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CONTENTS

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Address by Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal</i> | <i>535</i> |
| <i>Agenda item 92:</i> | |
| <i>Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)</i> | <i>541</i> |

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Address by the President of the Republic of Senegal,
His Excellency Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly is to hear this morning an address by the President of the Republic of Senegal. I would ask the Chief of Protocol to be good enough to escort the President of the Republic of Senegal into the Assembly Hall.

2. I have the honour today to welcome to the Assembly Mr. Léopold Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, who has expressed a wish to address the General Assembly in order to explain his country's position on the important issues now before the Assembly.

3. An address by an eminent Head of State of an African country acquires particular importance at a time when the General Assembly is considering major problems concerning Africa and decolonization in general. It is with sincere pleasure, therefore, that I invite the President of the Republic of Senegal to address the Assembly.

4. Mr. Léopold S. SENGHOR (President of the Republic of Senegal) (translated from French): I shall begin by extending my warmest congratulations to the President on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. I shall not conceal my great pride. His election is, as he himself has pointed out, the tangible proof of Africa's entrance upon the international scene. I am also gratified to see the President's chair occupied by a son of Tunisia, a country which has been linked to Senegal for so long by so many ties of friendship. I should like to draw attention to the outstanding qualities which he has demonstrated in the past and which determined the Assembly's choice: the alertness and lucidity of thought, the constant and sober devotion which he has always brought to the service of the international community.

5. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a last tribute to the illustrious figure of the late Mr. Hammarskjöld. I knew him personally. From my conversations with him, I have retained the image of a great modern humanist. In addition to wide culture, he possessed a keen intelligence, courage and an unshakable faith in man's future. In the light of this

faith, he trusted the peoples of the unaligned world, since he was convinced that something new and constructive would come from that world. He was its champion. We mourn him now; but let us do better, let us take up the torch he left us and carry it high.

6. Now that I have paid these tributes, you may perhaps wonder what the tenor of my address is to be. My answer is quite clear: I shall endeavour to speak the language of reason and of the heart, the language that was spoken here last year by Mr. Mamadou Dia, President of the Council of Ministers of Senegal, the language that has consistently been used by Mr. Thiam, our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

7. Some will hasten to conclude from this that Senegal is not an uncommitted State. No, we cannot be uncommitted; we cannot even be neutral when it is a question of peace and decolonization—in short, of the building of the international community. We refuse, however, to follow anyone's lead: we are, to be precise, in favour of non-alignment. Through great efforts, we have, step by step and year by year, evolved our own method: the African way of socialism.

8. We have, of course, accepted foreign contributions in a spirit of humility. But we began by analysing and appraising our situation as Negro Africans and by taking stock of our assets. Having established our roots, we drew selectively on foreign sources, in particular, from European and Arab-Berber sources. We have borrowed from the East and from the West, but we did so for the purpose of fulfilling our own destiny. It is on the basis of this philosophy that I wish to discuss the problems now confronting the United Nations.

9. First of all, I should like to make it clear—for I do not wish to evade any important problem—that we are linked historically by ties of friendship both with the French people and with all the peoples of Africa. Our friendship with the African peoples, with whom we stand together, is founded on the fact that our situation is identical with theirs and our civilization similar: our situation is that of under-developed peoples who were formerly colonized and our civilizations are simply different manifestations of Africanism. Our friendship with the people of France is based upon 300 years of contacts which have not, of course, always been peaceful, but which have in the long run proved fruitful. For although France at first weakened, where it did not destroy many of our cultural assets, it gave us others which replaced them or, better still, which served to stimulate the rebirth of our civilization. Of these assets, I need only mention its admirable language. Subsequently, it gave us a negotiated independence, without a single drop of blood being shed.

10. It must be repeated, however, that such friendships, which we wish to preserve, do not prevent us from seeking others. We occasionally have disputes

with France, disputes which have always been settled by negotiation, and we are somewhat slow in forming new friendships precisely because we intend to defend our policy of non-alignment together with our national independence. Our votes in this Assembly have proved this beyond doubt.

11. After these preliminary remarks, I shall attempt to define the purpose of the United Nations since this will help us to find the most effective means of achieving that purpose.

12. We hear it said that the purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of peace or, alternatively, that it is peaceful coexistence. This is to confuse its immediate objectives with its basic purpose. It is an obvious fact that peace as the absence of war, as a respite, cannot be an aim in itself. We also hear it said that the purpose of the United Nations is international co-operation. Co-operation is based upon something positive: a common will to unite, a common vision of the future, a meeting of minds and hearts, in short, on a conspiracy—to quote the term used by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. But surely this common vision, this conspiracy, this co-operation has a constructive purpose? What is this purpose? It is to build the international community—in other words, the civilization of the universal, which, if it is to exist at all, must be made up of distinctive contributions from all our civilizations without exception. I shall return to this point.

13. But, I may be asked, do you not see the present spectacle of mankind and how discouraging it is? Do you not see the fires that are blazing all over the world: in Algeria, Tunisia, in the Congo (Leopoldville), in the Central African Federation, in Angola, in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in South Africa, and finally, in Laos, not to mention the atomic disintegration threatening our planet because of the Berlin crisis, a crisis that is a manifestation of the cold war between the great Powers, between the East and the West? Hatred and violence prevail everywhere. There are only ruins, and tears throughout the world.

14. I see and appreciate all this. It is for that very reason that I do not despair. Let us look at the other side of the coin. You will surely see there signs of the birth of the future world, which is of course taking place in blood and pain. I am truly convinced that mankind is standing at its last critical threshold. A new day's sun is beginning to rise on the horizon: the day of that civilization of the universal, the creation of which is, I repeat, our Organization's final aim. We have only to look around us. Each nation is an integral and indivisible part of the international community. Each of us is in communication with the whole world: planes, boats, trains—and, tomorrow, rockets—bring races and nations into physical contact, while books and newspapers, radio and television promote the interchange of thoughts and feelings. Thus, the existing tensions and conflicts are merely manifestations of the dramatic confrontations that form an inevitable part of mankind's search for stability, a stability which can be found only in a synthesis, or more precisely, in a symbiosis of its component parts.

15. But our freedom—our freedom as individuals and as nations—still remains and rightly so, for there is freedom only in the full development of the

personality; we must first "be" in order to unite. Freedom to co-operate or to fight; freedom to construct or to destroy—this is the very crux of the problems we have to resolve.

16. We know that we will choose to build an international community only if the latter is reflected in a world-wide civilization which will satisfy our minds and our hearts—our minds, because of its logical necessity and consistency; our hearts, because of its human warmth: in short, because of the liberty, equality and fraternity that this civilization will be capable of achieving both among individuals and among races and nations. No, the principles proclaimed by the French Revolution are not dead: a consistent socialism can have no other aim than to secure their practical application in national and international life.

17. This being so, no one particular civilization—be it of the West or of the East—could be imposed without the bulk of mankind rising up against it. Moreover, it could not be imposed by force, i.e., by a world war. It would then no longer exist, for our world would have ceased to exist; it would have been annihilated. If the impossible should happen and a civilization were imposed without the use of force, I say that it would be monstrous, that it would not be worthy of existence. It would lack the creative features possessed by all other civilizations. It would be a "universal civilization", but it would not be the civilization of the universal. This is an idea that we of Black Africa defended at the symposium which was held at Rome in February 1960 and which was attended by the European Society of Culture and the Society of African Culture. This distinction was appreciated by some people of the West and the East, but not, unfortunately, by everyone.

18. The European Society of Culture dreams of evolving a synthesis of the specific civilizations of Eastern and Western Europe, North America being rightly regarded as an offshoot of Europe. I should certainly be one of the first to welcome such a development because it is precisely the divisions of Europe that keep the cold war alive. But I must oppose, we must oppose any attempt by this Society to make such a unified European civilization, the "universal civilization" or, worse still, the civilization of the universal. We must do so, for otherwise we of the unaligned world—the whites of Africa and Asia, the Indians of Asia and America, the black and yellow peoples—would then be left only with the lesser role of consumers of civilization and not the greater role of producers. We could not accept such a position. If the "universal civilization" is to become the civilization of the universal and if a truly international community is to be established that will appeal to our minds and hearts by reason of its logical consistency and its practical creativity, it must represent a symbiosis of the values of all the different civilizations. In our view, only such a synthesis would be progressive, because it would be truly human. As Pierre Teilhard de Chardin said: "Human societies at the most humanized level are always the end product not of segregation, but of synthesis."

19. I hope that the confrontation of our ideas—whether they be in the political, economic, moral or cultural sphere—will always remain peaceful. I am confident that if such is the case, little by little, as a result of exchanges and borrowing and of process

of osmosis, all nations and races will converge towards the civilization of the universal. Western Europe will become socialized under the pressure of the masses and the need for economic planning; the East will become liberalized, the dictatorship of the proletariat having served to consolidate its system; I might say that it will become spiritualized. Was it not Jean Jaurès who predicted, in a posthumous work on the religious question, that the achievement of socialism would coincide with a religious renaissance? The West, then, will become socialized and the East will become liberalized and they have already begun to move in this direction, while borrowing from the unaligned world, which, as you are aware, is itself advancing, under the influence of Europe, towards this "focal point of giving and receiving", which is the civilization of the universal.

20. I am convinced that this high and noble vision—this perspective, as the philosopher Gaston Berger, my fellow-countryman, would have said—will lead us to support the final aim of the United Nations, as I have attempted to define it. It remains for us to analyse the obstacles blocking our way with a view to their removal, in other words, to analyse the conditions that are necessary for the realization of that aim.

21. On studying the problem, we find that the first obstacle is undeniably the cold war which continues between the East and the West and which occasionally degenerates into a hot war, a "localized" war. There can be no doubt that this cold war, and any individual "hot" war, even a localized hot war, may trigger off an atomic world war which would mean the end of mankind. I must draw the attention of the Assembly to another danger. There can be no doubt that the continuation of atomic testing will tragically damage human life itself by increasing the level of radio-activity in the air.

22. But the cold war is merely a manifestation of a fundamental evil, which we must attack at its roots. I say quite frankly that this evil is the result of the imperialism practised by the great Powers, namely of European imperialism. Since the Renaissance, Europe, intoxicated by its scientific progress, and technological achievements, has been animated by the desire for power. It may also be said that the advent of socialism has not weakened this desire for conquest. The roots of the evil lie in the dichotomy and Manicheism of the European outlook. About a century ago, Engels denounced this philosophy of classical Europe, under which something is held and proclaimed to be irrevocably true or false, without any possibility of compromise. Europe's discovery of dialectics has not prevented it from reasoning and acting with an implacable logic: the logic of its ruling passion, its own interests and its desire for conquest.

23. If my analysis is correct, there is only one answer that we can give to the spirit—or, more specifically, to the policy—of imperialism: the defence and maintenance of peace. Civilization is the outcome of human life in a community. Therefore, before we can create a civilization, we must, first of all, live. If men are to live together, they must not hate one another; there must be no war.

24. Co-operation—or to be more exact, the organization of co-operation—must obviously be the basis for life in a community. It follows therefore that if we

are to live together at the international level, to organize an international community and to create the civilization of the universal, we must organize international co-operation against a background of peaceful coexistence. This means that effective collective measures must be taken to eliminate tensions arising from national, racial, religious and even ideological hatreds.

25. Whether their immediate cause is a matter of private or collective concern, these hatreds, which constitute the major obstacle to the organization of international co-operation are invariably due in part to stubborn prejudices, which are themselves the fruit of mistrust and mutual ignorance. It has rightly been said that wars are the product both of imperialism and fear. Hence the need for discussion, for negotiation, both for the purpose of averting conflicts and for organizing co-operation. Discussion, as an instrument of international peace and co-operation, is the greatest contribution that the unaligned world and, in particular, Africa, can make to the United Nations.

26. Why? Because the parley, the famous African palaver, has been an essential part of African tradition for thousands of years; it has been Africa's political method. The reason is that, without discussion, the thoughts and true character of an antagonist remain unclear and are therefore apprehended in a distorted form. There is no absolute truth, or more correctly, the real truth is born from the confrontation of opposing ideas.

27. But, to return to the cold war, to the antagonistic ideologies, my own view is that both West and the East are right and wrong at the same time. As far as we of the unaligned world are concerned, it is an obvious fact that private capitalism, the liberal capitalism of the last century, under which man was exploited by man, has long since become a thing of the past. It could not have continued to exist without betraying man, without betraying the spiritual values which it itself proclaimed. Socialism, for its part, would betray its mission if it did not become completely humane, incorporating those spiritual values of freedom and culture, and indeed the religious values, which are of vital importance to man. Moreover, as I have often pointed out, the problem is no longer one of eliminating inequalities born solely from class differences, but rather of eliminating inequalities resulting from the domination of one nation, one race, one continent by another. It is precisely these inequalities which have been engendered by colonialism, in whatever form it may have appeared.

28. The unaligned world must courageously play its part in the struggle to eliminate the present forms of imperialism, whether it be from the West or the East. We must play our part in a manner compatible with the technical and scientific progress of the great Powers; in other words, we must confirm and ensure the triumph of the principles of international morality, that is to say, of liberty, equality and the fraternity of races and nations, as individuals and groups with technical and professional knowledge.

29. However, my concern for truth compels me to admit that the great Powers of Europe, together with America, are not solely responsible for our present ills. The time and place is right for us—the unaligned

world—to take a critical look at ourselves. Indeed, too many nations of the unaligned world, too many former colonized nations have caught the sickness of the former colonizers: the spirit of intolerance and the desire for conquest. Imperialism is unmistakable, whether its colour is brown, yellow or black. Too often, those who rail the loudest against colonialism are those who claim the right to annex a brother State, on racial, historical or on even more unreasonable grounds, as though the principle of self-determination were not valid for all peoples, as though the term nation were necessarily coincided synonymous with race or former conquest, or who are simply motivated by greed.

30. How can the cold war, which we justifiably denounce, be brought to an end if we of the unaligned world, while outwardly proclaiming a policy of non-alignment, invariably and unswervingly support the East or the West, because the East or the West is our friend?

31. So far as we of Senegal are concerned, we intend to pursue a consistent policy of non-alignment, while remaining loyal to our friendships and to our commitments regarding co-operation. We have already given proof of this here in the Assembly. When we do not agree with France or any other friendly nation, we tell it so and cast our vote accordingly. But we refuse to attack such nations systematically, and rush to the support of their adversaries, because we believe that no nation—however great or powerful it may be—is infallible.

32. Our policy towards the nations of the unaligned world is based on the same principles of objectivity and justice. Our solidarity with the unaligned world is real; we have already proved this. It cannot, of course, be unconditional for the reasons that I have just mentioned. But it is a real solidarity which respects their independence and their right to self-determination. Additional proof of this solidarity is provided by the little country of Gambia, which with its 300,000 inhabitants and its territory extending for ten kilometres on either side of the Gambia River, is pointed like a revolver at the heart of Senegal. Its people are of the same races as those of Senegal and speak the same languages. This is an absurd situation, is it not? Yet I declare here and now that we will respect the Gambian people's right to self-determination, whether they choose to join us or not. We ask only one thing of them and that is not to allow their country to be used as a base for subversive activities against us, as some are anxious to do.

33. It remains for me to examine the specific problems confronting the United Nations at this session in the light of the methods and principles I have just outlined. In particular, I should like to outline the solutions proposed by the Republic of Senegal—or rather, to remind you of them, because Mr. Thiam, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, has already laid them before you [1012th meeting]. I shall concentrate on defining the method which must guide us, the universal principles upon which our solutions must be based if they are to be just as well as effective. The questions which the Assembly has to consider may be placed in three categories: first, the reorganization of the United Nations; secondly, the Berlin crisis and disarmament; and thirdly, decolonization.

34. Let us begin with the reorganization of the United Nations. Everyone agrees that the United Nations

must be reorganized. Why is this so? To take account of its present and future membership, and also to increase its efficiency, particularly as its tasks continue to multiply and become more complicated with the intensification of the cold war, which is linked paradoxically, with the process of decolonization. The unaligned world—and I am referring primarily to Asia and Africa—wants increased representation in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretariat. If this demand is met, it will lead to an increase in the efficiency of the Organization, provided that the unaligned world is determined to maintain its policy of non-alignment and negotiation.

35. Reorganization should present no insurmountable obstacles so far as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are concerned. The question of the veto in the Security Council cannot, however, be evaded. The two-thirds majority rule would, of course, be a better solution than the veto. But we must be realistic. In the last analysis, and whether we like it or not, the maintenance of peace depends on the will of the great Powers. Experience thus far has shown that the great Powers have always rejected recommendations or decisions that seriously threatened their own interests. Therefore, if the unaligned world unites and perseveres, it can, in the long run, prevent the use of the veto.

36. With regard to the office of Secretary-General, to make it a triumvirate would be to introduce at the executive level the veto which already exists at the policy-making level. The reasonable course would be to select deputies, appointed from the West, the East and the unaligned world, to advise and assist the Secretary-General.

37. To identify the office of Secretary-General with particular areas would be to immobilize the Organization and condemn it to paralysis. In my opinion, the future Secretary-General should come from neither the West nor the East. I do not mean by this that he should not be white or European; I merely say that he must not be from the West or the East. It follows from what I have said and because we cannot be both judge and party that he must be, not uncommitted, nor even neutral, but non-aligned. He must be a man of the highest culture and intelligence and of unflagging courage. It is also desirable that he should be respected, if not approved, by both the East and the West.

38. Everyone is aware that the Berlin crisis involves more than the future of the Berliners. We are presented here with the problem of the cold war in all its gravity and, consequently, with the problem of disarmament also.

39. Of course, if only the fate of the West Berliners were at issue, the problem would be easily solved. It must be solved, in the first place, because the West Berliners are human beings like other men. Their freedoms must be protected and guaranteed: freedom to conduct their own affairs democratically, freedom to become part of the Federal Republic if such is their wish, freedom to use the autobahn and the notorious air corridors.

40. We are also faced with the problem of the two Germanies. There can be no question of denying their right to self-determination and to reunification. But here, as in other cases, the right is one thing and

the facts are another. Pending the dissipation of mistrust, the relaxation of the cold war, the initiation of disarmament and the strengthening of peace—prerequisites for reunification—it is reasonable and realistic to take into account the existence of two States and to establish conditions for peaceful co-existence between them.

41. But the fundamental problem, that of disarmament, still remains. On its solution depends that of the cold war, of which the Berlin crisis is only one aspect. On its solution depends, above all, the maintenance of peace, without which, I repeat, there can be neither an international community, nor a civilization of the universal, nor even any nation. Senegal, for its part, cannot resign itself to the inevitability of war. Even if a war were to destroy only Europeans and North Americans—and this is impossible—that would be no consolation to Senegal, since this would be an appalling catastrophe for mankind.

42. Disarmament means, first of all, immediate negotiations for the prohibition of nuclear tests, anywhere and in any form, a prohibition that would apply to all. Senegal expressed its disapproval of the French tests at the time, even though they were limited in scope and in their early stages. Today we cannot but condemn the action taken by the Soviet Union in resuming nuclear tests. The Soviet Union now proposes to link this question with the general problem of disarmament. We would willingly support that proposal if discussion of the problem were to be concluded before the end of the year, but experience does not allow us to be so optimistic.

43. Our opinion on the substance of the problem is as follows: first, the General Assembly should deal with the question, as is envisaged; secondly, if this problem is referred to a special commission for study before the end of the sixteenth session, the unaligned world should be represented; thirdly, the purpose of the commission's work should be to achieve general, progressive and controlled disarmament. This disarmament should stress both prohibition of the manufacture of thermonuclear bombs and the destruction of existing bombs as well as control over disarmament, without which there can be no disarmament. This control must be ensured by the three parties: the East, the West and the unaligned world.

44. As I have already said, decolonization is connected with the cold war—the nameless war. The existence of "colonies"—and it matters little what term we use—particularly in Africa and Asia, and delays in decolonization help to perpetuate the cold war. Certain colonial Powers are marking time and trying to maintain their foothold by new means, while others are seeking, instead, to institute a neocolonialism camouflaged in ideological colours. These are the facts of the problem, which has two aspects. One is the need to bring about the political decolonization of dependent peoples by leading them to autonomy and then to national independence and the other is the need to facilitate their economic decolonization by promoting their development.

45. Let us begin with political decolonization. All the United Nations has to do here is to apply the resolution which the General Assembly adopted on the question at its fifteenth session (resolution 1514 (XV)). This resolution was wise and moderate, since it did not fix any time-limit for independence. Be-

cause it was wise and moderate, it should be strictly applied.

46. In the interests of justice and effective action, a distinction should be made between the colonial Powers which are nevertheless decolonizing and those which are stubbornly refusing to do so. Among the former we place France and the United Kingdom; among the latter, Portugal and South Africa, since internal colonialism is the worst of all.

47. In an interview I gave to Gavroche, I said the following: "I should like to conclude by assuring the whites that our will to win our independence is unshakable and that it would be as foolish as it would be dangerous for them to try to turn the clock back. We are prepared, in the last resort, to gain our freedom by any means, even by the use of force." This statement was not made today. It is fifteen years old; it was made on 8 August 1946, when colonialism was in its heyday. I am therefore all the more free today to give objective recognition to the desire for decolonization motivating France and the United Kingdom and to their efforts to achieve that end.

48. I shall deal more particularly with France. In two years, from 1958 to 1960, it has granted national independence to fifteen dependent peoples. That is a fact. General de Gaulle's methods may be criticized and the blunders made in his negotiations with the Maghreb may be regretted. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of his sincerity and of his will to achieve his end, when every day he risks his own life and that of his country. That is another rather rare phenomenon in our world. On 5 September, moreover, General de Gaulle removed the obstacle of the Sahara, by recognizing Algeria's stake in that territory.

49. In the light of these facts, Senegal has always firmly maintained the need to negotiate in Algeria, and also in the Central African Federation, in the same way as negotiations have taken place in Morocco and Tunisia and should be continued in Tunisia. The problem is essentially the same both in Algeria and Central Africa: a European population constituting 10 per cent of the total is confronted by an African constituting 90 per cent of the total. Negotiation is essential. On what basis? On the basis of right and reason, the right of the Africans to self-determination and to the exercise of their sovereignty throughout the territory of the former colony, their right, to consent or refuse to co-operate with the former metropolitan State. Let us trust them; reason will show them that the course of history cannot be stemmed and that in the long run co-operation on an equal and independent footing may promote economic decolonization.

50. So far as Portugal and South Africa are concerned, I am surprised at the supine attitude taken by the United Nations towards those countries. I still believe that the Organization should be very cautious in using military force; but I am surprised that the Security Council applies a double standard and that it hesitates to decide at least on economic and diplomatic measures against Portugal and South Africa, when it has decided to use force against Katanga. Is this not likely to lead to the assumption that Mr. Salazar and Mr. Verwoerd owe this indulgence to the fact that they are European? To sum up my attitude on this point, the suspension of diplomatic and, indeed, of economic relations between these two Governments and the Members of the United Nations

is essential. The honour of the United Nations is at stake.

51. Senegal's attitude with regard to the Congo (Leopoldville) is also clear. We have always been in favour of maintaining that country's integrity and against any secession whatsoever. We have always refused to receive delegations from Mr. Tshombé at Dakar. Given the maintenance of the country's integrity, it rests with the Congolese Parliament and with it alone whether this integrity should become more complete or a more flexible federation should be established. We do not oppose the Security Council's decision to maintain the integrity of the Congo (Leopoldville), for force if necessary.^{1/} We would only say that the United Nations representatives at Elisabethville lacked strategic insight and discernment. If they had begun by expelling all the mercenaries and opposing all traffic in armaments, Mr. Tshombé would have yielded before any military operations had been started and the late Mr. Hammarskjöld would still be among us.

52. There is, lastly, the problem of economic decolonization. It is obvious that nominal independence has no meaning and can only be a pretext for cold war and for demagogic speeches unless it is supplemented by economic independence. The two are connected; they are logically related and complementary. Legal independence without economic independence is but a new form of dependency, worse than the first because it is less obvious. Accordingly, it is the duty of the United Nations, if it desires to maintain peace and secure real decolonization, to organize economic aid from the developed to the under-developed States.

53. I shall cite some figures to make this situation clear; these figures are taken from United Nations documents and are more telling than any argument.

54. The unaligned world has a population of 1,900 million and possesses 17 per cent of the world's resources; the developed countries have a population of 800 million and possess 83 per cent of those resources. This gap is widening. The annual per capita income in developed countries is constantly rising, whereas in the unaligned world it remains at a standstill, because a rise of 2.5 per cent in the national income is accompanied by a population increase of 2.5 per cent. In order to achieve an annual increase of 5 per cent—a figure below the average increase in the developed countries—in the standard of living of the unaligned world, it would be necessary to provide the under-developed countries with aid to the value of \$30,000 million. At the present time, however, only one-tenth of that figure, or \$3,500 million, is being allotted for the purpose.

55. This is the situation. Owing to their policy of grants, inaugurated immediately after the Second World War, the great Powers have a clear conscience. Some of them have gone so far as to plan a policy of long-term loans with control over their use, to replace the policy of grants. The great Powers seem to have the impression that they are handing out alms to beggars. It is high time to draw attention to the truth, which is entirely different. The truth is that the gap between the two rates of growth has been systematically planned and consolidated by the developed countries by means of a barter economy. As you know, this barter economy involves an artificial

decrease in the prices of tropical raw materials and a no less artificial increase in the prices of European manufactured goods. Mr. Edgar Faure, former Chairman of the French Council of Ministers, had the following to say on this subject: "According to United Nations reports (which, it is true, relate to the period from 1876 to 1938 and therefore to the pre-war years), commodity prices have declined on an average of one-third in terms of manufactured goods; this figure may be somewhat unreliable, owing to the question of freight." Mr. Mendès-France found an even more serious situation in analysing the period from 1929 to 1960.

56. Accordingly, before the developed countries come to the aid of the unaligned world, they must first do it justice by establishing the natural balance of prices between raw materials and manufactured goods.

57. The question that arises with regard to assistance properly so-called is whether it should be in a bilateral or a multilateral form. Senegal considers that both forms should be retained, since multilateral aid through United Nations funds should be considerably increased by a percentage levy on the annual national income of each developed country. As you realize, however, such a project could not be carried out until disarmament becomes a practical reality. Thus, whichever way we turn, we come up against this serious problem, the solution of which will determine that of all the others.

58. It is time for me to conclude my statement. I shall do so by appealing to the representatives of the unaligned world to examine their consciences.

59. We have got into the habit of abusing Europe and the great Powers. Indeed, I myself have done so in the course of my statement. But have we nothing to reproach ourselves with? I do not think that that is the case. The truth is that, through our ambition, our errors and our weaknesses, we have failed to counteract either the arms race or the cold war.

60. We have denounced the imperialism of the great Powers, but have pursued our own lesser imperialism with respect to our neighbours of the unaligned world. We have called for disarmament among the great Powers, while transforming our own countries into arsenals; we affirm our neutralism; but we do not always support a policy of neutrality.

61. If we of the unaligned world really wish to exercise an influence on the great Powers—and it is our bounden duty to do so—it is time for us to bring our deeds into line with our words: it is time for us in our turn to heed the voice of reason and the voice of the heart.

62. Senegal, for its part, intends to pursue its experiment of a multiracial and multireligious policy. It intends to maintain its policy of non-alignment, in unwavering loyalty towards its friends. It intends to continue in the path of African socialism, a socialism which will embody its cultural and spiritual heritage. And to sum up, it intends by so doing to make its modest contribution to the universal civilization which must be the ultimate purpose of the United Nations.

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the President of the Republic of Senegal most sincerely for the admirable address which he has just delivered, and I can assure him that it will be pondered upon most seriously by the Assembly.

^{1/} Official records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4405.

64. I will ask Members of the Assembly to remain in their places while I accompany the President of the Republic of Senegal from the Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 92

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

65. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to those representatives who have asked to speak regarding the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the United Nations.

66. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): It is with deep gratification and sincere joy that the Polish delegation welcomes the Mongolian People's Republic as a new Member of the United Nations. We welcome in our midst the representatives of a nation which represents one of the most ancient centres of civilization, for a State which has played an important part in the history of the continent of Asia and whose own history is closely linked with that of many other nations.

67. In our time the Mongolian People's Republic, through heroic efforts of its people, has made great strides in the successful development of the country; it has carried out economic and social reforms which resulted in raising high the level of education and culture and the living standard of the population. The freedom-loving Mongolian people have proved that, once a nation enters upon the road of socialism, it is possible, within the lifetime of one generation, to make huge steps forward and gain achievements which, indeed, can be the object of pride of the nation and of its friends.

68. Statistical facts and figures on the number of schools and students, on the extent of medical care, on books published, on the scholarly record of the Mongolian Academy of Science and on the achievements of Mongolian literature—these are all an eloquent illustration of how immense are the changes for the better in the life of the Mongolian People's Republic. Indeed, to study these successes becomes an invigorating experience in optimism and confidence in the potentialities of progress and development of mankind.

69. In its relations with other nations, the Mongolian People's Republic gives an excellent example of fruitful and friendly co-operation. The fact that the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic commands respect from other nations is confirmed again in the historic decision of the United Nations, a decision which constitutes another step towards implementation of the principles of universality of this Organization. We are convinced that the contribution of the Mongolian People's Republic to the work of the United Nations will help all of us in pursuing the purposes of the Charter.

70. The Polish nation maintains friendly ties and brotherly contacts with the Mongolian people. With each year the co-operation between our two countries becomes closer and more effective.

71. I wish on this occasion to convey our most warm-hearted congratulations to our friend, the Mongolian People's Republic, a proponent of the policy of peaceful coexistence and of international

co-operation. To the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, sitting now since 27 October in our midst, we extend our best wishes for success in their endeavours.

72. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): On behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, it is my pleasant duty to extend a sincere welcome to the Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic as a new Member State in the United Nations. For me, personally, the admission last Friday [1043rd meeting] of the Mongolian People's Republic had a special significance, as I had the honour to be the first ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to the Mongolian People's Republic.

73. It gives me added pleasure, therefore, to offer my congratulations on this ultimate achievement of its wish to participate in the work of the United Nations. For all of us here, the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic was significant as another important step forward towards the realization of the principle of universality. It is only with genuine universality of membership that the United Nations can function in a manner commensurate with the ideals on which it was founded.

74. Mr. Henry Ford COOPER (Liberia): It gives me and my delegation the greatest pleasure to welcome another African State, Mauritania, as a Member of this Organization. The admission of Mauritania as an independent State in Africa changes the colour and the pattern of the map of Africa, which was like the colours of the rainbow. Each colour represented the interest or claim of some colonial Power, which had the fate and destiny of millions of Africans in the palm of their hands. Happily, today, the map of Africa is undergoing a rapid change: the change from exploitation and suppression to peace and co-operation between the former oppressors and oppressed.

75. The admittance of any new State to this Organization brings nearer the realization of one of the aims of the Charter of the United Nations—"to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". It makes also true that part of the Charter which states one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System:

"to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world."

And, finally, it helps to achieve the aspirations of men to freedom and equality irrespective of race, creed or religion.

76. Mauritania now joins the ranks of free, independent countries, whose ultimate aim must be the final liquidation of suppression or exploitation and the eradication of all injustices, especially those based upon segregation and, finally, the raising of the standards of all peoples, dependent or independent.

77. Mauritania has been fortunate in achieving the final goal of all dependent peoples, which is complete freedom and independence without violence or bloodshed. We must therefore express our congratulations to France, which has had a hand in leading this country along the road to its independence. Its record, with a few exceptions, in dealing with colonial peoples has been one to be admired. It is therefore to be hoped that with the granting of independence to Al-

*Resumed from the 1043rd meeting.

geria, France will be numbered among the former imperial Powers that have brought culture and civilization and, finally, independence to subject peoples.

78. We again wish to express our congratulations to Mauritania, which has had a glorious record.

79. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): It is my privilege to extend on behalf of the delegations of Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as my own, heartfelt congratulations and a very warm welcome to the people, the Government and the delegation of Mauritania upon its entry into this family of United Nations. The three Benelux countries have always favoured Mauritania's early admission to the United Nations. We are happy that this has come about and we are certain that the delegation of Mauritania will make a valuable contribution, based on judicious study, to our discussions of all the questions coming before the United Nations in the years to come. I can assure them that we will listen to their voice with interest and with sympathy.

80. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): It is with pleasure that I take the floor to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, our great satisfaction with the fact that the General Assembly has decided, on the recommendation of the Security Council, to admit the Mongolian People's Republic to our Organization.

81. At the same time, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate sincerely the representatives of the Mongolian People's Republic on the admission of their country to the United Nations and to wish them much success in their activities in this Organization in connexion with strengthening peace and promoting peaceful co-operation among nations.

82. The people of Czechoslovakia—who are closely linked with the people of Mongolia by bonds of indestructible friendship and fraternal co-operation within the great free community of the socialist countries—welcome with pleasure and satisfaction the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations.

83. The Mongolian People's Republic has pursued a consistent policy of peace since its very inception. In its declaration of 14 September 1921, the Mongolian Government had already stated that it wished to establish and develop diplomatic and other relations with countries on the basis of equality and mutual recognition. During the past ten years the Mongolian Government has established diplomatic relations with a number of States whose combined population is more than half of the total world population.

84. This year the Mongolian people celebrated exactly forty years of the existence of its Republic. Official representatives of a number of States, among them India, Indonesia, Burma, Mali, Cambodia and others participated in these celebrations.

85. The Mongolian People's Republic firmly defends world peace, favours the solution of controversial questions by negotiation and strives for the widest possible peaceful co-operation among the nations of the world. This policy has been reflected in all documents issued by the Mongolian Government and in all positions taken in connexion with problems of the world, such as the question of general and complete disarmament, liquidation of colonialism in all its manifestations and forms, and the clearing away of the vestiges of the Second World War.

86. The imperialist Powers have tried in the past to keep Mongolia in the position of a dependent and incredibly backward country. However, in the forty years of its free life, the Mongolian people have managed by painstaking creative work to put an end to its age-old backwardness and attained such successes in the development of the national culture and economy that could not be achieved in the past in centuries.

87. The life of the Mongolian people—who, years ago, were dying out under colonial supremacy—has undergone a substantial change. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has successfully solved the cultural development of the Mongolian people, whose living standard has been constantly rising. After having successfully liquidated illiteracy, education and national culture today have been developed and health facilities expanded all over the country.

88. We are convinced that in the future also the Mongolian People's Republic will do its utmost to assist in further strengthening international security and peace, in developing friendly relations among nations and in promoting international co-operation. We wish the representatives of the Mongolian People's Republic much success in these efforts.

89. Mr. GARCIA-INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Since I am addressing the Assembly for the first time, I should like, first of all, to congratulate the President on his election to that high office.

90. My delegation also wishes to extend a word of welcome, on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, to the Mongolian People's Republic. We are certain that the participation of its delegation in the work of the United Nations will advance the cause of peace and contribute to the more effective fulfilment of the principles of the Charter.

91. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, I am glad to welcome the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic.

92. Our delegation is particularly happy to welcome the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic because, like many other countries, ever since the Mongolian People's Republic applied in 1946 for admission to the United Nations the Byelorussian SSR has been in favour of its being so admitted. The injustice shown over a series of years towards the Mongolian People's Republic has at last been removed and we warmly welcome, in this Hall, the representatives of the peaceful and industrious Mongolian people. We support the idea of the universality of the United Nations and are firmly convinced that, following the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic, the rights of the People's Republic of China will be restored.

93. The history of the Mongolian State is highly instructive. An ancient country of nomads and shepherds, it extends over an area of more than 1.5 million square kilometres, greater in size than such States as the United Kingdom, France and West Germany taken together. When the Mongolian people were under the power of feudal overlords and moneylenders, an extremely backward economy and low level of life characterized the existence of the inhabitants of the semi-desert, waterless areas of the Mongolian steppes.

94. A radical turning-point in the life of the Mongolian nation occurred when the people took the power into their own hands, proclaimed their republic and began a process of socio-economic and cultural transformation. They exchanged a nomadic life for a settled form of existence, built factories, railroads and mines, prospected for oil, metals, and water in the subsoil, and tilled hundreds of thousands of hectares of virgin land. In 1921 the first general educational school was opened at Ulan Bator, the capital, and today the Mongolian People's Republic has fifty-seven students in higher and secondary schools per 10,000 of the population. In 1961 an Academy of Sciences with five scientific research institutes was created in Mongolia. Within a single generation the Mongolian people has leapt from a state of feudal backwardness to a state of economic and cultural progress in all spheres of the nation's life. The Mongolian People's Republic has sought, and is now seeking, to develop friendly relations and connexions with all States without exception. The existence of diplomatic relations with twenty-one countries shows that the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic has been and still is based on the principle of respect for the equal rights of States and is directed towards the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

95. We are glad to note, and attach great significance to the fact, that henceforward the Mongolian people will be represented in the United Nations by their representatives and will, on a footing of equality with other sovereign States, take part in the discussing and settling of the international problems which confront the United Nations. The Byelorussian delegation is deeply convinced that the Mongolian People's Republic will make its valuable contribution to the implementation of the high aims and principles set forth in the United Nations Charter.

96. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): It is a great honour for me to be able, speaking here in this Assembly, to welcome the representatives of the Mongolian People's Republic, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government and people and on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

97. Forty years ago Mongolia was one of the most backward countries of Asia, a country in which feudalism reigned supreme. The people's revolution of 11 July 1921 opened the way to the socialist development of the country and to its rapid progress in all fields.

98. The Mongolian people has thus demonstrated that it is now possible to pass from the stage of feudalism directly to the socialist organization of society and of the national economy without going through the stage of capitalism. The example of this courageous people and the fruits of its efforts are eloquent proof of what a people can accomplish, once it has thrown off the yoke of feudalism, colonialism and imperialism and has become master of its own fate.

99. These successes of the Mongolian people would not have been possible if the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic had not pursued a firm and consistent policy of peace, co-operation and peaceful coexistence with all peoples. Despite the efforts of imperialist countries and circles to keep the Mongolian People's Republic from participating in inter-

national life, today it maintains diplomatic relations with more than twenty countries.

100. This then is a country, a people, among so many others, which a blind policy of discrimination kept out of our Organization for fifteen years. Yes, it was fifteen years ago that Mongolia applied for admission to the United Nations.^{2/} The admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations is thus not only a triumph for the just cause of the Mongolian people; it is also a step towards affirmation of the principles of the universality of our Organization; a principle so often violated by the Western Powers. We should all applaud this victory of the forces of peace over the forces which, year after year, try to keep out of this Organization countries whose political, economic and social systems are not to their taste.

101. In hailing the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, we should not forget that we still have much to do to enable the Organization to assume the truly representative character which it should possess. The next step—relating to a question which the Organization has had before it for more than ten years, and which is again on the Assembly's agenda—is to recognize the lawful rights of the great Chinese people, by immediately expelling the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all organs of the United Nations and inviting the Government of the People's Republic of China to send its representatives to participate in the work of the Organization's various bodies. It is high time to put an end once and for all to the dilatory tactics of certain Powers with regard to this question, the solution of which brooks no further delay. It is high time that the United Nations faced the reality of the world as it is today and curbed the manoeuvres of the reactionary forces.

102. Let me, in welcoming the representatives of the Mongolian people, express my delegation's satisfaction that the United Nations has gained not only a new Member but also a new and convinced champion of the cause of peace and of peaceful coexistence among peoples, a new supporter firmly devoted to the principles of the Charter.

103. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is very happy to extend today the most cordial welcome to a sister country from the great family of the socialist camp, in its capacity as a new Member of the United Nations: the Mongolian People's Republic.

104. We all know that this country, which was of old an independent and sovereign State and which applied for admission to the United Nations more than fifteen years ago, should have been enabled to take its place among us long since.

105. The unanimous vote in favour of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations is proof that the need to ensure for nations the full exercise of their legitimate rights as independent and sovereign States and worthy members of the international community, is weightier than any unjustifiable resistance or opposition, whatever its source; and that the principle of the universality of our Organization will finally triumph, so helping to consolidate the authority of the United Nations and

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, First Year, Second Series, Supplement No. 4, document S/95.

increasing its effectiveness. In this connexion I cannot but stress the importance of restoring, without further delay, the lawful rights of the great People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

106. My delegation greatly rejoices that another socialist State is being added to the number of socialist States which are already Members of the United Nations. We thus have among us another sister country, known for its policy of peace and for its sustained efforts to promote, among nations, good-neighbourly relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

107. The Mongolian People's Republic, which achieved its people's revolution forty years ago, has made great strides in economic and cultural development and in the building of socialism. Once a backward pastoral country, Mongolia is today an agricultural and industrial nation making rapid progress in all fields as it builds its new life.

108. The bonds of close and indestructible friendship which link the People's Republic of Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic, as also all the other countries in the socialist camp, are based on our common ideals, on our unshakable faith in the fundamental rights of peoples great and small, and on our policy of peace and co-operation among nations.

109. The Albanian people and its Government warmly welcome the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. We are convinced that this country will make a valuable contribution to our work and to our efforts to settle major international problems by peaceful means, to implement the lofty principles enshrined in the Charter and to make our Organization into a real instrument for the consolidation of international peace and security for co-operation between nations.

110. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania extends its most friendly congratulations to the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, and welcomes it to our ranks.

111. Mr. UNG BOUN HOR (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation is happy to welcome, as new Members of the United Nations, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. We warmly congratulate them and we are convinced that they will join in our efforts to ensure peace and to safeguard the future of humanity.

112. We are all the more pleased in that, for us, the admission of every new Member State is in itself a victory over the still tenacious grip of colonialism and at the same time brings us closer to that universality which the United Nations should reflect.

113. We are particularly glad that justice should at last be done to the Mongolian People's Republic, which has been waiting since 1946 for its rights to be recognized.

114. Outer Mongolia, like the Kingdom of Cambodia, is one of the most ancient countries of Asia. In the distant past, more than 700 years ago, ties between our two countries were established and visits by ambassadors were exchanged. Those ties were renewed on the occasion of the official visit which our Chief of State, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, paid to Ulan Bator in December 1960. At the present time the Mongolian People's Republic and the Kingdom of Cambodia maintain diplomatic rela-

tions and are linked in disinterested friendship, in pursuance of their common policy of friendship between all peoples and peaceful coexistence among States having different political and social systems.

115. We have always thought that the Mongolian People's Republic should be a Member of the United Nations as a matter of course, and that it was unjust to continue to ignore the existence of Mongolia and its people in the great international assemblies. Accordingly, we did not fail to speak out in support of the recommendation for Mongolia's admission, when, during the resumed fifteenth session [989th meeting], the General Assembly was seized of a draft resolution on the subject.

116. In adopting unanimously the draft resolution co-sponsored by Cambodia [A/L.359 and Add.1 and 2], the General Assembly has given proof of its wisdom and has subscribed to our standpoint. We rejoice that it has done so, and wish to express our congratulations, once again to our friends of the Mongolian delegation.

117. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic addresses, from this rostrum, its fraternal greetings to the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic on the occasion of that country's admission to membership in the United Nations. We consider that the Assembly, in admitting this new Member, has simply discharged a long-standing debt to a peaceful and industrious people.

118. We also consider that, by that admission, the Assembly has taken a step towards achieving the universality of the Organization which is one of the fundamental principles set forth in the Charter—a principle which, unfortunately, is often violated by "cold war" manoeuvres. Indeed, I cannot let this solemn occasion pass without emphasizing that, so long as the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are not restored, we cannot regard ourselves as a truly international organization.

119. We think that, in admitting Mongolia, the Assembly had done the United Nations a signal service. My country has for many years had friendly relations with the Mongolian People's Republic. We therefore know of the successful efforts made by the Mongolian people, during the four decades since the establishment of its independent State, to transform a backward and feudal country into a flourishing socialist country. We are also aware of this country's astonishing cultural development—astonishing even by the standards of the most highly civilized States.

120. We are therefore entitled to say that the participation of the Mongolian delegation in the work of the United Nations will be a great contribution to the Organization itself and to the preservation of peace for the generations to come.

121. That is why my delegation is happy to address the "best wishes of the Hungarian people to the People's Republic of Mongolia on the occasion of its admission to membership in the United Nations, and I consider myself greatly honoured to be the bearer of those good wishes here.

122. We wish it success in its contribution to the work of the Organization, in its endeavour at the international level to promote peace, and in its efforts to build a better life within its own country.

123. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On 27 October 1961 the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Security Council [A/4940], unanimously adopted a resolution for the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic [1630 (XVI)]. Thus a flagrant injustice has now been remedied—an injustice committed against our fraternal country of Mongolia ever since in 1946, it first applied for membership of the United Nations. The Government of Mongolia then stated clearly that it was able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter, and it repeated that declaration every time it renewed its application for admission.

124. The Ukraine was one of the States Members of the United Nations which considered, and were convinced, that Mongolia was a peace-loving State possessing the necessary prerequisites and ability to carry out its obligations under the Charter.

125. The Mongolian People's Republic, as is well known, follows a peaceful policy directed towards the establishment of lasting peace, friendship and co-operation with all countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

126. Unfortunately, for fifteen years certain countries opposed the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. In 1946 we were told that there was not "sufficient information" about this country. A couple of years later the same countries began to question the peaceful character of the Mongolian People's Republic's foreign policy. When 1950 arrived, Mongolia was reproached with having no diplomatic relations with all the Members of the United Nations; and that was said, unfortunately, about a country which, by the will of its people, had accomplished a truly historic change from feudalism straight to socialism, thus proving that in our day peoples can, in their development, skip the capitalistic phase. There are quite a few countries in the world which make it their aim to break out from the primitive and narrow confines of feudal and semi-feudal conditions and set foot on the road to economic and social development. The historic example of Mongolia in this connexion may in our view, prove to be invaluable.

127. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has, at last, occupied its seats in the General Assembly Hall. On behalf of the Government and people of the Ukraine, I sincerely congratulate the Mongolian People's Republic on its admission to the United Nations. The voice of the Mongolian people will, at last, make its great contribution to the struggle for the renovation of old forms of life, and will mingle with the voices of the States that are fighting for the realization in actual practice of the lofty aims and principles of the United Nations.

128. The Ukrainian delegation has noted that on this occasion the representative of the United States did not, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, speak against the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic. In the Security Council, in particular, it abstained from using its right to veto. It may be that the United States Government will find a formula for remedying another crying injustice—that is, for solving the problem of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. I repeat—it may be. We understand how difficult it is to discard the burden of past and present mistakes and misconceptions. But is there

anyone present in this Hall who would not congratulate the United States delegation if it renounced the policy of blocking the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations? It is true that the General Assembly itself, as at present composed, now has in this respect real opportunities of correcting its own and other people's mistakes. It can immediately grant to the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations, and who knows—possibly, by so doing, the General Assembly might also help the United States Government to get out of the blind alley in which it finds itself.

129. In conclusion, we once again express our deep satisfaction that the Mongolian People's Republic has become the hundred-and-second Member of the United Nations; and we ask the Mongolian delegation to accept sincere congratulations from the Ukraine.

130. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic joyfully hails the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations consequent upon the unanimous recommendation of the General Assembly. It addresses its warm congratulations to the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

131. The Romanian People's Republic has for a number of years maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the Mongolian People's Republic, and notes with satisfaction that these relations are constantly developing, to the benefit of both countries.

132. Mongolia is one of the oldest States on the continent of Asia. The independent and sovereign People's Mongolian State was established forty years ago, after the long struggle for national liberation carried on by the Mongolian people. During the four decades of its existence the Mongolian People's Republic has made substantial progress as regards the country's economic and cultural development and the raising of its people's level of living. Mongolia today is a flourishing agricultural and industrial country. Since the first days of its existence as an independent and sovereign State, the Mongolian People's Republic has pursued a foreign policy based on good neighbourliness and co-operation with all States.

133. Unreservedly supporting the principles of the Charter, the Mongolian People's Republic has been seeking admission to the United Nations since 1946. The admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations has remedied one of the injustices fastened on this Organization over a very long period of time, and marks a new step towards the universality of the United Nations. The Romanian Government has always considered that the more faithfully the Organization reflects the image of the contemporary world, the greater its prestige and effectiveness will be. The interests of peace demand that the principle of the universality of the United Nations should not be sacrificed to the narrow political interests of certain Powers. Yet so long as the Chinese people continues to be deprived of the rights lawfully pertaining to a people whose country is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, and so long as many other peoples are kept out of the Organization by colonial servitude, the United Nations will not be truly universal.

134. In conclusion, let me convey once more to the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic the warm congratulations of the Romanian delegation,

and express the hope that its activity within the United Nations for the advancement of the cause of peace and international co-operation will be fruitful.

135. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): My delegation takes pleasure in welcoming the two newest Members of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. We had the honour of co-sponsoring Mongolia's admission to this great world Organization. My country maintains diplomatic relations with Mongolia. His Majesty the King of Nepal was recently in that country on a State visit, a visit which we believe has certainly further strengthened the good relations already existing between my country and this central Asian Republic which, after nearly sixteen years of patient waiting, has finally taken its rightful place in this great assembly of nations.

136. My country along with several others, also had to wait for its admission to membership in the United Nations for nearly six years. We are, therefore, particularly sympathetic to the desire of all nations to join the world Organization, irrespective of their social or political systems. My country's view on this matter is well known. It is in keeping with my country's past record that my delegation also heartily congratulates the Islamic Republic of Mauritania upon its admission to membership in the United Nations. We regret that certain historic differences with its neighbour prevented it from being welcomed unanimously into our midst. We had hoped that these differences could be amicably settled between people who have a common history and a cultural affinity. Since that was not possible we were constrained to abstain in our vote on the admission of Mauritania but now that it is in our midst, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to assure the delegation of Mauritania that we honestly look forward to working together in the common cause of international peace and development.

137. Mr. ORTIZ MARTINEZ (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): The new countries which have just become Members of the United Nations bring with them the determination to work diligently for the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations Charter and will, I am certain, help to strengthen this Organization, which was established to maintain world peace. The countries of Latin America, which have made a continuing contribution to all the noble undertakings aimed at upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence, consider it fitting that they should extend a warm welcome to all the new Member States, whose efforts will lend new vigour to the fight for peace.

138. I therefore wish, on behalf of the great majority of the nations of Latin America, to welcome the new Member States of Mongolia and Mauritania to our Organization.

139. Mr. PLIMPTON (United States of America): In the name of the United States delegation I should like to reiterate the pleasure of the United States people and the United States Government at the long-delayed accession of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations. We deeply regretted the unjust and illegal veto that was responsible for that delay. We are convinced that Mauritania is eager to shoulder, not only the privileges, but the responsibilities of membership and that it will accord responsibilities of membership and that it will accordingly contribute wisely and fruitfully to our

future deliberations. We offer our warmest and most sincere congratulations to the Government and people of the Republic of Mauritania and welcome its distinguished delegation. We wish them all success and look forward with pleasant anticipation to working with them in this world Organization.

140. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation is very glad to welcome the entrance of the Mongolian People's Republic into the United Nations family. It is especially agreeable to note the fact that the Mongolian People's Republic is the first of the socialist countries of Asia to occupy its lawful seat in the United Nations.

141. From the first days of its existence as a sovereign State, the Mongolian People's Republic has followed a peaceful foreign policy consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It invariably champions the cause of practical international co-operation and fully supports the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and economic systems.

142. As early as 1946, soon after the creation of the United Nations, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic applied for membership of the United Nations and thereafter more than once renewed its application. As a result, however, of the opposition and discriminatory policy of certain Powers, the Mongolian People's Republic, regrettably, remained outside the framework of the United Nations. It is therefore all the more gratifying to recognize the fact that the historical injustice done to the Mongolian People's Republic has, at last, been brought to an end; the cause of justice has triumphed, and the Mongolian People's Republic has at this session been admitted to membership of our Organization.

143. It is significant that on this occasion no one, either in the Security Council or in the plenary Assembly, raised any objection to the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations. This was clear proof of the complete hopelessness and artificiality of the position of those countries which so long opposed a positive solution of this problem.

144. It is also significant that during the voting in the Security Council, one seat at the Council table was empty—the seat that is still being illegally occupied by the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who merely hinder the activity of our Organization and do enormous damage to its prestige. It is precisely because they took no part in the vote that the Council and General Assembly were able to adopt a correct decision regarding the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic.

145. This underlines once again the urgent need for restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and for immediately expelling from the United Nations the persons who illegally occupy the seat of the great country of China. Such action would constitute a serious contribution to the cleansing of the whole international atmosphere, would make it easier for the United Nations to fulfil many important tasks, would create more favourable conditions for genuine international co-operation and would make our Organization really universal.

146. While welcoming today the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, we should like to pay due tribute to the efforts of

many countries, Members of the United Nations, particularly among the countries of Africa and Asia, which have greatly contributed to the cause of re-establishing justice and have thus helped towards a successful ending of the struggle which the Mongolian People's Republic and its friends have been carrying on for fifteen years to secure its admission to membership in the United Nations.

147. In conclusion, may I, on behalf of the Government and delegation of the Soviet Union, wish the Mongolian People's Republic further success in the struggle for world peace, and success in its active work in all the organs of the United Nations.

148. Mr. TSEVEGMID (Mongolian People's Republic) (translated from Russian): We have just listened to the congratulations addressed by the representatives of several States to my country on the occasion of its entry into the United Nations. Permit me, on behalf of my delegation, to express our deep gratitude for their sincere welcome, the warmth of their words, and their good wishes.

149. I would take advantage of this opportunity also to express my sincere thanks to the representatives

of those countries which co-sponsored the General Assembly resolution concerning the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations [1630 (XVI)].

150. It was with great satisfaction and a feeling of legitimate pride that our delegation today attended, outside the United Nations building, the ceremony of raising the national flag of the Mongolian People's Republic, an independent, free, democratic and peace-loving State.

151. The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic have always sought, and will in future seek, to live in friendship with all peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, an attitude which fully conforms with the aims and principles of the United Nations.

152. In conclusion, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on being elected to this high position in the General Assembly and to wish you success in your work.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.