

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

SIXTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1078th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 14 December 1961,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 23: Question of Oman Report of the Special Political Committee.	1029
Agenda item 92: Admission of new Members to the United Nations (<u>concluded</u>).	1029

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Question of Oman

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/5010)**

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

1. Mr. FUKUSHIMA (Japan), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: The General Assembly included the question of Oman in the agenda of its fifteenth session [909th plenary meeting] following the request of ten Arab delegations,^{1/} and the matter was considered by the Special Political Committee at four meetings last April, at the resumed session [225th to 229th meetings]. The Assembly at that time decided [995th plenary meeting] that further consideration of the item should be deferred until the present, sixteenth, session of the General Assembly.

2. Consequently, the Special Political Committee to which the item was again allocated [1018th plenary meeting] has devoted eight meetings [229th to 306th meetings] to its consideration. Twenty-eight speakers were heard during the course of the Committee's general debate and some twenty more spoke on the draft resolution that was submitted to the Committee's consideration on 22 November by the delegations of Afghanistan, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

3. At the 30th meeting of the Committee on 4 December, the draft resolution was voted upon in parts, and was adopted as a whole by a roll-call vote of 38 to 21, with 29 abstentions. The text is to be found in document A/5010, the report of the Special Political Committee on its consideration of the question of Oman, which I now have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration.

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If no member of the Assembly wishes to take the floor for an explanation of vote, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution which appears in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/5010, para. 10].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Iran, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia.

Against: Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Iceland.

Abstaining: Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Ceylon, China, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti.

The result of the vote was 33 in favour and 21 against, with 37 abstentions.

The draft resolution was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

AGENDA ITEM 92

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (concluded)*

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly has before it a report by the Security Council on the admission of Tanganyika to the United Nations [A/5033]. In this connexion, the General Assembly has to take a decision on the draft resolution [A/L.377 and Add.1] submitted by thirty-one delegations and recommending the admission of Tanganyika as a Member of the United Nations. Since there has been no request for a vote on this draft resolution, may I assume that the General Assembly approves of the admission of Tanganyika as a Member of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 39, document A/4521.

*Resumed from the 1045th meeting.

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In view of this demonstration of approval and having heard no objection, I hereby declare Tanganyika to be a Member of the United Nations.

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

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I am glad to have this opportunity to welcome Tanganyika to our Assembly. This great African country will certainly not fail to support the work of our Organization both by its devotion to the principles of the Charter and by its ability and wisdom, and in this way to promote fruitful and peaceful co-operation among all nations and the strengthening of our Organization on behalf of peace, friendship and brotherhood. I should like to convey my warmest congratulations to the people and Government of Tanganyika on the accession of that country to full sovereignty and on its enthusiastic adherence to the Charter and its support for the United Nations.

8. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I have the honour on this occasion to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the adoption by the Assembly of the very welcome resolution deciding to admit Tanganyika as a Member of the United Nations. It is with a feeling of happiness, of fulfilment, that I express such satisfaction.

9. For forty-two years the United Kingdom has been responsible for the administration of the Territory of Tanganyika and, on 9 December, when Tanganyika attained independence, we saw the culmination of the success of an association which has been throughout one of constructive co-operation. Indeed the distinctive characteristic of all the preparations for self-government undertaken in the past four decades in Tanganyika has been the spirit of friendship and understanding, coupled with a firm determination to press on with increasing speed towards the accepted goal which has marked every stage along the way.

10. We rejoice as one country after another comes forward to join this world community of nations. We in the United Kingdom are glad—yes, and proud—that the people of Tanganyika have so fully taken advantage of every opportunity in the process of preparation for independence. Yet, it is the future that matters; and I am confident that every country here represented will wish this new State every success and prosperity.

11. It is a matter of special satisfaction to my Government that an agreement has been signed with the Government of Tanganyika ensuring for the future the continuation, in as great a measure as the Government of Tanganyika itself may desire, of administrative and specialist help which British administrators have given to the country during the past forty-two years.

12. It is right that the United Nations should take special satisfaction in Tanganyika's attainment to independence, for Tanganyika is the largest Trust Territory to reach independence. Prime Minister Nyerere has himself expressed pleasure at the valuable part which the United Nations in general and the Trusteeship Council in particular have played in assisting and accelerating his nation's advance towards its final destiny.

13. We in the Commonwealth also especially rejoice to see yet another important addition to our number

of free and independent nations, and we take particular satisfaction from the fact that the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, who has played such an outstanding part in the leadership of his country in its march to independence, is himself an advocate of the strength and the purpose of the Commonwealth. In this regard I should like to quote his own words:

"Stronger than treaties, less selfish than alliances, less restrictive than any other association, the Commonwealth seems to my colleagues and myself to offer the best hope in the world today of lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world."

He went on to say:

"More than any other group of nations in the world today, the Commonwealth binds together in friendship and in like-mindedness an astonishing variety of nations, great and small, without distinction between them and without discrimination among them."

14. Those Commonwealth purposes are also the purposes of the United Nations, and we in the British delegation are fully confident that this new country will play a distinguished part in the world councils which today it is about to enter. I welcome most warmly this opportunity of wishing its people well on this very happy occasion. I wish them well on behalf of the United Kingdom, and I believe that every word I say is echoed in every corner of this Hall.

15. Mr. Henry Ford COOPER (Liberia): It gives my delegation great pleasure to welcome here in the General Assembly the new State of Tanganyika.

16. Tanganyika joins our ranks under the able leadership of its Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere. Much has been said about this great African leader, especially his racial policies by which men are treated, respected and honoured not on account of the colour of their skin or their religion but according to their ability, their conduct and their regard for their fellow-men.

17. With such a racial policy all minorities are safeguarded and have no fear of oppression or exploitation. Such a policy as that which has been adopted and is being carried out by the Tanganyikan Government should be an example as well as a guide to its neighbours in the south, where in one case a white minority seeks to impose its will on a black majority under the guise of peace, orderly government and the sole interest and welfare of the inhabitants. This is known as the multiracial society, a society which on account of its duplicity has neither the support nor the sympathy of the Africans; for the only thing that is multiracial in this plan is that circumstances have forced people of many races and religions to live together in a particular territory.

18. The racial policy of Tanganyika is also in direct contradiction to the policy of apartheid, which is being rejected by all honest and decent people and by all progressive and enlightened nations. For apartheid is not only the exploitation but also the demoralization of a people. It tends to create or maintain an inferior and a superior race. It matters not, therefore, how much progress may be made or how enlightened a people may become, because on account of the nature of their environment, which has much to do with the colour or pigmentation of their skin, they must always be considered an inferior people.

19. We know the vicissitudes, the trials and the hardships of the Tanganyikan people who in their long history have lived through and survived under one of the hardest colonial rules. No people who has survived the evil of such a colonial régime can have any fear for their freedom and independence. Despite the hazards and difficulties that surround liberty, no foreign rule, however benevolent, can be substituted for the rule of a people by the people, even if such a government leans towards autocracy and dictatorship.

20. Man was created free and independent, and, therefore, he develops to maturity and realizes best his goals under freedom. Constant tutelage, however mild, has a tendency to stultify the physical and mental growth of a people, and if not resisted, eventually they wither away into oblivion. Therefore, no man, no people willingly chooses slavery or bondage in luxury and plenty rather than freedom and independence in poverty and want.

21. We welcome the 104th Member State of the United Nations: Tanganyika. This State now joins the ranks of those nations that seek freedom and independence for all regardless of race or religion—one of the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

22. In conclusion, we wish to express our appreciation to the United Kingdom which has done so much towards assisting this territory to obtain its independence in a peaceful and orderly manner.

23. Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): On this happy occasion, permit me on behalf of the delegations of the Federation of Malaya and Nigeria to join other delegations which have congratulated the independent country of Tanganyika on its admission to membership in the United Nations. It gives my Government and people particular joy to be able once more to welcome to this august Assembly yet another independent African State, which has successfully emerged from colonial domination to independence in a most peaceful and smooth manner. The United Kingdom Government, which has played the role of midwife, also deserves some felicitations.

24. Tanganyika represents a happy system of many races which find themselves in a single community in Africa on account of historic and economic factors and which can nevertheless live together as brothers on the basis of equality and mutual respect. In this society each element finds its natural place, and each contributes its share to the progress and well-being of the country.

25. The Africans, Asians and Europeans in Tanganyika are indeed furnishing the modern world with a happy example of how the many thorny problems involved in creating a multiracial society can be resolved, especially on the African continent. In this respect, Tanganyika represents a torch not only in Africa but indeed in the whole world. And we are proud that such an infusion of progressive democratic ideas into the world should emanate from Africa. We hope that the symbolic torch of freedom which has been lighted on Mount Kilimanjaro will be an inspiration to our African brothers who are still in bondage in the neighbouring territories of Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Angola and South Africa.

26. I wish to seize this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanga-

nyika, whose level-headed leadership and wise and responsible statesmanship has brought about this happy transition of Tanganyika to independence and full sovereignty. The name of Julius Nyerere will certainly go down in the annals of history as one of the great African nationalists and leaders who, by their unswerving devotion and dedication to the freedom and progress of their country and of the continent of Africa, have brought glory to their peoples. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that I welcome Tanganyika's emergence as an independent State and also to membership in the United Nations, to join forces with its brother independent African and Asian countries in the final march toward the freedom of the whole of Africa and Asia from colonialism.

27. My country is very happy, indeed, along with other Commonwealth and African countries to sponsor the application of Tanganyika to membership of the United Nations, and we are exceedingly proud of Tanganyika's peaceful and harmonious evolution to independence. As a Member of this world Organization, Tanganyika will be able to contribute in no small measure to the solution of the highly complex and intricate problems which are plaguing the United Nations and humanity as a whole today. It will be able to infuse new spirit and new ideas into this Organization.

28. In conclusion, I wish to congratulate Tanganyika once more on its successful and happy emergence as an independent sovereign State, and to extend the hand of brotherhood to it on behalf of the Federation of Malaya and my country, Nigeria, and to assure it of the fullest co-operation and friendship in all fields of our relationship.

29. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): At a time when the Assembly is in the midst of a discussion of so many grave and seemingly intractable problems, it gives my delegation—which also has the honour of speaking on behalf of the delegations of Australia and Canada—particular pleasure to participate in a moment of history, dear to the people of Tanganyika, and which is at the same time a source of special pride for all the countries of the Commonwealth and one of deep satisfaction for the United Nations. We feel that we are doing much more than simply welcoming the 104th Member of the United Nations.

30. Tanganyika has been a Trust Territory of the United Nations, and so its accession to independence last week represented not only a notable achievement for the people of Tanganyika, but also a further vindication of the International Trusteeship System. The presence in this hall of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius Nyerere, who is no stranger here, brings to mind this previous link with the United Nations. Thanks to his efforts, to the encouragement which he received here and also to the goodwill, political awareness and enlightenment displayed by the Administering Authority, Tanganyika has achieved its independence in a harmonious and dignified manner.

31. I am sure that Mr. Nyerere is most anxious for his country to make a contribution to the United Nations: I am certain that his presence here today is intended as tangible evidence that Tanganyika is prepared to take seriously the responsibilities of United Nations membership at a highly critical period in the life of this Organization. And those of us who have had the good fortune to discuss some problems of the

world with Tanganyikan leaders, in Tanganyika, in our own countries or here at the United Nations are convinced that the new wisdom of old Africa will enlarge our sometimes all too limited understanding.

32. It is thus with very great pleasure that, on behalf of the Governments and peoples of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the people and to the leaders of Tanganyika. They will have a unique role to play and it will not be limited to the history of East Africa or even to the great continent of Africa.

33. Australia, Canada and New Zealand are naturally gratified that Tanganyika has also decided to become a member of the Commonwealth, and we look forward to a close and friendly co-operation in that important sphere, as well as in the work of the United Nations. We, like other Commonwealth countries, are in fact already co-operating with Tanganyika in the technical assistance field.

34. The New Zealand delegation is thus very happy to have had this opportunity of joining other members of the Commonwealth in co-sponsoring a draft resolution on Tanganyika's admission to the United Nations. I should like once again, on behalf of New Zealand and its fellow-members of the Commonwealth, Australia and Canada, to extend a warm welcome to the very distinguished delegation from Tanganyika and to express through them, to the people of their country, our warmest good wishes for their well-being and prosperity.

35. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I wish to take this opportunity to extend the warmest congratulations of the Ethiopian Government and people to the leaders and people of Tanganyika on the occasion of their country's accession to independence and today's admission to the United Nations.

36. We welcome Tanganyika here as, one of our neighbours, as it joins our ranks in this august international body. Tanganyika is a great country, with a long and historical tradition, whose presence and participation in the United Nations we have greatly looked forward to. Today we have the great pleasure of welcoming Tanganyika here with a sense of cordial friendship and sincere amity.

37. We sincerely hope to see here, within the shortest possible time, representatives of all the other territories in the eastern, central, southern and southwestern parts of Africa, and indeed in all parts of the world which have advanced and are advancing towards independence.

38. Before I conclude, I wish to congratulate warmly Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, for his wisdom, realism and remarkable vision of African unity, a vision I am certain is shared by all those who are dedicated to the well-being and progress of our continent.

Mr. Schurmann (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

39. Mr. OKAZAKI (Japan): It is a great relief and a happy occasion to meet together in peace and harmony, as we are doing today, for the purpose of welcoming a new Member into our midst. Tanganyika is the newest flower to bloom on the former colonial desert of Africa, the latest achievement of the United Nations Trusteeship System. To this great system, which has nurtured so many new nations in their growth towards independence, we must pay tribute.

40. In achieving its independence, Tanganyika has elected to become the newest Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is more than appropriate that we should pause at this point and pay tribute to the enlightened policies of the United Kingdom Government which, in recent years, has led so many new nations to freedom and membership in the United Nations. But the greatest tribute of all that we must pay today, and a deeply sincere one it must be, is to the people of Tanganyika and to those who have led them steadily onward, through all trials and tribulations, to their freedom, their independence and their sovereign nationhood: to their distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, and to his associates in the new Government of Tanganyika.

41. Shortly after midnight last Saturday, 9 December, early in the morning, while the snowflakes swirled about, a symbolic torch was lighted at the top of the famed Mount Kilimanjaro, aspiring 20,000 feet into the skies, the highest summit on the African continent. Forecasting this historic event in 1959, Prime Minister Nyerere is reported to have said:

"We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro to shine beyond our borders, giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate, and dignity where before there was only humiliation."

42. The candle lighted atop Mount Kilimanjaro five days ago is indeed now shining beyond the borders of Tanganyika. It is bringing light into these halls where before there was much darkness; it is bringing faith among us where before there were grave doubts. And, if we have known sadness in our time, how much the greater then is our joy today as we welcome this noble nation to membership in our Organization.

43. On behalf of the Japanese people and the Japanese Government, which recognized the sovereign State of Tanganyika on the day of its independence, we of the Japanese delegation offer our warmest congratulations to Prime Minister Nyerere and to the people of Tanganyika. We welcome them with open arms into the United Nations; we look forward with keen anticipation to working with the delegation of Tanganyika in the closest collaboration. May the light kindled in Tanganyika reflect itself in our renewed endeavours to bring peace, justice and prosperity to all the world.

44. Mr. FARAH ALI OMAR (Somalia): The Somali delegation is honoured to be a co-sponsor of the draft resolution (A/L.377) which calls for the admission of independent Tanganyika into this august Assembly. I have particular pleasure in welcoming to the Organization, on behalf of the Somali people and the Government of the Somali Republic, this new independent sister African State of Tanganyika. It is heartwarming for our Republic to witness and to be present at the admission of another East African State whose political development is demonstrated by the status it has reached.

45. The new independent State of Tanganyika has reached a state of nationhood through peaceful means and co-operation between the people and the British Government. That evolution indicates that to achieve independence it is not always essential to spill blood. We have before us today a clear and patent example that harmony could and should be the means towards independence and the cementing of existing friendships.

46. Under the leadership of Mr. Julius Nyerere, its Prime Minister, Tanganyika is the first country in Africa whose society is based on multiracialism. In this new State we see Africans, Asians and Europeans all working side by side in harmony towards the common aim which is the betterment of their homeland, Tanganyika. It is our ardent hope that other African countries, not yet independent, will achieve their independence in similarly peaceful ways.

47. The continent of Africa has been emerging from colonialism to nationhood. However, the eastern part of this continent to which we belong has been slower than the west and the north in achieving its independence. The independence of Tanganyika is a proud achievement of the people of that country. We are hopeful that its independence will be the forerunner of others and that the other countries in East and Central Africa, namely, Uganda, Kenya, Ruanda-Urundi, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias will soon also take their places in the community of independent nations.

48. An independent Tanganyika will not only contribute to political stability in that part of the continent, but it will be a big step towards the economic development of East Africa as a whole, and thus determine the beginning of the removal of economic and political barriers.

49. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): The inexorable process of the liberation of colonial peoples has once again given us an opportunity at this session to rejoice at the admission of an African country to the United Nations. It is a pleasure for me to be able, on behalf of the people and Government of Yugoslavia, to offer our sincerest congratulations to the people and Government of Tanganyika on the success which has crowned their efforts to achieve freedom and independence.

50. The accession of Tanganyika to independence is an event of the greatest importance, a turning point in the development of eastern and central Africa, which is the part of the African continent where the struggle for freedom and independence is meeting with stubborn resistance from the colonialist forces.

51. Thanks to the efforts of the valorous people of Tanganyika and of its leader, Prime Minister Nyerere, a breach has been made in eastern and central Africa through which the "wind of change" will blow with even greater force to eliminate the obstacles placed in the path of the liberation of the other peoples of that part of Africa.

52. The success of the people of Tanganyika, who have been the first in that part of Africa to free themselves from colonial dependence, is particularly significant because it will inspire and stimulate neighbouring peoples which, in their struggle for freedom and independence, are constantly encountering stronger resistance on the part of the colonial powers and other difficulties of all kinds.

53. The people and Government of Yugoslavia have followed the progress of the people of Tanganyika towards independence with profound sympathy, and have lent them their support at all times, particularly in the various organs of the United Nations where we have had the opportunity and the honour of collaborating for a number of years with Mr. Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

54. The people and Government of Tanganyika may rest assured that, in any efforts they may undertake to solve the various problems arising from their colonial past, they will always meet with the full understanding and the sincere and friendly support of the Government and people of Yugoslavia, whose feelings of friendship were clearly expressed on the occasion of the recent visit of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika to Yugoslavia.

Mr. Mongi Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

55. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation, like the delegations of the other socialist countries, is heartily glad to welcome to the United Nations the representatives of a new independent African State—Tanganyika.

56. The formation of a new State in Africa confirms the fact that the changes occurring in that continent are truly historic. Like shagreen leather, the territory over which the colonial Powers hold sway is shrinking, and the day draws near when all the peoples now oppressed will breathe freely and fully, when they will all build up really independent and sovereign states.

57. The Soviet people are sincerely gratified by the successes of the liberation movement in Africa, and are very happy to note the increasing role being played by African countries in solving important international problems connected with ensuring peace and happiness for all the peoples of our planet. We know that the peoples of the young African States, including the people of Tanganyika, face many complex and difficult problems, many difficulties inherited by them from their colonial past.

58. The Soviet delegation would like to assure the peoples of the African countries that, in their just struggle for the complete emancipation of the African continent from colonial oppression and in defence of the sacred rights of national sovereignty, they have in the Soviet Union a faithful and disinterested friend and ally.

59. True to its unalterable policy of peace and friendship between peoples, my country is always prepared to give every kind of help to the African peoples in building up really sovereign, national States.

60. While it congratulates the people and Government of Tanganyika on having won their long-awaited independence, the Soviet delegation cannot refrain from pointing out that it would be wrong to pass over in silence the following two facts.

61. In the first place, one cannot overlook the lessons of recent times and the events which have been a feature of the whole history of the peoples of Africa. These events show that independence is not given to the African peoples easily. It has to be fought for vigorously and tenaciously. The peoples of Africa have to struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, even after attaining political independence. It is common knowledge that the colonial Powers make desperate efforts to maintain the colonial exploitation of the population of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms—for instance, by exercising indirect control over countries that are formally independent.

62. The imperialists retreat and manoeuvre, realizing that they cannot maintain the colonial system in

its former guise, but while retreating under the pressure of the national-liberation movement and while agreeing to grant independence, they try at the same time to maintain old economic ties, to retain in the hands of imperialist monopolies financial and economic links between the home countries and the colonies.

63. While granting the colonies political independence, the imperialists strive at the same time to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the liberated countries and to prevent the idea of the self-determination of peoples.

64. The achievement of political independence is undoubtedly a real success for the national liberation campaign of the colonial peoples. When States gain political independence it gives them an opportunity of forming economic and political links not only with their own metropolitan countries but also with many other States which can help them in their economic and political development.

65. In acquiring their political independence, the former colonies also gain the opportunity of utilizing the forum of international organizations for a further fight to consolidate their own sovereignty. At the same time the uncontrolled domination of imperialist monopolies in the former colonial countries is weakened, and the prerequisites are created for the speedier growth of industry, for carrying out agrarian reforms, and for expanding the domestic market, i.e., for independent economic development.

66. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation would like to say that it welcomes the fact that the Government of Tanganyika and its people are beginning their work by implementing economic development plans, training their administrative staffs, abolishing illiteracy among the population of the country, and creating facilities for education, more especially, for higher education.

67. The difficulties confronting Tanganyika are enormous, but we have no doubt that its people will succeed in overcoming them and in building up a really sovereign and national State.

68. Secondly, the Soviet delegation would like to mention the fact that the granting of independence to Tanganyika does not mean the end yet of the struggles of the peoples of Africa, and, in particular, of the peoples of East Africa, for freedom and independence. The peoples of Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar are still under the colonial yoke and a stubborn struggle for their emancipation lies ahead. In that struggle too, the peoples of the African continent must march in the leading ranks.

69. During the discussion of the colonial question at this session one of the African representatives rightly exclaimed "Africa cannot be half free".

70. The Soviet Delegation welcomes the recent declaration of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius Nyerere, when he said in his broadcast address on 10 December 1961:

"In our joy let us not forget one thing, namely, that certain of our brothers in Africa have not yet achieved the freedom which we are celebrating today. Our own freedom cannot be secure, however much we may labour, until all of Africa has become free and united. In setting up our own country we

must do all we can in order to help our brothers who are fighting to achieve, as you have, an independent position so that all of us together may march forward towards even greater unity."

71. May I, in conclusion, wish the people of Tanganyika and their Government success in building up an independent State, and express the hope that, as a Member of the United Nations, Tanganyika will play an outstanding role in the cause of strengthening peace in Africa and all over the world and in consolidating friendship between the African and other peoples.

72. Mr. Cisse (Senegal) (translated from French): Senegal and its friends of the African and Malagasy Union cannot refrain from expressing the pride they take today in sponsoring, together with many other Member States, the admission of Tanganyika to the United Nations. One, and not the least, of the links which bind us to Tanganyika is worthy of attention; that is the fact that both Senegal and Tanganyika, like a number of other African States, have decided, in acceding to their independence, to eliminate all bitterness about anything which might to a greater or lesser extent constitute a factor of division and to look resolutely forward in order, in a spirit of friendship and of mutual respect for sovereignty, for the future together with the former colonial Power.

73. It would therefore be a serious mistake if the event which we are witnessing today in the admission of Tanganyika to the United Nations were to be regarded as merely another African State swelling the ranks of the others. Much more is involved. There is the fact that this independence was acquired in peace, harmony and friendship between the United Kingdom and Tanganyika. The Europeans in Tanganyika are by no means the least enthusiastic supporters of the policy pursued by Mr. Nyerere, the Prime Minister of that country. In Tanganyika, Europeans, Africans, Arabs and Asians live together in peace and friendship. We should pay a well-deserved tribute to the wisdom of Her Britannic Majesty's Government for the excellent results achieved in Tanganyika and for its genuine collaboration with the United Nations throughout the period during which it was responsible for the administration of that territory.

74. This is an example upon which the Members of our Organization would do well to reflect. Senegal would like to express the hope that the example of Tanganyika—which has acceded to independence in peace, but is surrounded by States where fires glow red, where blood flows, where hatred is rampant and where other explosions apt to imperil the peace of the world are being prepared—will be pondered and that the administering Powers in that part of Africa whose policies are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, apparently signed by them in a spirit of mockery, will ultimately be guided by good sense and will follow the lead of the United Kingdom. A tribute should also be paid to the Tanganyikan people for its determination to achieve independence and to take its place at the meeting ground of a reborn Africa.

75. What we know of the policy and achievements of Mr. Nyerere's Government gives us grounds to assume that among us, the African States, Tanganyika will be one of the staunchest upholders of the dignity of the black man, of African solidarity and of international co-operation.

76. At the very hour when Tanganyika was acceding to independence, torches were lit on the summit of Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa. This is indeed symbolic. Freedom is at last glowing in the hearts of the Tanganyikans as we are sure it will soon glow for ever in the hearts of all Africans.

77. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan): In extending my delegation's felicitations to the delegation of Tanganyika on the auspicious admission of their country to the family of nations, I think I could do no better than refer to what our Chief of State said on this matter. Addressing this Assembly on 13 October this year, President Abboud said:

"By the time the present session rises, yet another youthful nation of Africa will have joined our ranks. We rejoice in that prospect. The Government and people of Tanganyika may be assured that a warm welcome awaits them." [1036th plenary meeting, para. 6.]

It is my special pleasure today to express anew the warmth of this welcome. Our best wishes go out to the people of Tanganyika for happiness and prosperity in the independent and sovereign road on which they have deservedly embarked.

78. We are firmly of the conviction that under the guidance of leaders of Prime Minister Nyerere's wisdom, dedication and statesmanship, Tanganyika can achieve much for its people and can contribute in a rich measure to the promotion of the principles and ideals of this Organization.

79. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): It is the firm conviction of the delegation, the Government, and the people of Israel that in celebrating the accession of the people of Tanganyika to their independence and admission into the United Nations we ought also to congratulate ourselves, the world Organization to which we all belong. Being convinced that this cannot be called a free world while there remains a single people that has not come into its elementary right to freedom and independence, we believe that the world becomes freer with each people that gains its independence.

80. We who belong to this Organization want it to be a world Organization. We all know that it will not be complete until all peoples of the world are free, independent, and Members of it. Therefore, it is with joy that we, the people and Government of Israel, welcome the people and Government of Tanganyika, and wish them well on their great day of freedom and independence. We know that each people that becomes independent not only frees itself but is, in addition, a source of joy and encouragement to other peoples who are not as yet independent. Therein lies an additional importance in the independence of each people.

81. We have been extremely interested to read what the great leader of Tanganyika, its Prime Minister Julius Nyerere, said on the very day of their independence, in the midst of all the great joy that was present. He called upon his people to know that the declaration of independence, the attaining of independence, was not in itself the goal: that it was merely the vehicle—the only vehicle—by which the people of Tanganyika could achieve their real goal of development, equality among themselves, high standards of living, high standards of education, high standards of health, a society such as they wished to build for themselves; it was the vehicle and only through it could the goal be achieved.

82. Again I should like, on behalf of the people and Government of Israel, to extend to the people and Government of Tanganyika a hearty welcome. So far as we, the people of Israel are concerned, we consider it a privilege, a good fortune, to have already good relationships with that country and its people; and I am convinced that these will grow.

83. Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): I have the honour to speak on this occasion on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, and also on behalf of the Government and people of Nepal. We have the honour to offer our most sincere felicitations to Tanganyika on its admission to membership of the United Nations. We, who face Tanganyika across the Arabian Sea, and who have many ties with that land and its peoples, have watched with keen interest and growing satisfaction the progress of Tanganyika towards full sovereignty and statehood, under the guidance of its distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, who is already recognized as an able administrator and a constructive statesman.

84. Pakistan has a sizable group of its nationals in Tanganyika. We desire to assure the distinguished Prime Minister of Tanganyika of their fullest co-operation and loyalty in promoting the prosperity of Tanganyika and the welfare of its people.

85. We regard the admission of Tanganyika to this great fellowship as a very good augury towards the strengthening of international peace. We recall that the capital of Tanganyika is Dar es Salaam, an Arabic word meaning "The abode of peace". We hope fervently that Tanganyika has a valuable and significant contribution to make to the cause of international peace.

86. On an occasion like this I would venture to bespeak the President's indulgence and that of my fellow delegates to call to mind a cause of a more personal nature for our rejoicing at the admission of Tanganyika to the membership of the United Nations. That is that the Mayor of Dar es Salaam, the first Tanganyikan to be elected to that high office, His Honour Shaikh Amri Abedi, spent four years with us at Rabwah in West Pakistan, and won all our hearts through his courtesy, gentleness and charm. Sheikh Amri Abedi is also a member of the Tanganyikan Parliament. He is as much loved in Pakistan as he is in Tanganyika, and we consider that he belongs as much to Pakistan as he does to Tanganyika.

87. In conclusion, we desire to convey to the Government and people of Tanganyika, through their distinguished Prime Minister, the assurances of our goodwill and affection, and our readiness and eagerness to co-operate with them in all that might tend to foster their welfare and prosperity, and to strengthen international peace and security.

88. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Five days ago, a Tunisian delegation had the honour of representing my Government and my country at the festivities which opened the doorways of an independent sovereign life for Tanganyika. It is a privilege for me today to be able to tell Mr. Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, how this visit to Dar es Salaam a few days ago filled us with joy. It was not merely a response to a courteous invitation; it was a response to our own conscience, and it was, above all, the culmination of several visits of Tunisian delegations to Dar es Salaam, which convinced us that this country, its leaders and its people

were taking their first steps in freedom under the best possible conditions and were beginning, after excellent preparation, what we, since our independence, have regarded as the supreme struggle: not merely throwing off the bonds of foreign domination, but the domestic struggle to raise the standard of living and to combat a much more dangerous servitude, that of ignorance, a servitude in which any country lives when it is in fear of hunger and disease.

89. I have the signal honour of speaking today on behalf also of the delegation and Government of the Republic of Iraq, and I wish to express our joy and our pride in the admission of Tanganyika to the United Nations, for Tanganyika is one of the countries which has been able to attain independence in the best possible conditions. We should also like to express to the Government of the United Kingdom our satisfaction at the manner in which it fulfilled the responsibilities imposed by history on those who, having passed through a colonial stage, know how, when the time comes, to turn the page graciously, honestly and without ulterior motives.

90. We are sure that, so far as the United Nations is concerned, the admission of Tanganyika, which has attained independence by the process we know and is led by statesmen of the calibre of its Prime Minister, does not merely mean one more Member State, but represents a valuable addition and a constructive contribution to the Organization's work.

91. Once again, on behalf of Iraq and Tunisia, we welcome Tanganyika.

92. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): On behalf of the Government of India and of the Government of Afghanistan, which has done me the honour of asking me to speak on its behalf, it gives me much pleasure to welcome Tanganyika to the fraternity of independent nations.

93. This Assembly has today admitted into its ranks the newly independent State of Tanganyika, the second Trust Territory from the eastern seaboard of Africa to attain independence and to accede to membership in the United Nations. It should be a matter of personal gratification to the United Nations that in East Africa the movement toward independence has been led by Trust Territories, with the active support and under the supervision of the United Nations.

94. It is a tribute to both the patience and wisdom of Tanganyika, as well as to the Administering Authority, the United Kingdom, that the transfer of power has taken place peacefully and in an atmosphere of mutual trust and co-operation between the colonial Power on the one hand and the Trust Territory on the other. This augurs well for the future and we may look forward to increasing co-operation between the former Trust Territory and the Administering Power who are now fellow Members of the Commonwealth.

95. The attainment of independence by Tanganyika is an occasion of historic significance and will doubtless give great impetus to the freedom movement in neighbouring territories which are still under colonial domination. Kenya and Uganda are happily not far from the day of their independence. The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi is also moving rapidly toward independent statehood. But in Mozambique, Tanganyika's neighbour to the South, colonial domination of the worst kind still prevails and there is no sign yet of any advance toward independence.

96. As a member of the Trusteeship Council, my country has been associated with the developments in Tanganyika which we have watched with close attention and great interest. Under the kindly eye of the Trusteeship Council, a good deal has been accomplished in that country; but much still remains to be done. There is much that Tanganyika lacks by way of economic development and social advancement. Tanganyika has been fortunate, however, in having at the head of its Government a statesman of stature in the person of Prime Minister Julius Nyerere.

97. Mr. Nyerere is no stranger to this Organization. He appeared here in earlier years as a petitioner for the early independence of his country and he pleaded with indefatigable energy, persuasive eloquence and irrefutable arguments. Mr. Nyerere himself said in his address to the Trusteeship Council on 13 July this year:

"We have serious enemies—poverty, ignorance and disease. We have declared war against these enemies and in waging this war we are determined to be among the belligerent peoples in the world. Unfortunately, this is not a particularly popular war in this world. It is not the kind of war for which needy countries can expect generous assistance. But we are not daunted and the aim of my Government, both now and after independence, is to wage that war with all the vigour and the resources at our disposal." 2/

98. We are ourselves engaged in a ceaseless struggle against these enemies in our own country. The problems faced by Tanganyika and India after independence are common ones. Perhaps each of us can learn something from the experience of the other and be able to help each other in that manner. We know that the people of Tanganyika, under the inspiring leadership of their great Prime Minister, possess the determination to overcome these enemies and we are confident that they will be successful in their struggle. We wish them good luck and God-speed.

99. Mr. Nyerere's Government is faced with difficulties that are characteristic of the Africa of the past but as regards the infamous doctrine of racial discrimination and segregation, Tanganyika stands for inter-racial harmony and equality of status for all Tanganyikans, be they Africans, Europeans or Asians.

100. India has many ties with Tanganyika. Across the Indian ocean Tanganyika is one of our closest neighbours. Much commerce has flowed between India and Tanganyika. Many Indians have served and are serving in Tanganyika's Government and a number of persons of Indian origin have made Tanganyika their home and are pursuing other vocations there. Under the conditions promised by the far-sighted, liberal and humane policy of the independent Government of Tanganyika, led by Prime Minister Nyerere, we are confident that these persons will continue to contribute to the development of the prosperity and greatness of Tanganyika. It is much more than the formal ties of diplomatic relations and international intercourse that binds us to Tanganyika.

101. Once again, on behalf of the people of India and of Afghanistan, we particularly welcome the member-

2/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 4, para. 24.

ship of Tanganyika and look forward to a long era of constructive co-operation with her representatives in the work of this Organization.

102. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America): The United States delegation had the opportunity only this morning in the Security Council^{2/} of expressing its great pleasure at the prospect of having Tanganyika join our ranks. Subsequently, we were privileged to participate in the Security Council's unanimous vote endorsing Tanganyika's application. Therefore, I shall not make a long speech, or even any speech at all. But now that we have seen the culmination of the happy process which began in the Security Council this morning, I would be disappointed if I did not have the opportunity, in the presence of Tanganyika's most distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, and his colleagues, to say once again that the United States and its Government and people are pleased and proud to welcome Tanganyika to membership of the United Nations and to offer our very warm and very hearty congratulations to its people, to its Government and to its distinguished Prime Minister and his delegation.

103. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): Speaking on behalf of the Indonesian delegation and of my own, I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating a new African State on its accession to independence and its admission to our Organization. Independent Tanganyika will thus add its efforts to those of its neighbours which have preceded it along this path, in asserting the personality of the Africans and in strengthening the contribution of that continent of the future to the cause of peace and international solidarity.

104. This objective, to which Tanganyika is devoted, will be attained more easily and more effectively by virtue of the fact that the great people of Tanganyika have entrusted the task of guiding that country's first steps towards full independence to such a respected leader as Mr. Nyerere.

105. My delegation, on its own behalf and on that of the Indonesian delegation, is therefore glad to be able to extend its warmest congratulations to the people and Government of Tanganyika on this historic occasion which represents the supreme reward for this people's struggle for its sacred right to independence. This victory is also a tribute to the spirit of understanding which had enabled the Government of the United Kingdom to facilitate the last stages of the evolution of the territory towards independence.

106. We wish the people of Tanganyika, its democratic Government, and Mr. Nyerere personally, the best of luck and all happiness and prosperity.

107. Mr. FELIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): A new African nation has emerged into a free and independent existence and, as a first step after this great event, has been admitted to this international community. This means full recognition as a legal and corporate entity, both at home and abroad, of a people that is setting itself up as a State in order to live a life of its own. Latin America, which is still in the lengthy process of strengthening the economic foundations of its independence, gladly welcomes the Republic of Tanganyika as a companion in its ideals with which it hopes to share all the diffi-

culties and joys arising from the struggles to attain the objectives set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, which, if respected, will fulfil our desire to live in peace and security.

108. In greeting Tanganyika on behalf of Latin America, which I have the honour to represent, I should like particularly to pay a tribute to the forces which have made this event possible. I refer to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations which, in collaboration with the United Kingdom, made ready the glorious road to independence.

109. I would like to place on record our admiration for the leader of that people, Mr. Julius Nyerere, a school-teacher of humble extraction who raised a standard bearing the legend "Freedom and Bread" and led his people, with firmness and love, in opposition to violence.

110. I would like to remind the new Member State that freedom and independence, if they are to be effective, must be based on the development of economic resources in order that man may live in full dignity.

111. All America sincerely and enthusiastically joins in the justifiable happiness of free Africa upon this historic occasion.

112. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): On behalf of the delegations of Guinea, Mali and Ghana, I warmly congratulate the Prime Minister and the people of Tanganyika on the admission of Tanganyika in this world Organization.

113. Once again a bastion of imperialism has fallen. Once again the membership of the African group has been increased. Once again the United Nations has demonstrated its wisdom in having the Trusteeship System. That is why we pay homage to the Administering Authority, the United Kingdom, for guiding this country to independence; and that is why we feel unhappy that South-West Africa, a country which should have been in a similar position as Tanganyika, was handed over to South Africa and not to the United Kingdom for administration.

114. My delegation and the delegations of Guinea and Mali welcome the Prime Minister here this afternoon; he has an indomitable personality and he is a great leader of Africa whose wisdom and guidance will be welcomed by all African peoples in Africa. The delegations of Guinea, Mali and Ghana, like other delegations here, stretch the hand of friendship to this great African country and assure it of their brotherly and close co-operation in the United Nations.

115. May the flame lit on the top of Mount Kilimanjaro glow not only throughout South Africa, but throughout a world which is in need of peace.

116. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): It gave my delegation particular pleasure to have had the honour to co-sponsor the admission of Tanganyika for membership in the United Nations. In welcoming Tanganyika today, I wish to congratulate Mr. Julius Nyerere for his illustrious achievement in conceiving a great dream for his country and in finding the faith and the strength to see that dream come true. Mr. Julius Nyerere has emerged in recent times as one of the great leaders and statesmen of our generation. With his policy of and faith in the multiracial society, he has been able to display a beacon of light to all those

^{2/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth year, 986th meeting.

who genuinely believe in the equality of man. His impressive achievement in Tanganyika has been a great symbol of inspiration and pride to all those who believe that we of black Africa are truly dedicated to the doctrine of the multiracial society, in which all, irrespective of colour, race and creed, can find fulfilment.

117. This great event marks another milestone in the peaceful evolution of free peoples in Africa, an event in which the British and indeed the United Nations have played a significant and worthy part.

118. Not very long ago my country had the great joy and honour of joining this community of nations, and it is thus, with every confidence, that I extend this hand of welcome on behalf of my country and express our conviction that Tanganyika will play a useful and significant role in the deliberations and activities of this Organization.

119. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): The birth of a nation and its introduction into our United Nations family are always occasions for rejoicing. In this case we have a special reason for gratification now that Tanganyika has joined our ranks: first, because this newly won independence of a former Trust Territory is a tribute to and a confirmation of the success with which the Trusteeship System is evolving towards an ever-nearer future when all its aims will have been achieved and the System will have served its purpose and can disappear; and secondly, because the skill and the moderation and the truly wise statesmanship shown by the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere, in negotiating the new status of this country are the best augury for a fruitful co-operation by Tanganyika in the work of the United Nations.

120. I have the honour to speak on behalf of the delegations of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and Spain as well as my own. We look forward with eagerness to hearing the views of this new and vigorous country with which we have had excellent relations in the past and with which we hope to have still better and still closer relations in the future.

121. The delegations for which I speak present to the Government and the people of Tanganyika their cordial congratulations and a most hearty welcome.

122. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): It is with great satisfaction that I am taking the floor today, on behalf of my own delegation and that of Yemen, to join in the congratulations which have been extended to Tanganyika on the occasion of its accession to independence and its admission to the United Nations. My satisfaction is the greater because Tanganyika, like the United Arab Republic, belongs to Africa.

123. The United Arab Republic and its people have followed with great interest the progress of Tanganyika towards independence and the negotiations which have resulted in the proclamation of that independence. This event marks an achievement of the Trusteeship System and of the Trusteeship Council.

124. We extend to the Government of Tanganyika, to its able and eloquent Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, and to its people our fullest congratulations. We wish to express the sincerest hopes for their well-being and prosperity. We rejoice at the natural co-operation which will, I am sure, exist between this African State and our country. We are confident that Tanga-

nyika will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations, and especially to the settlement of questions relating to international peace and security as well as the settlement of African problems.

125. It is a source of great joy for us that this young and great African State, which I had the honour to visit with a United Nations Visiting Mission, is joining the international community, which already comprises many African States. We hope that the remaining African States still struggling for their independence will soon take their places in the international community.

126. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): It is my privilege and honour to express, on behalf of my delegation and the delegations of Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Turkey and Sweden, our cordial congratulations to the Government and people of Tanganyika on their attainment of independence. We are happy to extend a warm and brotherly welcome to the delegation of Tanganyika on this auspicious occasion of taking a seat in this Assembly.

127. We are glad to see another large African country attain its freedom by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which was adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. The Administering Authority and the people of Tanganyika are to be felicitated on this great achievement.

128. What is really of importance is that the march of freedom is proceeding at an accelerated pace. As another people attains independence, all of us feel great joy in the sense that one more step has been taken towards universal freedom as a basis of universal peace. For indeed there cannot be peace without freedom.

129. The concept of freedom and the concept of peace are inseparable and indivisible realities. So long as peoples are denied freedom in any part of the world, their spirit is in rebellion—so there can be no peace in the world. We therefore hope to see, in the not too distant future, all the peoples now dependent and subjected in Africa become independent and free, and that the same will be true of all peoples in the world, for the promotion of freedom and human rights constitutes progress towards peace and the attainment of the purposes for which this Organization stands.

130. We particularly welcome Tanganyika to the fold of small nations as one more addition to the number of those engaged in the effort of taking an independent and objective stand on all matters, with dedication to the Principles and Purposes set forth in the Charter and in the service of mankind. We feel certain that the United Nations will find in Tanganyika a wholehearted contributor to the constructive endeavours towards strengthening the United Nations and promoting its evolution into a world Organization effectively upholding freedom and preserving peace.

131. Mr. AKAKPO (Togo) (translated from French): On behalf of the Togolese Republic, my delegation extends to the people of Tanganyika its hearty congratulations on their admission to the community of free nations. I am sure that Tanganyika will place its newly recovered independence at the service of Africa for the speedy liberation of all our brothers who are still under domination and at the service of

the whole world for the maintenance of universal peace.

132. The independence of Tanganyika which we are celebrating today with such joy, has been achieved in peace, thanks to the mutual understanding which exists between that country and the United Kingdom. My delegation therefore cannot fail to pay a tribute to the United Kingdom for the excellent work it has done in Tanganyika. On behalf of the people and Government of Togo, I extend to Mr. Nyerere, the Prime Minister, and to the entire nation of Tanganyika our most fervent wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

133. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have come to the end of my list of speakers. I must point out, however, that after the list was closed a number of delegations asked me whether they could speak. I should like to thank them for their response to my appeal to facilitate the work of the Assembly; they kindly did not insist on taking the floor. I owe it to them, however, to inform you that all the delegations which were unable to take the floor in the Assembly wished to express their welcome and congratulations to Tanganyika, its Government and its people.

134. I now have the honour to give the floor to Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

135. Mr. NYERERE (Tanganyika): I am afraid I have to begin my remarks with an apology and a request—an apology because I am certain that I cannot hope to equal the Members who have spoken before me in the brevity of their speeches; mine is likely to be slightly longer; and a request to the Members: should they find that the speech is too long, they can go to sleep provided they do not snore.

136. On behalf of my country, I wish to express the gratitude we feel to the United Nations and to all our sponsors and to all those whose support and help has culminated in my presence here today as a representative of an independent Tanganyika and a Member of this Organization. We feel a special gratitude and loyalty to the United Nations because we are conscious of the debt we owe to the Trusteeship Council and, of course, to this General Assembly.

137. Until 9 December Tanganyika was a Trust Territory administered by the United Kingdom. It goes against my grain as a nationalist to say thank you to anybody for the achievement of our independence except to the people of Tanganyika. But I would not be honest if I did not admit openly and graciously that the fact that we have been a Trust Territory under British administration has greatly helped us to achieve our independence in the way in which we have achieved it. It is for that reason that I want to express our most sincere appreciation both to this Organization for the keen interest it took in our affairs and to our former governors, and now our friends, the British. I might say that I do congratulate the British for taking yet a further step towards their own achievement of complete independence and freedom because I believe that no country is completely free if it keeps other people in a state of unfreedom.

138. When we welcome our admission to the United Nations, we are acknowledging our inter-dependence with all other peoples. Truly we have claimed our national independence, but our new consciousness of nationhood does not imply a belief that we can now be

self-sufficient in any way. We know that independence brings with it responsibilities, world responsibilities. As a Member of this Organization, we shall exercise the right to join in the deliberations on major matters of world politics as well as matters which have a more obvious and direct impact upon our own State of Tanganyika. We shall do this not with any feeling that we have in our hands a solution to the great problems which vex this Assembly, but because we know that we cannot sit unaffected by the great controversies and conflicts which send their reverberations to every corner of the world.

139. Our pleasure at being accepted as a Member of the United Nations is a recognition that we have been given the right to join in the search for greater understanding and greater harmony between the peoples of the world. In trying to meet this responsibility the policies of my Government will be based on an underlying faith in humanity and on four principles of action which follow from it. With your indulgence, Mr. President, I would like to state those principles.

140. The basis of our actions, internal and external, will be an attempt, an honest attempt, to honour the dignity of man. We believe that all mankind is one, that the physiological differences between us are unimportant in comparison with our common humanity. We believe that black skin or white, straight or curly hair, differences in the shape of our bodies, do not alter or even affect the fact that each one of us is part of the human species and has a part to play in the development of mankind. We believe that differences in our religions or our political ideologies may cause difficulties for our small minds, but do not, to our way of thinking, affect the rights of every individual to be treated as a man, with dignity and honour.

141. It may be, because of the history of Africa, that we are particularly conscious of the need to reaffirm this basic faith in relation to the racial divisions of mankind. Yet we believe this is of fundamental importance. We believe—we know as a fact—that a man may change his religion, that a man may change his ideological belief, but he can never change the shape of his face, nor the race into which he was born. That is why we believe that it is evil for any people to ill-treat others on the grounds of race. What we are in fact saying is that we shall try to use the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a basis for both our external and our internal policies.

142. That Declaration confirms the right of every individual to many things, which we cannot yet provide for the citizens of our own country. In that respect this document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, represents our goal rather than something that we have already achieved. None the less, the underlying theme of the Universal Declaration, that of human brotherhood, regardless of race, colour or creed, is the basic principle which we ourselves, in Tanganyika, and we believe other peoples in Africa and other parts of the world, have been struggling to implement.

143. We accept without question as a basis, a basic article of faith, that every individual has an equal right to inherit the earth, to partake of its joys and its sorrows and to contribute to the building of the sort of society which he desires for himself and also for his children. In saying this, we have committed our country to a grand endeavour. We are conscious that the implementation of the spirit underlying lofty

ideas is not always achieved without some difficulty, that we shall sometimes fail in our efforts. But any apparent deviation from the articles of this Declaration will be an honest attempt on our part to balance conflicting interests while preserving the major principle itself. It will be in the light of this principle that we shall try at all times to determine our stand on every international issue which we shall be called upon to consider in this Assembly or elsewhere.

144. We shall always try to understand the practical difficulties which face Governments and nations in the implementation of this principle, but we shall never compromise with those who deny this basic principle of human brotherhood. We accept that the United Nations cannot interfere in the internal affairs of any State, and we believe that, under present circumstances, that is as it should be. But we also believe that it has an overriding interest in the preservation of peace throughout the world, and further, that there is no internal conflict now which does not have external repercussions.

145. My Government has unfriendly feelings towards no people, but it entertains bitter hostility towards Governments whose policies are based on racial discrimination. On this issue we cannot compromise. We have inherited some racial difficulties in our own country and we believe that our own efforts to exorcise the evil spirit of racial prejudice from every one of our citizens would be jeopardized by the slightest compromise on our part on this matter of racial discrimination in other parts of the world; and we believe that our struggle for our own individual and national dignity would be invalidated by the spread of such poisonous spirit among our own people of Tanganyika.

146. We believe, in fact, that the individual man and woman is the purpose of society. All great philosophies in the world do agree on this simple statement. The way they differ is how to carry out this principle in actual practice. And we believe that every country, because of the differences in history, the differences of other circumstances, is trying in a different way to organize itself in a manner that suits itself in carrying out this principle. We do not believe that on this matter an ideal solution has been found anywhere in the world. We are convinced that mankind is still groping forward in trying to find a solution, and it is our ambition simply to join mankind in groping forward together in finding a solution.

147. I said that there were four basic tenets of our policy. We are all concerned, first and foremost, with the establishment of world peace, for we know that without peace all our plans for a better life, and indeed in the modern world all our plans for life itself, would be obliterated. We believe that, ultimately, the problem of world peace will have to be solved in the same manner as it has been solved in our own national States where Governments have been established which give security to every individual within a national State. We believe that otherwise, ultimately, the problem of world peace depends upon the achievement of a state in the world where you have a world government. But that state of affairs does not exist at present. We realize that the United Nations itself is not a world government, but it is a practical acknowledgement of the need for world peace.

148. The first principle of a Government's foreign policy is, therefore, a recognition of the fundamental importance of the United Nations. We believe that it is easier for any of us, and especially for us young people without very much experience, to criticize certain facets of the United Nations. Inevitably there are things which could improve its efficiency and the implementation of its decisions. The difficulty is in agreeing what would constitute improvement and what would damage the structure that now exists. But we believe that, in comparison with the need of an organization that can help to maintain world peace, such matters are matters of detail. The basic fact remains that this international Organization has great purpose and still greater potentiality. The fact that representatives of so many different nations large and small sit down together to discuss and argue about the problems of mankind and also about their disagreements is of major importance in the world today. All nations and all individuals within those nations have a common interest in the well-being of the United Nations.

149. Within this Assembly every nation is an equal, and we believe that in this lies the unique character of the United Nations and its greatest asset. I hope I will be forgiven for saying that the nations represented in this Hall today are unequal in almost everything except the dignity and the respect which you, Mr. President, and the General Assembly accord to each one of them individually. The nations represented differ greatly in size and in their military and economic power. Before the power of some of the nations now in this hall, some of us, especially small countries like Tanganyika, do tremble. The Governments of countries like my own come at different times before this Assembly or we visit different nations pleading for world consideration and assistance in overcoming the economic and social disabilities under which we now suffer, but this is the only place where all of us can come and talk as equals and search together for greater harmony and understanding on earth. However unjust it may in some ways seem that a country like mine should have an equal voice here with a country like the United States or the Soviet Union, we believe that this in fact is a great advantage to this Organization.

150. The issues which we discuss are important to us all, but I believe—and I say this with modesty—that, because some of us are so small and unimportant in terms of power, it is easier, or at least should be easier, for us to consider such issues on their own merits. In saying this we are not claiming any particular merit or quality for the smaller States; it is a result of the circumstances in which we find ourselves. Our ideas may be, and very often are, powerless without the co-operation of the larger States, but when we are in process of developing those ideas and putting them forward—and I think that this is an important point—we do not stake our prestige on every occasion on whether or not those ideas are accepted. Our prestige can stem from nothing but our honest endeavour to play our part, however small it may be, in serving mankind. It cannot stem from power, because, individually, we the small nations have very little power.

151. We believe—and again I say this with great humility—that this question of prestige is not a matter to be taken lightly. No criticism, therefore, is implied when I suggest that a country fears to endanger its standing in the eyes of the rest of the

world. Nations are like people in this matter in that they have a dignity and can feel humiliation—sometimes, I believe, quite unnecessarily—but it is none the less a fact. Just as it is always good if possible to prevent a man from feeling humiliated, so we believe it is important that nations should never be put in a position of being unnecessarily humiliated. If the small States can help the larger ones in this respect alone, we believe that we shall have done something which is worth while.

152. Yet one thing is quite clear. Although the small nations have no military or economic prestige to lose, they have just as much at stake as any other nation in the maintenance of world peace and in the future of this Organization. Our independence and the right to determine our future is as precious to us as it is to any of the great nations. We have at least as much concern at the outcome of our discussions here as any nation a hundred times larger than my little country of Tanganyika.

153. The United Nations is the forum of world opinion at the present time, and we believe that its imperfections, if it has any, are irrelevant to this. We believe that this Organization—and when I say this, coming from a Trust Territory, Members can believe I say it quite sincerely—has great achievements to its credit. It is true that its authority is largely a moral one and that some of its decisions cannot be implemented if the larger States feel they are contrary to their own interests. Yet all the evidence points to the fact that the voice of this Assembly is increasingly listened to. We believe that the importance of the United Nations can and will grow, depending only upon the determination of all of us to make it work. We can only say that, for our own part, we will do what little we can to enhance the status of this Organization and assist in the execution of its policies. We believe that, because action through it avoids any fear of domination by another State, it can do much to contribute to the peace that we all desire. Tanganyika will look at every one of its policy decisions in the light of its recognition of the fundamental importance of the United Nations.

154. The second basic principle which I want to take this opportunity to state is again a simple one and it follows from the first. It is our basic and continued opposition to colonialism anywhere on our continent or in any other part of the world.

155. There can be no question of colonialism continuing any longer. The colonial peoples cannot be expected to continue to accept it. And no other people who claim to believe in the equality of man should support the continuation of colonialism in any part of the world. Attempts to maintain the colonial status for any country can only provoke wars and conflicts in which the suffering would be shared by the colonizer as well as the colonized.

156. The only choice which really lies before us on this question of colonialism appears to us to be between the immediate independence of all colonial countries and ordered independence under the supervision of an international organization. We believe that the example of Tanganyika demonstrates the advantage of an orderly transfer of power under international supervision. It also demonstrates, we believe, that this does not have to take a long period of time. In our own country, the first African graduate returned to Tanganyika in 1952. In 1954 it was

quite true that we had no qualified African personnel to serve in the Government of Tanganyika, and people then talked about our independence taking us twenty or twenty-five years. Today I am speaking here as a representative of independent Tanganyika. That is why we believe in the importance of an orderly supervision of all the remaining colonial countries under an international organization.

157. We believe further that there is no question but that the maintenance of law and order in any society depends upon there being one supreme authority which is accepted by the majority and which, if need be, can assert its authority on a dissenting minority. There is the possibility that the sudden withdrawal of one authority without its replacement by an indigenous one would leave behind the great danger of a complete breakdown in the orderly economic and social development of the country, with the most dreadful consequences to the people concerned. But it is impossible for the colonial peoples in some areas now to believe in the good intentions of their metropolitan Power, even if the metropolitan Power has such good intentions, and this is natural, for it is inevitable that an alien Administering Authority should be most conscious of the dangers and difficulties of the transfer of power, and it usually talks about nothing except those dangers and those difficulties and it is always inclined to exaggerate them. But what is felt to be possible would naturally vary according to the basic interests of the persons concerned. We do not see how it is possible for any single nation to be the judge of its own cause, as some colonial Powers decide to be judges of their own causes. We would therefore like to see the United Nations assume the responsibility of being judge. We suggest that every nation which genuinely wishes to further the development of peoples now inhabiting their colonies should treat those colonies as if they were Trust Territories. This means that they should submit annually for discussion by the United Nations a report on the progress toward the establishment of an indigenous authority to which the transfer of power can be made.

158. I was extremely pleased to hear that the Government of the United Kingdom, which had for long opposed this suggestion, has now declared that it intends to submit such reports on all territories still under its control. We hope that this example will be followed by all the other colonial Powers. We believe that if this were done the suspicions of insincerity which are now directed against some of them would be overcome, because we would ourselves have a chance to consider those matters and give our assistance in any difficulties which might arise in particular cases. Such a development would have advantages for both sides. On the one hand the colonial Powers would be freed from the suspicion which now beclouds any good intentions that they may have—and we believe some of them do have good intentions—and, on the other hand, this Assembly and all colonial peoples would have the opportunity to press for a speedy transfer of power.

159. When I speak of colonies I am not using this term to include only those countries which have such a legal status in the eyes of their own metropolitan Powers. Legal pretensions that vast areas are mere provinces of tiny States are to us mere quibbles which cannot be allowed to affect the realities of the situation. Angola and Mozambique, to take two examples,

are in our eyes and in the eyes of the people of those territories colonies of another State. They must be treated as such in regard to their progress towards independence. This Assembly and all Member States should exert every effort to ensure that this is done.

160. We, in Tanganyika, in particular cannot be expected to accept legal theories as explanations of ruthless oppression taking place on our borders. These territories, together with all other countries which are at present colonies, must be given the right to determine their own future under conditions in which a real freedom of choice does exist. Elections in which all can take part without fear or favour are essential before we can believe that any group of people wishes to continue to be governed by a nation many thousands of miles away, particularly when we have before us evidence of restlessness and resentment of that authority in these countries.

161. When I do advocate an orderly transfer of power, it must be quite clear that I am not suggesting that this is a matter which can be dealt with at a leisurely pace. The end of colonialism must come quickly. We who are free have absolutely no right to sit comfortably and counsel patience to those who do not yet enjoy their freedom. This is a matter of the greatest urgency, for it is an intrinsic part of the development of the human spirit in this area. Neither can we fail to oppose policies, in the transition period from a colonial status to independence, which leaves the new countries in a position where the everyday lives of their peoples and the policies of their governments are controlled by the economic actions of another State. The word "neo-colonialism" is one which I believe has some danger, but there is also a reality: the replacement of political domination by economic domination. We believe that this is also contrary to the principles of the United Nations and of human equality.

162. I have spoken about our opposition to colonialism and our determination to see that it comes to an end rapidly. I hope that it is realized, however, that nothing that I have said implies any hostility whatsoever to any people anywhere in the world. It is the system which we are opposing, and not even the servants of that system, provided they act with common humanity in the execution of their duties. Some Members here will be aware that some of the servants of our old system are now working for us as servants of the Government of Tanganyika. Our opposition to colonialism is total, and not confined by space or time; but it is natural and inevitable that we should have a particular concern for Africa. The implementation of our third policy, the attainment of African unity, depends on the complete freedom of our continent. It is not possible for Tanganyika to remain an island of freedom and peace surrounded by troubled and unfreed areas. On either side of all our borders live people with a common language, and common traditions. We cannot fail to be concerned with what goes on in countries which adjoin Tanganyika, because their troubles are also our troubles. The same is true of the countries which border our neighbours. We are all involved together. The whole of Africa is, in fact, interlinked. It cannot really be split into small portions.

163. But there is another reason why we are particularly interested in the freedom of our continent. We are anxious to join with other African States in abolishing the artificial boundaries which were im-

posed upon us by the colonial system. There now exists a strong feeling of unity on the Continent. It is an emotion which has, in one sense, grown out of the struggle for freedom, but the sentiment is one which is supported by the facts of geography, of pre-European history, and of modern economics. The boundaries which now divide African States bear no relation whatsoever to the ethnological divisions or to the geographical features of our continent. Further, Africa is bedevilled by conflicting treaties and other arrangements made without consent, but which none the less leave a legacy of conflict behind them. These possible sources of friction between new nations and States can be settled by establishing new groupings which would bring together nations between which suspicion or hostility could develop. The unity of the whole of our continent is our ambition, and we know that it has to be a unity based on the free decision of independent, African States.

164. With a united Africa we believe that not only will the danger of conflict on our continent be avoided, but that we shall find ourselves strengthened in the fight which each of the African States is now waging—a fight which some Members have already referred to here: the fight against poverty, against disease and against ignorance which we inherit from the colonial system. Co-operation across national boundaries would be easy if those boundaries were secondary to our membership of a united African community.

165. We are determined to co-operate with fellow African States in an endeavour to achieve this unity, because we know that it is not only Tanganyika which desires this basic unity on our continent. Every free African State has already spoken in favour of some form of unity or other. We are merely adding our voice to theirs, and our efforts to their efforts, towards unity on our continent. We believe that organic unity will be achieved, but we also recognize that it will be the more easily achieved the more quickly we can move in that direction.

166. Again, it may be necessary to add that we desire this unity, not through any hostility towards others, or through a desire to cut ourselves off from peoples of other continents, but because it is in the best interests of a large section of the human race to unite and, ultimately, by the strength and unity that it will give us, it will be economically in the best interests of the entire world. We desire African unity for its own sake, but we believe that it will have, from our point of view, another advantage—and I hope that older Members of this distinguished Organization will forgive me for having the cheek to mention this. Internationally, we believe that we have entered a world riven by ideological dissensions. We are anxious to keep out of these disputes, and anxious to see that the nations of our continent are not used as pawns in conflicts which very often do not concern them at all. We do not feel by our own principles of action that we are required to take part in this conflict.

167. The fourth principle of our policy will be to keep out of these automatic conflicts in the world. Saying this does not imply that we do not care about what happens in the world. We care very much about the basic principles which I have tried to state. We care very much about the future of humanity; but we do not believe that the present divisions of the world are between the good and the bad. They are not even divisions based on the issues of tomorrow, that is,

the relationship between the "haves" and the "have nots" of the world. The automatic assumption that one or the other of the contending major groups of States is always right, or always wrong, cannot bear examination. We believe that the propaganda which is directed at making humanity believe this proposition is a most hideous opium. If it were to succeed man would no longer be man because man would stop thinking for himself; but we also believe that it is not going to be so easy to put the human mind to sleep.

168. However, it does appear that things have now come to a state of affairs where it is very difficult for any so-called—and I hope I will be forgiven for the expression—"committed nations" to look without prejudice at any issue in which the other is also involved. Many things which are to us important are decided on grounds that we believe are irrelevant to the issue itself. We believe that we should try to look at every matter which comes up for international consideration on the basis of its own merits. I do not pretend for one moment that we are infallible. Nor do I claim that when Tanganyika's direct interests are involved we shall always be unbiased. But, to a large degree because we are small and new to world politics, the issues on which we are going to be both appellant and judge are likely to be very few. As far as we are concerned it will, therefore, be a question of doing our best in using our intelligence and our understanding in relation to the matters before us. In declaring our intention to take this attitude, we do so with a feeling of friendliness to all nations in the world.

169. We do not have feelings of enmity toward any peoples in the world. Neither are we aware of any feelings of enmity toward us by any nation of the world. We have inherited friendly relations with many countries. It is our ambition to develop similar relations with other countries. We shall not be able to accomplish this through the sending of large delegations or the maintenance of large embassies, and so forth. Because of economic necessity, we hope to accomplish this through the employment of greater discretion in our dealings with people. But we are confident that as we are able to make approaches to different peoples and their Governments, that we shall meet with a friendly reception.

170. Finally, I wish to note that we come into the free world today when the future of that world is threatened because of the great knowledge that has been achieved by mankind. We find many problems in the world but we come with a determination to learn to co-operate and to contribute. I shall conclude as I commenced by saying that we have faith in humanity, that we shall endeavour to strengthen man's attempts to progress spiritually as well as in material wealth and that we shall try to play a full, honest and constructive part in this Organization.

171. I thank you for affording me the opportunity to state the principles by which the Government of Tanganyika intends to be judged in the future and I thank you for the kindness and the courtesy with which you have listened to me.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.