gained the support of every Latin American Government and people. The same ideas and intentions have inspired the plan conceived by the President of the United States to improve the living conditions of the Latin American peoples—a plan of vast scope that has won for its author a place not only in history but also in the heart of the American common man.

20. The fact that the Eisenhower plan, started with a fund of \$500 million, is regarded as a new Marshall Plan for Latin America arouses legitimate hopes that this noble initiative on the part of the United States Head of State will assume, for the benefit of 200 million Latin Americans, the proportions of the Marshall Plan for Western Europe. It will be recalled that General Marshall, as Secretary of State, declared that the United States would have to spend thousands of millions of dollars on the economic recovery of Europe, which had been brought low by the ravages of war; and that when Congress approved his plan it authorized a first sum of \$5,430 million, of which \$1,150 million was to be used over a period of two and a half months and \$4,280 million in the following fiscal year. Latin America did not experience the material and human ravages of the world war but, having helped to win the war by contributing its natural basic products, it still suffers from the scourge of poverty, ignorance and economic, social and political oppression.

21. The Eisenhower plan, accepted by the American Economic Conference, was incorporated in the Act of Bogotá of 11 September 1960, which made recommendations to the Council of the Organization of American States on the following points: measures for social improvement; establishment of a special fund for social development (corresponding to the Eisenhower plan); measures for economic development; multilateral co-operation for economic and social progress. In this connexion the purposes of the Act of Bogotá include promoting aid between the countries of the Western hemisphere as well as between those countries and extra-continental countries and facilitating the flow of capital and the extension of credits to the countries of Latin America, from both Western hemisphere and extra-continental sources.

22. The Act of Bogotá is undoubtedly of deep spiritual significance. Its ideological message, however, can only be understood by the Latin American masses through the attainment of its objectives, which consist in the preserving and strengthening of the free and democratic institutions of the American Republics

through the expediting of economic and social progress, so that the legitimate aspirations of the American man, in his efforts to achieve better living conditions, may be satisfied. It is therefore essential that both the plan and the promise shall be implemented, by the execution of specific projects which will abate the impatience of the masses and satisfy their increasing desire for help and support.

23. The achievements of the inter-American system in the social and economic field cannot escape world scrutiny. Do the plans of the American community of nations in this field compare favourably with those of other regional or political groups? A short while ago, in its edition of 31 July—and I mention this as an important fact—The New York Times reported that the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe had agreed upon a 20-year plan to co-ordinate their economic growth. We consider that any system, which on the pretext of ensuring the economic development, well-being and advancement of a people, robs it of those human and political rights whose conquest has cost the American man cruel sacrifices is unsuitable for Latin America and incompatible with its people's love of liberty. We abhor any material benefit, real or apparent, whose price is the submission of the people to any form of personal, group or class dictatorship, such as the Latin American peoples have, for a century and a half, resolutely combated. For this reason we feel that the American regional organization should come forward firmly with bold plans of its own, lest economic and political plans alien to its spirit and its history should be imposed upon it.

24. Our concern with regional affairs does not distract our attention from the international scene. At its fourteenth session the General Assembly requested [resolution 1424 (XIV)] the Secretary-General to examine, in consultation with the Governments of Member States, ways and means of making further progress towards the early establishment of a United Nations capital development fund. We all know the excuses put forward by the great Powers, on the pretext of the current international tension and the impasse in the disarmament negotiations. I take this occasion, however, to emphasize before the Assembly that the great Powers will make the most decisive contribution to fruitful world peace when, independently of any disarmament agreements, they unite in setting up a United Nations capital development fund. They would thus build a bridge between East and West which would help to save mankind from the snares that beset it.

25. Any attempt to ascertain why, despite the great hopes of unthreatened peace which attended the creation of the United Nations, the international situation has deteriorated to the point at which we find ourselves today would be a waste of time. We should be entering a controversial field in which it is very difficult to separate the real facts from subjective assumptions and deductions, and the only result would be to sharpen a debate that is already taking a disquieting turn. What is important now is that we should agree upon the urgent need for the contending camps to recognize things as they are and to renounce, by word and by deed, any intention of subjugating each other, so that they may coexist with the object of solving the problems which burden the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings. In other words, it is imperative that this peaceful coexistence about which both sides speak so much should cease to be a matter of statements, charges



and counter-charges, and should take practical shape in international conduct, so as to make it easier to work effectively for the progress and well-being of every people in the world. Such coexistence should not represent the hostile restraint of the rival Powers, each facing the other with distrust and increasing its means of destruction, but should take the form of an agreement between the large and small nations to co-ordinate their forces and resources in a broadfrontal attack on the privations suffered by a great proportion of mankind.

26. This is not a vague aspiration, but an imperative need of our day. The marvellous scientific progress of our century, which has been given greater impetus by the capture of the last entrenchments of nuclear energy and of the vast realms of outer space towards which men have gazed with awe for centuries and centuries, has today turned poverty into an injustice, robbing it of all the traditional reasons which made it inevitable, and has opened to mankind immeasurable opportunities for improvement and development. Once the incalculable sources of energy that nuclear science places in our hands are directed towards the production of goods that are useful to mankind, they will enable us to overcome all the limitations which today condemn hundreds of millions of human beings to destitution, hunger and sickness. Unfortunately, as we well know, this immense power is at present being used solely for the manufacture of instruments of destruction capable of bringing about, in fractions of a second, the annihilation of entire peoples and the degeneration and extinction of mankind.

27. Such is the fatal prospect of the possibility of a new armed clash between the two great concentrations of power which today confront one another in a state of mutual suspicion and hostility. And this is what we must prevent. This, in the opinion of the Panamanian delegation, is the responsibility that now weighs upon the United Nations and, within this Organization, presents the small nations with a task of the first order. I do not claim that this task will be easy to perform. On the contrary, it is made difficult by certain well-known facts. One of them is that the immeasurable possibilities of progress implicit in the revolutionary discoveries of the last twenty-five years come up against a barrier of all kinds of interests, mental habits and patterns of behaviour which are survivals of former stages, now completed, in the life of mankind. The division of the world into two great concentrations of power, each imbued with a missionary spirit, is itself a sign that we are not keeping pace with history. Much as the two economic and social systems, whose antagonism keeps mankind in a state of perplexity and fear, may differ, much as each of them may claim to possess the one and only formula for bringing all human woes to an end, there is no denying that they have certain features in common and certain points of contact at the material and spiritual levels, and that their mutual exclusivism and claims to orthodoxy make it difficult for other workable forms of human coexistence to emerge from the inexhaustible fund of possibilities which lies in the spirit of man. The problem, to put it in common terms, resides in making the attitude, mentality and conduct of the leaders and the peoples synchronize with the changes that are being brought about by the scientific progress of our age. We have to assimilate the consequences and the implications of the changes which are taking place

before our eyes and which, according to an eminent scientist, consist not merely in the new elements that are entering our lives but also in a change in the quality of what has existed hitherto. What is new, he says, is the changed rhythm of the change itself, the fact that the years of our life witness no longer slight adjustments, as did those of our fathers, but very substantial transformations.

28. In the age of nuclear energy, supersonic aircraft, electronic miracles, guided missiles and space vehicles, it is imperative that the world should draw ever closer to the peaceful ideal of a universal order equal for all and respected by all—a goal that can only be reached through the work of the United Nations.

29. Mr. SEGNI (Italy): I wish first of all to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Italian Government and myself, our heartiest congratulations on your election as President of this Assembly. My congratulating you on your election to the highest office in the United Nations is the more gratifying for me inasmuch as your outstanding talents as a diplomat are well known and highly appreciated in my country. Just as universally known and highly regarded are the skill and ability with which you have always handled the tasks entrusted to you by the United Nations. It is my desire to add my most fervent wish for complete success in your endeavour, which is always laden with great responsibility and which this year appears particularly delicate.

30. The Italian Government recognizes the authority of this highest international body and to this authority, at once political and moral, it has always bowed, in the belief that the relationships among States should also function in accordance with the democratic principles of equality and liberty, and in compliance with the law governing international relations.

31. The removal of all forms of violence from the relationships among peoples, and their peaceful evolution—in adherence to the continual change in international needs stemming from the ceaseless advancement of mankind—have been enhanced, this past year, through the peaceful achievement of independence by many new States which, in full agreement with the countries to which they were bound by anachronistic ties, were able to equip themselves with modern institutions more adequate to cope with present necessities.

32. The Italian Government has been happy to give prompt recognition to all new States emerging from concrete compliance with the principles of equality and liberty. It has likewise been happy to express its ready agreement to the admission of all these countries to our Organization. I wish to express to them at this point and on this occasion, in the name of the Italian Government and people, the warmest felicitations on the attainment of their independence, our most fervent wishes for their future, and a most cordial and friendly welcome to the United Nations. At the same time, let me voice our highest appreciation for the observance of international law shown by them, together with the States with which they freely negotiated their independence.

33. All of us must be deeply grateful for these major felicitous occurrences in the international arena, as they have shown mankind the immense benefits that

<sup>1</sup>/Mr. Segni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

can be derived from mutual comprehension and from the substitution of the democratic method of respect for the popular will for the method of force or, worse still, violence.

34. May I be allowed to recall that Italy has already given concrete proof of its disinterested and confident good will towards the peoples on their way to emancipation, and of its ready desire to aid them even by participating in the burdens involved, by enabling Somalia to achieve its independence five months in advance of the date scheduled by this Organization.

35. The ten years of Italian trusteeship administration of Somalia, which passed in an atmosphere of great friendship and co-operation, came to an end on 1 July 1960, in conformity with a proposal advanced by the Italian Government to that effect, rather than on 2 December 1960, the time-limit which had been set for the trusteeship mandate at the time it was given to my country. The advancement of the time-limit is a proof of the understanding and concern of Italy towards the peoples desirous of setting themselves up as free and independent States.

36. Together with a particular greeting, I wish to extend my special praise to Somalia—to its people and its political figures—for having co-operated with great intelligence and profound wisdom in the achievement of the targets of the trusteeship administration to the full satisfaction of all parties concerned.

37. Unfortunately, not all peoples yearning for independence and for the determination of their own destiny have understood to the same extent the superiority of the democratic method. This is why we still witness today, to our grief and consternation, acute strife among opposing contestants who fight for the right to impose by violence their own particular concept of international relationships rather than comply with the will of the majority, as freely determined on the basis of the principles of the equality of all citizens, and then resort to the system of international negotiations.

38. I intend to dwell, in particular, on the Congo situation, which has recently concerned all of us deeply and to which both the Security Council and this very Assembly have had to devote a great deal of their activity, the latter having been convened in special session on the eve of the present regular session.

39. The clouds which gathered over that country early in July have not yet cleared. Italy's participation in the painful events in the Congo has been, and still is, very active and is prompted by a sincere, solicitous and friendly sympathy for the fate of this young nation, to which I express my most heartfelt wish that it will be able soon to enjoy again the benefits of a productive and fruitful peace.

40. To this end, the Secretary-General, in conformity with the decisions taken by the appropriate organs of the United Nations and in difficult and complex circumstances, has already fulfilled his task effectively and fruitfully, and in this connexion I feel duty bound to reaffirm here my Government's highest and most cordial appreciation.

41. In the introduction to his annual report [A/4390/Add.1], the Secretary-General portrays a picture, with which we thoroughly agree, of the tasks that the United Nations has been called upon to perform in the Congo. He outlines the history of a great initiative of international scope, to the success of which we all must

contribute if we really mean to serve the cause of peace and co-operation.

42. Actually, the assistance that our Organization decided to give to the Congo has as its sole purpose to bring about peace and co-operation. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how it may have been possible for someone to attribute different aims to it.

43. The United Nations has already decided to continue the action which it has undertaken with absolute impartiality and complete disinterestedness for the sole purpose of restoring law and order, bringing back stability where uncertainty seemed to prevail, and warding off the dangers of war which seemed to hover over this tormented nation. These are, substantially, the purposes unequivocally stressed in the resolution adopted at the special session of the General Assembly on 20 September 1960 [1474 (XS-IV)] to which the Italian Government reaffirms its full support.

44. I have chosen to emphasize the Secretary-General's prompt, active and imaginative activity in this connexion. But above all, I wish to pay tribute to the awareness and to the farsighted concern shown by him on this occasion and in similar circumstances for the destiny of our Organization. The Secretary-General was not selected as the representative of the Western democracies, the communist world, or the neutral countries. He was selected, in the spirit of the Charter, for the personal qualities which he has shown that he possesses in a high degree and which reflect complete honesty and impartiality of intention as well as dedication to the cause of the United Nations. I believe also that the actual set-up and the machinery of the Secretariat should not be altered, because they have proved to be efficient.

45. Being the host country to the United Nations is not a privilege, but rather a responsibility. The United States has shown itself fully aware of and deserving the responsibility of being the host country to the United Nations. The most appropriate reply that can be given to the criticisms that have been voiced in this hall is that the United States has the shortcomings of its own virtues inasmuch as the inconveniences experienced by certain representatives are those inherent in that very freedom prevailing in our host country. And none of us is willing to forego the advantages of freedom in order to eliminate these inconveniences. In sum, Italy can find no reason whatsoever to modify a situation that meets the requirements of the moment.

46. In the first months of this year there was much discussion about "détente", peaceful coexistence and disarmament. Actually, it is true that the very concept of peaceful coexistence seemed from the beginning to imply a mental reservation in certain minds, a reservation about complete international co-operation. This reservation notwithstanding, substantial efforts were made in order to bring about an effective "détente". Unfortunately, the hopes that all peace-loving peoples had rested on the new trend in the relations among States were dashed by the complete collapse of the Summit Conference. This collapse had its negative repercussions also in the field of disarmament. At the end of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, it seemed warranted to entertain well-founded hopes that the disarmament problem might finally be heading, after so many years of fruitless attempts, towards the solutions that all peoples are earnestly wishing for and looking forward to. Besides the improvement

of the general political atmosphere and the unanimous vote of this Assembly on resolution 1378 (XIV), there was a positive factor in the agreement for the institution of a special committee, the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament entrusted with the task of resuming, after a two-year interruption, the negotiations on disarmament. With the creation of this Committee, in which Italy was called upon to participate, the Western side accepted the Soviet desire for parity, still keeping the negotiations within a relatively restricted organ which provided all the necessary guarantees for such technical as well as political negotiations.

47. A very severe judgement was pronounced by Chairman Khrushchev on the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee, particularly on the intentions of the Western Powers participating in it. I cannot accept the charges that he has levelled at the Western countries and their alleged sabotage schemes. Further, if what has been accomplished in Geneva is observed closely and objectively, a completely negative appraisal does not appear warranted. Unfortunately, as is well known, no agreements were reached there. Nevertheless I believe that useful work was done in the way of investigation and comparison of the theses presented, and that certain efforts were made towards reciprocal understanding and clarification, praiseworthy in themselves.

48. Mr. Khrushchev, on the other hand, in his speech of 23 September, implicitly admitted that the work in Geneva was not totally fruitless. In fact, he stated that:

"... the new Soviet proposal ... has been drawn up with due regard for all the useful points which were made during the past year in the course of the discussion of this question by political and public circles of various countries of the world." [869th meeting, para. 242.]

He did not mention the Conference at Geneva. However, since the disarmament negotiations have been interrupted for two years, he could not but refer also to the work of the Ten-Nation Committee, notwithstanding his negative remarks on it. On the other hand, in the same speech, he stated:

"An identical point of view has materialized in our proposals as well as in those making up the NATO military alignment regarding the necessity to follow up agreement on disarmament with the creation of armed forces of all countries under international control to be used by the United Nations as decided by the Security Council." [Ibid., para. 279.]

49. One might wonder why the Conference, so suddenly interrupted, has not yet led to any precise agreements of a general character. It is impossible to go into detail in this brief account and, on the other hand, I would like to avoid fruitless polemic overtones. I believe, however, that some positive results could actually have been achieved at Geneva if certain recurrent propaganda attitudes had been avoided on the Soviet side and if there had prevailed a unanimous awareness of the difficulties inherent in disarmament and of the need for its gradual implementation.

50. There is no doubt that a general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision was, and still is, the target towards which the Governments represented in this Assembly have pledged

themselves to proceed with utmost earnestness and urgency. On my part, I want to state only that the Italian Government is firmly convinced that we should proceed in that direction.

51. But it is my opinion that we should approach the problem with full awareness of its immense difficulties and that we should not confine ourselves to a programme of "all or nothing". We should also be ready to accept with gratification partial results, on the following two conditions: first, that they meet the basic requirements of disarmament which have been so often stated and on which everyone seems to concur, at least theoretically, in particular that, through the implementation of such partial measures, the mutual security of each and all be enhanced, and not diminished; and, secondly, such results should constitute not final goals, but intermediate targets intended to ensure the quickest advancement towards the ultimate aim. Furthermore, in our evaluation of the over-all programme, we must take into account the fact that there is a wide gap in conventional forces between East and West and that nuclear disarmament, while auspicious in itself, involves the concurrent establishment of a balance in conventional forces.

52. In fact, any person who is honest and of good will cannot help but recognize that even one initial step, one early agreement on the road to general and complete disarmament, would represent an invaluable success not only in itself but also for its favourable moral and psychological effects. It would also constitute a precious initial factor in decreasing the mistrust between East and West and in facilitating the solution of the political problems which are at the root of the armaments race. That must encourage us to resume our work with faith, goodwill and perseverance.

53. Several times at the Geneva Conference Italy made the suggestion that efforts at negotiations be concentrated, at an early stage, on that part of the plans and on those problems in which some nearing of positions or greater mutual understanding was beginning to be seen, in order to achieve at least some immediate practical results. Naturally, I am fully aware that partial solutions, even if looked upon as initial measures to be further broadened, are always difficult and that all problems are inevitably interwoven. Yet, I believe that it pays to experiment with that approach, keeping in our minds a clear vision of the lofty goal we are striving for. It seems to me that Marshal Tito included some remarks to that effect in his recent statement [868th meeting].

54. At this time, a great responsibility rests with the Assembly—giving new impetus to the negotiations on disarmament. The Assembly must assist the major responsible parties with its advice and recommendations in their dealings, and it must encourage them to resume this all-important conversation. I do not doubt that the will of the people, which is expressed through the enlightened advice of your delegations, will point out clearly the wisest, the most constructive and the most practicable course in order that this fundamental work should be resumed immediately and completed successfully.

55. The support and guidance of the Assembly are necessary now and in the future. I believe that in the future it will be convenient to bring the United Nations into even closer contact with the negotiations in order



that the Organization, particularly the Assembly, may gradually be in a better position to follow closely the development of the dealings which must, owing to their technical aspects, remain entrusted to a rather restricted body. For instance, the negotiating organ might send to the United Nations Disarmament Commission periodic reports at intervals established in advance by the Assembly. At the United Nations all States must be in a position to know and to evaluate, even better than in the past, the responsibilities, both negative and positive, resting with each negotiator in the performance of his tasks. We favour such supervision and look forward to this judgement with serenity.

56. Recently the Assembly heard a statement by the President of the United States [868th meeting] which calls for meditation on the part of all of us. It was a speech full of common sense and imbued with a conciliatory spirit which opened the door to concrete measures of disarmament. But as Mr. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, correctly said [871st meeting] Mr. Khrushchev has tried to close that door, thus frustrating our hopes. Mr. Diefenbaker also introduced a series of proposals on disarmament worthy of the highest consideration and the closest examination. What is needed is the earnest desire to arrive at an understanding. For our part, we are ready to make our contribution in a constructive spirit. We should be equally willing to consider the modalities for future negotiations which may allow a more fruitful work to develop.

57. The spirit which has so far led Italy to pursue these negotiations with the utmost sincerity has often been solemnly reaffirmed. It is the spirit which corresponds to Italy's ideals of peace, international co-operation, mutual assistance among nations; it is also a spirit of realistic trust in the soundness of the cause. This spirit shall never fail; in fact it shall be exerted with ever-growing vigour in the negotiations which we feel should be resumed as soon as possible. Similarly, in the framework of the initiatives that must be undertaken by our Organization in order that its activities may conform to the developments of modern techniques and to the great strides of human progress, I cannot fail to mention the need to reconsider, within the United Nations, the problems relating to the peaceful uses of outer space. May I be allowed to note that a long time has elapsed since it was decided [resolution 1472 (XIV)] to establish a Committee entrusted with the study of the technical and legal aspects of the question. The Italian Government would be gratified to witness an early beginning of the Committee's work.

58. Italy is convinced that the key to peace lies not only in disarmament, but also in getting the problem of the under-developed countries started towards a solution, for that is the threshold which civilization will cross in the next decades. We hold that the course taken and the means used so far to this end are neither adequate nor sufficient. Aid to under-developed countries cannot be conceived as help aimed solely at the development of production, but also at the development of human relations no longer founded on a power scale, but rather on a sense of a common solidarity—and not a merely material one—to prevail within the States as well as in international life.

59. It is necessary that the more fortunate peoples should feel the greatness of this task which presupposes that the differences in political and economic power ought to be forgotten in order to operate on a

plane of human solidarity among peoples who feel that they are on the same level of dignity. The means so far employed for this aid have been inadequate; it is necessary to exert every effort to match them more closely to the dire needs of reality, not vice versa, after having set up a concrete programme based on suitable investigations. Therefore, the need is felt for an organization with the task of studying and carrying out a programme. However, an organization willing to assist all of the under-developed countries of the world would run the risk of stopping short in the face of the gigantic tasks beyond the possibilities of any such arrangement.

60. It is necessary, on the contrary, in Italy's view, to rely as much as possible on regional organizations. Effective arrangements of this type are already in existence within the framework of the United Nations. We hold that all the States willing to co-operate in the implementation of such a programme, both on the giving and the receiving ends, will in the future be able to perform their constructive work through suitable ties among their regional organizations on a basis of reciprocal trust and understanding of the means and needs of each one. The possibilities for concrete action will thus become greater. For the benefit of the under-developed countries, the United Nations should, wherever possible, check on the methods and the objectives for the promotion and implementation of such a programme. This is for the United Nations a task which alone would justify its existence and actions.

61. I trust that under the aegis of the United Nations the ground-work will be laid for the formation of aggregations of States which can operate jointly in restricted and well determined areas so that a concrete, planned action may be carried toward successful completion.

62. As far as United Nations action in favour of the under-developed countries is concerned, I am gratified to announce that the Italian Government, subject to parliamentary approval, has decided to double Italy's contribution to the Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. Italy's quota for both agencies will thus be increased to \$2.25 million starting in the next fiscal year. This will be in proportion to our quota for the ordinary budget of the United Nations. The Italian Government's decision is in keeping with the wishes expressed in several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, emphasizing time and again the urgent need to make available at least \$100 million yearly to the United Nations, in order that it may be enabled to expand its technical assistance programmes.

63. In addition to the consideration of the great problems of world-wide scope which this high forum has to debate and to which I have already referred, I cannot refrain from saying a few words on a matter which the Assembly might have been spared and which Italy is now called upon to discuss, namely, the Alto Adige question.

64. Italy has nothing to fear from this discussion, and on its own initiative proposed to Austria that there be recourse, by mutual consent, to that organ of the United Nations which is competent in matters pertaining to the implementation of treaties, namely, the International Court of Justice.



65. Unfortunately, the Austrian Government chose to dramatize a question that presents itself in extremely simple and clear terms and decided to put it before the General Assembly. We did not oppose this, even though we had to ask for the rectification of the heading of the item which is now included in the agenda.

66. The Italian Government, while gratified to be able to point to the steps taken so far to strengthen the democratic way of life in the territories of Alto Adige, wishes to stress its firm commitment to a whole-hearted implementation of the de Gasperi-Gruber Agreement concluded in Paris in 1946, which allowed the German-speaking minorities to develop their economy successfully, to safeguard their institutions and to enrich their cultural traditions.

67. Only in 1956 Austria advanced a few complaints of a general character on the implementation of the de Gasperi-Gruber agreement, and it was Italy which invited Austria, in July of that same year, to specify its demands. Negotiations ensued through diplomatic channels as a consequence of which, in my capacity as Prime Minister, I invited the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Austria to negotiations at the highest level, convinced, as I was, that direct dealings in a spirit of good will could lead to a solution of the dispute. The same invitation was extended later by my successor as Prime Minister, who also proposed to Austria recourse, by mutual consent, to the International Court of Justice on the matter. The Austrian Government preferred not to accept the two-fold invitation, and decided to bring the question before the Assembly.

68. Having said that, however, I must point out that, as this is only a matter of implementing a freely stipulated agreement, the Italian Government will have no choice but to oppose any attempt to drag on to a political ground a question that the parties, given good will on both sides, would certainly be able to settle by other means in the very framework of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

69. It is a characteristic of all free assemblies to gather diverse and often differing opinions. This must neither discourage nor hold us back. I believe that the work of the present session, which is in many respects more important than previous ones, could be fruitful if everyone were to be pervaded with the spirit of justice and equanimity which should govern relations among the peoples.

70. Sardar Mohammed NAIM (Afghanistan): At the outset, Mr. President, allow me to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the important and responsible post of the Presidency of the present session, and to wish you success in achieving the aims and purposes of the Charter, for which the General Assembly has been convened.

71. It is a source of great pleasure for us that the inauguration of this session has been marked by a most important and historic event, the increase in the membership of the United Nations. I wish once again to extend the sincere welcome of the Afghan people and Government to the representatives of these fourteen nations and, through them, to their peoples and Governments.

72. With the increased number of Members the Organization is approaching the ideal of universality. We hope that this forum of independent voices of mankind

will be completed soon through the attainment of independence by the dependent peoples, and that it will lead to the realization of a united, free world in the true sense. It is our fervent hope that the Organization will thus become a power strong enough to overcome the difficulties confronting mankind, in the interest of humanity, on the basis of justice and equality, and for the preservation of a peace founded upon the legitimate rights of individuals and nations.

73. In this connexion we believe that the right of the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations should be implemented without any further delay. This belief does not emanate only from the fact that China is our neighbour, and that we have diplomatic relations with China. It is based also upon the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing the Chinese people. The exclusion of this great nation from the United Nations is in no way in the interest of the Organization, and is in fact a denial of the principle of universality of the United Nations.

74. The meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations is certainly the most important international event. At this session special interest has been demonstrated by the Member States in the solution of the great problems confronting the Organization, and therefore the occasion is more momentous. The significance of such an occasion calls, before everything else, for an increased sense of responsibility and an unselfish attitude and approach which would be in the interest of mankind. The occasion can bring about a great many constructive and fruitful results, but failure to use such an opportunity for constructive ends could lead to most discouraging consequences.

75. In the face of the threat to humanity, the shifting of blame from one side to another will neither shift the responsibility for unfavourable consequences nor save anyone from the destructive results which will be ultimately universal.

76. Our failures in the past, outside the United Nations, should in no way deprive us of cherishing the hope that this Organization, set up for peaceful negotiations, will provide everyone with the means of better understanding, particularly the big Powers, who can better hear the cry of humanity for peace and prosperity. These failures have been rightly deplored, but, welcoming the most important and indeed greatly significant fact that the United Nations is the ultimate repository of world problems, we hope for the peaceful solution of even the most complicated problems.

77. There are many issues before us—all of them the great concern of the United Nations and all its Members—which will be discussed by the General Assembly in due course. At this stage, however, I shall confine myself to a few most urgent points.

78. I speak strictly for a small, peace-loving country, with a most impartial and independent position in international affairs, having the deepest conviction in the United Nations, the only alliance to which we belong under its Charter, where our record is well known, and our friendship with all cannot be questioned. We are confident, therefore, that our views will be considered in the most friendly spirit in which we express them.

79. The greatest and most natural concern of the small countries is the prevailing international tension

and the continuation of the "cold war". There is no doubt that the lessening of international tension, mostly caused by ideological differences and political interests, is in the custody of the big Powers. In the United Nations, however, that division greatly concerns the small countries which comprise the majority. The responsibility of these countries, therefore, cannot and should not be underestimated, either by themselves or by the big Powers. Not only are these countries desirous of making a positive contribution to the cause of peace, but they are capable of doing so and we hope that they will give to the Assembly the benefit of their independent judgement of world affairs.

80. In our opinion, the most urgent task before the Assembly, in the present circumstances, is to concentrate on the ways and means of eliminating the fundamental causes which have created the international problems and on the factors which have delayed their solution, rather than to attempt the solution of the problems directly, without the preparation of a healthy atmosphere which could mean the end of the cold war. There is obviously no other way than to address, on behalf of the General Assembly, an urgent appeal to the big Powers to enter immediately into peaceful negotiations to this end.

81. Each day brings with it further proof that peaceful coexistence among peoples and nations is imperative. The failure to recognize this fact would lead to a complete deterioration of the international situation, with grave and even disastrous consequences. The United Nations is in itself the highest expression that mankind has given to this principle, after suffering from disastrous experiences. Therefore, the failure of the United Nations to implement this principle would be the greatest source of discouragement to all peace-loving peoples of the world.

82. The only position from which it will be possible to realize the peaceful aspirations of man and the security and prosperity of the world is the position of mutual confidence among all, particularly among those who otherwise could choose the position of strength. While it is certain that the opportunity provided by this session can be used for greater results, the least that can be expected is that everything should be done to avoid further deterioration of the international situation. The solution of the problem of disarmament depends solely on the confidence of the big Powers in each other and on their good will towards humanity. The importance of the issue to the small countries, however, is in no way diminished by this consideration.

83. Last year when the question came before the General Assembly, we stated that we welcomed the proposals advanced for complete disarmament by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which were referred to as basic and comprehensive. We stated also that we would welcome wholeheartedly any other initiative, regardless of its source, which would lead in the direction of disarmament.

84. The proposals of the United States do not differ in principle from the course directed to general and complete disarmament. Therefore there is a great margin of agreement on the basic issues. It is encouraging that the leaders of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have expressed their willingness to resume negotiations. This is greatly appreciated. The achievement of this goal will not

only answer the expectations of the smaller countries in the United Nations but will respond to the aspirations of millions of people who await the fruitful results of this important gathering.

85. We adhere to our view that, in any measures that may be taken, the importance of the consideration that the goal should remain total disarmament, under effective international control and inspection, should be stressed, and at the same time practical steps, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons, should not be further delayed.

86. The question of disarmament is essentially and primarily the responsibility of the United Nations. This fact is also recognized by the big Powers. It can be said with hope that the General Assembly could succeed in taking certain measures which would compensate for the failure of efforts that have been made outside the United Nations.

87. We adhere also to our view that a world without arms would be a new order in the life of nations. In any new order, the secure position of the small countries themselves is of utmost importance to us. We highly appreciate the references to the effect that as a result of disarmament more assistance would be available to the under-developed areas of the world, but we would like to add immediately that, although our needs are enormous, our primary concern continues to be the maintenance of peace and security, the only condition in which the under-developed countries can hope for the fulfilment of their desire for a better life. We believe that, as long as the domination of one nation by another is not abolished in all its forms, neither the abolition of arms, nor economic assistance on any scale will complete the happiness to which man is entitled by his right to independence and dignity.

88. This session of the General Assembly, at which we have admitted a great number of independent States, offers us a unique opportunity to concentrate our efforts on the realization of the aspirations of the dependent peoples. The progress made in this field is encouraging but by no means satisfactory. No one can rightly be content as long as there are dependent peoples in this world. The policies of certain countries must inevitably give way to the right of self-determination and independence for these peoples.

89. The situation in connexion with the problem of Algerians—one of these peoples—is most deplorable. It would be unnatural to speak of ending the cold war, and express no concern over the hot war continuing in Algeria. The deliberate delay in the peaceful solution of this problem, on the part of the French Government, is most alarming. It will be a matter of great regret if certain major issues, like the Algerian issue, are overshadowed by other problems merely because those problems have arisen more recently. We hope that the General Assembly will give high priority, at this session, to the consideration of the Algerian problem in the light of the most discouraging new developments and that it will take appropriate measures to implement its resolutions, recommendations and hopes for a peaceful solution of the question. We hope that this year, which has been referred to as the year of Africa, will have in it the dawn of the independence of Algeria, without which the African horizon will remain clouded by colonialism.

90. The Algerians have agreed to a solution based on the right of self-determination, a right which the French had accepted in principle. We maintain high hopes that the legitimate aspirations of all peoples will be realized, and we are happy to see that the triumph of self-determination, without which peace cannot be maintained, is a real source of pride for the peoples of the United Nations. But this pride cannot be fully enjoyed if it is recognized in certain cases and denied in others.

91. The most disturbing events in the Republic of the Congo, now a Member State, have been the concern of the United Nations in more than one respect. We supported the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its emergency session [1474 (ES-IV)], with the hope that the assistance of the United Nations, in the light of the experiences gained by the Organization since its involvement with the problems of this young State, would serve the purpose of stability and of law and order in this unhappy country. In any measures that may be taken in this connexion, we would stress the fact that all the Members of the Organization should give the utmost consideration to the significance of United Nations prestige, which is so directly involved.

92. The constructive contribution of the independent African States in this matter is undoubtedly of special significance. The countries of Asia have always, in the spirit of solidarity among African-Asian nations, demonstrated their concern over the situations in the African continent and have contributed to the cause of the peoples of Africa. We hope that, before long, the people of the Congo will be able to have the representatives of their rightful Government participating in the United Nations.

93. References have been made to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the Middle East, a region to which Afghanistan belongs. The expression by these countries of their desire for friendly relations is a source of satisfaction to us. No country has ever been more ready to respond to the call of friendship and neighbourly relations than Afghanistan. We have followed, and shall follow, this policy as the fundamental basis of our international relations with all countries, particularly with our neighbours. In this connexion, however, I should add that the elimination of differences cannot be achieved except by serious efforts, through peaceful negotiations, for the solution of the problems which have caused friction between the countries of this region.

94. We wish to maintain good and friendly relations with all our neighbours, and therefore we sincerely respond to the spirit of amity voiced here by the distinguished representative of Iran [870th meeting].

95. We have studied the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/4390 and Add.1], containing many important ideas, all of which, as I said at the beginning, can be taken up by the General Assembly at the proper stages of its work. There is one point, however, to which I should like to refer now, and that is the question of the development of the under-developed countries. The views of Afghanistan on this matter have been made known in the General Assembly and also in the Economic and Social Council. The responsibility of the United Nations in this connexion, regarding the new areas of under-development, has been rightly recognized. But special consideration as to its effect on other areas of responsibility is required.

96. Assistance is still badly needed in the older areas and, due to the limitation of sources, which are inadequate even there, new developments have created a huge problem which cannot be solved except by greater efforts to find new sources of assistance. In this connexion, we particularly want to draw the attention of Members to the fact that certain measures have been suggested which would help the new areas of under-development by putting a greater burden on the other under-developed countries, which are themselves in urgent need of assistance. These should be given full consideration before they are presented for adoption, for it will be impossible for the needy countries to make any contribution in this field. About this point and other points, we shall express our views in detail as they are brought before the Assembly, in the hope that these important matters on the agenda will be dealt with in a better and calmer atmosphere, which is so essential for the achievement of any constructive and fruitful results.

97. In expressing our wishes for your success in your important and responsible functions as President of this session of the General Assembly, we would add our most sincere hopes to those that you have expressed that this session, through understanding, tolerance and co-operation in the interest of mankind, will truly prove to be the Assembly of humanity.

## AGENDA ITEM 20

### Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)\*

98. The PRESIDENT: I should like to invite the attention of Members to two letters from the President of the Security Council [A/4513, A/4514] transmitting the texts of resolutions adopted unanimously by the Council recommending the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Mali, respectively, to membership in the United Nations. Members of the Assembly also have before them a draft resolution submitted by France and Tunisia [A/L.309] recommending the Republic of Senegal for admission to membership in the United Nations and a draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, France and Tunisia [A/L.310] recommending the admission of the Republic of Mali to membership in the United Nations.

99. I would ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution recommending the Republic of Senegal to membership in the United Nations [A/L.309].

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

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

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

101. The PRESIDENT: I would now ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution recommending the admission of the Republic of Mali to membership in the United Nations [A/L.310].

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

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

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

\*Resumed from the 864th meeting.



103. The PRESIDENT: Now that the two delegations have taken their seats, I am sure that the Members of the Assembly would wish me, speaking from the Chair and speaking on behalf of the Assembly as a whole, to express to them a very sincere and a very cordial welcome, and to assure them of the complete confidence which we all share, that by their efforts here they will make a valuable and fruitful contribution to the work of the United Nations.

104. I propose to call now on the sponsors of the two resolutions which we have just adopted. I call first on the representative of France.

105. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): On 20 September [864th meeting], Mr. Couve de Murville, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, expressed regrets at being unable to welcome the Republics of Senegal and of the Sudan along with the remaining eleven States which, having become fully independent after a long association with France, had just been admitted to membership in the United Nations. France—he said in so many words—would be the first to welcome the day—which he hoped would come soon—when the Assembly would be in a position to act upon their admission. The hope expressed on that day has now been happily fulfilled.

106. Meeting this morning under the Presidency of Mr. Ortona, the Italian representative, the Security Council unanimously decided to recommend to this Assembly the final admission of the two Republics. My delegation would therefore like to recall, in support of the unanimous decision just taken by the Assembly upon the Council's recommendation, our long-standing friendly co-operation with the peoples of these two States.

107. Three centuries ago, with the foundation of the town of St. Louis, my country established continuous contacts with the Senegalese people. As time went on, these contacts became increasingly wider and more intimate. Nowadays, Senegal is one of Africa's most highly developed and industrialized countries, with a most promising future ahead of it. Dakar, its capital with a population of over 300,000, is one of the continent's most thriving centres. In addition to being an administrative, commercial and industrial city, it is also an outstanding cultural centre, with its university which is already attended by more than 1,300 students, its arts centre and its numerous literary and artistic groups.

108. The Sudan, which has now assumed the name of the Republic of Mali, has advanced by leaps and bounds in the last fifty years. Credit for this is due mainly to its brave, tenacious and hard-working people, who are renowned throughout West Africa. Technological discoveries have opened up for this country the fairest of prospects.

109. A country's merit is measured not only by its economic might but also by the quality of its "élite". All the delegations present in this hall are acquainted with President Léopold Sédar Senghor and President Mamadou Dia, whom they had the opportunity of meeting at previous sessions of the Assembly. All the delegations have also had the opportunity of meeting and appreciating the great Mali leaders such as Mr. Modibo Keita and Mr. Madeira Keita. There can be no doubt that with such leaders the two young Republics are in good hands.

110. Since the beginning of the century, and particularly in the last twenty years, France has spared no effort to lead the people of Senegal and of Mali to full sovereignty and independence, in a gradual and carefully prepared manner, in agreement with the peoples themselves and their leaders, with a view to enabling them to develop without a hitch and successfully to play their part in the international community.

111. The Republics of Senegal and of Mali are two genuinely democratic States whose people are accustomed to political life and whose leaders are of proved experience therein. Not only do the Constitutions of the two States provide all the necessary guarantees in that respect, but also the way in which they will function will reflect the spirit that animates them. The two Republics are genuinely peaceful. They have repeatedly expressed the desire to unite with all African States that would express the wish to do so. Lastly, they are thoroughly convinced of the justice of the principles of the Charter and are firmly resolved to respect them. They are therefore bound to make a valuable contribution to the work of our Organization.

112. In addressing its warmest congratulations to the representatives of these two Republics who are present in this hall, the French delegation wishes to convey to their countries, on behalf of the French Government and people, the best wishes of happiness, prosperity and success.

*Mr. Matsudaira (Japan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

113. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): The Tunisian delegation always deems it an honour and a pleasure to salute from this rostrum the admission of new Members to our great Organization. Naturally, this honour and this pleasure become especially pronounced and intense when, as in the present case, we are welcoming African sister nations which, like us, aspired to the same goals of freedom and dignity and put all of their strength into realizing these legitimate aspirations.

114. This explains the joy with which I convey to the two new Members, the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Mali, the sincerest congratulations of the Tunisian Government and people.

115. My delegation is convinced that it is expressing the joy felt at this moment by all the African delegations at seeing the representation of the African continent in the United Nations reinforced and expanded by the admission of the two Republics of Senegal and of Mali.

116. In welcoming the two new African Republics, we are convinced that both of them fully realize the major responsibilities which their entry into our Organization entails. There can be no doubt that they will endeavour to discharge those responsibilities boldly and with the dignity of fully mature nations, both on an international scale and, more particularly, in relation to Africa's imperative needs. The two sister Republics are conscious of the duties which devolve upon them—and upon all of us here—towards the non-self-governing African peoples who, for many years, have been enduring the noblest and, at the same time, the most painful sacrifices in order to wrench their freedom from obstinate foreign rule. Senegal and Mali will certainly not fail to show a constructive African solidarity towards those brother peoples, a solidarity



which, for all of us African countries, provides the basis for that better future which we intend to forge for our peoples in freedom, dignity, friendship and co-operation.

117. I am convinced that our brothers in Senegal and Mali fully realize that the admission of their countries, along with that of fourteen other States which we had the pleasure of welcoming here last week [864th meeting], has taken place at a time when international tension threatens to jeopardize the efficiency and moral authority of the United Nations. I am certain that the two new Members realize how highly we, the countries of Africa, value this Organization. I am sure that they realize what it symbolizes in the eyes of our young States, what hopes our people place in it and what attachment they feel towards it. We are therefore convinced that the admission of the two Republics—Senegal and Mali—will not fail to strengthen the camp of freedom, peace and international co-operation, to consolidate our great international Organization, to enhance its prestige and to preserve its continuity.

118. Tunisia, an African State, assures the two new African States of its fraternal feelings and expresses the hope that, together with all of us, they will be fervent defenders of peace in Africa and of international co-operation.

119. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): This morning it was my privilege as the representative of my country in the Security Council to co-sponsor with the representatives of France and Tunisia, at the request of the Republic of Mali, the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the Republic of Mali to membership in our Organization. It was also my privilege to support at that same meeting the draft resolution recommending the admission of the Republic of Senegal to membership in the United Nations.

120. It gave us great pleasure to do so this morning, and it has given my delegation pleasure once again in the General Assembly to support the application of these two African Republics to membership of this body.

121. My delegation welcomed, at the 869th meeting of the Security Council held on 28 June last, the recommendation for the admission of what was then the Federation of Mali, consisting of Senegal and Sudan. Since that time, this Assembly well knows the circumstances which led to the present position where the two constituted components of the erstwhile Federation of Mali have satisfied their aspirations in making their futures as two sovereign, independent and separate Republics. It is a manifestation of the political maturity of the two young Republics that they have shown an appreciation of reality and resolved their constitutional and political differences by pacific and amicable methods without recourse to bitterness or to means other than those of negotiation and adjustment.

122. Indeed, need we have any doubts about the political maturity and wisdom of States led by men of such calibre, ability and intelligence as Mr. Mobido Keita, President of the Republic of Mali, which was formerly Sudan, and Mr. Leopold Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal—two leaders who have recently been added to the list of African statesmen which the liberation movement in Africa has produced in recent times. In these circumstances, there is little doubt that

everyone here will agree that the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Mali should receive a cordial and unanimous welcome into our midst as sovereign, free and independent Members. We have constantly and consistently reiterated our view that this world Organization should give effect to the principle of universality of representation. It gives us added pleasure, therefore, to see the Assembly taking yet another step in that direction.

123. My delegation is quite confident that the two new Member States, like the fourteen others who joined us last week, will fulfil every obligation and perform every duty which the Charter enjoins on all Member States. The United Nations family will be the richer by the admission of the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal today.

124. On the other hand, we are all fully aware of the tremendous tasks of nation building that face these new States, tasks which require capital, techniques and personnel. Like my own country, they will, during the difficult period of transition from a colonial economy to a non-colonial one, require much assistance from outside. I am sure that the United Nations, which is today admitting them to full membership will readily hold out the hand of assistance to them in all fields, as it has done to so many other nations in the past.

125. We are also gratified that France has assured them of friendship and guidance, and we are glad that France has helped them in the attainment of their independence.

126. On behalf of the Government and the people of Ceylon, I have great pleasure in extending to the Governments and the peoples of the Republics of Mali and Senegal our warmest good wishes, confident that they will, while turning their efforts to their political development, social improvement and economic advancement, at the same time strengthen this Organization and thereby help attain the fulfilment of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

127. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): It is with a feeling of great honour and privilege that I have asked the President's permission to come here to welcome the two independent nations which have just been admitted to membership in this Organization: Mali and Senegal. It is also a great honour for me that I speak at this stage not only on behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan but also on behalf of a great number of countries in Asia and Africa who have asked me to extend to the representatives of these two countries their most cordial and heartfelt congratulations on this occasion.

128. The increase in the membership of the United Nations has been remarkable at this session, and today the Assembly has taken another step in this direction, which makes it even more remarkable. Thus, we look upon what has happened as something of great significance, and that is the support of the United Nations as a whole for the cause of independence; the support of the United Nations as a whole for the universality of this Organization; the support of the United Nations as a whole for the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of peoples and of nations, particularly for their right to dignity, to independence and to equality; the support of the United Nations for a cause which nobody can deny—that a universal organization can only work in a better way if the people of the world are all given an equal chance to contribute to the common cause of humanity, in the interests of mankind as a whole.

129. Finally, we think that with the entry of these Members into our Organization a greater force will be created in support of those peoples and nations who unfortunately have not attained their independence and their full rights. While we welcome these nations, we would like to congratulate the United Nations on its success. It is indeed a source of great pride for the Organization. But obviously this pride cannot be fully enjoyed unless all dependent people in the world fulfil and realize their legitimate rights to independence and are given a chance to join the Organization and to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world in the interests of mankind.

130. Satisfaction in many areas may be easy to obtain, but in the field of the right of dignity and independence it is not an easy thing to find. We do not deny that the Organization has been successful in this field; but if there is an exception in any part of the world, the fulfilment of the principles of this Organization will not be considered complete. When we say we look forward to seeing all the peoples of the world independent, we say it with a feeling of confidence. At this moment we cherish the hope that it will come about very swiftly. The countries of Asia and Africa hope that it will take place tomorrow.

131. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegations of Albania, the Byelorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the Ukrainian SSR, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Romanian Peoples' Republic, I warmly welcome the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal which are becoming Members of the United Nations.

132. The Socialist countries believe that the entry of new States into the international community, as Members enjoying equal rights, strengthens the forces which are now operating in support of peace and the consolidation of international security. By coming a little closer to universality, our Organization acquires greater prestige and authority. We are all the more happy to welcome these two new Members of the United Nations since they are two African States whose accession to independence is part of the process of the liquidation of colonialism, which is hated by the peoples and disgraces mankind.

133. The two new States are beginning their activity in our Organization at a truly historic moment, when numerous peace-loving States are represented at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly by the most eminent statesmen, a factor that creates altogether unprecedented conditions for getting closer to finding a solution to the major problems disturbing international relations. We are convinced that the new African States which are joining the United Nations today will make a positive contribution to the solution of these problems.

134. I venture to observe at the same time that the admission of two new African States, a few days after that of thirteen other new African States and of the Republic of Cyprus, coincides with the noble task—which I hope will be reflected in the agenda of the General Assembly—of adopting the Declaration on the Grant of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which should accelerate the process of elimination of the last traces of the hateful colonial system. This fact gives to what has been called "The African year at the United Nations" special significance which,

I am convinced, has not escaped anybody's notice. It is our fervent hope that the year will mark the real end of slavery for all the peoples who are still under the colonial yoke. I avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm the desire of the Socialist countries to enter into and develop friendly relations with the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal and with all the other new States in Africa. In conveying to the representatives of the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal the most heart-felt congratulations and the sincerest wishes for peace and prosperity, on behalf of Romania and of the other Socialist countries, I should like to assure them that, in our countries, they have sincere friends on whom they can always rely.

135. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): It is a great honour for me to speak from this rostrum when the meeting is being presided over by so distinguished a statesman as yourself.

136. On behalf of the Latin American nations, who in this have asked me to speak in their name, I should like to say that we share in the rejoicing, this evening, in the General Assembly at the admission of two new States, the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal. We are fully aware of the noble mission which lies before these peoples and their Governments in the world Organization. We know that, because of their great traditions, they will play a constructive part. Their peoples are most conscious of their duties and their rights, and are called upon to make a substantial contribution to international peace and security. May I therefore convey most cordial congratulations to these two new Member States, as well as to the other new African States with whom, also, the peoples of Latin America share common ideals.

137. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): At this time when the independence of Senegal and of Mali is receiving recognition in the world forum of the United Nations, I should like to express on behalf of the four members of the Conseil de l'entente—Dahomey, the Upper Volta, the Niger and the Ivory Coast—our heartfelt fraternal congratulations to these new Members.

138. The break-up of the Federation of Mali might have led—as has happened elsewhere—to serious political difficulties prejudicial to the harmonious development of the young African States which, after many struggles and sacrifices, have succeeded in winning recognition of their political coming-of-age. But, thanks to the mediation of various responsible African politicians, thanks to the good will and understanding of the Malian and Senegalese authorities, thanks to the common desire to settle all differences among African States by peaceful means, the disturbing crisis of the former Federation of Mali did not give rise to another drama in the heart of our continent.

139. May this wisdom of the African States serve to establish for all times the principle of seeking peaceful settlement, first and foremost, at home, in order to avoid immediate outside intervention the spectacular nature of which at once leads to the crystallization of the attitudes of the various parties and which, owing to a lack of sufficient knowledge of African psychology and despite the best will of the friends offering help, is fraught with the danger of aggravating the situation.

140. In thanking the countries which sponsored the applications of Senegal and of Mali, I should like to express the most sincere hope that the peoples of the world may become united and that peace may reign among peoples and nations so that our young African countries, which you have just welcomed here so enthusiastically, can prosper in peace for the greater benefit of our people.

141. Mr. EDUSEI (Ghana): On behalf of the delegation of Ghana I wish to welcome the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal to membership in the United Nations. It is rather significant to note that these two sister States of Africa, which were until recently colonies of France, have been admitted to membership today, that is, 28 September 1960. I venture to suggest that the occasion constitutes an irony of historical circumstance in perspective. Today is a significant day because it was exactly two years ago that, by the free exercise of their will and sovereign rights, the people of the former French colony of Guinea rejected by their vote the new French Constitution, thus asserting their right to be independent and to be masters of their own destiny. At that time the Government of France and in fact the friends and allies of France thought that the people of Guinea had committed political and national suicide by voting against the French Constitution and by proclaiming the Republic of Guinea as a sovereign State outside the French Community. The Republic of Guinea was subsequently admitted to membership in the United Nations.

142. Shortly after this historic and momentous event the French colonies of Senegal and of Sudan came together and formed the Federation of Mali. The establishment of the Federation of Mali was conceded by Ghana as a step in the forward movement of African peoples toward political unity. When, therefore, in June of this year the Federation of Mali became an independent State and applied for membership in the United Nations, Ghana was happy about that event. We were quite prepared to support the admission of the Federation of Mali to membership in the United Nations. However, the Federation of Mali which was barely two years old has now been broken up and dissolved as a political and juridical entity. In place of the Federation we now have the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal—two sovereign and independent States—which are now prepared to take their seats in this great Assembly of nations and to play their destined role in modern international life.

143. Perhaps I need not re-emphasize the fact that the very mention of the name Mali brings back into the minds of modern African youth the grandeur and the achievements of the great empire of Mali and also of the empires of Ghana and of Songhai which flourished in the western Sudan during the mediaeval period. The memories of these empires and the exploits and achievements of our predecessors in that glorious period of our common history inspire us to higher endeavour in the new and destined role which we are called upon to play in modern international life and in the projection of the African personality.

144. We hope therefore that the dissolution of the Federation of Mali will in no way prove to be a hindrance in the progressive movement of the African peoples toward political unity in our time. On the other hand we hope that our two new sister States will continue to co-operate in all fields of action for the improvement of their respective national economies and

for raising the living standards of their respective peoples. We trust that in co-operation with the other independent African States the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal will work together with courage and with confidence for the elimination of all forms of colonialism from the rest of Africa and will help to keep the cold war out of Africa and also from the unhappy ideological conflicts and tensions which now divide the world into Eastern and Western blocs.

145. On behalf of the delegation of Ghana I congratulate our brothers from the Republic of Mali and from the Republic of Senegal as they take their seats in the Assembly and as they begin to participate in our common efforts to maintain peace, security, mutual understanding, and mutual self-respect among the nations of the world.

146. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Mr. Vice-President, may I on behalf of my delegation congratulate your country on its election to the vice-presidency of the General Assembly.

147. It is with a sense of privileged duty that my delegation appears on this rostrum, on its own behalf and also on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan to convey our congratulations to the two young Republics—Senegal and Mali—which have now joined us as States Members of the United Nations.

148. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on more than one count. First of all, the wisdom and statesmanship of the leaders of these countries have saved us from the fear of another crisis and another seat of confusion on the African continent. The Assembly owes them a debt of gratitude for having been able to resolve their disputes in this way and for having given a demonstration of the implementation of the principles of the Charter which calls upon people to resolve their disputes by peaceful means.

149. The Assembly is overcast, I do not want to say with gloom but with concern, about the affairs of the world. The tension that exists has in no way been lowered by the meeting of a large number of statesmen in this place. The event which we are celebrating today is a silver lining in these clouds and some of us hope a precursor of the dispersal of them. The wisdom shown by these young countries and their statesmen—and I say this with great respect—might perhaps point the way for greater and wiser men to resolve their disputes. It has been said that one can even learn from children; and so others can learn from young nations.

150. My country is very happy to feel that on this continent of Africa where in 1950 there were four independent countries—that is, if you include South Africa as an independent country, large numbers of its people not being independent—there are now some twenty-six independent countries, covering a population of 178 million out of a total estimated population of 222 million. The great French empire with its area of 4.5 million square miles has now only three quarters of a million square miles under its tutelage. It is our hope that with the victory of freedom in Algeria, the greater part of that area also will come within the ambit of freedom. The remainder of what is truly dark Africa is South West Africa—I use the language of the present rulers—and Portugal in Africa. We have no doubt that the vigour and the determination of the African peoples, backed by enlightened public opinion and the conscience of humanity, will see the

dismemberment of the Portuguese empire and the liberation of the African peoples and others subject to Portuguese colonialism.

151. Senegal and Mali assure the Assembly that we need have no concern regarding the liberation of young countries provided the circumstances that make it possible for them to come together are provided in some degree by the others. If countries and nations, particularly ex-colonial countries, were allowed to settle their own affairs, they would probably settle them and we could thus get away from the doctrine of "divide and rule" and get to the modern version—"divide and leave". In this particular case the boundaries of these States were settled by themselves; their problems were resolved in a short time. We have every reason therefore to regard this as a comparatively good day for the United Nations.

152. As I have said, perhaps we can leave here tonight in the hope that some of the great problems that confront us may draw some inspiration from what has happened here this afternoon. Once again, I congratulate these two countries.

153. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): It is with great satisfaction and deep emotion that my delegation welcomes to the United Nations the two sister States of Mali and Senegal, our closest neighbours. We salute their courage, their patience and their determination.

154. It is difficult to live under any form of foreign tutelage or domination, however benevolent. It is therefore remarkable indeed that these two countries should have achieved their independence without untold hardship and bloodshed. We must express some appreciation for this to France, which has made possible this smooth, peaceful and harmonious transformation from colonies into independent States. We hope that, as a result of their experience and their trials under such trying and difficult circumstances, the two countries will bring to this Organization a new approach to the many and vexing problems which require our utmost patience and perseverance.

155. To these countries I say that our task is not completed and cannot be completed so long as some of our brethren live under foreign rule, with all the humiliation and oppression, and even death, that are generally suffered by a dependent people. I am sure that they will exert all their efforts, as they have done in the past, to see to it that their brothers in Africa achieve that freedom and justice which they now enjoy.

156. Mr. TOURE Ismael (Guinea) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, to thank you and to recall that two years ago, in the Security Council, it was your delegation which, together with that of Iraq, sponsored the admission of the Republic of Guinea to the United Nations. My delegation might quote an African proverb and say that you had a "lucky touch", for since the Republic of Guinea became the eighty-second Member of the international Organization independence has been achieved by a veritable wave of countries and fourteen more African States have been admitted to the United Nations.

157. My delegation warmly welcomes the two sister Republics of Mali and Senegal, and would stress that the admission of these States to the United Nations has special significance for us. The links which bind us to the peoples of Mali and Senegal are so close that there is no need to emphasize them. I shall merely

say that the Senegal river rises in Guinea and that, according to history, the capital of the once flourishing empire of Mali was likewise in Guinea.

158. In the eyes of my delegation, the admission of the two neighbouring States of Senegal and Mali to the international Organization is at the same time a sign of progress, a promise of success and a proof of justice in the great struggle of the peoples of Africa for the reconquest of freedom and well-being.

159. This is 28 September 1960, the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea's independence. During those two years, the colonial system has never succeeded in isolating the young Republic of Guinea. Today we are welcoming two new sovereign African States whose addition to the international family will be a substantial contribution to the unity and greatness of the African continent.

160. Unity within the colonial system is meaningless for us; but we, the young States of Africa, are convinced that history, which today is imparting hard instruction to the crumbling colonial system, is inevitably drawing us together, in freedom from the chains of slavery and in safety from the machinations of our enemies.

161. There are striking coincidences in the history of peoples. On 28 September 1898, with the defeat of the great patriot Almamy Samory Touré, the territory of Guinea was conquered by France and enslaved. Sixty years later, on 28 September 1958, Guinea voted "No" in General de Gaulle's referendum and, before the world, proclaimed its independence. Today, 28 September 1960, two years later, two further sister Republics of Africa, following thirteen others, have received international recognition.

162. We wish to salute these two States and to congratulate them and their peoples. A long and difficult road lies ahead, but we are convinced that the contribution of Senegal and Mali will be crucial, and we are also sure that we must all retain our confidence. With the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Mali, our African brothers, shoulder to shoulder on a basis of equality with all peoples of good will, we know that our struggle for prosperity, dignity and peace will be crowned with success.

163. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): I should like to make some brief remarks on the occasion of the admission to the United Nations of two sister States, the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal.

164. The Government and people of Ethiopia rejoice in the admission of Senegal and Mali to the United Nations, not only because their right to full membership of this international community has been acknowledged, but also because this full membership in the United Nations of an increasing number of Africans is a clear indication of the total emancipation of Africa from colonial subjugation. It is an indication of the end of colonialism in Africa, from which the peoples of Africa have suffered so much.

165. I should like to request the delegations of the Republic of Mali and the Republic of Senegal to accept, and extend to their people, the heartfelt congratulations of the people and Government of Ethiopia.

166. The PRESIDENT: I now wish, with my personal congratulations and deep feelings of welcome, to call on the representatives of the two new Member States.



167. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): We should have liked at the outset of the session to offer our warmest congratulations to Mr. Boland, recently elected President of the Assembly. I am sure that his election will be of great assistance to the Assembly in the organization of its work, and that for young States like ourselves his experience will be particularly valuable in this period. As new Members of the United Nations, we are conscious of the efforts we have to make in order to build up our experience. We need men of the stature of our President to help and advise us.

168. Turning to the Assembly, I should like to express my sincere thanks to the delegations here present. I thank them from the bottom of my heart for the confidence they have shown in us, and the honour they have done us, by admitting us to the great family of nations. We fully recognize the importance of the decision they have taken and we shall do our utmost, in all circumstances, to show ourselves worthy of their confidence and deserve their esteem.

169. We enter this distinguished forum at a troubled time. Today, the fate of humanity is at issue. Our keenest wish is to contribute to the establishment of peace. It would be useless for us to be here at your side if in this tremendous enterprise you did not constantly feel the real and effective presence not only of Senegal but of all the new States to which you have given so kindly and brotherly a welcome. By the act which you have just performed, you have undertaken a responsibility towards the world and towards history. It is for us to ensure that you never have to regret it.

170. At this point I must express our country's full gratitude to the two great nations, France and Tunisia, which sponsored our candidature for membership in the United Nations, as well as to Ceylon, which supported our admission in this hall.

171. After everything that has been said during the past few days by all the new African States admitted to the United Nations, I do not think it necessary to expatiate on this subject. If any judgement of France's action in Black Africa were required, you have arrived at that judgement yourselves, in recognizing our independence and sovereignty by a unanimous vote of the highest international body. What is remarkable is that this independence should have been acquired without friction or violence, in circumstances which safeguard friendship and fruitful co-operation. Behind all these radical changes, which set our relations with France on a new course, stands the illustrious figure to whose clarity and breadth of vision we pay tribute — General de Gaulle. I am sure that the United Nations, whose constant concern is the safeguarding of peace in the world, will rightly appreciate the atmosphere of peace and friendship which, thanks to the understanding shown by the Head of the French State, we have established in this part of Africa. In the light of this auspicious precedent, from which we all take satisfaction, we hope that, despite the difficulties, peaceful solutions will be found in other parts of Africa which are the scene of fighting. Once it is recognized that decolonization is the outstanding phenomenon of this century, and that it is necessary and inevitable, we see no reason why the parties involved should not endeavour to give effect to it in the best possible way.

172. In this connexion I am glad to emphasize how proud we are of the sponsorship of Tunisia. President Habib Bourguiba is a living example of firmness,

courage and refusal to compromise, tempered by wisdom and discernment. I stress the example of Tunisia, not only because of the welcome part played by that country in our admission to the United Nations, but because it seems to us, the people of Senegal, that Tunisia is a typical example of ideal decolonization. Decolonization is something with not merely a political but also an economic, social, moral and psychological aspect. The young independent States must, as has been said, avoid walking "backwards" into the future; in other words, they must be conscious of their new position as independent States, and not continue to be obsessed with colonialism. Otherwise we risk casting constant doubt on our newly acquired independence, whereas, if we wish to do constructive work in nation-building, that independence should be our starting-point.

173. The problem which will increasingly face us — and we hope to be able to revert to it during this important session — is not so much the struggle against colonialism, whose disappearance is inevitable, as the problem of how to make up for lost time and reduce the ever-growing gap between the less developed and the more developed countries.

174. To be sure, we know the value of freedom too well to fail to show, whenever necessary, our active sympathy for all who are inspired by a national ideal and who accept heavy sacrifices in order to achieve it. In this body, which is dominated by the ideal of San Francisco, we may suppose that they will always find a hearing when defending the cause of freedom and the right of peoples to self-determination. But I would not wish to pursue this subject now, and I apologize for having touched upon it in this short statement whose purpose is really to express our gratitude.

175. In that connexion I should particularly like to mention how impressed we have been by the thoughtful attention and understanding shown to us by both the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council.

176. Once more, on behalf of the delegation of Senegal, I express to the Assembly my deep gratitude for the action it has taken with regard to my country.

177. Mr. AW (Mali) (translated from French): The delegation of the Republic of Mali thanks the Assembly for its unanimous vote in favour of our country's admission to the United Nations. On behalf of the people and the Government of Mali, may I express to you our gratitude and affirm our determination to live up to our responsibilities, thus proving worthy of your trust. We are particularly grateful to the two sister nations, Ceylon and Tunisia, which did us the honour of sponsoring our candidature in the Security Council. It is hardly necessary to stress that this was a natural choice since we stand for greater solidarity between the States of Asia and Africa.

178. Those who have been following recent events in the Federation of Mali were no doubt surprised to see a third and unasked sponsor added to the two sponsors we selected, i.e., Ceylon and Tunisia. We regard this French move as an unnatural act which we wish to denounce solemnly from this rostrum on behalf of the Government and the people of Mali. We wish to denounce the petty manoeuvres which have been going on in the lobbies of the United Nations ever since the proclamation of our Republic and in which recourse was sometimes had to the dissemination of false in-

formation and the use of forged documents, in order to impose this sponsorship upon us despite the warning we conveyed to the French delegation. The purpose of these manoeuvres, which were backed by a concerted campaign in the Paris Press, was to confuse world opinion by trying to disguise the fact that the element of confidence and friendship implicit in sponsorship does not at present exist between France and our country.

179. Our first statement from this rostrum cannot be confined to an expression of the high esteem in which we hold the United Nations. Last week, sharing the emotion of all our African brothers, we were present in this hall at the uncontested admission of the new African nations, while that of our own country was being deferred. Our birth to international life, like that of the child born in travail, has not been painless. Therefore I cannot fail to tell the Assembly that, despite everything, our pride and joy are unimpaired. In order to remove or prevent all misunderstanding, the peoples of the world whose representatives are here assembled should know from the outset who we are and why there has been a slight delay in our coming before this august Assembly.

180. No one can doubt that we would have preferred to be able to speak here today on behalf of the Federation of Mali. Since the reasons for our devotion to the Federation may escape the uninformed observer, allow me to outline some of them. Strange as it might appear, you know more about the Federation of Mali than about its component States. A few years ago the glorious name of "Ghana" was assumed by Black Africa's first post-war independent Republic. Eighteen months ago, when the two syllables "Mali" were heard, another and equally glorious page of African history emerged from colonial darkness. Eight centuries ago Mandingo rulers presided over the destiny of an empire which yielded in nothing to the kingdoms of Europe and which maintained diplomatic relations with numerous countries. For eighteen months the chancelleries of the world have been weighing our generation's chances of matching in these modern times our empire-building ancestors' organizational and administrative talents. Some journalists even saw in the adoption by our young Federation of this glorious ancestral name a secret intention of embracing the conquering militarism that had marked the zenith of the Empire of Mali. In a short space of time those two syllables reminded millions of Africans of the fact that Europe had not introduced them to civilization; there could have been no finer stimulant for ridding us of the complex that underlies Africa's loss of personality.

181. Mali stands for all that and the Federation of Mali stood for even more. Within a space of eighteen months, by dint of strenuous efforts, we set up the administrative infrastructure of a modern State. We created institutions and passed laws on the basis of which we entered into international commitments. Our paramount achievement was to give a nationality to seven million men and women. We gave its flag to an army which even today is making a contribution to the struggle waged by the Congolese people to consolidate its national independence and maintain the territorial integrity of the young Republic of the Congo, which is threatened by imperialist forces.

182. That, all that, is what made us cling to the Federation of Mali. That is what makes us, the Malians of the Sudan, regard the secession of our

partner as a scandal that nothing can justify, one that reflects on all Africans who are seeking to achieve political unity. Our insistence on maintaining the Federation at all costs springs from that fact and it alone. It is inconceivable to us that yesterday Mali should have stood for African greatness and African personality and that today the destruction of everything connected with the name should be eagerly pursued. We cannot understand how the political, economic and cultural reasons justifying a federation could be true yesterday but not today. For us, certain truths exist and we still believe in them.

183. I will not disguise the fact that, in the circumstances, we are distressed by the childish attempts at justification that have been made since 20 August. We are distressed at seeing Africans boast of having been robbed of their personality by colonialism. When we see decadent radicalism and sterile polemics exalted into revolutionary doctrine, it is brought home to us how much still remains to be done before Africa achieves complete emancipation. We are, however, still optimistic because we are convinced that the day is not far off when all the African peoples will be free, including the people whose ancient African essence is being denied by the very bards of "négritude".

184. When we say "all the African peoples" we particularly have the Algerian people in mind. At the appropriate time we shall explain fully our views on this problem. We reserve the right to speak of it here as much as necessary. But since our attitude to this problem was one of the main reasons behind the plot that has led to the dissolution of the Federation of Mali we wish to say here and now that our attitude has not changed. Our attitude to the colonialist war in Algeria was, when we still belonged to the French Community, and remains now that of all Africans face to face with their conscience: today Algeria is as much of a French colony as the Sudanese Republic was yesterday, and the Algerian people has been fighting for more than five years to regain its freedom. The African States whose independence has just been recognized by France cannot but realize that the sacrifices of the Algerian fighters and the earlier sacrifices of Viet-Nameese patriots initiated the process that has led to the disintegration of the French colonial empire. The independent African States cannot deny to the Algerian people the right to independence. We have said so before and are saying it now. That is the very least that Africans can do. We think, for our part, that the war in Algeria is in itself reason enough for a break between France and the African States.

185. Much has been said about genocide in the Congo where bands, armed by the colonialists, are trying to overthrow the country's legitimate Government. For our part, we think that the French have been committing the crime of genocide for years and with impunity in Algeria where patriots are massacred for demanding self-determination. We have always thought so and we have never concealed that view.

186. What concerns us now is that efforts are being made to associate African States with that crime. We hope that no one will be misled and that no African, certainly no African State, will feel sufficient affinity with France to become an accomplice to a deed so fraught with consequences. We declare our full solidarity with the Algerian people whose martyrdom has gone on for too long and whose cause—we are convinced—will triumph, because it is a just cause.

187. I have just described the fundamental reasons which impelled the Sudanese State to defend the Federation to the very end, in other words until the issue came up before the United Nations for decision. May I now try to analyse briefly the reasons for our failure. Algeria is one of them. Nor should anyone minimize our failure, in view of its importance from the point of view of achieving African unity. I should like to remind you that the Federation came into being after a year of persistent and stubborn efforts by its leaders. The Federation of Mali was the end result of genuine nationalism—an irresistible current of nationalism which flowed from Bamako and which a desperate effort was made to dam. While it is true that Guinea first breached the French colonial structure in September 1958, it was Mali that strongly and patiently attacked the very foundations of that edifice which history had condemned.

188. The Federation of Mali thus came to be held responsible for the chain reaction of independence. That is why Mali has always been in the dock. We could entertain no illusions because history knows of no colonizers who relinquished their colonies of their own free will. The emancipation of colonies has always been the result of pressure, either brought to bear directly by the country seeking its freedom or exercised by revolutionary movements in other parts of the world. Events in the Federation of Mali were set in motion when the imperialists realized that the Mali nationalist wing rejected the neo-colonialist tenor of the Franco-Malian agreements. There were people in Mali who wanted real independence, and as soon as that was grasped the Federation was doomed.

189. France hastened to make final the dissolution of the Federation of Mali by recognizing the independence of one of the federated States. The Sudanese partner in the Federation was therefore bound to draw the logical conclusion that, since the Franco-Malian agreements had been concluded by France with the Federation of Mali and not with either of the federated States, the disappearance of the Federation of Mali *ipso facto* rendered the agreements null and void. The Sudanese Republic thus became the Republic of Mali, free of all commitments and all political ties. Our Legislative Assembly gave statutory form to this by passing on 22 September 1960, by acclamation, Act No. 60-35/AL/RS, which I shall now read out to you:

"Article 1: The Sudanese Republic shall, as from 11.25 a.m. on 22 September 1960, assume the name "Republic of Mali"; the Republic of Mali shall be an independent and sovereign State. The independent and sovereign State of the Republic of Mali shall be free of all commitments and political ties.

"Article 2: The present Act shall be promulgated under the emergency procedure."

190. I have thought it essential to give an unambiguous account of the exact position of the new Republic of Mali which has just been admitted into this great family of nations. It could indeed be said: "Mali is dead, long live Mali".

191. From the point of view of its physical characteristics, Mali today, with a population of 4.5 million, has a territory which extends from Timbuktu, gateway to the Sahara, to the edge of the forest; it is one of the richest lands held by Africans and they have every reason to be hopeful.

192. It has been said that this year 1960 is beyond doubt the year of Africa. Similarly, this half of the century will undoubtedly be Africa's. This Africa in search of itself is a continent emerging from centuries of foreign rule, conscious of the fact that it can become master of its fate only in freedom and unity. We think in this connexion that the only lasting groupings will be those with solid foundations such as political views held in common, implying identical political structures and an identical conception of the State and the economy, together with a genuine desire to put the African community above any other. No other formula, particularly if it is inspired from outside, can result in the common front which our peoples must present to the world.

193. Round-table conferences among African political leaders will not make decisions on African unity on the basis of the whims of the participants; rather will the latter have to bow to the wishes of their peoples. Federation or confederation, multi-national or the opposite, are all of them discredited terms in the African vocabulary and merely provide topics for theorizing. If the future groupings are not based on the criteria defined above, neo-colonialism will always be in a position to find some puppets to thwart our efforts. Over and above the groupings that might be formed in a given geographical area, there should also be solidarity among all developing countries, among all anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist peoples, in the spirit of Bandung, to defend their independence against those who are dreaming, not of the Balkanization, but of the systematic "Katanganization" of the African countries. All the countries threatened by the same danger must form a united front. We must avoid falling into the trap of setting up—on long-distance instructions—groups which would correspond to the areas where the former metropolitan countries held sway. In the face of the threat to the very existence of our young States presented by the coalition of international interests, the possession of a foreign language in common is of less importance than our common desire for complete emancipation.

194. There exists another question which obtrudes somewhat starkly, I would say, on the young States which are entering the international arena. We are being asked almost point-blank: "Are you turning to the East or to the West?" We shall try to explain to you the viewpoint of the Government of the Republic of Mali. These are problems to which we have been giving much thought. What are we being asked to choose between? In our view it is not pointless to ask this simple question before speaking of blocs, the cold war, freedom or totalitarianism. If the choice is between two ideologies—communism and capitalism—our reply is that neither of them, in their classical interpretation, suits us today.

195. We are a classless society from which we have just eradicated tribalism. There is no owner class, and until now the only exploiters of our entire community have been the colonialists. Nor have we any religious sectarianism, since the Moslems and animists who are the overwhelming majority get on very well with the Christian minority.

196. Such, briefly described, is our society. I must add that, despite eighty years of colonial domination, our people has preserved the collective spirit which has been called primitive but which we regard as the cornerstone of true African humanism based on jus-



tice and solidarity. Loyalty to these values and their adaptation to the needs of the modern world constitute the background to our ideology. It is still our goal to speed up our development, for which the total elimination of foreign domination and exploitation is, of course, a *sine qua non*. The state of direct subjection, resulting from colonization, has now come to an end, but we fully realize the threat of indirect subjection which outside assistance with political conditions might entail. We are confident, however, and think that we can live up to our responsibilities. Our concern for the solidarity of peoples and for world peace forbids us to turn our back on any nation or group of nations, but we wish to state unequivocally that absolute respect for our national sovereignty will be pre-condition for our alliances.

197. Although we do not want to engage here in polemics about positive neutralism, we are compelled to note that the choice which is so often mentioned amounts to deliberately ignoring one half of the world; we are wondering whether such a choice is indeed desirable for the new States. What is the situation? The world is split into two; some nations are already in existence and others are being born. If all the new nations were to side with one or the other of the two blocs, the division of the world would perforce be perpetuated, whereas if they chose to act as a bridge there would be a greater chance of all the nations drawing closer together. Some European heads of State still dream of a third force in Europe, standing, not, we note, between East and West, but between the Soviet Union and the United States. That would entail splitting the Western bloc into two. It is among the champions of this doctrine of the third force that we find those who remind the Russians that they have skins of a different colour than the Chinese; there again we note a desire to effect a split in the East.

198. We think that those views are academic. If it is true that the blocs have been formed on the basis of irreconcilable ideologies, a third force, which would not be aggressive in any way but, rather, a steady influence and a force for peace, could be found in the united front of the young nations and the underdeveloped countries which need peace in order to build up real economic independence. We are staunch champions of peaceful coexistence.

199. Such are the views of the Government of the Republic of Mali on the great problems with which the world is confronted. We also wish to state briefly our views on systems of government. We are not impressed by attempts to represent as totalitarian the new African States which are anxious to maintain internal order and security in order to engage in national construction. We want a strong democracy, a true democracy which relies on the people and which allows a young State to cope with all its responsibilities.

200. There are those who think that the young and developing nations have no part to play in this Assembly. Racialism and domination of big countries over small is what we see in this way of thinking, which cannot but endanger world peace and international solidarity. We believe that all the peoples are entitled to respect, since it is only on the battlefield that might is right. If it were agreed that possession of great military strength was a prerequisite for being heard in international debate, many who now play prominent parts would be relegated to the extras. All of us must realize this and remain faithful to the spirit of the

United Nations Charter. Only a free Africa, mistress of her fate, can make an effective contribution to world peace. The Mali operation or the Congo operation, and perhaps others, are passing phenomena and the imperialists are mistaken if they rely on them.

201. There is one more point which we want to recall: it is that the strategists of imperialism have always disregarded national feelings in the colonial and dependent countries. That is a very important point and I cannot conclude without reference to it. Those who fail to recognize this colonial phenomenon mistakenly believe that we can barter our national dignity for the promise of illusory material assistance. The 4.5 million Malians whom I have the honour to represent here want to be free, whatever the cost, and their decision is final. Although we are fully aware of the interdependence of peoples and the imperative need for universal solidarity, we are none the less determined to be ourselves first and foremost. Our people would rather be poor than lose their dignity. We have known other privations during the eighty years of colonialism and we wish to state here that the tide of independence rolling over Africa is irresistible. World peace would be in jeopardy if the former metropolitan countries which once lorded over Africa were to retain the secret hope of pre-empting our young States by hatching plots against their sovereignty. Humanity's great hope lies in the disappearance of all complexes between big and small on this rostrum so that our good will should be commensurate with our common ambition to build a world of peace and freedom.

202. Such is the message of the young Republic of Mali to the Assembly. It is a message of a people ripened in trials, a people which is organized, disciplined and fully conscious of its responsibilities, a people which is determined to play its part in building a world community founded on justice and peace.

203. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of France, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

204. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): I have not come to the rostrum in order to reply to the statements, allegations and even attacks made by the previous speaker. Perhaps, when he has become more accustomed to this Assembly, he will realize that the tone he used and the words he uttered with regard both to my country and to Senegal were out of keeping with the festive atmosphere which has reigned in the Assembly this afternoon.

205. What has impelled me to speak is my desire that there should be no misunderstanding about the reasons for which my country sponsored the admission of the Republic of Mali, and the Republic of Senegal, in the Security Council and this Assembly. In my capacity as Head of the French delegation I offered to sponsor the admission of Mali, not for the purpose of embarrassing the young Republic or of offending its delegation; I had no intention of forcing them to accept sponsorship by myself or my country, since the matter is one of indifference to us. I did so at the formal request of the Government of Mali. The representative of Mali will possibly deny this, and say that his instructions are different from mine. I have already had a discussion with him about it. But I have, I am bound to say, received confirmation that such was the wish of his Government. I will even confess that,



in order to be absolutely sure, I communicated with Bamako this very evening with a view to making certain that there had been no change in the attitude of the Government of Mali. I was assured that the decision of President Modibo Keita remained unaltered. Accordingly, this morning in the Security Council and this afternoon in the General Assembly, France sponsored the admission of the Republic of Mali, just as some months ago, in the Security Council, it sponsored the admission of the Federation of Mali.

206. In conclusion, I would simply say to our Malian colleague that, despite all he has said in the past and may in the future say on the subject of France, my country will never regret having sponsored his country's admission to the United Nations, since in doing so France has remained faithful to its ideals and to its principles.

*The meeting rose at 7.5 p.m.*