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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

Temporary President: Mr. Mongi SLIM
(Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Tunisia

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): I declare open the seventeenth regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mr. Mongi Slim, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Tunisia

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): In opening this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, I should like first of all to welcome all delegations present in this hall and to express my satisfaction at seeing them gathered here once again.

4. It gives me great pleasure to welcome the members of delegations who have come specially for this

session, and in particular their chiefs, who have set aside for a time their high national responsibilities in order to take part in our work and to pursue in general and fruitful international co-operation the purposes set out in the Charter of our Organization.

5. It is in this spirit of co-operation that I am happy to express my most fervent wishes for the success of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and general confidence.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

6. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly should, at the beginning of each session, appoint on the proposal of the President, a credentials committee consisting of nine members.

7. I therefore suggest that the Credentials Committee for the seventeenth session should be composed of the following Member States: Canada, El Salvador, Greece, Guinea, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

8. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly accepts this proposal.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

9. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now proceed to elect the President of the General Assembly for its seventeenth regular session. In accordance with articles 31 and 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Traore (Mali), and Mr. Algard (Norway) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	<i>104</i>
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Valid ballots:</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Abstentions:</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Required majority:</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan)	72
Mr. Gunapala Piyasena MALALASEKERA (Ceylon).	27
Mr. Mongi Slim (Tunisia)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) was elected President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly and took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly

10. The PRESIDENT: I am deeply moved at the honour you have done me in electing me to serve you as President of this seventeenth regular session of the General Assembly. I am deeply conscious of the heavy responsibility this mark of your confidence places upon my shoulders and I pray God, humbly, sincerely and earnestly, of His grace and mercy, so to guide me, in His wisdom, that in the discharge of my responsibilities I may prove worthy of your confidence. Oh Lord, grant me understanding; make my task easy; remove the impediment in my speech so that they may understand me.

11. I appreciate that the honour you have done me is a tribute to the country and to the people whom I have the honour to represent here. Pakistan is not a great Power, nor a country which, apart from its own security and the well-being of its people, has any ambition or interest other than the common interest of all of us here; that is to say, the creation of a world in which peace may reign and law prevail, so that through beneficent co-operation, the common man in all the regions of the earth might at long last be enabled to claim and possess his rightful inheritance of a fuller, richer and happier life.

12. Over the years, Pakistan has given proof of its loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations and of its sincere devotion to the spirit and purposes underlying the provisions of that Charter. By its conduct and policy Pakistan has clearly affirmed its faith in the right of all peoples and nations, indeed of all human beings, to freedom, dignity and a reasonable standard of well-being. These principles and ideals, as well as the yearning of hundreds of millions of my fellow beings around the globe to comprehend their effect upon their own lives, occupy the forefront of my mind as I begin to discharge the responsibilities of this high office.

13. The example set by my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Mongi Slim, will be a source of inspiration for me. His many gifts and virtues can hardly be surpassed. I shall be content if I can, in some measure, emulate his qualities of patience and courtesy and his great gift for clarity. We are fortunate in that Mr. Slim has put down on paper his thoughts on the organization and functioning of the Assembly. The suggestions made by him form the subject of a separate item on the agenda and I will not, at this stage, go into the merits of these valuable and thought-provoking proposals. It is, however, generally recognized that with the increase in the number of Members and in the number and importance of the items placed on the agenda, some thought must be given to ways of organizing the work of the annual sessions of the Assembly in such a manner that, without loss of efficiency, it can be brought to a successful conclusion expeditiously. In the meantime much can be done to make our labours proceed more smoothly by the voluntary exercise of diligence, restraint and punctuality on the part of us all. I am confident that I may count upon the generosity and co-operation of all Members of this Assembly to that end.

14. I am fortified also in the knowledge that I shall have the benefit of the assistance and advice of the Secretariat, headed by the Secretary-General whose devotion to the Organization and to the ideals and purposes of the Charter is established beyond doubt.

15. The seventeenth session of the General Assembly, like its predecessor, has a long and difficult agenda before it. While this session opens in a more tranquil atmosphere than did the preceding session, it is confronted with many grave issues, some of a momentous nature for the future of mankind as well as of this Organization. It is not my purpose, nor would it be appropriate for me, to venture any observations as to the substance of the items included in the agenda. I should like only to note with pleasure that the very first item you will be called on to consider is the one relating to the admission of new Members. The applications of four new Members—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago—have already been approved by the Security Council. It is hoped that in the course of this session the Assembly will be able to welcome Uganda to its membership also. It is a matter of special gratification and joy that the travail of the brave and gallant people of Algeria is at an end and that we shall soon see them also take their rightful place in our midst.

16. With the admission of every new Member the map of the world changes a little and this Organization is one step nearer to the goal of becoming truly the tribune of mankind. The relationship between nations is undergoing a healthy change from one of dominance and subservience to one of equality and co-operation. As a consequence, amity is now in the process of replacing strife and discord is yielding to beneficent co-operation.

17. There is a striving today among all peoples to live in freedom and in peace with each other. The agenda before you deals with issues of freedom, peace, progress and prosperity. I humbly beseech God to bestow upon us the wisdom, the understanding and the tolerance which would enable us so to order our work and shape our decisions that they might serve to abolish mankind's ancient fears, to assuage its hurts and to forward the fulfilment of its eternal hopes. Amen.

[The speaker continued in Arabic.]

Our final prayer is: the worthiness of perfect praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of all the world.

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

18. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of the General Assembly, I now propose to put before it item 20 of our provisional agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". The special procedure for dealing with this matter, prior to the adoption of the agenda, has been used on earlier occasions in order to give the newly independent States, which have requested membership of our Organization, the opportunity to participate from the outset in the work of the present session. The General Assembly has before it a number of draft resolutions recommending the admission of new Members. The Security Council in each case has unanimously recommended positive action to be taken by the Assembly. I therefore take it that the Assembly may also wish to be given the opportunity to receive each of these new Members, one by one, by acclamation.

19. If it is agreeable to the Assembly, I shall first put to the vote the draft resolutions in the order in which they were recommended. After action has been taken on all the resolutions and the representatives of the new Members have been seated, I shall then give the floor to several representatives who have indicated their desire to speak. I should like to suggest that all representatives will, of course, have the opportunity at the time of their interventions in the general debate to welcome the new Members. It is my hope that the representatives of the new Members will be given the opportunity to say a few words at this meeting. I hope that delegations will accept this arrangement.

20. We turn now to the draft resolution recommending the admission of the Republic of Rwanda to membership in the United Nations. The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/L.391 and Add.1] sponsored by Belgium, Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea and Liberia. May I take it that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to receive the Republic of Rwanda as a Member of the United Nations?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

21. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Republic of Rwanda admitted to membership of the United Nations.

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

22. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for admission is the Kingdom of Burundi. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution [A/L.392 and Add.1] sponsored by Belgium, Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea and Liberia. If there is no objection, I shall declare the Kingdom of Burundi admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

23. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the delegation of the Kingdom of Burundi is arriving this afternoon. I hope that they will be able to take their seats later today. If not, we shall all have an opportunity to welcome them personally and individually on a subsequent occasion.

24. The PRESIDENT: The third candidate for membership is Jamaica. The draft resolution [A/L.389 and Add.1] recommending the admission of Jamaica to membership is sponsored by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Ghana, India, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and the United Kingdom.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

25. The PRESIDENT: I declare Jamaica admitted to membership of the United Nations.

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

26. The PRESIDENT: The next candidate for membership is the State of Trinidad and Tobago. The draft resolution [A/L.390 and Add.1] recommending the admission of Trinidad and Tobago is also sponsored by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Ghana, India, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and the United Kingdom.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

27. The PRESIDENT: I declare Trinidad and Tobago admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

28. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming to this august Assembly the delegations of the States which have just been admitted to membership of the United Nations. I am sure that they have a most valuable contribution to make to our deliberations and decisions.

29. It makes me very happy to see these four new States joining today the company of their fellow independent States in this Organization. I offer them my sincerest and heartiest felicitations on this achievement.

30. Mr. LORIDAN (Belgium) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am grateful for the privilege of being the first representative to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. I am happy to join in the tribute which has thus been paid to your eminent personal gifts. The statesmanship of which you have given proof and the qualities you have demonstrated in performing your functions as an international judge are a guarantee of your success in the mission which the Assembly has now so wisely entrusted to you.

31. On 26 July 1962 the Security Council unanimously recommended to the General Assembly that the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. In supporting in the Council the application of these two new States, I emphasized the varied and close ties which were formed during forty-three years of friendship and co-operation between Belgium and the two future States under its trusteeship. It is fitting that today the entire community of the United Nations should welcome with satisfaction these two new Members.

32. To that end, my delegation and the delegations of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Liberia and Guinea submitted the draft resolutions [A/L.391 and Add.1, A/L.392 and Add.1] which we had the pleasure of seeing the Assembly adopt by acclamation. Belgium is happy that these two new States, to which history has linked it by so many ties, have now joined the great community of nations. The welcome they have received is proof of the interest that the African continent, so full of possibilities and promise, continues to evoke in the United Nations; Rwanda and Burundi will not be disappointed by the feelings that the Members of the Organization have towards them.

33. For Belgium, the admission of these States crowns the determined efforts of several decades during which it endeavoured to lay foundations upon which their life could develop in an orderly and progressive manner. Rwanda and Burundi, which Belgium has led to independence under the aegis of the United Nations, now have political leaders of proven competence and vigour, products of the progressive development of democratic institutions.

34. We are convinced that President Kayibanda, who so worthily represents his country here today, and his young and energetic governmental team will demonstrate their wisdom and lead Rwanda towards an ever brighter future. We are certain that in Burundi H.M. the Mwami, assisted by a Government which is both traditionalist and enterprising, is resolved to govern this new State with an equal concern for economic and social progress and for observance of law. Under the enlightened guidance of their political leaders, the

peoples of Rwanda and Burundi will continue to make social, economic and cultural progress, and will harmoniously develop the heritage of their ancestors and adapt the flowering of their own personality to the conditions of the modern world.

35. Public order has prevailed in these countries since their attainment of independence. This is both a sign of their stability and a requisite for their future development. Moreover, these two States, deeply peaceful and imbued with the ideals of our Organization, are capable of assuming in full the obligations and duties, and of exercising the rights, inherent in their status as sovereign States and Members of the United Nations.

36. But, though the omens for the future of Rwanda and Burundi are good, these two newly independent countries will undeniably still need external technical and financial assistance.

37. Belgium will not shirk what it considers a noble task, and the Belgian Government, through Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, has more than once stated that Belgium was prepared to do its utmost in assisting the two new States to meet their new needs. Belgium is therefore prepared, if these countries so desire, to continue its current efforts on a new footing. Discussions have been held with each of their Governments for the conclusion of agreements for long-term technical assistance programmes to replace the present short-term arrangements. Belgium intends to co-ordinate its efforts in this field with those of the United Nations and other international bodies. That co-ordination will surely make more effective the substantial assistance that must be given to the new States.

38. Belgium joins in the cordial congratulations that will undoubtedly be extended to the Governments and peoples of Rwanda and Burundi, and expresses its sincere wishes for the prosperity of the two States and the well-being of their peoples. It expresses the same wishes towards two other States which have just joined the international community: Jamaica, and the State of Trinidad and Tobago, and welcomes with the greatest satisfaction their admission to the United Nations. It extends the warmest congratulations to these two countries, which will surely make a valuable contribution to the Organization's work.

39. Belgium also congratulates the United Kingdom, which through its far-sighted and generous action has led these two peoples to complete independence. The admission of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Rwanda and Burundi to the United Nations constitutes one more step towards the achievement of our Organization's principle of universality.

40. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): Mr. President, my first and very pleasant opportunity, before turning to the main subject of my present remarks, is to congratulate you most heartily on your election to your high office. You are an international figure whose reputation has already spread far beyond the boundaries of your own country. Your career in diplomacy, in the Government of Pakistan and in the practice of the law, both nationally and internationally, have fitted you outstandingly for the very real task which now confronts you. I know that you will fulfil the office of President with the same distinction that you lent to the other enterprises in your long, varied and distinguished career. Please accept my delegation's congratulations on your election and our assurances of support during your term of office.

41. Turning now to the admission of new Members, I have the honour on this occasion to speak not only on behalf of the United Kingdom Government, but also on behalf of the other Commonwealth Members of the United Nations who have joined my delegation in sponsoring the resolutions which recommended the admission of Jamaica and of the State of Trinidad and Tobago to membership in the United Nations, and which we have just now passed by acclamation. Jamaica became an independent State on 6 August 1962 and Trinidad and Tobago on 31 August 1962. At their own request, both were received into the Commonwealth not merely with the consent, but also with the warm welcome of all member Governments. On 12 September the Security Council met [1018th meeting] to consider applications from both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago for membership of the United Nations and unanimously adopted resolutions—which the United Kingdom, together with Ghana, had been proud to sponsor—recommending that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago should be admitted to membership of this Organization. Today we have just now taken the final step in the process of the admission of both these countries.

42. During recent sessions of the United Nations it has been my delegation's privilege to speak on the admission of a number of new nations which were formerly under British administration. All these recent new additions were from Africa, and it was on that continent that the spotlight was then fixed. It is a new and a happy experience, I submit, to be able to recommend to the Assembly countries from the Caribbean.

43. The pleasure which this occasion gives me is all the greater for the fact that over the very long period of time during which these two Caribbean countries have been associated with Great Britain, a feeling of kinship has developed between us of, I think I may safely say, a unique and a remarkable kind. Our countries have become closer over the centuries, and the change in our political relationship which took place in August of this year is a logical development of this.

44. It is sometimes alleged that the process of decolonization is something forced upon a reluctant administering Power by internal discontent in the colony and by pressure from outside. We could scarcely have a better refutation of this theory than the history of the progress to independence of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago over the last ten years. From the start, both my Government and the Governments of these two countries had one clear aim in view, that they should govern themselves and have for this task both the best possible system of administration and the greatest momentum of economic development. Because the people of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago themselves realized that this was our common objective, they were prepared, in collaboration with the British Government and other Governments of the British West Indies, to consider in detail the form in which independence could best be achieved. They were willing to experiment with various type of political organization before eventually deciding that separate independence most closely met their wishes and their needs. This was not, therefore, a headlong rush to independence, careless of the consequences or of the political and economic disadvantages that could result from ill-considered arrangements. It was instead a deliberate process of advance towards an agreed end.

45. The result is that we welcome here today nations with proved systems of government, stable social structures that are not based on race, religion, or class, and with well-founded economies bolstered, on the one hand, by bauxite, in the case of Jamaica, and oil in the case of Trinidad and Tobago. My delegation considers this result to be a very real vindication of the end towards which my Government and the Governments of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago worked together over the years. It is for this reason that we especially welcome their application for admission to the United Nations as fulfilling their countries' international destiny.

46. It is clear that both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are not only admirably qualified for membership of this Organization, but that they are in a position to contribute substantially to our aims and our objectives. We were therefore honoured and glad to recommend to the General Assembly the resolutions which all members of the Commonwealth joined us in sponsoring. I speak with deep sincerity for all members of the Commonwealth in wishing Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago well, and I am confident that this sentiment is echoed in every corner of this hall.

47. I am also charged to speak on behalf of the Commonwealth in welcome of the two new African States which we have had the privilege of admitting to membership of the United Nations today, namely, Rwanda and Burundi. This occasion has particular significance, since the entry to the United Nations of the two last remaining Trust Territories in Africa is a fitting climax to over forty years of close association between the people of these countries, Belgium, the administering Power, to whom I pay tribute here, the United Nations and before it the League of Nations. The road has not always been easy. Those who have attended sessions of the Trusteeship Council and of the Fourth Committee over the past few years well know the hard work that has contributed to the advance of these two countries to self-government and now to ultimate independence.

48. The attainment of independence by Rwanda and Burundi has been marked by a long and careful period of preparation. Its successful culmination is due partly to the wise and generous co-operation that Belgium has afforded the United Nations, partly to the devoted work of the Trusteeship Council and the Assembly itself, but also and in large measure to the untiring efforts of the leaders of the Rwanda and Burundi people to ensure that their respective countries enter on their independence in the best possible way. In my submission, the success of this policy should be a source of great satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

49. I therefore welcome most warmly this opportunity of wishing the people of Rwanda and Burundi well on behalf of my Government, and I am proud and privileged to do it also on behalf of the members of the Commonwealth. Their independence marks yet another step on the road to the common objective of us all, the freedom of Africa.

50. To all these countries then the welcome that I give is warm, it is sincere. I hope that they may benefit from their membership of this great body, just as I am quite sure that the United Nations itself can and should benefit from this further, yes, and significant addition to its wide-spread and massive Assembly of free and sovereign nations.

51. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): It is a great pleasure for me, Mr. President, to take this opportunity of offering to you, on behalf of the Republic of Mali, our hearty congratulations on your splendid election to the office of President. Our pride is all the greater in that you are a member of the African-Asian group to which we also belong and to which you have contributed, over many years, all the resources of your outstanding ability and wealth of experience. This tribute of confidence which our Assembly has just paid to you in electing you to this office of distinction and difficulty is a just reward for the efforts you have continually made in the cause of respect for the principles of humanity and justice which are the very basis of the United Nations. Hence, in discharging the heavy responsibilities which are now yours, you can rely on the loyal co-operation of the Republic of Mali.

52. May I also say, Mr. President, how glad I am to welcome, on behalf of the permanent delegations of the African and Asian countries, the representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, just admitted to our Organization. These new States, which bring the number of Members of the United Nations to 108, are welcome to the international community and, in particular, to the fraternal group of African and Asian countries in the United Nations.

53. I should therefore like to offer to the representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago the sincere congratulations of the countries of Africa and Asia for the courageous struggle which their peoples have waged to achieve their independence. There is no doubt that these new Members, which have already in this struggle for freedom given proof of their political maturity, will fulfil with honour and distinction their obligation as Members of our Organization.

54. I am convinced that they will appreciate the importance and scope of the role which the African and Asian States must henceforth, because of their number, play in the United Nations. This numerical importance and the delicacy of our role are very stimulating because, though yesterday we were but colonized countries, today we have to make our contribution to the solution of the great problems which exercise mankind and give our support to all the other countries which are still struggling, under difficult conditions, to attain independence.

55. Our role is indeed a very delicate one, since we have to make a clean sweep of everything which has stood between us and other countries during the long and painful process of our struggle for national liberation, and assume all the Members of our Organization to be partners in a common battle for human progress and respect for human dignity.

56. In extending once more our warmest welcome to the brother countries and representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, I assure them of the full and sincere co-operation of the African and Asian countries for the attainment of our common objectives.

57. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): I wish to commend the Assembly, Mr. President, for having entrusted you with the conduct of the work of the seventeenth regular session. Your leadership guarantees a very high degree of integrity and moral responsibility, which we greatly need in order successfully to carry out our difficult tasks.

58. This should be regarded as a red-letter day, a historic occasion, in the annals of the United Nations. We have on other occasions, as on so many since the founding of the Organization, celebrated the admission of new Members. That act does not, by repetition, lose its fateful significance. So there is among us today a special measure of rejoicing, as in a house in which a child is to be born.

59. My delegation has the honour to extend, on behalf of the Latin American delegations, a welcome to the four new nations now joining our ranks. We preceded them in the search for peace in which this Organization has engaged for over fifteen years. However, we expect from them, as new Members, new efforts and an indefatigable idealism to revive and strengthen our own.

60. Under colonial rule, nations long and strive primarily to achieve their independence. Once that, which seemed the highest pinnacle, has been reached, they become aware of other new stages on the road to self-determination and prosperity. In their journey along that road, the four new nations can rely on the support and co-operation of the United Nations, and particularly of the Latin American States. Close brotherhood, based on identity of objectives, links us to them. And together we shall take another new step towards overcoming present difficulties for the benefit of all mankind.

61. When a nation is born, a great idea which lay dormant in its inmost being sees the light for the first time. Usually, that idea germinates in the minds of visionaries and poets and it is the task of the second generation—the statesmen and politicians—to forge the instrument which will enable them to clear their own, true path.

62. Those brother nations are now facing grave decisions in matters of paramount importance, the first of which has been that of coexistence in the United Nations. However, they will be able to rely on the affection and understanding of other countries which regard themselves simply as sharing the common desire for peace and prosperity.

63. Rwanda and Burundi are situated on a continent which has seemed remote from ours, but their peoples are akin to many that live in Latin America. There is, in their aspirations and desires, much that is common to all of us. We have to some extent experienced the vicissitudes of their emergence from the colonial era. Under the League of Nations Mandate and the United Nations trusteeship, we did our part in fulfilling the obligations incumbent upon us and participated with emotion and confidence in the final debates which led to their independence.

64. The presence of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, parts of our American continent, as independent nations evokes particularly happy memories for the Latin American countries.

65. Baron von Humboldt once said that the Caribbean was the American Mediterranean; and these newly created nations, in assuming their rightful place in the Caribbean through their own efforts, thereby also assume their rightful place in the heart of America.

66. Jamaica has a very special place in the saga of America's emancipation. It was on that island, so close to the struggle for independence, that many of our heroes sought refuge. It was there, in an immortal letter, that Bolívar, his heart replete with feeling for the sea and people of the Caribbean, wrote down all that our continent can and should be in history: the

richest family of nations, not because of its wealth, but because of its freedom and its glory.

67. We therefore greet the independence of Jamaica with more than ordinary warmth.

68. These two Caribbean nations constitute a new aspect of the phenomenon of which Latin America is justly proud—namely, equality among races and their gradual intermingling, which brings us steadily closer to a race that some of our philosophers have called the "cosmic" race.

69. Consequently, on behalf of the nations of Latin America, I wish once again to welcome the four countries which are entering our Organization today. They will always find in us, their friends and brothers, loyal co-operation which will help them to overcome many of the problems inherent in national independence.

70. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is extremely happy that to it has fallen the honour of congratulating and greeting, on behalf of the socialist countries, the new States today admitted as Members of the United Nations—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—and of welcoming them to this great world Organization.

71. The admission to the international community of countries which but a short time ago were beneath the colonial yoke represents, we are profoundly convinced, a further step towards elimination of the colonial oppression under which millions of human beings still labour. It is painful and sad, at the very moment when we are celebrating the entry of these new countries into our Organization, to know that other peoples and other nations, equally meriting freedom, independence and admission to the United Nations, continue to suffer under the colonial yoke, despite the solemn Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session [resolution 1514 (XV)].

72. The road which the peoples of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago had to travel was beset with difficulties and obstacles before its end—freedom—was reached. Very little time has passed since the day when this Assembly adopted, with its expression of deep indignation, resolution 1627 (XVI) on the assassination of the Prime Minister of Burundi as a result of the intrigues of colonialism. There is no need to paint the general picture of conditions in the four countries which we have just admitted to the Organization; the picture is the familiar one, which we all know, of countries that have been subject for decades, and even centuries, to colonial exploitation.

73. These countries' accession to independence and their admission to the United Nations are events of extreme importance. Called to a new life, these nations are securing greater opportunities of overcoming the difficulties which impede their forward march. Great efforts will certainly be needed if these young peoples are to succeed in eliminating the traces of colonial dependence, in consolidating their national sovereignty regained, and in terminating colonialist domination of their countries' economic, social and cultural life. With all our heart, we wish the peoples of the four States which we have just admitted to our great international family daily increasing success in every sphere.

74. Having eliminated, at home, the exploitation of man by man, and now fighting with all their strength

to liquidate every form of oppression once and for all, the socialist countries rejoice at the daily swelling of the ranks of those working for the abolition of colonial oppression. We cannot in fact doubt, for one moment, that the countries and peoples which by sheer fighting have achieved their liberation from colonial oppression will do everything in their power to support the struggle of their brothers who still suffer under an abominable colonial yoke.

75. We rejoice in the admission of these new Member States to our Organization. We cannot help thinking of those who are still, at this very moment, struggling to free themselves from the colonial yoke. We are convinced that other countries and other peoples will soon come to strengthen the ranks of the United Nations, will likewise give their support to the United Nations in the organization of better international co-operation, and will also, we are sure, help by combining their efforts with ours for the safeguarding of peace and the liberation of all peoples from colonial bondage.

76. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to say, on behalf of my country, how happy we are at your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, for which a person of your distinction and talent is particularly well qualified. Your moral authority and high level of thought marked you out in quite a special way for this lofty and difficult office. Allow me to convey to you my very warm and cordial congratulations.

77. The French delegation has already had occasion, in sponsoring the applications of Rwanda and Burundi on behalf of the French-speaking nations in the Security Council to congratulate these two countries on their accession to independence. It also spoke, in the same body, in favour of the admission to the world Organization of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago.

78. On behalf of the nations of Western Europe which were kind enough to entrust me with this task, I have the honour to welcome the delegations which have just been presented in the General Assembly Hall. They already know most of the European representatives, and know that we rejoice to see them sitting beside us. It is in the European tradition to contribute to the expansion of the international community, and in this respect Belgium and the United Kingdom, as former administering Powers, deserve the Assembly's gratitude. A tribute should also be paid to the good work of the Trusteeship Council.

79. The nations of Western Europe have followed, with interest and sympathy in equal measure, the process of evolution which has brought the four new Members from the status of dependent territories to that of sovereign States. For a long time now we have maintained with them friendly relations based on continually developing cultural and trade exchanges.

80. I am convinced that at the dawn of this new chapter in their history Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago will endeavour to forge closer links with Western Europe in every sphere. They know that Western Europe stands in full readiness to co-operate with them, in the future as in the past, as closely as possible.

81. The birth of new nations and their admission to our Organization are happy events which are a source of legitimate satisfaction to the United Nations. We know, in advance, that our new colleagues will make a useful contribution to our work. I would like to convey

to them, once more, the sincere and cordial wishes of welcome which the group of West European countries extends to them.

82. Mr. ALVES (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): Mr. President, it is an honour for me, on behalf of my delegation, to join the representatives who have already spoken from this rostrum in extending to you our hearty congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly's seventeenth session. We have no doubt that, thanks to your great experience of international affairs, you will direct our debates as skilfully as your eminent predecessor.

83. Only a few months ago, after an exhaustive study terminating a long discussion, we welcomed the accession to independence of Burundi and Rwanda.

84. Today, another event takes place—the entry of Burundi and Rwanda into the United Nations. I believe that all delegations here present greet the admission of these two countries with special joy. The joy is all the greater and deeper in that, during the two and a half months which have passed since their attainment of independence, the two States have given proof of the maturity and ability needed for the occupying of their place among the members of the community of nations.

85. My delegation wished to be a co-sponsor of draft resolutions A/L.391 and Add.1 and A/L.392 and Add.1, and considers it necessary to express briefly here, at this historic moment for the two countries, the views of its Government, not only because of our historical affinities and our common fate, but because of the new and increasing brotherhood between the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, the other African peoples and countries, and all the States from the other continents which are collaborating for peace and development in the world—a new brotherhood which, without breaking the links of our past or conflicting with our traditions, inspires in my Government the sole desire to promote the well-being of the two new States and to help create a better future for them.

86. Such was the attitude which my Government took, from the rostrum in this Organization, throughout the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

87. On behalf of the Congolese Government, my delegation warmly, and with deep gratitude, congratulates the Governments of the Kingdom of Burundi and the Rwandese Republic, as also the Government of Belgium, on the wisdom, intelligence and foresight that have characterized their inauguration of their new relationships.

88. My delegation reaffirms its confidence in their intentions to seek to establish between them, on a new and equitable basis, a form of co-operation which is in keeping with the requirements of the times, accords with the vocation of Members of the United Nations in general and of the African countries in particular, and will permit the harmonious development of Burundi and Rwanda in a peaceful world.

89. I should also like, on behalf of the Congolese Government, to extend our hearty congratulations to the two other new States—Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. My delegation is convinced that they will conscientiously discharge all the responsibilities and obligations incumbent upon them as Members of the United Nations. It also congratulates the General Assembly on its vote in their favour.

90. Mr. GORE (United States of America): On behalf of the people of the United States, permit me, Mr. President, to extend congratulations upon your election and to pledge our fullest co-operation.

91. Just outside the halls of the United States Senate, where I am privileged to serve, there is a bust of my fellow townsman and benefactor, Mr. Cordell Hull. On that bust is carved "Father of the United Nations". I am sure he would be pleased to know that the fifty-one nations which composed the United Nations at the time it was organized have now grown to more than one hundred.

92. Today, in common, I believe, with mankind of all the world, the people of the United States regard with hope, not unmixed with awe, the marvellous growth of the United Nations Organization. We welcome into the membership today four nations, each newly possessed of the fruits of self-determination—real independence, genuine national sovereignty—two of them set in the midst of a sunny ocean close to our shores, two of them nestled in the majestic reaches of the central African highlands almost half a world away. Yet for all the distance that separates them, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Burundi share a common strain of blood and experience, and today, joining with us in the United Nations, each of them makes a commitment to the single community of man, which in previous epochs was obscured and hidden but which today is plain for all mankind to see. This commitment best explains why each of us and the countries we represent are here. On behalf of the people of the United States and the President of the United States, I say: welcome.

93. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon) (translated from French): Mr. President, the delegations of the African and Malagasy Union—composed, as you know, of Senegal, Mauritania, the Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Niger, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Madagascar and the Federal Republic of Cameroon—have done me the honour of asking me to express their warm congratulations to you on your splendid election as President of the United Nations General Assembly's seventeenth session. For almost two years we have been able, here, to appreciate your eminent qualities, which have made you the honoured and worthy leader just chosen by this Assembly. It is our hope that under your enlightened guidance the Assembly will solve in the best possible way the different problems before it, and thus hasten the coming of peace and fraternity in a world so much in need of them.

94. Those States have also asked me to express from this rostrum their joy at seeing our Organization expand, and to welcome on their behalf the delegations of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. Our joy is great indeed, not only because year by year the United Nations is approaching the day when it will attain the universality called for by its Charter and its destiny, but also and especially because those who have just achieved their freedom are very close to us in sentiment, past and origin. We feel deep joy because we know that this is the result of many efforts, struggles and hardships. We experience this joy particularly because history has proved that liberation of the colonized promotes greater comprehension and co-operation among peoples which subjection had prevented from understanding and liking each other.

95. We therefore welcome those who have now joined us. We greet, in particular, their valorous peoples. May God grant their leaders His wisdom, and may

they guide their peoples toward the radiant paths of happiness and prosperity.

96. Mr. KAYIBANDA (President of the Rwandese Republic) (translated from French): It is a source of great pleasure and deep satisfaction for me, as President of the State of Rwanda, to speak for the first time in this Assembly and express to the United Nations the good wishes conveyed to it, in all sincerity, by the entire Rwandese people.

97. For this opportunity I express my warm thanks, which are addressed in particular to the President of the Assembly and to the Secretary-General. I likewise thank all those who, from near or far, have helped the Rwandese Republic to achieve its independence and take its place among the free and full-grown nations. That is today a source of great joy to me, to the Government of Rwanda and to the people of the Rwandese Republic which is now a Member of the United Nations and can thus contribute to the achievement of the Organization's purpose—the progress of mankind in peace and co-operation. This has always been the ideal of Rwanda and its leaders during all the developments which resulted in the liberation of the people of Rwanda, represented by my humble person here today.

98. You yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, with the purposes of our Organization in view, have adopted resolutions designed to help us solve our problems. Those problems have been solved. Rwanda has been liberated, both from a domestic régime conflicting with the elementary principles of freedom, and from a colonial régime outdated for all peoples; and that liberation was effected gradually and smoothly. Even the withdrawal of foreign troops took place without difficulty.

99. Thanks to the training in discipline of our young forces of law and order, the Rwandese Republic is enjoying peace. Our people are at work. Our Government is working steadily, spiritedly and courageously. Our methods, attitudes and expenditures are characterized by a certain austerity, reflecting a realistic appraisal of the means available to a newly independent State, as well as the desire of Rwanda's leaders to place everything in the service of the cause which we have set before us—the systematic raising of our people's level of living, and the democratic development of our nation.

100. The Government of the Rwandese Republic is redoubling its efforts to establish or strengthen ties of friendship and co-operation with the various nations. That—to mention only one example—is why I made a point of attending in person the conversations which brought together the States of the African and Malagasy Union and my country will always share in every effort to promote the effective solidarity of groups and nations.

101. In the same spirit, Rwandese governmental missions—led by the Minister for Foreign Relations, by the Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs and Planning, or by the Minister for Agriculture and Land Settlement—were dispatched on the morrow of independence to establish contacts so as to secure for independent Rwanda the means, first of expediting our country's development, and secondly of contributing to general progress towards co-operation in friendship and freedom, to which the United Nations is dedicated.

102. In this spirit, the Rwandese Republic is happy to be a Member of this Assembly. Peace within and between nations, the freedom of peoples and their

co-operation in all fields of progress, respect for the ethical values of justice and tolerance, and mutual aid between the rich countries and the poorer nations in the form of technical and financial assistance—such will be the "leit-motifs" for our representatives.

103. The Rwandese Republic will be found in the ranks of those who have already worked so hard for true decolonization, which leads to better conditions for development and progress. We stand beside those who are striving for an equitable distribution of the benefits deriving from progress, in the various forms of technical and financial assistance. We stand beside those who seek the abolition of methods based on discrimination and violence. We stand beside those who are endeavouring to create or strengthen, realistically, joint organs for co-operation among nations. We stand beside all those who seek every peaceful means of guaranteeing and promoting the fullest exercise of fundamental freedoms. The Rwandese Republic will always stand beside those who effectively encourage the progress of the contemporary movement towards technical assistance for the less advanced nations. Those nations make up a considerable group, and it would be a source of disequilibrium for all countries if the less developed nations failed to receive their due share of aid from the more favoured countries.

104. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Assembly and the Secretary-General for their constant concern in the matter of technical assistance for my country. Experts are already there; they receive requests from our Government for transmission to the Secretariat, or study with our services the development projects which we have undertaken or wish to undertake. I ask that all who have to examine or approve the requests for technical and financial assistance submitted by our Government should consider them favourably. I make the same appeal in regard to requests for assistance presented by other nations which, like our own, have recently become independent. For it is clear that such assistance is but an extension of the Organization's liberating action directed towards the granting of independence to colonized peoples. It is time for the liberation movement to proceed, from the preliminary stage of the granting of independence, to more intensive action—namely, to the economic, social and cultural development of what today are called the "non-aligned countries".

105. I would also take this occasion to thank, once more, those Members of the United Nations which joined in our 1 July festivities or sent us telegrams of good wishes and encouragement, and all Members expediting the procedure which will enable them to have the best diplomatic relations with the Rwandese Republic. That Republic's membership in the Organization will help to make those relations more effective for Rwanda and for the successful achievement of the objectives of the United Nations.

106. On behalf of myself and of the Government and people of Rwanda, I express once again our fervent hope that after reaching the first stage of its objective—namely decolonization—the United Nations will enter a longer phase, that of intensive action aimed at consolidating peace and co-operation among nations and effectively promoting the progress of the underdeveloped regions. Such action will maintain progress and balance in the world—which, in the final analysis, constitute the Organization's ultimate goal.

107. I would conclude by associating myself with all the previous speakers in congratulating, once more,

the President of the United Nations General Assembly who has just been so splendidly elected, as well as the sister nations which, together with Rwanda, have just been admitted to the Organization.

108. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): Please permit me, Mr. President, to add a newcomer's voice to those which have been offering you congratulations on the high office to which this world Assembly has elected you. Then, on behalf of the people and Government of Jamaica, I wish to thank you and the other representatives in this Assembly for your kind and cordial words of welcome to the Jamaican delegation. I wish also to express the gratitude we feel to the countries which sponsored the resolution leading to our admission, and I should like to say how pleased we were to hear representatives from countries in all parts of the globe making cordial and friendly references to us. We were particularly pleased at the reference by the representative of Mexico to our connexion with that great liberator, Simón Bolívar, a connexion of which we are proud. We are glad that we gave him refuge and restored his energies in his fight for the independence of the countries of South America.

109. Jamaica could have taken its place among the independent nations of the world many years ago. We chose, however, to mark time on the march to independence in an effort to see whether all the dependent British territories in the Caribbean could take the final steps together within a federal union. After four years of trial, a satisfactory basis for such a union could not be found and Jamaica therefore proceeded to take its final steps to national sovereignty alone. We are pleased, however, that our sister country of Trinidad and Tobago is being welcomed into the family of nations at the same time as ourselves and we hope that the other British Caribbean territories will not be far behind us.

110. It is perhaps appropriate at this moment that I should refer to the relations which have existed in recent years between the Government and people of Jamaica and the Government of the United Kingdom. Jamaica has been entirely self-governing in its internal affairs for many years. In this last period, the United Kingdom has been responsible only for our defence and our external relations, and she has been as willing to surrender these remaining responsibilities as we have been to assume them.

111. No imperial or colonial administration can in our view be wholly good, for the basis of its position as governor, without the consent of the governed, is morally unsound. On an occasion such as this, however, we would not wish to hark back to any of the unsatisfactory aspects of the colonial relationship. We would prefer instead to emphasize what was good, and there is much that was good. I should like to speak rather of the legacy of respect for the rule of law, for the parliamentary system based on the consent of all the people which Britain has left behind it in Jamaica. I wish to acknowledge the contribution which the United Kingdom has made to the growth of sound democratic institutions in my country. It is on the soundness and maturity of these, our institutions, that Jamaica bases the confidence we feel in our ability to safeguard the integrity of our independence in the future.

112. My country is a small one, but we believe we have already set an example which older and greater nations could do well to follow. Our country has shown how men of many different racial origins can live and work together in harmony and mutual respect.

113. In our international relations, Jamaica comes to the family of nations with ties already well established, and we look forward to extending the range of our close and friendly relations with other countries of the world. The Government of Jamaica will naturally maintain its position as a member within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Because the large majority of our people are African in origin, Jamaica believes it understands and can fully sympathize with the fundamental aspirations of the new nations of Africa. By the facts of geography, however, we are part of the Western hemisphere and inevitably we must see many of the problems of the world from that perspective. Perhaps, therefore, in time Jamaica's contribution to the cause of international peace will be the help it can give to the increase in tolerance and understanding between the nations of the different continents.

114. My country subscribes without reserve to the aims of the United Nations. Jamaica accepts fully the responsibilities of membership. Within the limits imposed by our slender resources, Jamaica hopes to participate in all its activities. In our approach to the difficult problems which from time to time will face the United Nations, Jamaica will be inclined towards the practical solution rather than the solution based solely on theory.

115. We are proud now to become a Member of this Organization. Mankind, though endowed by its Creator with an essential dignity, has seemed to us at times through the centuries to be diligently striving to deprive itself of that dignity. The Government and people of Jamaica are happy to become Members of this Organization which in our opinion, in its short life, has made a most signal contribution to the restoration of that dignity.

116. Mr. CLARKE (Trinidad and Tobago): Today the nation of Trinidad and Tobago rejoices that it can lay incontestable claim to two superlatives: the newest nation in the world, and the most recent Member of the United Nations.

117. The regularity with which this Assembly effects admission of new Members foredooms the continued existence for any protracted period of the once well established and enduring system of colonialism. Because the country, which I have the honour to represent, cherishes the priceless asset of independence and esteems the privilege of the membership it has just been accorded, its cup of joy will not be filled until these distinctions, which it wears today, have been passed on to others—until, in short, every territory on this planet is liberated and has found its true home as a Member of this Organization.

118. The Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago are deeply grateful to those who sponsored the resolution for admission, to all the members of the Security Council who unanimously and in terms of the utmost kindness and friendship recommended admission, to all the Members of this Assembly for adopting the draft resolution and for their inspiring and encouraging remarks.

119. We regard it as a happy circumstance that you, Mr. President, but a short while ago visited our shores, witnessed the birth of our new nation, participated in our festivities, and endeared yourself to all who had the honour to meet you. You left us with but one regret, that your visit was of so short a duration.

120. Our journey to independence has been long, slow and absolutely peaceful. Our pace has been unhurried and we must have seemed to many to have been the victims of a paralysing timidity, an incomprehensible reluctance to shed the coils of colonialism and don the mantle of freedom. May I give the assurance that our slow and cautious tread did not betoken a distaste for independence or a failure to appreciate its blessings. Rather did it signify our recognition that political independence is the first step in a new and important phase of our life, and not the ultimate in our achievement.

121. Our national institutions were developed and proved so as to be able to withstand the stresses of independence. Our management of our internal affairs demonstrated to our friends throughout the world a stability and maturity which demanded that our independence be full, free and unfettered. Only thus could we ensure that we would be as alert to resist the subtle pressures of external domination as we would be anxious to offer the hand of sincere friendship and co-operation to those who would grasp it.

122. We occupy less than 2,000 square miles of the earth's surface and our population is not quite 900,000. We are lacking in material wealth. We do not believe, however, that extent of territory or numbers of population or the possession of material resources are necessary prerequisites of peaceful achievement in international affairs. We believe in the equal rights of nations, however large or small, and in the sovereign equality of all members of the Organization. Compared with the large and powerful nations of the world we are, in a strictly material sense, an under-developed country. We have, however, developed in our society tolerance; camaraderie; respect for the rights of others; an unswerving opposition to oppression, injustice and racial discrimination; a love of liberty; a supreme faith in the dignity and worth of the human person; and belief in the value of co-operation.

123. Not only are these principles enshrined in our Constitution, but they form an integral part of the daily life of our cosmopolitan population. We proudly draw attention to Trinidad and Tobago as a small experimental plot on which we have sown and cultivated the principles which it is the task of this Organization to disseminate throughout the world. Our population, with its many faiths and its diverse racial origins, constitutes a microcosm of the larger world community. Surely the lessons of Trinidad and Tobago may be applied to that community.

124. We emerge into independence with a feeling of friendship for all peoples. If at the first moment after midnight of 30 August 1962, an Act of Parliament dissolved the legal shackles which subjugated our country to the United Kingdom, the invisible ties of friendship, of mutual respect, of a similar parliamentary and judicial system and of equal regard for fundamental human rights hold us firmly and fondly attached to the centre of the Commonwealth. The first conference which our Prime Minister has attended upon attainment of independence is the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference now in progress, and we shall constantly seek to develop still further our ties with the Commonwealth.

125. As members of this Assembly are aware, we hoped at one stage to achieve our independence as a part of a federation of the West Indies, but this was not to be. However, our Government places in the forefront of its international obligations its relations with its

Caribbean neighbours and the metropolitan countries with which some of them are connected. Our Government will strive at all times to achieve the closest possible association, political and economic, cultural and intellectual, with the countries of the Caribbean and the countries on the South American mainland which have traditionally formed part of the Caribbean economy.

126. We recognize the responsibility which we have assumed with membership of this Organization. That responsibility we can neither shirk nor delegate. We may consult with those who are more experienced than we are, but any decisions must be our own. In arriving at them we shall never lose sight of the basic aims of the Organization. Naturally we shall not agree

with everyone. Sometimes it may be our closest friends from whom we differ. We expect, however, that divergencies of view will not weaken either friendship or respect. We come to the United Nations neither to dissemble nor to toady. We come to offer the point of view of a tiny but independent nation, a point of view which we hope will always be clearly reasoned and manifestly reasonable, however unacceptable it may be to those who reject it. Our Constitution begins with an affirmation of our belief in spiritual values and divine assistance. Guided by these values and inspired by that assistance, we look forward with confidence to our future role.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.