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Chairman of the delegation of Norway**

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Temporary President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO
(Norway).

President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman
of the delegation of Norway**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the
twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

The representatives stood in silence.

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: We have just termi-
nated the first year of the second quarter century of the life
of this Organization. We note with regret that there has
been little discernible progress during the last year with
regard to the situation in the Middle East and the prevailing
conditions of colonial suppression and racial discrimination
in southern Africa. But on the positive side an important
development has taken place since we last met. The United
States of America and the People's Republic of China have
taken steps with a view to normalizing their relations. These
steps will undoubtedly have considerable significance also
for the United Nations, and may eventually lead to
increased possibilities for the Organization to perform its
functions under the Charter. Furthermore, the Quadri-
partite Agreement on Berlin¹ represents an important
contribution to a continuation of *détente* between Eastern
and Western Europe.

4. Also on the positive side the Treaty on the Prohibition
of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other
Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean
Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV),
annex] was signed on 11 February this year by 67 States in
London, Moscow and Washington.

5. However, the signature of that Treaty is only one of the
many steps which must be taken in order to create a new
régime for the seas, what is in them, on them and under
them.

6. The preservation of the marine environment is of
special importance not only because the oceans are a major
source of food and the main road of transportation among
nations but also because the oceans are a vital element in
our planetary life system and the continuous life cycle of
our globe.

7. Consequently the time has long since passed when the
oceans could be used as a dumping place for ever-increasing
masses of harmful waste, and measures on the national level
will not suffice; we must find international solutions to
these problems.

¹ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

*The printed official records of the plenary meetings
of the General Assembly are published in fascicle
form, the record of each meeting being issued
separately. A prefatory fascicle is issued for each
session, containing a table of contents and the
agenda.*

8. The environment and the threat from pollution have been recognized as important issues in both the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Therefore, nations are following with special attention the preparatory work being performed for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held at Stockholm in June 1972. That Conference can—and must—become of crucial importance for our world.

9. It would also be right and proper at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly to give the highest priority to the problems of disarmament. The ban on production and possession of biological and toxin weapons, which is now the subject of negotiation, should be followed up as soon as possible by a ban on chemical weapons in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly.

10. Earlier this year one of the greatest tragedies in human terms since the last world war erupted in the Asian sub-continent. Millions of refugees suffer untold misery. The international community has again generously responded to appeals for assistance in the humanitarian field. But the money and supplies made available are still not sufficient and prove the urgency of making further progress in the field of international disaster relief. This event has also shown how very tenuous is the line of demarcation between humanitarian relief and political action. May I express the fervent hope that such conditions will soon be established that the flow of refugees can be stopped and the refugees return home.

11. Moreover, it is of urgent importance that in the years ahead our Organization should be strengthened in all possible ways.

12. It would be a small but still important step in the right direction if we could take serious measures to solve the financial crisis of the United Nations.

13. One dominant impression which I gathered as President of the twenty-fifth session was that all delegations, without exception, have a strong interest not only in preserving but also in strengthening the United Nations. I wonder, however, if all Members fully realize that this will not be possible unless a solution is found to the financial difficulties of the Organization.

14. As members will know, responding to a request from the Secretary-General at the end of the last session of the Assembly, I undertook to join him in his efforts to search for ways and means by which solutions to these difficulties might be found so that the Organization could be put on a sound and working footing.

15. I have the distinct impression that the seriousness of the situation—and I do not hesitate to call it the desperate seriousness of the situation—was, in some cases for the first time, brought home to many delegations. However, we are still looking for a significant break-through that could give us some realistic hope of saving the United Nations machinery from grinding to a halt in the not very distant future.

16. I still hope that the common interest in saving the prestige and capabilities of the United Nations will be

strong enough to avoid the financial bankruptcy of the Organization, and I am glad to be able to tell you that negotiations are still actively going on.

17. We should show a greater sense of proportion and a keener understanding of priorities if we redressed the glaring and tragic imbalance between what the nations spend on armaments and what they are willing to spend for peace and constructive purposes.

18. This session of the General Assembly will also be called upon to take important decisions in the economic and social field, particularly with regard to the evaluation machinery to be set up for review and appraisal of the progress achieved in the implementation of the measures and attainment of objectives embodied in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. The Economic and Social Council has presented to the Assembly a comprehensive recommendation on these matters, a recommendation that will, it is hoped, serve as a useful basis for the Assembly's deliberations of the issues involved.

19. The problems in front of us are great indeed and will call for all our strength, imagination and dedication and, above all, the political will of Governments to solve these problems.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

20. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly at the beginning of each session shall appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly I propose that, for the twenty-sixth session, the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Australia, Colombia, France, Ireland, Liberia, Mongolia, Somalia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that those countries are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 80

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions

21. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite the attention of the members of the General Assembly to the addendum to the report of the Committee on Contributions [A/8411/Add.1]. I also invite attention to document A/8397, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that "one Member State, namely, Yemen, is in arrears in the payment of its contribution to the United Nations regular budget within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter".

22. Document A/8397 also contains a letter from the Permanent Representative of Yemen, in which he informs the Secretary-General that a remittance in the necessary amount is on its way and requests that his State be permitted to vote. He refers to certain circumstances which have caused the delay in this remittance.

23. In this connexion, I invite the attention of Members of the Assembly to the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, which states:

"The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member."

24. On the basis of the letter in document A/8397 explaining the delay in the remittance as being due to conditions beyond the control of the Member concerned, the Assembly may wish to permit that Member to vote under the second sentence of Article 19 for the brief period that will be required for the remittance to reach the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General will naturally report to the Assembly as soon as the money is received, and I believe he should be requested to do so in any event by 27 September at the latest. If I hear no objections from any delegation, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

25. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Smirnov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Odero-Jowi (Kenya) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	125
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	125
Abstentions:	3
Number of members voting:	122
Required majority:	62

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. Malik (Indonesia)	119
Mr. Aidit	1
Mr. Eban (Israel)	1
Mr. Rossides (Cyprus)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Adam Malik (Indonesia) was elected President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

26. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Malik and invite him to assume the

Presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Malik took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Adam Malik, President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly

27. The PRESIDENT: It is with gratitude and humility that I accept the Assembly's decision by which I have been elected to preside over this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The distinction and trust you have thus accorded me is an honour for my country and my region. I shall endeavour to my utmost to fulfil in the true spirit of the Charter your mandate and the duties incumbent upon me in this high office.

28. I am privileged, first of all, to convey our sincere appreciation to my predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro of Norway, who has just completed his term of office as our President. The competence and expertise he applied to the discharge of his functions and, above all, his wisdom and clarity of vision no doubt contributed decisively to the twenty-fifth anniversary session. The high standards he set are indeed a worthy example for me to emulate. To that end I shall solicit the co-operation and support of all representatives and shall, of course, gratefully avail myself of the wise guidance and counsel of our highly esteemed Secretary-General, as well as of his able and experienced associates in the Secretariat.

29. Last year we commemorated a landmark in the life of our Organization, the passing of the first quarter-century of its existence. It was a time for celebration, as well as for sober reflection. Under the motto of "Peace, justice and progress", we solemnly reaffirmed the high principles of the Charter of the United Nations and adopted unanimously the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States [resolution 2625 (XXV)], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], and the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], as well as a Programme of Action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 2621 (XXV)]. That session was also a time to remind ourselves of the next milestone in the life of humanity on this globe: the approaching final quarter of the twentieth century. It is in the coming few years that we must lay the groundwork for getting us safely through the closing years of this century.

30. Most of us, I am sure, are aware of the gradual transformation of the international order from the rigid, bipolar constellation of contending forces of the early post-war decades to the new, multicentred power configuration taking shape today. We take heart in seeing signs of a growing inclination towards *détente* among the major Powers of the world, shifting away from ideological intolerance towards new forms of coexistence and global accommodation.

31. We all know that this process has not been set in motion by any single factor or event. It is rather the

cumulative influence of various and often interlocking developments. The emergence and growing assertiveness of an increasing number of new nation-States as a result of decolonization is one of them. The spectacular resurgence of older nations, previously devastated by the Second World War, is another. The fragmentation of monolithic power blocs, both in the West and in the East, and the attainment of nuclear parity between the super-Powers are perhaps the most important of them all.

32. Yet, however vital these transformations may be in the context of international politics, they are, I believe, but partial manifestations of a much more profound shift in man's perception of the world and of world conditions today.

33. It was perhaps man's flight into space which first made us realize the fragility of human life as a phenomenon in the universe and the relativity of many of the political problems we have been absorbed in for so long. This new awareness has sharpened our perception of other problems, of far greater and decisive significance—problems which transcend national boundaries and ideological divisions, problems that confront the world community as a whole.

34. Many of these problems are consequences of modern technology. Our concern here is not limited to the development of nuclear weapons alone; it includes the peaceful uses of technology as well. From the outset, man has used technology to alter his environment in quest of greater convenience and happiness, and we do not minimize its positive achievements in this respect. Technology has helped to combat disease and famine, relieve misery and prevent natural disasters; it has opened unprecedented opportunities for progress in many countries of the world. We should continue to use technology, ensuring that the whole world shares in its benefits. However, technology has also produced the terrifying arsenal of warfare and has often served the interests of oppression, intimidation and economic exploitation. Now a stage is being reached where a runaway technology threatens to degrade the very quality of human life and even to alter the biological nature of man himself.

35. The central problem, therefore, is not in the nature of technology itself but rather in its control, and in the purposes and direction of its further development. For the ecological cost of modern, unbridled technology and insensible exhaustion of resources has brought home to us the finiteness of the life support systems on our globe.

36. An even more distressing trend is that the tremendous advances of modern technology continue to widen rather than narrow the gap between rich and poor, between developed and developing, both within nations and between nations. This widening disparity in growth and income between the developed and the developing countries, the persistent maldistribution of resources, and the growing mass unemployment in the poor countries do not merely threaten international stability and security; they conjure up the frightening spectre of a world again polarized into two opposing camps. But this time it is between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, between north and south.

37. Then there is the population problem. The likelihood that 30 years from now the world population may have doubled is bound to further magnify the scale and intensity of the problem mentioned earlier. The question that arises is: Will mankind be able to organize itself adequately to meet this challenge? Will mankind be able to provide a decent life for these multitudes? Will we be able in that way to secure at least a tolerable level of civilized life for all before the century is over?

38. The population explosion, national and international poverty, the harnessing of a runaway technology, the destruction of human ecology are in my view some of the major problems which will determine man's capacity to survive in the quarter century to come. Unless we accord the necessary priority to their solution, on a scale commensurate with their magnitude and urgency, the transitory world order of today may well end in collapse.

39. In this context, and in the light of recent events in the Middle East, I feel constrained as President of the General Assembly to appeal most urgently to all the parties concerned to do their utmost to prevent renewed hostilities and to continue their peace efforts.

40. Our capacity to organize ourselves to these ends, however, is seriously impaired by some persistent political problems. It is impossible to hope for the establishment of a world order capable of addressing itself to these crucial problems as long as a substantial number of peoples are denied their right to self-determination, as long as the utter immorality of *apartheid* and racialism continues to be condoned, and as long as too many nations remain undeterred in their interference in the domestic affairs of other countries going through internal upheaval and civil strife. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions on all these problems. However, unless much more serious efforts are made to translate them into action, and to overcome narrow notions of national interest and national sovereignty that hamper their implementation, we will not be able to rise to the challenges I have mentioned.

41. It must be clear by now that none of these problems can be regarded as the exclusive concern of a single nation or a particular group of nations; nor can any single nation, however powerful or affluent, hope to solve them on its own. Until we succeed in developing a collective capacity to deal with these world problems, the rich will become richer and the poor poorer, the strong more insensitive and the weak more vulnerable, and world peace is bound to suffer.

42. You know that the role of prophet of doom hardly fits my personality, and I do not intend to become one at this late stage of life. Still, I strongly feel that a note of warning should be sounded emphatically. Coming from Asia and from a country with a very low per capita income, it is with a sense of special urgency that I speak on these issues. For I strongly believe that there can be no separate future for the rich and the poor; there must be a common future for all of us or there will be no future for any of us; there can be no lasting international peace, except in conjunction with generalized and just international development; there can be no workable international order unless a sensible balance is struck between world population and

world resources, and unless developmental goals are linked with environmental objectives.

43. A new universal interdependence is beginning to manifest itself, which may perhaps be called the interdependence for survival. What we need, first of all, is a new and broader vision to accompany it, a vision that would enable us to recast fundamentally our perception of problems and make possible new approaches as well as the redirection of resources that will be required for their solution; a new global awareness, rooted in the heightened sense of human solidarity and going beyond the self-centred precepts of nation-States and the ideological reflexes that have guided our actions during the past decades; a vision that does not speak to the fears under which we live, but rather to the hopes of mankind for a brighter future that technologically could, and morally should, be within our grasp.

44. It is in this light that we should search for solutions to those problems that have persistently preoccupied our minds and efforts, here in this hall as well as outside it: problems of intermittent war and disarmament, of poverty and economic development, of decolonization, and of racial and other forms of discrimination.

45. The progress we have made on the road to halt the arms race has been slow and arduous. Yet the present strategic parity between the major nuclear Powers provides us with perhaps a last chance to effect a decisive breakthrough towards disarmament, before we face a drift towards a new spiralling arms race. All nations, and especially all nuclear Powers, none excluded, should actively participate in removing this basic threat endangering world peace, as well as in effectively solving all other pressing problems. For unless we can create an international order which will make it possible to reallocate the hundreds of billions of dollars now expended on armaments to a concerted attack on the fundamental problems of population, unemployment and poverty, peace on this globe will remain an empty pursuit. The creation of such an international order should be not only the privilege of the big Powers, but equally the responsibility of the smaller nations. Therefore, let us hope that in moving towards new arrangements regarding international security and disarmament, this principle will be given due weight.

46. We have proclaimed the 1970s to be the Second United Nations Development Decade. We have adopted the International Development Strategy to guide us in securing its objectives. No one, no nation in the world, can have any quarrel with the lofty goals embodied in this resolve, and indeed we have all given it our strong support. But here again, unless our efforts are rooted in a new awareness of the inter-connexion of all the major problems I have been speaking of, and infused with a much greater sense of urgency, the Second Development Decade is doomed to become just another highly inspiring yet unrelated United Nations endeavour, quite laudable in itself but in effect relegated to the archives of history.

47. The present international monetary crisis only further underlines the interdependence between the rich and the poor countries. If a new international monetary system is to be worked out, by the rich countries together—and I repeat, together—with the poor, it should be geared to a

more dynamic concept of world trade, based on a new international division of labour between the developing and the developed countries. Seen in this light, it becomes obvious that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should be forged into one of the important instruments for such a reordering of the relationship between the poor and the rich countries.

48. For the Second Development Decade to succeed, the United Nations must acknowledge the crucial link between international peace and international social justice. We must reduce the many imbalances between the rich and the poor countries, in the distribution of wealth and power, in the use of the earth's limited raw materials, and in the access to and the creation of new scientific and technological knowledge. Development and environmental protection should not be competing endeavours; rather, we must reconcile the needs for development with those for the continued viability of man's environment. Only then can we confidently proceed to prepare for the future exploitation of new resources, of the continental shelf, and of the sea-bed and ocean floor for the common benefit of all and with justice for all.

49. It is in this connexion, therefore, that we should look to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm in June 1972, as a timely and important effort to provide us with the greater insights and balanced concepts needed to guide our future actions on this score.

50. There is no doubt in my mind that the nations of the world have little time to lose in articulating such a global vision and in fashioning the organizational tools needed for a rational and concerted attack on world problems. Our experience so far may prove insufficient for this task. Our institutions are still far from adequate, and imaginative innovation will certainly be required. A start in this direction should be made, consciously, purposefully and promptly. I can see no better place to begin than right here.

51. The United Nations, initially conceived principally to ensure international security in the world, has gradually evolved, with considerable success, into the international forum for the formulation and launching of development programmes. It would be only logical now for this world assembly to evolve into a focal point of all the efforts of mankind to secure its own survival and into an instrument with which to nurture and structure at least the minimum conditions for civilized life for all in the kind of world in which we will have to live.

52. Here I am not in the first place thinking of specific organizational structures, although they will of course have to materialize at some stage. I am speaking rather of a new orientation, a new ethos.

53. This orientation, this new ethos, should also relate to our new constituency—that of the younger generations of the world. We must realize that, unless the United Nations makes sense and is meaningful to the youth of today, the Organization is doomed to atrophy or irrelevance. It is, after all, their future even more than it is ours, the older generations that we are speaking of.

54. Throughout history each generation has brought with it its own ideals and aspirations. In the new generations emerging today, the changes in values and life styles are manifestations of the rapid social, cultural and political changes through which the whole world is passing.

55. The new perceptions of the fragility of human life, the new awareness of the finiteness of the globe's life-sustaining systems, the heightened sense of moral indignation at continued injustice, but especially the uncertainty of their own future—these are the factors that have determined the changes in orientation, values and life styles among the young. These are the factors that underlie their despair and their militancy, as well as their hope.

56. In the developing countries, the lack of educational opportunities and the spectre of unemployment mixed with their hope and commitment in the efforts of nation-building give a special cast to the mood of the young.

57. Thus, the world's younger generations reflect not only the uncertainties and agonies of the present but also the promise of the future. To my mind, there is no doubt that for all the confusion and contradictions that mark their emergence, these younger generations are the carriers of a new idealism; they are the vehicles of a new sense of global human solidarity, cutting across national boundaries.

58. The problems of this Assembly are also their problems—not simply in intellectual terms. It should be realized that these problems and our inability to solve them have left their indelible mark on our youth.

59. It is in this light, too, that we must understand their impatient insistence on new departures, new solutions. The need for us to redefine our aspirations in terms which make sense to the youth of today is therefore crucial. We have to harness their idealism and give it concrete international purpose by relating it to the accumulated experience and knowledge within the United Nations. Let us, the old and the new generations, work together within the framework of the United Nations for the solution of problems affecting our collective survival. This may well give an added impetus to the United Nations to rise above the conflicts of the world today and to come to grips with the great problems of our future existence.

60. Whether this can happen will of course depend on what its Member States, and especially the major Powers, want to make of the United Nations. An essential condition will be not only to strengthen the United Nations moral right to speak on behalf of all, but also to ensure its operational continuity. It is a sad reflection of the present state of affairs, therefore, to find our Organization, after 25 years of life, still engulfed in the gravest crisis yet affecting its solvency.

61. We all know that last year my predecessor, Mr. Hambrø, graciously made his good offices available to join the Secretary-General in searching for avenues that could lead us out of our long-standing financial difficulties. Now the United Nations has for all practical purposes reached a state of bankruptcy. None of us can run away from this grim reality.

62. This Assembly may therefore be the last opportunity to take the actions that can no longer be deferred. For this we need the co-operation of all; we can no longer afford to shirk the unavoidable political and legal decisions necessary not only to solve these long-neglected problems, but, even more so, to assure the future solvency and viability of the United Nations.

63. We must come to the realization that at some point every nation, big or small, strong or weak, will need the United Nations. Those among us who at one time or another thought that they could afford to do without the United Nations or that they could exclude it from certain problems have come to regret such a view. In this context, I speak from the perspective of a country which at one point vacated its United Nations seat—and returned to it.

64. In this era of universal interdependence, therefore, let this Assembly resolve to become, and to be remembered as,

— An Assembly of universality that has begun the conscious effort to build a new international order in which the diversity of nations is set in the essential unity of mankind. We Indonesians have a phrase for it: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, meaning unity in diversity;

— An Assembly forging a true universality of membership to encompass all nations of the world, including the divided nations, without prejudice as to political ideology, social system or legal recognition;

— An Assembly working towards a universality of peace, one and indivisible, throughout the entire globe; a peace not shaped only by the powerful but resulting from just relations between all nations; a peace that can bring an end to the agony of war in Indo-China and the Middle East and to the anguish of refugees and victims of political and social disruptions everywhere;

— An Assembly offering a universality of hope, for the rich and the poor alike; a hope that reflects the universal capacity of man to reassert himself and his humanity in the face of the challenging problems of tomorrow; a hope for a new world order where there is peace, freedom and justice, and a materially sufficient, as well as a meaningful, life for all;

— Finally, an Assembly giving proof of the United Nations capacity to respond constructively to the demands of our time.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

65. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to examine item 25 of its agenda entitled, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give newly independent States which have been recommended by the Security Council for membership in our Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly acts favourably on their request, of participating from the

outset in the work of this session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in that manner.

It was so decided.

66. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has unanimously recommended the admission of Bhutan [A/8273], Bahrain [A/8359] and Qatar [A/8381] to membership in the United Nations.

67. I suggest that we consider first draft resolution A/L.627 and Add.1, on the admission of Bhutan. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2751 (XXVI)].

68. The PRESIDENT: I declare Bhutan admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Bhutan was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

69. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the draft resolution in document A/L.628 recommending the admission of Bahrain.

70. I call on the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who wishes to speak in explanation of his vote.

71. Mr. ISMAIL (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to convey to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election to the esteemed office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We share in the unanimous conviction that you are most worthy of the great task you are undertaking, and we take this opportunity to greet in your person the friendly people of Indonesia, with whom my Government and people enjoy the most cordial and brotherly relationship.

72. I should also like to take this opportunity to greet our outgoing President and congratulate him on the efficient and orderly manner in which the delegations to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly were guided under his wise leadership.

73. My delegation will vote against the membership of Bahrain and Qatar in the United Nations. In voting against the draft resolutions contained in documents A/L.628 and A/L.629, my delegation will be voting not against the representation of the people of the Arabian Gulf in this world Organization, but rather against their misrepresentation by puppet rulers. We will be voting not against the independence of Bahrain and Qatar, but against pseudo-independence which perpetuates indirect colonial influence and internal suppression.

74. My country suffered under colonialism for 130 years. The colonial Power imposed upon it a number of puppet sultans and emirs against the will of the people. But they were all defeated by our National Liberation Front. We

therefore understand the motives behind the contracts concluded between British colonialism and its protégés.

75. Mr. President, let me assure you, the General Assembly and the Security Council of my Government's high esteem and respect. However, we feel that it is our duty as a Member State of this world Organization to apprise other Members of the facts.

76. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like now to reiterate the position of my Government as previously stated at the 1578th meeting of the Security Council, held on 15 September 1971:

"First, my delegation maintains that the declarations of independence of Qatar and the other sultanates and emirates do not change the colonial relationship between those entities and their colonial patron and are therefore fakes. Disregarding the wishes of the people for real independence and self-rule is not conducive to peace and stability in the area.

"Secondly, it is apparent that the declarations of independence which have been concluded between the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the respective rulers are aimed at perpetuating the colonial hegemony and exploiting the resources of the area with the complicity of the puppet rulers.

"Thirdly, the British-appointed Sultans and Emirs are totally alien to the best interests of the people of the area and they are not qualified to conclude agreements in the name of the people."²

77. In conclusion, we salute the people of the Arabian Gulf and associate ourselves with their aspirations for a genuine independence and popular self-rule.

78. I reaffirm again that we are against the admission of Bahrain and Qatar for the reasons which I have just mentioned.

79. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution in document A/L.628 on the admission of Bahrain. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, 1578th meeting, paras. 13-15.*

Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 119 votes to none [resolution 2752 (XXVI)].^{3,4}

80. The PRESIDENT: I declare Bahrain admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Bahrain was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

81. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the draft resolution on the admission of Qatar to membership in the United Nations [A/L.629]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of

America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to 1 [resolution 2753 (XXVI)].

82. The PRESIDENT: I declare Qatar admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Qatar was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

83. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly I take pleasure in welcoming the delegations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. I am sure that they will make valuable contributions to the work of the Organization. May I extend to the Governments and the peoples of these new Members my sincere congratulations on their admission to the United Nations and my personal wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

84. Mr. Bahadur SINGH (India): Mr. President, may I offer you my delegation's warmest congratulations on your election as President of this session. Your unanimous election to this high office is not only a recognition of your own contributions to world peace and international co-operation but also an honour to your great country and indeed to the whole of Asia. Our full tributes will of course be paid to you and to your distinguished predecessor when my colleague the Foreign Minister of India addresses the Assembly on 27 September.

85. On behalf of the delegation of India and of the co-sponsors of the draft resolutions I am very happy to welcome Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar as new Members of our family of nations.

86. My country's relations with Bhutan date back many centuries and have always been close and friendly. It is, therefore, a matter of particular gratification to us in India that Bhutan has entered this Organization.

87. His Majesty the King of Bhutan is perhaps the only monarch in history who has of his own accord handed over full powers to his people. The people of Bhutan are most peace-loving and friendly and they are justly proud of their own traditions and culture. They are also forging ahead along the path of modern development. It has been India's privilege to participate in co-operative efforts with the Government and the people of Bhutan in this task under the wise and able leadership of His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. Bhutan has chosen for itself the path of peace and non-alignment. We are confident that, under the continued leadership and inspiration of His Majesty the King, Bhutan will make rapid strides in its development plans.

88. Our relations with the Arabian Peninsula and the adjoining Gulf are also very close. For centuries we have been partners in trade and have developed ties of friendship. We welcome Bahrain and Qatar as Members of this great family of nations. We hope that with their membership not only will the universality of this Organization be

³ The delegations of Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Singapore, Swaziland and Thailand subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

⁴ The delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

further strengthened but also peace will be strengthened and tensions reduced in that region.

89. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): I shall, in the course of my general statement, express our full sentiments to you, Mr. President, upon your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing my heartfelt congratulations.

90. It is with great pleasure that my delegation welcomes the decision of the General Assembly to admit the States of Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan to membership in the United Nations.

91. The emergence of peoples from non-self-governing status to that of independent and free nations and their subsequent admission to the United Nations are always memorable and happy events. The admission of Bahrain and Qatar is, however, for us all the more memorable because of their historical ties with Iran.

92. As is well known, Bahrain has a special place in the hearts and minds of the Iranian people.

93. We have for many centuries shared the same history, culture and religion. The parting of the ways has not been easy, but it has nevertheless been peaceful. In fact, it started with the historical statement of my August Sovereign in New Delhi on 4 January 1969, which set into motion a peaceful and democratic process leading ultimately to this auspicious occasion which we whole-heartedly welcome here today.

94. The peaceful process attending Bahrain's birth as a separate and independent nation will also characterize its relations as a peace-loving State with other countries. Bahrain has, from the very first days of its independence, announced its firm adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and we are confident that that country will fulfil its obligations as a responsible Member of the United Nations.

95. It is with no less emotion that my delegation congratulates Qatar on its admission to the United Nations. Given the close and long-standing relations between Iran and Qatar, linked by bonds of culture and religion, we rejoice in seeing Qatar taking its rightful place as an independent State in the community of nations.

96. Dedicated to the promotion of progress and prosperity for their peoples, and to peace and stability in the world, Bahrain and Qatar will make important and valuable contributions to the work of this Organization. Under the enlightened leadership of His Highness Shaikh Isa, the Amir of Bahrain, and His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, the Amir of Qatar, both countries have already embarked upon important progressive economic plans which will bring not only greater economic well-being but also better education and health care for their peoples.

97. At this stage I can only express regret at the fact that some Members of this Organization change well-known geographical names.

98. The admission of Bhutan to membership in the United Nations is likewise a source of great pleasure to us. Because of its geographical position, Bhutan has served as a bridge between two great ancient civilizations. We are confident that Bhutan will also make valuable contributions to the work of this Organization.

99. I wish to extend my heartfelt greetings to the representatives of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar and assure them of our sincere co-operation in the United Nations.

100. Mr. AL-JABER (Kuwait):⁵ Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to extend to you my congratulations on your election to your high office.

101. It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Amir, Government and people of Kuwait, to welcome most warmly the sister States of Bahrain and Qatar on the occasion of their admission to the United Nations.

102. Our rejoicing over this happy event is derived from our conviction that the two Arab Members will work zealously and effectively to promote the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to uphold the precepts of international co-operation.

103. While we welcome today the admission of the two Members Bahrain and Qatar in conformity with Article 4 of the Charter, we should emphasize that the admission of those two States is the culmination of a natural process stemming from their status as two independent and fully sovereign Arab States. We firmly believe that Bahrain and Qatar will work within the framework of the United Nations to strengthen the international Organization and to fulfil the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter.

104. Kuwait, which has the closest ties and the strongest brotherly relations with the States of Bahrain and Qatar, pledges its full co-operation with the two sister States in order to make a living reality of our glorious history and to ensure the realization of our common destiny and the fulfilment of our aspirations. Kuwait will strive, together with the two sister Member States, to develop the United Nations, enhance its prestige and strengthen international peace and security.

105. I should like to express from the rostrum of this body my heartfelt congratulations to His Highness the Amir of the State of Bahrain, the Amir of the State of Qatar and their Governments and peoples on this historic occasion.

106. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the new State of Bhutan, which has an ancient history and civilization, and to express my congratulations to its Government and people. I wish the three States which have joined the international Organization today success and prosperity.

107. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first of all I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you upon your election to the presidency. I know that under your wise and able guidance our delibera-

⁵ Mr. Al-Jaber spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

tions will go forward fruitfully and will prosper. I assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation. I should like also to take this opportunity to congratulate our outgoing President, Mr. Hambro, on his wise, prompt and efficient conduct of our affairs during the past year. It is difficult to find sufficient words of praise for him, but he has set a standard which we all admire and which will be hard to equal.

108. Nowadays it is a remarkable occasion for this Assembly to admit as many as three new Members in a single day. For my own delegation the occasion is made all the more special by the fact that my Government has long had particularly close and friendly ties with each of our new Members. That is the first reason why I have asked to be allowed to say a brief word of welcome to each of them. I am, however, speaking in two capacities. I have also been asked by Mr. Hambro and my colleagues of Western European and other States to speak on their behalf, and it gives me much pleasure to do so.

109. The first of our new Members, in order of admission, is Bhutan. On 10 February this year I was able, at the 1566th meeting of the Security Council, to express the particular pleasure of my Government at the proposal that Bhutan should be admitted to membership of the United Nations. For several centuries my country has enjoyed close relations with Bhutan, and my countrymen have formed valued and lasting friendships with its people. I do not need to repeat here what I said in the Security Council, except to add, on behalf of the Western European and Others Group, several of whom have geographic as well as friendly affinities with Bhutan, how glad we are that Bhutan is now a Member. We welcome among us their representatives, headed by His Royal Highness Namgyal Wangchuk. They are no strangers in this place, since they have individually visited us as friends and observers of our proceedings in the past. We look forward to the contribution that I am sure they will make to the work of this Organization.

110. Next, I should like to say a few words about Bahrain and Qatar, whose admission has been so overwhelmingly voted by us—a vote which is sufficient answer to the aspersions made by one delegation.

111. The close and friendly ties between my Government and the rulers and people of Bahrain, going back over 150 years, make it a matter of special pleasure for me to congratulate the Bahrain Government on its admission to membership of our Organization here today. Bahrain's successful application for membership is also a cause of particular satisfaction to my delegation because of the way in which it was possible for the machinery of the United Nations to be used to settle last year a long-standing problem between my Government and the Government of Iran—to settle it peacefully and amicably in a way which should be an example for us all to follow in the future. Therefore we welcome with particular warmth and satisfaction Bahrain's representatives headed by His Excellency Shaikh Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifah, Foreign Minister of the State of Bahrain.

112. Likewise, it is with great pleasure that my delegation welcomes the State of Qatar to membership of the United Nations. As in the case of Bahrain, the ties between Qatar

and my Government are long standing, and I am confident that Qatar, no less than Bahrain, will play an active and constructive part in the work of our Organization through its representative, Mr. Hassan Kamel, who is with us today.

113. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, I shall pay the well-deserved tribute of my delegation to you on your election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly at a later date. My purpose now is on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the people of Nepal, to extend the hand of welcome to three new Member States of the United Nations: Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar.

114. The admission of new Member States is always a joyous occasion. It is with the most sincere felicitations and the greatest goodwill to the peoples and Governments of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar that we welcome their admission to membership in the United Nations today. The circumstances which have brought these three sovereign States to the United Nations reflect credit on all sides. The delegation of Nepal believes that the decision of the Governments of the three countries to apply for membership represents a sincere and profound determination on their part to join in the common endeavour in the interest of world peace. The admission of these countries signifies an important step towards international co-operation. My delegation is certain that the new Member States will play their rightful role in the affairs of the international community and that they will bring added vigour and wisdom into the world Organization.

115. If we rejoice at the increase in the membership of the United Nations and the further step thus taken towards the universality of the Organization, the delegation of Nepal finds particular reason to be gratified at the admission of the Kingdom of Bhutan, a country of incomparable natural beauty with which my country shares many common features of geography, a neighbouring country to which my country is bound by strong historical ties of social, ethnic and cultural affinities. In recent years the personality of the land and its people has developed from strength to strength under the enlightened leadership of a beloved monarch, His Majesty King Wangchuk of Bhutan. We wish the people of Bhutan continued prosperity and happiness in the years ahead.

116. We have similar feelings of friendship and good wishes for the peoples of Bahrain and Qatar.

117. Allow me, in conclusion, to take this occasion to express the sincere hope of my delegation for a warm, productive and rewarding relationship and mutual co-operation with the delegations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar at the United Nations.

118. Mr. TOUKAN (Jordan): Mr. President, I should like today to avail myself of this unique opportunity to extend, on behalf of the Asian States and of my delegation, our warmest and sincerest congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your record of superb performance, fine qualities of statesmanship, hard work and renowned contribution to this great Organization are well known to all of us. Your assumption of this high office

reinforces our determination to work towards the fulfilment of the principles contained in the Charter of this great Organization.

119. As Chairman of the Asian group of States, and on behalf of my delegation, I feel honoured and privileged today to have the opportunity to congratulate and welcome to our midst the new sister States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. Their presence today strengthens our belief in the principles of this great Organization. The continual admission of new States to the United Nations will no doubt enhance the chances for better understanding; and, when that is reached, one can envisage a brighter future for achieving stability, peace and prosperity throughout the world.

120. My delegation believes that this great forum should be open to all States without exception because it provides us with the proper ingredients for a safer, happier and more peaceful world.

121. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Mr. President, before speaking on the agenda item before us, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the high and esteemed office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are fortunate that we have such an eminent and able statesman to guide our proceedings during this crucial session.

122. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President of the twenty-fifth session, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who presided so ably over our proceedings during the last session.

123. On behalf of the Government and people of Kenya and on behalf of my delegation, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate the new Member States being admitted to the United Nations today. I am referring to Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. The Government of Kenya has always supported the principles of self-determination, accession to independence and realization of national dignity. It is therefore particularly gratifying to my delegation to welcome the new Members to this august body.

124. As we celebrate and welcome these new Member States, I feel obliged to remind this supreme body of the world of the fact that many countries and peoples are still under the yoke of foreign colonial domination. I am obliged to point out further that those people have been denied the opportunity to exercise their basic right to determine their own future in the way they think fit. In view of this, the United Nations still has an unfinished task: the task of decolonization. It is the hope of my delegation that, under your able leadership, Sir, the Assembly at its twenty-sixth session will apply itself once more to the task of putting an end to the colonial system, especially in southern Africa.

125. With those observations I should like to repeat that my delegation is most gratified that the friendly countries of Bhutan, Qatar and Bahrain have been admitted to this august body, and we congratulate them.

126. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, please

accept my congratulations on your election to the responsible post of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Allow me, on behalf of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and also on behalf of my own delegation, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, to congratulate the peoples and Governments of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar on the proclamation of the independence of those countries and on their admission to membership in the United Nations.

127. The attainment of independence by the peoples of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar after many centuries of the colonial yoke is further proof of the fact that no forces can stop the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence and that all attempts by the colonial and imperialist Powers to continue their exploitation and oppression of the peoples are doomed to failure. The admission of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar to the United Nations, which is supported by the socialist States, is further confirmation of the triumph of the Leninist idea of drawing into active participation in international organs, conferences and meetings representatives of the countries of the East, of the countries of Asia and Africa, which as a result of the imperialist policy of the colonial Powers have been forcibly prevented from participating in international life. The socialist countries actively support the national liberation movement of colonial countries and peoples. In 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], which has played an important role in the liberation of such countries from alien domination. While noting with satisfaction that dozens of countries have in the past decade gained their independence and have been admitted to membership in the United Nations, we at the same time realize quite clearly and distinctly that the struggle for the liberation and independence of colonial countries and peoples is not yet concluded. Although the United Nations now consists of 130 Members, questions relating to its universality have still not been solved.

128. The United Nations is called upon to do everything in its power to strengthen international security, and to guarantee the right to self-determination and independence to those peoples which are still under the domination of colonialism and racism. The socialist countries are in favour of the full and unconditional implementation of the decisions of the United Nations concerning the elimination of the remaining colonial régimes and in favour of the universal condemnation and boycott of any manifestations of racism and *apartheid*. The socialist countries believe that Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar, which have just been admitted to the United Nations, will pursue a peaceful-foreign policy directed towards strengthening international security and establishing friendly relations with all countries. The delegations of the socialist States wish the peoples of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar prosperity and progress on the road of independent development, the rapid elimination of the terrible consequences of colonial domination, and

success in solving their economic and social problems in the interests of their peoples.

129. We welcome the delegations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar and wish them fruitful participation in the common efforts of peace-loving States in the various organs of the United Nations to achieve the goals of peace and progress. We express our readiness to co-operate closely with the new States Members of the United Nations to achieve the noble goals set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

130. Mr. ALI (Pakistan): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to extend to you the warmest felicitations of the Pakistan delegation on your election as President of this august Assembly. In elevating you to this high office the Member States have conferred on you an honour which, if I may say so, you richly deserve. We in Asia feel particularly proud to see one of Asia's illustrious sons so recognized. I pledge to you the whole-hearted support and co-operation of my delegation.

131. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our thanks and admiration to your predecessor for the distinguished manner in which he performed his functions.

132. The representative of Jordan, in his capacity as Chairman of the Asian group of States for the month of September, has already, with his usual erudition, expressed our sentiments in welcoming three new Members to this Organization. Having listened to the eloquent and most comprehensive remarks of my brother from Jordan, I frankly do not need to say very much. However, because of our close and cordial ties with Bhutan generated by geographical proximity and because of the special cultural affinities that exist between my country and Qatar and Bahrain, I should like to take the liberty of adding some brief remarks.

133. It is gratifying to find that we shall be joined by three more States which have recently reached full independence and self-determination. We, who suffered for about 200 years under colonial rule and were subjected to extensive exploitation, know the importance and joy of securing independence in spirit as well as in law. It gives us great pleasure to see Bhutan, a neighbour, obtain recognition of its legitimate rights and occupy its rightful place in the comity of nations as a sovereign and independent State. The people and Government of Pakistan rejoice at this happy and auspicious development and warmly welcome its joining us as an equal Member. My country also looks forward to working in close co-operation with the Bhutan delegation.

134. I am very happy to have the privilege on behalf of my country, to extend a hearty welcome to Qatar and Bahrain. With equal warmth we welcome them in our midst and look forward to a close and mutually beneficial association with them. The constitutional developments in the Gulf are bringing into existence a number of independent States in that area, which is to be welcomed. It is sincerely hoped that there will be no outside interference in the developments which are currently taking place.

135. I should like to make it clear that Pakistan voted in favour of all three new Member States. It appears that our

vote in regard to the admission of Bahrain was not recorded, owing to a mechanical error.

136. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (Egypt): The twenty-sixth session of our Assembly is to be most sincerely congratulated, Sir, on unanimously electing you as its President. You are a most esteemed and worthy successor to the distinguished and able President of the twenty-fifth session, Edvard Hambro of Norway.

137. With the eyes of the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of Asia and Africa, fixed upon this Assembly with anxiety, expectation and hope, it is most fitting to have a distinguished son of Asia presiding over what you, Mr. President, have just designated as "the Assembly of universality".

138. As I happen to be the Chairman of the African group of States for this month, it is my privilege, in the name of the African Member States, to welcome the three new Asian nations just admitted to our Organization—Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar. The African representatives are, moreover, happy to welcome their new colleagues joining them in the hall. They are confident of future fruitful and close co-operation.

139. In welcoming these three new Asian Members, the African group is especially mindful of two basic Charter principles, namely, the inalienable right to freedom and self-determination and the universality of this world Organization. We wish the nations of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar every success—first, success in realizing the aspirations of their peoples in their challenging effort of nation-building and of making real and meaningful their sovereignty and independence and, secondly, success in sharing the international responsibilities of which you, Mr. President, have just spoken in your most eloquent statement, in our common struggle to attain freedom and justice leading to progress in peace.

140. Mr. JOHNSON (Jamaica): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity in the name of the Latin American group of States, which I have the honour to represent as Chairman, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to assure you of our fullest co-operation in the endeavour to make it a fruitful and successful session.

141. May I also express the warm and sincere appreciation of the Latin American group of States for the excellent manner in which Mr. Hambro guided our deliberations throughout the historic commemorative session during the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly and also throughout the twenty-fifth session itself.

142. It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the Latin American group to welcome the new States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar to membership in the United Nations.

143. The State of Bhutan, lying high in the Himalayas, has a romantic and heroic history. As a landlocked country, it has encountered many problems of communication with the outside world. It has maintained its integrity and its cultural distinctiveness through the years. Its contribution to the work of the United Nations and to mutual

understanding and co-operation is welcomed by those of us who look forward to an era of universality.

144. Bahrain and Qatar have a history no less romantic. Situated as they are in the Persian Gulf, they have played a role in world history since civilization dawned in the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. In recent times their mineral wealth has made them centres of communication and commerce in the Indian Ocean. Their contribution to our work will be welcome, for they bring with them the wisdom of ages and attitudes born of a culture that has long enriched others in the world.

145. The Latin American group will make every effort to co-operate with these new States in their quest for world peace and in promoting the ideals that will ensure the dignity of man.

146. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): Mr. President, even if it means preceding my Foreign Minister, I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing a few words of good wishes. It is a source of great pleasure and pride for the Iraqi delegation to express to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The fact that you are a true patriot of Indonesia, a real son of the great continent of Asia and a tireless fighter for the cause of justice and freedom the world over, makes your election to this lofty post all the more fitting. Iraq, which shares numerous bonds with the great people of Indonesia, takes a special pride in your assumption of the presidency.

147. I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing our admiration for Mr. Hambro on the distinguished and able manner in which he discharged his duties as President of the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly.

148. This day has seen more than one auspicious event, for we have just voted to admit three new Member States to the United Nations, namely, Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar. May I be allowed to congratulate them on this happy occasion and wish them all prosperity and success in their new role within the community of nations? Iraq takes a special pride in seeing two sister Arab States attain their independence and enjoy their full rights as new Members of the United Nations. We have always believed that the freedom and independence of the Arab nation is indivisible, that none of the Arab countries can feel truly free and secure until every inch of Arab territory is free from foreign hegemony and exploitation. We have always rendered every support and assistance to our Arab brethren whenever necessary in the struggle against foreign occupation and exploitation.

149. It gives us, therefore, great pride to see two new Arab States attain sovereignty and independence. Both Qatar and Bahrain are situated in an area which is very close to my country and is vital to its national interests. With the people of Qatar and Bahrain, the people of Iraq share the strongest bonds of history, culture, language and religion. But perhaps most important of all is the sense of belonging, and the community of faith and fate that our peoples share is the essential manifestation of their Arab belonging and awareness. It is, therefore, my pleasant duty to express these few words of congratulation and welcome to our new colleagues in this assembly of nations.

150. The League of Arab States has recently admitted to membership both Qatar and Bahrain and I wish, on behalf of the Arab group of States, to convey our best wishes to the three States. Perhaps Qatar, Bahrain and Bhutan are small countries in terms of population and area; but their great cultural heritage and their dedication to the cause of peace and harmony among nations will surely enable them to make an important contribution to the work of this Assembly.

151. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Mr. President, may I join with others in congratulating you most warmly on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

152. I should like to add the voice of the United States in welcoming Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar to membership in the United Nations. We are happy to have voted in the Security Council for their admission. Their entry into this Organization as the result of an amicable accommodation to the realities of this changing world is specially heartening. We welcome them and we look forward to co-operating with them in achieving the aims of the Charter.

153. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, I shall refrain from congratulating you personally, for indeed that would be like praising a brother. Rather we the Members must congratulate ourselves on having elected you as our President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly—mindful that we are all grateful to your predecessor, Mr. Hambro, who distinguished himself in the same Chair during the last session.

154. You are not to be envied for being President, for indeed you are going to be the arbiter of our decisions in the sense that you will have to ensure that we do not get out of hand when any subject or item which may not be so easily resolved is discussed. However, since you hail from an Asian country noted for its long history and rich culture, we have full confidence that under your guidance the most intractable problems will be dealt with in an orderly and peaceful manner. I think I should not say anything else in praise of you lest it be embarrassing.

155. We must also congratulate ourselves on having elected three new Asian States as Members of this Organization. The more the Organization proliferates, the more universal it becomes. The common adage, I think, applies: there is safety in numbers. Instead of the world community being dominated by a few Powers, its mosaic will be such that no one Power, no matter how strong, will be able to do what it has done in the last few decades or in past centuries.

156. I seize this occasion to thank God that the health of our beloved Secretary-General is more than adequate as otherwise he would not be sitting at your right, Mr. President. We have drawn sustenance from his ideas and from his wisdom—all the more so whenever we have found ourselves beset by confusion. Health is a peculiar thing. A few years ago I thought I would fade out of the picture. For a couple of months I directed my permanent mission from hospital beds. But here I am, still going strong by God's grace, and I hope that U Thant's dizzy spell was merely a passing phase. He did not have to go to a hospital bed as I did. We hope we shall have the benefit of his services until the inter-

national community comes to an agreement on his successor.

157. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of my delegation, tender you our congratulations on your well-earned election to the high office of President of the present session of the General Assembly. If I have asked for the floor it was not to welcome the new Member States on behalf of Mexico, since my delegation, together with the other delegations in the Latin American group of States, agreed that the representative of Jamaica would speak in our name, and as Chairman of our Group, he fulfilled his duties with outstanding eloquence and soberness. Therefore, anything that I might wish to add would be redundant. I asked for the floor merely to clarify, and to have noted in the record, that the Mexican delegation voted in favour of the three draft resolutions on the admission of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar respectively. Unfortunately, and probably through a mechanical error, despite the fact that I pressed the green button in time, and again and again, in the case of Bahrain our affirmative vote was not registered on the voting sheet.

158. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, will be addressing the General Assembly during the general debate at the twenty-sixth session. I have no doubt that he will then express to you, Sir, his own felicitations and those of the Government and people of Mauritius. In the meantime, may I express to you my personal, very sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of our world Organization.

159. Mauritius was a co-sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/L.627 regarding the admission of Bhutan to membership in the United Nations, which has just been adopted. I must confess that, when I first asked to come to this rostrum, I was tempted to praise at length the sovereign independent State of Bhutan and to sing the glory of His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk and His Majesty's Government and people. Mauritius has much in common with Bhutan and we are both fortunate to enjoy the friendship of India and the United Kingdom.

160. However, I have decided to resist this pleasant temptation and I shall today confine myself to saying, simply but from the very depth of my heart, that the Government of Mauritius very sincerely welcomes the membership of Bhutan to the United Nations. My delegation looks forward to working closely with the delegation of Bhutan, which can rest assured of our co-operation. We extend to the independent sovereign State of Bhutan and to His Majesty the King of Bhutan and his people, our very sincere wishes for success, peace and progress.

161. Mauritius was also a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/L.628 regarding the admission of Bahrain, and also of draft resolution A/L.629 regarding the admission of Qatar. Now that both these draft resolutions have been adopted, I wish to express, very briefly but very sincerely, our good wishes and welcome to the two Arab States and our congratulations to the Amir of Bahrain and the Amir of Qatar and their respective peoples. We would like to assure

the delegations of Bahrain and Qatar of our close co-operation.

162. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting His Royal Highness Prince Namgyal Wangchuk of Bhutan to address the Assembly.

163. Prince Namgyal WANGCHUK (Bhutan): Mr. President, it gives me the greatest sense of pleasure to address the Assembly today on the occasion of the admission of the Kingdom of Bhutan to the United Nations. This is a historic occasion for us and marks the realization of one of our most cherished dreams. On behalf of His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the Government and the people of Bhutan, I should like, therefore, to take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude to all the Members of this Organization assembled here today, and in particular to the Republic of India, which has spared no effort to secure our admission to this free association of sovereign countries.

164. May I, Mr. President, also take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We have no doubt that you will guide the deliberations of this session with wisdom and dignity.

165. It is only a decade or so since we ended our age-old policy of national isolation and opened our country to the outside world. The policy of national isolation was motivated in the past by self-interest due to geo-political considerations rather than to any lack of desire or capacity to play an active role in the international community. The policy served its purpose and was instrumental in preserving our country's sovereignty and independence. With the changing circumstances in the world and our desire to participate actively in the functioning of the international community, the policy lost its relevance when we joined the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia in 1962.

166. Our Government and people are fully committed to a policy of modernization, although we are at the same time aware of the importance of preserving our national identity by retaining the best in our ancient culture and traditions. None of us imagine that this will be an easy thing to do—to achieve this fine balance and synthesis—but with all our mind and effort directed towards this goal, we are confident of our success.

167. As we present before this Assembly a short outline of present developments in our country, it is important to emphasize the fact that all the radical changes in the country have been initiated by the King himself. In the field of government and administration, it has been our aim to reform our traditional institutions to meet the needs of the present age. Representative institutions like the National Assembly, Council of Ministers and the Royal Advisory Council have been established. The sovereign powers of the Monarch have been voluntarily surrendered to the National Assembly. The judiciary is separated from the executive and a uniform legal code based on custom and present necessity has been introduced.

168. With technical and financial assistance provided by the Government of India, we have successfully completed

two five-year plans and have recently launched a third. The social and economic infrastructure of our country is being built up through these plans. In implementing all these developmental projects, it has been our constant endeavour to preclude any conflict with the existing values of our society, the peace and purity of our natural environment and the right of the individual to pursue his private life without interference.

169. That we should today have succeeded in gaining admission to this Organization whose aim represents the highest aspirations of mankind, whose contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security has been substantial, and whose work in nation-building has done so much for the progress of mankind, is an occasion of great happiness and rejoicing in my country. I should like to take this opportunity now to express our Government's fullest confidence in its ability to participate as an active and useful Member of this Organization and also its firm resolution to abide by the basic obligations required of Members under the Charter.

170. My Government is extremely happy that Bahrain and Qatar are being admitted as Members of the United Nations along with my country. I should like to extend our warmest felicitations to the delegations of Bahrain and Qatar on this auspicious occasion.

171. Before I conclude, may I, Mr. President, convey the greetings of His Majesty the King of Bhutan to you and, through you, to all the delegations assembled here today.

172. The PRESIDENT: I have the pleasure of inviting the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bahrain, His Excellency Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifah, address the Assembly.

173. Mr. AL-KHALIFAH (Bahrain): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. As a new Member, my delegation has confidence that you, through your wisdom and experience, will guide the proceedings of this session to successful results. I have the honour on this august occasion to extend the heartfelt thanks of the Government and people of Bahrain to all the members of the Security Council which approved the application of the State of Bahrain for admission to the United Nations and unanimously recommended to the General Assembly, in Security Council resolution 296 (1971), that Bahrain be admitted to membership in the United Nations. I should also like to express my thanks to you, Mr. President, and to all the Members of this Assembly for the confidence which you have shown in my country by your decision to accept and receive Bahrain as one of the full-fledged Members of the United Nations. In particular, thanks are also due to all those Member States of the Afro-Asian group which so kindly co-sponsored the resolution welcoming the admission of Bahrain to membership in the United Nations.

174. I should like also to offer my sincere congratulations to Bhutan and the sister Arab State of Qatar on their admission to membership in the United Nations. On this occasion in the history of Bahrain, it is indeed a moment of great happiness and pride to my Government and the Bahraini people that Bahrain, as a sovereign independent

State, has been admitted to membership in the United Nations. Now that Bahrain has been received in the fold of the world Organization, I should like to assure this Assembly that Bahrain will adhere fully to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and will support wholeheartedly all the aims and objectives of the United Nations which are directed towards the establishment and the maintenance of peace in the world. So far as Bahrain is concerned, the essential aims of the Charter are the preservation of peace through collective security, the promotion of economic development and the safeguarding of the rights of nations to establish their own forms of government in accordance with the wishes of their own peoples. We in Bahrain are fully conscious of the importance of these aims as they affect the realization of the economic development, well-being and security of our own country. As a small State, Bahrain staunchly believes that the promotion of world peace and the preservation of security and stability in the Gulf region are essential for the political and the economic development of the people of Bahrain, as well as the peoples of the neighbouring countries.

175. I do not wish to let this occasion pass without recalling to the attention of the General Assembly Security Council resolution 278 (1970) as a specific example of Bahrain's staunch belief in the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter, especially those relating to the requirement for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter. It is my Government's confirmed belief that the solution of the Bahraini question on the basis of the above-mentioned resolution, arrived at through the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, has clearly demonstrated to the world how the machinery of the United Nations can be used for the pacific settlement of differences among nations which are determined to live and coexist in peace and security. In this connexion, I wish to reiterate that Bahrain—both its Government and its people—desires to live in peace and security with its neighbouring countries, as well as with other friendly and peace-loving nations of the world.

176. Bahrain considers itself an integral part of the Arab nation. Realizing the great historical and cultural ties which bind it to the rest of the Arab world, Bahrain will exert all its efforts to develop and strengthen its political and cultural ties and co-operation with all its sister Arab States on the basis of the provisions of the Charter of the League of Arab States.

177. Pursuant to its respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, Bahrain is greatly concerned and conscious about the destiny of peoples who are still struggling for self-determination and independence. It therefore lends its full support to the rightful demand for freedom and full independence of the peoples of such territories still suffering from colonial rule. In this context, and with the same breath, Bahrain entirely supports the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to recover its usurped land and to live in peace and security in its own homeland. Furthermore, my Government fully supports the demands of the front-line Arab States, namely, Egypt, Syria and Jordan, for the restoration of their Israeli-occupied territories and supports

the current efforts aimed at achieving a just and equitable settlement. Bahrain thus appeals to the conscience of all peace-loving nations of this world Organization to view this chronic problem of Palestine in the light of humanity and justice and to seek a satisfactory solution for it on the basis of the highly revered principles of the United Nations Charter.

178. Although Bahrain is now one of the newest and youngest States Members of this Organization, my country can at the same time point with pride to the fact that its history and culture can be traced not only through the civilizations of the Arabian Peninsula and other Arab countries but also to remotest historical times. As one distinguished author stated on the basis of archaeological finds recently unearthed in Bahrain:

"Bahrain, known by ancient Sumerians as Dilmun, first emerged into history between 3000 and 2000 B.C. when it was the home of a distinctive civilization and its merchants and ships dominated the trade routes between the civilizations of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia."

179. Thereafter, through the decades of history, Bahrain evolved its international personality and special characteristic as an Arab State. Today, the independent Arab State of Bahrain is endeavouring with all its energies to build up its economy on a sound basis and to increase its resources through diversification and economic and industrial planning. The Government of Bahrain has achieved great success in the advancement and progress of its people in all walks of life, particularly in education and health services. The Bahraini people is proud of its heritage, culture and education; it is particularly proud of the fact that a quarter of the Bahraini population is at present receiving education at various levels. The Bahrain Government has for many years provided free education, health and social services to the people.

180. In conclusion I wish, on behalf of the Government and the people of Bahrain, to express again to you, Mr. President, and to the Members of the United Nations my sincere thanks and deepest appreciation for the kind congratulations and friendly feelings expressed in this august Assembly in connexion with the admission of my country to membership in the United Nations.

181. The PRESIDENT: I now have the pleasure of inviting the Minister of State and Adviser to the Government of Qatar, His Excellency Mr. Hassan Kamel, to address the Assembly.

182. Mr. KAMEL (Qatar) (*interpretation from French*): It is a very great honour for me to come to the rostrum of this august Assembly to express, on behalf of the Amir, the people and the Government of Qatar, our deep gratitude for having been admitted to this highest international Organization. I am all the more happy, proud and grateful because, through your unanimous vote today, you have solemnly consecrated our accession to independence and sovereignty, thus enabling us to occupy our lawful place among the Members of the United Nations, to enjoy the same rights and to assume the same obligations.

183. On this occasion I should like to begin by expressing to you, Mr. President, our respectful congratulations on

your unanimous and brilliant election to this very high post. I should also like to thank you and the other members of the General Assembly for the courteous and generous welcome which all of you were kind enough to extend to the new Member of the Organization which I have the honour of representing here. May I also thank our eminent Secretary-General for the assistance he extended to us in all the steps we took to be admitted to the United Nations.

184. Finally, I should like warmly to congratulate the two new States, the brother State of Bahrain and the State of Bhutan, on their admission to the United Nations. For both of them, as for ourselves, this event has a capital, historical importance.

185. Qatar, an Arab State whose people is an integral part of the Arab nation, is a State entirely devoted to the noble purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Its constitution, promulgated before its independence, expresses its formal undertaking loyally to respect them. It is therefore natural that, having become a Member of the United Nations, Qatar should deem it an imperative duty to spare no effort with a view to making its devoted—albeit humble—contribution to the attainment of these purposes and principles.

186. I am aware that Qatar is what is traditionally known as a small State. But in that name I see nothing derogatory. Indeed, on the one hand one of the greatest merits of the Charter of the United Nations is that it is predicated upon the sovereign equality of its Member States as stated in Article 2, paragraph 1. This is a fundamental principle of our Organization, according to which, under the law which it expresses, there is absolutely no difference between the small and the great, the weak and the powerful. On the other hand, one may think that those among the small States which are imbued with the principles of the Charter and therefore devoted to peace can, through their disinterestedness and lack of any material ambition, contribute to bringing to the settlement of international disputes some qualities of impartiality and objectivity.

187. Qatar will not experience any difficulty in respecting the principles of the Charter, because the Charter provisions are exactly in keeping with our aspirations and concerns. Generally speaking, more than others, small States know the meaning of economic imbalance, social difficulties and political tensions—not to mention the worst of all scourges which can threaten the very existence of a nation: war.

188. That is why we attach a fundamental and special importance to the key provision of the Charter—Article 2, paragraph 4—which debars Members of our Organization from resorting in their international relations to the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State. For us this provision is not an abstract principle spelled out in general and impersonal terms by our Charter. On the contrary, we firmly believe that it gives rise to a fundamental, concrete and positive obligation. I would even venture to say that this obligation is the most urgent of all and that the first duty of our Organization is to ensure absolute respect for it and to see to it that it is in no way infringed upon. It is well known that this duty is enshrined in Chapter VII of the Charter, which, in Article 39, obliges the Security Council to decide

on the necessary steps "to maintain or restore international peace and security".

189. As representative of an Arab State which naturally shares the preoccupations and concerns of its Arab brethren, whose fate it shares and whose causes it unreservedly supports, as these causes are our own, I cannot but give some thought to these concerns at this extremely critical moment when the destiny of mankind runs the risk of being deeply disturbed by the continuous tension prevailing in the Middle East. It is quite obvious that this tension is due to two reasons. The first is the persistent violation of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the refusal of the violator to heed the resolutions of this Organization urging it to recognize the rights it usurped through armed force. The second reason is the policy of that violator, which, being fully premeditated, aims at aggression and expansion to the detriment of the Arab States and consists in taking over their territories through armed force and refusing to evacuate them, in contempt of the resolutions of this Organization and its purposes and principles.

190. There is no doubt that such a challenge is the gravest infringement that could be committed by a Member State against the authority of this international Organization and, therefore, the gravest offence that could be committed against it. It goes without saying that to condone such an infringement with persistence in such an offence fatally results in encouraging its repetition, and this encouragement and condonation can only lead in the final analysis to ruining the authority of this Organization and therefore causing the disappearance of the greatest hope of the whole of mankind.

191. The people of Qatar highly values the possibility, which it has awaited for so long and which is now offered to it, of taking part in the work of the world Organization whose supreme objective is to preserve the peace and progress, moral and material, of the whole of mankind. With all the peoples that believe in this Organization, we pay tribute to the invaluable services rendered by this Organization to the international community, whose con-

science and aspirations it represents. In particular we have the highest esteem for the great and fruitful activities deployed by it to harmonize the efforts of nations for businesslike and effective co-operation to settle international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature. But, on the other hand, we know that there is still much inequality among peoples and men, that there are still peoples that have not yet been liberated from the yoke of colonialism and particularly that violence continues to ravage certain parts of the world.

192. Under our Charter, peace is inseparable from justice. That is why we are determined in all modesty to associate our efforts with those of the United Nations so that they may be devoted to carrying out its true task, that of using all means at its disposal, in conformity with the Charter, to put an end to aggression, to redress unjust situations and to ensure, through the restoration of international legality, respect for the principles which are the very foundation of the United Nations and without which there could be no conceivable international order.

193. Before being admitted to this highest international Organization, we were most eager to be able to have our voice heard. Now that we have the privilege of being one of its Members, we wish to say how deeply we believe in it and what great hopes we found upon it.

194. In renewing to you, Mr. President, the expression of my deepest gratitude, I should like to give you the assurance that Qatar, within the framework of its area, will bend every effort to co-operate, to the widest and most appropriate extent, with each of its neighbours, brethren and friends, in order to ensure the progress and security which all of us wish to see established in our common interest. On the international plane, Qatar will derive, in its fundamental devotion to this Organization, the necessary strength to take part, to the extent allowed by its modest means, in the activities of the United Nations and in the defence and preservation of its fundamental ideals: peace, security and international co-operation.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.