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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 24

Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/4937)

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

Mr. Fukushima (Japan), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee (A/4937).

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote on the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/4937]. I now give the floor to the representative of Greece.

2. Mr. PAPAGOS (Greece) (translated from French): I thank the President for giving me this opportunity to explain my vote. The Greek delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Canada and twenty-four other countries on the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. We voted in this way because of our concern at the increasing amount of radio-active fall-out in many parts of the world. We consider that the

closest attention must be given to this danger which is threatening mankind and that it is in the interests of all countries that the World Meteorological Organization and the other specialized agencies should receive practical and moral support to enable them to accomplish the task entrusted to them. Through detailed studies and active international vigilance, we must be kept constantly informed of data relating to radio-active fall-out. We will be able to remedy the evil, by appropriate measures, only if we have a full knowledge of its causes.

3. I should like to inform the Assembly that, according to information which I have received from my country, the level of radio-activity, which at the beginning of September was 0.11 micro-microcuries per cubic metre in some areas of Greece, rose to 45 micro-microcuries in the same areas towards the end of September. This does not, admittedly, represent a dangerous increase, but the source of this radio-activity is revealed by the fact that it was caused by atmospheric currents originating in the Arctic regions.

4. While considering that the draft resolution submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation has much merit, the Greek delegation abstained in the vote in order to lend greater weight to the Canadian proposal, which is more in line with our views on the extent of the danger of radio-active fall-out and on the need to intensify scientific studies.

5. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolutions A and B contained in the report of the Special Political Committee [A/4937]. I shall put draft resolution A to the vote first.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 74 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put draft resolution B to the vote.

The result of the vote was 37 in favour and 20 against, with 27 abstentions.

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

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia on a point of order.

8. Mr. PUDLAK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, the Czechoslovak delegation cannot but voice its surprise at your ruling that the vote on the resolution tabled by the Czechoslovak delegation [see A/4937] should be regarded as a vote on an important political question, under Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, and that the decision would thus have to be made by a two-thirds majority. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it must protest against such a ruling.

9. When this question was discussed in the Committee, some delegations which took an unfavourable view of the Czechoslovak draft resolution criticized it on the specific ground that it was a routine and formal resolution. At the same time, the Canadian delegation, which was one of the sponsors of the second resolution [see A/4937], safeguarded itself in advance against the possibility of attempts being made to describe its resolution as political, and in the course of the whole discussion stressed its non-political character.

10. In point of fact, the item we are now discussing is not the general item dealing with atomic radiation. The title under which it was included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly reads: "Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation". The report of the United Nations Scientific Committee presented to the General Assembly this year [A/4881 and Corr.1] is merely a progress report on the work of the Committee, without any proposals or conclusions. Our business is to take note or not to take note of this report, or to comment on it. It is not for us, however, to decide basic political questions connected with atomic radiation, atomic tests, etc.

11. This is obviously an ordinary procedural question, especially if there are no reservations or critical comments to be made on the report under discussion. The decision to apply Article 18 of the Charter to the Czechoslovak resolution can only be regarded as an attempt to use procedure in order to prevent the adoption of the Czechoslovak resolution. We had already witnessed a similar attempt in the Committee, when the Canadian delegation, seeking to prevent the adoption of the Czechoslovak draft resolution, claimed priority for its own draft, in spite of the fact that the Czechoslovak draft was tabled earlier in time and, under rule 132, should have been put to the vote before the Canadian draft resolution. But even this trick failed to prevent the Czechoslovak resolution from being adopted.

12. The Czechoslovak delegation hopes, Mr. President, that you will reconsider the ruling which you have just announced and that the Czechoslovak draft resolution will be adopted, in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure.

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

14. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In connexion with what the Czechoslovak representative has just said, I wish to draw the attention of Members of the General Assembly and of yourself, Mr. President, to rule 85 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure. Rule 85 reads as follows:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 c of Article 86 of the Charter, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of member-

ship, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System, and budgetary questions".

15. As you are aware, the question now under discussion does not fall under any of these categories. Rule 87 of the rules of procedure reads as follows:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on questions other than those provided for in rule 85, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the Members of the Members present and voting".

16. I would call your attention to the fact that, before the vote was taken, the President did not put to the vote the issue whether this question should be discussed and voted on as an important question—one, that is, requiring a two-thirds majority for its decision. Consequently, with all due respect to you, Mr. President, I consider that your ruling for a two-thirds majority vote is not based on the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and I would ask you to reconsider this ruling.

17. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Canada on a point of order.

18. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada) (translated from French): There can be no doubt whatever that the problem of radio-active fall-out is a source of concern and apprehension to all our peoples. This is borne out by the fact that not a single vote was cast against draft resolution A, contained in the report of the Special Political Committee (A/4937). Therefore, to submit, as the representative of Czechoslovakia has done, that this question is not sufficiently important to require a two-thirds majority vote is completely unrealistic. My delegation accordingly considers that the decision taken by the President was the right one and I request that a vote should be taken on the question of whether a two-thirds majority vote is required.

19. Mr. CHOBANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I do not intend to repeat what the representative of the Soviet Union has said concerning the interpretation to be placed on rule 85 of the rules of procedure. I do, however, wish to make this further point. The list given in this rule of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority is exhaustive, not illustrative. The rule does not end with any such expression as "etc." or "and so forth". Therefore as the representative of the Soviet Union has said, this voting procedure is applicable only to the questions listed in this rule, which every representative has before him. Since, I repeat, this list is definitely exhaustive, no other question can be added to it.

20. Moreover, as the representative of the Soviet Union has also pointed out, rule 87 states that:

"Decisions of the General Assembly on questions other than those provided for in rule 85, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the Members present and voting."

For these reasons, I would request the President to reverse the decision he took in announcing that draft resolution B has not been adopted.

21. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In view of the observations that have just been made, the

uncertainty concerning this question and the express request made by the representative of Canada, I propose to ask the General Assembly to decide whether draft resolution B constitutes an important question requiring a two-thirds majority vote or, rather, a question merely requiring a simple majority vote.

22. Before submitting the question to the Assembly, I call on the representative of Bulgaria on a point of order concerning the voting procedure.

23. Mr. CHOBANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I believe that there is no need for a vote on the question which the President has just put. Rule 87 of the rules of procedure which has been mentioned, does not relate to specific questions on which a two-thirds majority vote should be taken, but to categories of questions with respect to which the Assembly is empowered to determine whether a decision will be taken by a two-thirds majority. However, the rule does not refer to specific or particular questions. This is the reason why I believe that there is no need to accede to the Canadian representative's request for a vote on the question of whether the decision on draft resolution B must be taken by a simple or by a two-thirds majority.

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since a vote has been requested, I believe it would help to speed up our work—and I make an appeal to the Assembly in this connexion—if I adhered to my intention of consulting the Assembly on whether or not it considers this question to be an important one requiring a two-thirds majority.

25. I would remind the Assembly that, under rule 87 of the rules of procedure, decisions on the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority are taken by a simple majority. Those who consider that the question requires a vote by a two-thirds majority will vote "yes" and those who hold the contrary view will vote "no". A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg.

Against: Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal.

Abstaining: Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Argentina, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mexico.

The General Assembly decided by 48 votes to 27, with 26 abstentions, that the two-thirds majority rule should be applied to the vote on draft resolution B.

Statement by the President

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I would remind the Members of the Assembly that the next two items which we have to consider today are the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the election of six members of the Economic and Social Council. However, in view of the wishes expressed by several delegations, I propose to take up first two other items entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" and "Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal; the urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective international control". When we have concluded our consideration of these two items, we can either take up the elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, or defer them until a later meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 92

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall therefore proceed to consider agenda item 92 entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". In this connexion, the Assembly has before it the recommendation of the Security Council relating to the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic [A/4940] and that relating to the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania [A/4941]. The Assembly also has before it a draft resolution on each of these two questions which we shall consider separately.

ADMISSION OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

28. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to consider first the question of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic, on which it has before it a draft resolution [A/L.359 and Add.1 and 2] sponsored by twenty-three Powers.

29. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): On 25 October the Security Council, at its 971st meeting, adopted a positive decision on the question of admitting the Mongolian People's Republic to membership of the United Nations, and recommended the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 4, paragraph 2 of the United Nations Charter, to adopt the appropriate decision.

30. As you know, over the past year the number of Members of the United Nations has considerably increased, especially through the admission to the Organization of former African colonies which, as a result of a stubborn struggle against colonialism, have finally succeeded in attaining their independence.

31. Today all delegations have before them a recommendation by the Security Council concerning the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic,^{1/} and the draft resolution [A/L.359

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth year, Supplement for October, November and December 1961, document S/4968.

and Add.1 and 2], tabled by twenty-three States, confirming this recommendation by the Council.

32. The Mongolian nation, as we all know, is one of the oldest nations in the world. Its national history began in the third century before our era and Mongolia maintained its independence until the seventeenth century, when it was conquered by foreigners. Two hundred years later, as a result of the victory of the people's revolution in 1921, the Mongolian people achieved the restoration of the Mongolian State on a popular democratic basis. Since then, in a relatively short space of time, the economic and cultural backwardness of the country has been overcome. A national industry has been created, agriculture reconstructed and a cultural revolution achieved. The Mongolian People's Republic has now been transformed from a cattle-raising country into an agricultural and industrial State; it has by-passed the capitalist road to development and set foot firmly on the road to socialism.

33. From the very beginning of its existence, the Mongolian People's Republic has been firmly and consistently following a peaceful policy consonant with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter; it has invariably advocated the relaxation of international tension, and peaceful coexistence. It maintains diplomatic relations with twenty-one States in all continents of the world.

34. The Mongolian People's Republic, as already determined at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in resolution 1602 of 19 April 1961, is a peace-loving State within the meaning of Article 4 of the United Nations Charter and, as stated in that resolution, is able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter. That is why the Security Council drew the correct inference and recommended the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations.

35. The delegation of the Soviet Union and the delegations of twenty-two other countries, namely: Albania, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Nepal, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia have submitted draft resolution A/L.359, reading as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having received the recommendation of the Security Council of 25 October 1961 that the Mongolian People's Republic should be admitted to membership in the United Nations,

"Having considered the application for membership of the Mongolian People's Republic,

"Decides to admit the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations."

We are confident that this resolution will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

36. Mr. LIU (China): On the question of Outer Mongolia the position of the Chinese delegation has been made known on numerous occasions, and again two days ago, when the Security Council considered the matter for the thirteenth time. We remain convinced that Outer Mongolia is utterly unqualified for membership of this Organization under the provisions of the Charter. Since its application for membership

was first submitted in 1946^{2/} it has been increasingly brought under Soviet domination, and by its actions it has demonstrated itself to be a willing tool of armed aggression against the neighbouring regions. In short, its claim to independence is nothing but a cloak for the perpetuation of Soviet colonization.

37. My delegation, however, is not unmindful of General Assembly resolution 1602 (XV) on the question of Outer Mongolia, and in the circumstances with which the Security Council was confronted the Chinese delegation reluctantly came to the decision that its opposition to Outer Mongolia's entry should not be made a pretext, however meagre and unjustifiable, for the non-admission of a new State which my delegation particularly desires to see within the ranks of this Organization. My delegation, however, will not participate in the voting if a vote is taken in the Assembly.

38. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to take a decision on the twenty-three Power draft resolution (A/L.359 and Add.1 and 2), which recommends that the Mongolian People's Republic should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. Since there has been no request for a vote, may I consider that the General Assembly approves the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic?

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

39. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since the resolution was adopted by acclamation and I have heard no objection, I declare the Mongolian People's Republic admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

40. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic.

41. Mr. TSEVEGMID (Mongolian People's Republic):^{3/} I am extremely glad to express on behalf of the Government and the people of the Mongolian People's Republic our gratitude to all those States whose representatives backed the candidature of the Mongolian People's Republic for membership of the United Nations, particularly to the Soviet Union and other countries for their constant and consistent support of our State's legitimate right.

42. As a result of the victory of the national liberation movement of 1921 against foreign colonizers, the Mongolian people created the Mongolian People's Republic as a sovereign, independent state of the people's democracy on the Asian continent, commencing thereby its revival as a nation and a State.

43. Now the Mongolian People's Republic, formerly one of the economically most backward countries of the East, as a result of the successful development of its national industry, agriculture, science and culture, has turned into an advanced agrarian and industrial country which is confidently marching along the way of the construction of socialism.

44. More than fifteen years have passed since our Government first submitted its application for ad-

^{2/} Ibid., First Year, Second Series, Supplement No. 4, document S/95.

^{3/} Mr. Tsevegmid spoke in Mongolian. The English and French versions of his statement were supplied by the delegation.

mission to United Nations membership, and the Mongolian people already then had grounds to expect a positive solution of that question, since the Mongolian People's Republic is a peace-loving State which earnestly seeks to live in peace and friendship with all nations.

45. In the course of more than forty years of its advance along the path of progress and democracy the Mongolian People's Republic has always pursued—as it will continue to pursue—a peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, preservation and consolidation of peace and expansion of friendly relations and a businesslike co-operation.

46. I consider it a great honour and privilege to declare from this high rostrum of the General Assembly, on behalf of my Government that the Mongolian People's Republic will abide by all the obligations arising from the United Nations Charter and that our country will make its contribution to the consolidation of world peace and security of peoples.

47. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic and, in my capacity as President, I should like to welcome him to this Organization and to congratulate him on having become a Member of the United Nations. I should also like to express my hope and confidence that his participation in our work will do much to promote the harmony which must prevail among all the United Nations.

48. I would remind the Assembly that we have a very heavy agenda today. I know that many delegations wish to offer their congratulations to the new Member State and welcome it to the Organization, but I would request them to refrain from doing so at this meeting. I shall call on them at future meetings of the General Assembly, and they may submit their names to the Secretariat for this purpose.

ADMISSION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

49. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now take up the question of the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which has been recommended by the Security Council [A/4941] and on which a draft resolution [A/358 and Add.1] sponsored by fourteen Powers has been submitted.

50. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): It is with particular pleasure that I discharge today a task assigned to me by the group of African countries known as the Africa and Malagasy Union, generally referred to here as the Brazzaville group. I have the great honour to speak not as the representative of the Central African Republic but in the name of a number of delegations which have requested me to support on their behalf the recommendation of the Security Council [A/4941] now before us.

51. In order to explain our great satisfaction at seeing this matter once again before the Assembly and, we fervently hope, on the verge of a happy solution, it is perhaps appropriate to recall the emotion we experienced during the past year.

52. First of all, as members of the Twelve, we were indignant that one of us should be rejected by an Organization of which the Brazzaville group is one of the staunchest supporters. Then, as representatives

of African States, we could not fail to be distressed that Mauritania remained, as it were, beyond the pale of the nations, that it alone was refused the highest endorsement of its independence that a country can receive at the international level—and this at a time when, as a result of acceleration of decolonization, the young African nations have gained freedom one after another and have promptly been admitted to take their place among us.

53. Lastly, as recent Members of the United Nations, we were shocked at the cynical manoeuvres and bargaining which took place in connexion with the application for membership of a country which completely fulfils the requirements for admission. Article 4, paragraph 1 of the United Nations Charter states specifically that:

"Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

This ability, this willingness have already been acknowledged by a great majority in the General Assembly. This acknowledgement has not yet led to any action, because, in consequence of an intrigue which does not redound to the credit of the Organization, the admission of Mauritania was made contingent upon that of a very remote Republic. At the same time, an African State attempted to enforce its alleged rights to the territory administered by the Government at Nouakchott and denied the existence of the Mauritanian State, in principle and in fact.

54. What then is Mauritania? Speaking today as the representative of the nations of the Brazzaville group, I believe that I am qualified to answer this question. We lived together with Mauritania through the colonial régime. We experienced with Mauritania the first exhilarating moments of liberation. Today, with Mauritania, we are assuming the heavy task of accelerating the economic and cultural development of our peoples. As everyone here knows, the group of Twelve is proud to form, together with a few other countries from the same continent, a veritable Latin Africa. Strong ties of friendship link us to the former colonial Power that led us to independence, thus recognizing the legitimate aspirations which its great traditions of liberty and humanism have done so much to awaken and foster. It remains the living source of our modern culture. Mauritania is a member of this Latin community of Black Africa where African problems are discussed in French. It is within this community that Mauritania has been pursuing its political and economic goals since independence, thus giving us an uninterrupted opportunity of appreciating its value as a partner.

55. In one of his best books, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry referred to this desert, the arid coast that the airline pilots flew over while carrying the mail to South America. Forced to land at Nouakchott thirty-five years ago, the writer found there, as the sole inhabitants, one sergeant and a handful of Senegalese riflemen. Much ground has been covered since then. The frightening empty spaces of Courrier Sud have also become a Terre des hommes, where economic and political development are proceeding apace.

56. Thus we see that in May 1957 the Mauritians elected the members of a territorial Assembly; sub-

sequently, Mauritania, with all the other French-speaking colonial peoples of Africa, save one, took part in the major referendum held on 28 September 1958, and opted to join the Community by an overwhelming majority; two months later, the Mauritanian Assembly proclaimed the Republic and adopted a draft Constitution. Since that time, Mauritania has at all times acted as a free and democratic nation. In May 1959, it elected its National Assembly, and the Government that was formed the following month was constituted in accordance with the Constitution. Finally, on 28 November 1960, the last step was taken and independence was proclaimed.

57. It is therefore a State endowed with a complete political organization, based on democratic principles, and possessing all the attributes of sovereignty; the separation of powers and the accountability of the Government to the Assembly are its essential characteristics.

58. Together with this political development, we have witnessed also the evaluation and development of the natural resources of the Mauritanian territory. The exploitation of the copper deposits of Akjoujt and especially of the iron from Fort-Gouraud will in the very near future swell Mauritania's budgetary receipts and speed up its economic and social development. Much, moreover, has already been done in this field. Nouakchott is a rapidly growing city, humming with activity; the 1,500 workers who are building its airport, secondary school and radio station and installing the water supply and electric power system are transforming Nouakchott into a hive of industry which recalls the mushrooming cities of the American continent.

59. In addition to these spectacular achievements, the Mauritanian Government has made a serious effort to improve the living conditions of the people and to raise their cultural level. High priority has been given to a programme designed to train a health service composed of doctors, midwives, and social workers; it provides also for the increase in the number of rural dispensaries where a battle is being waged against infant mortality. In the field of education, while not neglecting the traditional Islamic culture, the authorities recognize the need for a modern culture. Thus, there are no less than 300 elementary classes where instruction is given in French, with an attendance of 9,000 pupils. There are fifteen secondary education classes, with 400 students. In addition, a large number of Mauritians are pursuing their university studies at Dakar and in France.

60. From 1961 onwards, the resources that the State derives from mining will increase at a rapid rate and will make it possible, in a few years, to double and triple mining operations.

61. It would require much time to give a complete picture of present-day Mauritania. It is not my wish, however, to remain too long at this rostrum, and thus to prolong a debate we are eager to see the end of. I trust that my eminent colleague from the Islamic Republic of Mauritania will forgive me for not having spoken of his country with the eloquence that he alone could have brought to this subject. I trust, however, that I have sufficiently stressed the fact that his country's rapid political, economic and social development make it worthy in every way of being admitted to membership in the United Nations. A great many countries, including some Arab countries, have acknowledged that fact, and have extended recognition

to this new State. That such a prominent and important financial organization as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has granted it a loan of \$66 million also gives some indication of the confidence that may be placed in this State.

62. Before concluding, I should like to address the representative of a country with which my country has close ties of friendship and to tell him that the arguments invoked by his country to support its territorial claims do not seem convincing to the Brazzaville group; the best of them are of some historical interest, but they do not carry much weight when measured against the right of self-determination. We are saddened to see Morocco, a great African nation which was recently emancipated from European tutelage, resort to legal weapons to defend ambitions which we had hoped would no longer prevail in Africa after the departure of the colonial Powers.

63. This is why I appeal to the representative of this country, whose friends we are, to recognize with good grace a situation it cannot avoid, so that relations between his country and this new African State may be established in auspicious circumstances.

64. I would also address an appeal to all those delegations which have so far abstained in this matter or cast a negative vote, so that the Assembly, by what I hope will be a quasi-unanimous vote may redress the injustice done to Mauritania when its admission to the United Nations was delayed.

65. When Mr. Souleymane, whom we have seen waiting for so long in the ranks of the observers, takes his seat officially among us, we hope that the warmth of the acclamations will be such as to wipe out the bitter memory of his long wait.

66. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): Since this is the first time that I am speaking before the Assembly at this session, I should like to extend my congratulations and those of my country to the President on his election to this high office.

67. The Security Council decided on 25 October 1961 [971 meeting], by 9 votes to 1, with 1 abstention, to recommend to the General Assembly that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. At a Security Council meeting on 4 December 1960 [911 meeting], 8 votes had already been cast in favour of such a recommendation and it was only the veto of one of the permanent members which had prevented the submission to the General Assembly of the text which is before it today. The injustice of which this young State was a victim is thus redressed and we are gratified at that fact.

68. I shall not dwell on this point. This is not a time for recriminations, and even less for polemics. This is a time for reconciliation and unanimity.

69. Through the intermediary of its General Assembly, the Mauritanian people proclaimed its independence on 28 November 1958. On 29 March 1959, the Constituent Assembly of Nouakchott unanimously adopted the Constitution of the new Republic. In the elections held on 17 May 1959, 90 per cent of the electorate voted for the Parti du regroupement mauritanien (Mauritanian Regroupment Party), the champion of an independent and sovereign Mauritania. It is a completely independent and sovereign country, endowed with democratic institutions and having at its head a duly elected Government, which comes today

before the General Assembly. It has come here to join the twelve African States which, like Mauritania, attained independence following the referendum carried out three years ago. Mauritania, like its African sister States which have preceded it here, fully meets the requirements of the Charter for the admission of new Members. It has declared that it is willing to carry out its obligations under the Charter.

70. On 19 April 1961, in this very Assembly [989th plenary meeting], sixty-three delegations voted in favour of the following paragraph of a draft resolution:

"... the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is a peace-loving State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter, and that it should, in consequence, be admitted to membership in the United Nations." [General Assembly resolution 1602 (XV).]

71. I have no doubt that today, in the prevailing atmosphere of reconciliation the General Assembly will, this time, be able to confirm by a unanimous vote the desire it expressed six months ago and that, in accordance with the recommendation of the Security Council, it will admit the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations.

72. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (translated from French): Today the General Assembly is called upon to decide on a grave matter, one that calls into question the very foundations of this Organization. To forget for a few moments the higher interests of our institutions, to turn our backs on the fundamental principles of the Charter and the sacred and inviolable rights that they guarantee, in short, to sanction with all our authority a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of a Member State—this is what colonialism would have us do, that colonialism whose abolition we proclaimed last year and which, having succeeded in bringing our most cherished ideals into play in the name of a false freedom, of a false referendum, is now trying to people this organization—its implacable enemy—with false members, in an endeavour to reduce it to silence and inaction. Such would be the case with the so-called Islamic Republic of Mauritania were it admitted to the United Nations.

73. In order to preserve its unity, Morocco has waged a merciless battle against these Machiavellian manoeuvres. Today we are here to denounce these manoeuvres once again before the supreme organ of our Organization and to expound before it our just cause, a cause which finds its justification in the very principles upon which the United Nations is based. Who, indeed, would dare to affirm that this Organization would continue to exist were the territorial integrity of States not beyond the reach of any violation?

74. The General Assembly is called upon to take a decision which is of the utmost concern to my country. I am referring to the application for admission made in favour of a so-called State whose very existence confronts Morocco with a serious problem of national sovereignty and international law. We reiterate our vigorous protest against the recommendation that Mauritania should be admitted [A/4941], a recommendation adopted on the basis of criteria which take into account only the arguments put forward by France in this particularly grave dispute which has existed between us ever since our country recovered its national independence.

75. We do not think that the position taken by the Security Council can in the final analysis, be the ex-

pression of a negative finding with regard to my country's legitimate rights, which are, moreover, recognized as such by a number of the States represented here.

76. It is deplorable that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China should, in its turn, have become a subject of this bargaining. In this connexion, the statement made in the Security Council [1,971st meeting] on 25 October 1961 by the representative of Nationalist China is particularly edifying.

77. We have already had occasion, during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, to produce evidence showing that the Mauritanian problem is the direct result of a foreign occupation which lasted more than forty years and of which Morocco was the victim. Only the interests of the imperialist Powers prevailed during that dark period with the result that our national soil became subject to arbitrary mutilations which, moreover, were incompatible with the international instruments that were to guarantee the integrity of our kingdom and thus prevent imperialist aims from jeopardizing the territorial sovereignty of Morocco.

78. We said then that French colonialism, in detaching a large part of our country and giving it the name of Mauritania, simply took advantage of its military superiority in order to commit this unpardonable crime: the division of a nation and a people.

79. Throughout the period during which France exercised its domination over Morocco, the French authorities, while declaring that they were assuming the responsibility of defending our country's integrity, presumed, at convenient moments, to adopt so-called administrative measures which were in fact designed to remove certain of our Saharan territories from the jurisdiction of the central Moroccan authority. These measures were spaced out over a period of some fifty years, the latest one being that of 1952 which concerned the territory of Fort-Trinquet. They ultimately made it possible for various parts of our national territory to be arbitrarily detached in order to create artificially what French colonialism now calls the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

80. Before the First Committee [1109th meeting], as also before the Security Council [911th and 971st meetings] last year and again this year, we showed how French aggression undertaken against different parts of our country, including Mauritania, in the years from 1905 to 1912—aggression which in fact continued until 1934—was simply the execution of a plan prepared beforehand for the purpose of dominating an African nation by force in order to divide it subsequently into a protectorate zone and a so-called zone of sovereignty.

81. We also reported the testimony of highly placed French civil and military figures, such as Governor Coppolani and Marshal Lyautey himself. I shall mention, in particular, the letter sent by Governor Coppolani to the French Minister for Colonies in 1905: "I hope", he said, "that you have not forgotten that Mauritania is a natural extension of Morocco". He also advised him to "make use of the religious leaders of Adrar, who are active in the principal Cherifian centres". In a letter sent to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1911 Marshall Lyautey said: "The history of the Moroccan dynasties is sufficient to demonstrate that the Sultans have always

exercised a spiritual action and an effective and uncontested authority over this part of the continent".

82. We further produced irrefutable evidence that, in order to contend with this aggression in Mauritanian territory, our Government adopted a series of measures of a diplomatic and military nature for the purpose of defending our country, which was being attacked from Senegal. The efforts in this direction undertaken by our Government continued up to the time when the French protectorate was imposed upon our country. We submitted further testimony and further evidence that from time immemorial and up to the period of the French occupation, Morocco exercised permanent, constant and effective sovereignty over the southern regions of its territory, among them the Mauritanian region. Our chiefs, our judges and our governors have always exercised an indisputable authority on behalf of the central power and of our sovereign.

83. Today there are still Mauritians occupying positions of responsibility in our Government, in the diplomatic service, the army, the courts and at all levels of the Moroccan Administration. Since the most remote times in history, the inhabitants of this region have always been proud to belong to the Moroccan nation, not only through their culture and origin but also through the existence of a common national heritage and a community of sentiments and interests. Throughout the centuries and the common civilizations, this region has given Morocco statesmen, men of letters and scientists, thus making its contribution to the different fields of national activity.

84. We have also pointed out how anxious Morocco has been since 1956, when we became independent, to obtain a settlement of the dispute that remained unresolved between our two countries, France and Morocco, in particular the frontier problem, which was the subject of an agreement on the creation of a joint Franco-Moroccan Commission. At that time we were determined that there should be no doubt left in the minds of our French colleagues about the true meaning to be given to the mission of the joint Commission for the settlement of this grave territorial problem. We proved that Morocco's borders are guaranteed by international agreements, all of which we cited, among them being the Declaration of 8 April 1904 concerning Egypt and Morocco by Great Britain and France; the Convention on the subject of Morocco concluded on 3 October 1904 between France and Spain; the General Act of the International Conference of Algceiras of 1906; and the Convention regarding Morocco signed by France and Germany on 4 November 1911.

85. Moreover, as we have already pointed out more than once in this Assembly, the problem of territorial sovereignty which exists for us in Mauritania has also arisen with regard to the territory of our "Spanish Sahara" still illegally occupied by another colonial Power, Spain.

86. These juridical and historical arguments, however, have not caused us to lose sight of another, no less important, aspect of this problem, namely, the will of the Mauritanian population itself. Since Morocco's independence, the Mauritians have never ceased to express, through their true leaders, upheld by the action of the masses of the people, their unshakable desire for reunification. They have always denounced the neo-colonialist policy that aims at separating them once and for all from their com-

patriots in the north by imposing upon them an artificial State created for a purely imperialistic purpose and designed to serve as a buffer zone between West Africa and North Africa.

87. Nor have the Mauritians lost sight of the fact that their country's mineral resources are coveted by a coalition of capitalist and colonialist interests whose sole object is to establish its political and economic domination over this region of Morocco for all time. The liberation movements and the men who lead them have therefore united with the Moroccan Government in protesting vigorously against the conditions under which, with the guarantee of the French Government, a capitalist and colonialist enterprise obtained a loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the exploitation of Mauritania's iron deposits.

88. The Mauritians have not been indifferent to the permanent danger to which they are exposed as a result of the presence of powerful military bases established in that territory. This aspect of France's policy in its former possessions is confirmed by the fact that a number of African countries united to France by the bonds of the French Community have just proposed an amendment [A/C.1/L.293 and Add.1] which would delete an important part of a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.291 and Add.1] submitted to the First Committee by ten independent countries of Africa and would prevent the United Nations from declaring its opposition to the existence of military and nuclear bases in Africa. I have before me the draft resolution submitted by the Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Sudan and the United Arab Republic, requesting all States to abstain from carrying out or continuing to carry out nuclear or ballistics weapons tests in Africa, and to eliminate, and refrain from establishing, bases of any kind or launching sites intended for use in testing, storing or transporting such weapons.

89. The amendment proposed to this draft resolution would insert the word "especially" before the words "in Africa" in paragraph (a). This amendment [A/C.1/L.293 and Add.1] was submitted by Senegal and several other African countries, Cameroun, the Central African Republic—whose representative we have just heard—Chad, the Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger and Upper Volta. Nor are these countries indifferent to the retention of vast stretches of land under the effective control of a foreign mercenary army and of ultra-colonialists from Algeria and the former French bases evacuated from independent Morocco.

90. The Mauritians still remember the difficult years of 1956, 1957 and 1958, when thousands of paratroopers supported by aircraft and tanks waged a savage war against innocent civilians, massacring them by hundreds and by thousands, simply because it was necessary for French colonialism that this part of Morocco should remain under its domination. It could not allow the inhabitants of this region peacefully to express their feelings in favour of the return of their land to the nation to which they have always belonged.

91. Today, despite the considerable efforts made by the French colonialist agents, by corruption and by constraint, the 600,000 Mauritians still desire independence within the Moroccan national community. They categorically reject that other independence so generously offered by the supporters of neo-colonialism.

nialism, an independence which is obviously unworkable and which, instead of serving the legitimate aspirations and rights of a people, is on the contrary designed to thwart these legitimate aspirations and rights.

92. Thus French colonialism and its agents in Mauritania—I repeat, its agents in Mauritania—resolved at all costs to act against the trend of history and the will of the people, have finally had recourse to a series of drastic measures designed to change the situation and to "condition"—according to the new techniques of neo-colonialism—the Mauriticians so that they may accept this new independence whether they like it or not. The blind repression directed by the French army, collective sentences, summary executions, the sentencing to death *in absentia* of the leaders established in Rabat, the expulsion of hundreds of campaigners, economic blockades reducing part of the active population to poverty, curfews, severe restrictions on the movement of persons and property, the imprisonment or house arrest of nationalist campaigners, the poisoning of the population by concerted and false propaganda, the establishment of new troop reinforcements, the abusive and dishonest exploitation or rivalries among local personalities—such are the measures whose authenticity is incontestable, which the French colonialists have thought it their duty to adopt in order to deal with the situation. They have had to use every possible means to stifle a liberation movement which was on the increase throughout the country and which had won over every section of the population.

93. These are no other than the concerted manoeuvres of a plot directed against a people's right to self-determination, a plot designed to perpetuate colonialism under a new form yet retaining some of its traditional methods, namely, paternalism—and our African friends know what I mean by that—intrigues and divisions extending beyond Mauritania to operate, alas, in the African continent itself and even within the United Nations. It is the deliberate application of the so-called policy of "Balkanization", conceived and drawn up according to a general plan covering the whole of the African regions subject to French influence, a plan apparently designed to combat the powerful movement towards unity and the formation of large groups which today constitute one of the most important and most dynamic aspects of world policy, especially in Africa in its progress towards liberation and unity.

94. In Mauritania itself the status imposed by such strong means, which, as we know, has led to the pseudo-independence of Mauritania against the wishes of the Mauriticians, is condemned to require the permanent co-operation and the constant support of the French Government and the French army.

95. At the international level, there is no need for me to draw attention to the efforts of every kind that the French Government is making in order to conceal the artificial character of this status beneath the concept of independence, exploiting to the utmost its effects on the opinion of States Members of the United Nations.

96. Is it just, is it honest, is it even logical, that the accomplished fact before which my country has been placed should place you, in turn, in so equivocal a situation, in that you are asked to adopt a resolution inviting a so-called State, illegally set up on a part of our national territory, to take a seat in our Organization? We do not think that the General Assembly

can agree to lend itself to this particularly dangerous game. We, for our part, consider that the admission of a Member State must be hedged about with all the necessary safeguards with respect to its representative character as well as to its ability to fulfil, in a sovereign capacity, the obligations devolving upon every Member State. We also consider that good understanding and a spirit of co-operation must guide the Assembly in its decisions regarding problems of this type. Indeed, it would be truly deplorable and prejudicial to the effectiveness of this international organization to try to impose by a majority the admission of an alleged State which is still the subject of a serious dispute. We should have preferred no application for membership to be submitted to us unless it was assured in advance of a unanimous vote. This, at least, is what has happened up to now, with only one exception.

97. As a Mauritanian personality, whose words I shall quote, said a few months ago:

"The colonial régime, in its declining years, has finally discovered the existence of Mauritania. It has promptly found for it a new vocation, that of a connecting link between North Africa and West Africa. This slogan arose from the French 'loi-cadre'. It is, to all appearances, an alluring formula, the more so as the new republic dons the mantle of Islam as though to protect itself from prying eyes. But beyond appearances, behind this veil of modesty, the most orthodox imperialism is hastily, and even precipitately, working to establish a channel for the exploitation of the minerals and to install large military forces to safeguard the integrity of the land, a traditional method that entirely disregards the historical evolution of peoples.

"If the so-called Republic of Mauritania had been a factor of union between Morocco and West Africa, it would undoubtedly have deserved its new epithet 'connecting link'. But in the absence of any useful relay in the circuit of relations, one cannot but think that, within the framework of the new strategy, Mauritania is both to serve as an outlet to the sea for the Sahara and to prevent the territorial joining of these two large parts of the African continent. This buffer State must keep asunder these two regions which, however, are called upon by the force of events to come together and to understand each other because of their community of interests. In order to maintain this role, despite the mystique of African unity, the French armies in Mauritania must act the policeman. In order to succeed in this Machiavellian plan, the tactics adopted aim at isolating Mauritania. France, for its part, is free to associate with whomever it wishes in Europe, according to its own interests. As for Mauritania, it must not enjoy this type of freedom but must live solely under the protection of the colonizer. It must completely ignore the juridical, historical, religious, linguistic, geographical and economic factors that link it with Morocco; it must simply say 'no' to the latter and 'yes' to the French colonizing Power."

98. It is therefore clearly apparent that the colonizer intends to turn this territory into a stronghold for its military bases in Africa, designed to keep the independent States in the neighbourhood of this area under a permanent threat, to prevent access to this part of the African continent and to prevent the sister States of Africa from coming together along their natural and historic borders and establishing good neighbourly relations among themselves.

99. In granting Mauritania a purely nominal independence the French Government is aiming at a specific goal: that of preventing the Mauritanian people from achieving their desire for reintegration into the Moroccan homeland. Yet this Mauritania which is now being foisted upon us as a so-called independent State, without prior and valid consultation of its inhabitants, has never, for the past thousand years, been anything but Moroccan land.

100. It is well to point out, in addition to what I have just said, that even before regaining national independence Morocco always affirmed, through its nationalist organizations, its legitimate rights over Mauritania and called unequivocally for the restoration of this territory. From the first moment of our independence these same rights, further confirmed by the oft-expressed wish of the Mauritians themselves, have always been regarded as the foremost of the national objectives to be attained. As it proved impossible to settle the question of Morocco's borders, the creation of a joint Franco-Moroccan commission was, as we have said, decided upon by mutual agreement immediately after independence, in order to seek a negotiated solution to the problem. Morocco considered that this commission should, in the first place, strive to demonstrate the Moroccan character of the southern territory, taking its legitimate rights into account. But France acted in a unilateral manner, as though the problem of this region had been settled once and for all.

101. My delegation cannot over-emphasize the gravity of this situation resulting from the dismemberment of our country and you are not unaware of the dangers to peace and stability in Africa which such a policy entails.

102. The latest events in the Congo, and the case of Katanga in particular, are sad evidence to that effect. Can the nations which love peace and justice remain indifferent in the face of the gravity of such dangerous situations as those brought about by the dismantling of African territories and the creation of artificial States such as Katanga and Mauritania? By such action the colonialist Powers are trying to ensure a privileged position in Africa for their sordid interests. At the same time, they are determined to maintain the division imposed upon certain nations by force and to oppose national and regional regroupings that follow the direction of history.

103. We do not think that the Assembly wants Morocco in turn to be divided as Germany, Korea, Laos, Viet-Nam are at present, with the recent addition of the Congo. The tragic and violent events to which these divisions have led, menacing the world with a war of extermination, are still fresh in our memories. Must we add Morocco to the list and increase the threat of war already hanging over the world? Must we wait until the tragedy which has been enacted in the Congo starts in our territory before we intervene and try to find belated solutions? We are convinced that the United Nations has not given the situation in Mauritania sufficient study since this matter was first brought before it. As against our irrefutable arguments, drawn from history, geography and international agreements, this dossier contains only statements made by certain ill-informed Governments and by agents of French colonialism who claim to represent Mauritania. Before it is too late, before you adopt a decision which may tear our country asunder and perhaps even

plunge it into bloodshed, spare the world and the Moroccan people the sufferings and the tragic consequences of another Katanga.

104. The decision that the Assembly will adopt may cause our country unquestionable harm. Do not wait until this comes about before trying to find a remedy. That remedy can only consist in the restitution of Morocco's legitimate rights and the preservation of my country's unity, sovereignty and integrity. We are not, we cannot be, against the admission of new Member States to the United Nations. Our recent history bears testimony to the solidarity and support that we have always extended to peoples struggling for their liberation and independence. I drew attention to this two days ago, before the Security Council [971st meeting], and I cited examples in support of it. Many a time, from this very rostrum, have we acclaimed and welcomed with joy the admission of African States that have recently attained independence. We have just proved it once again by supporting the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic. The reason we are today opposing the admission of the so-called Republic of Mauritania is that this is a puppet State artificially created by colonialism to the detriment of part of our national territory. Mauritania is a province of Morocco and its inhabitants are of their own will already represented in the United Nations by the Moroccan delegation present here.

105. That is why, anxious to defend its inalienable and sacred rights, which coincide with the oft-expressed will of the people concerned, and anxious also to seek, in justice and peace, a solution to this dispute, the Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco, acting on behalf of a people torn asunder and deeply affected by this grave injustice committed against it, is asking you, through me, not to adopt the draft resolution submitted to you [A/L.358 and Add.1] concerning the admission of the so-called Republic of Mauritania as a Member of the United Nations, because this candidacy does not meet the conditions of our Charter, the candidate is not a State as defined by international law but is a territory which is part of Morocco, and, lastly, because its population has expressed the desire to remain united with the mother country.

106. Mr. BA (Mali) (translated from French): The question of the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations confronts us with one of the exasperating problems of decolonization. Historically and ethnically, Moroccans and Mauritians are brothers. Yet today colonialism, still living up to its reputation, sets them against each other by involving them in a legal imbroglio which was apparently brought to a close at the last Security Council meeting.

107. French colonialism has accustomed us to these artificial divisions, prompted by the necessities of the direct administration it practised in the territories under its domination.

108. In the Security Council, the representative of the Ivory Coast cited the example of Upper Volta, which was carved up more than once among the Ivory Coast, Niger and the French Sudan (now Mali).

109. We know that it was only in 1948 that Upper Volta, our sister country, regained its territorial unity.

110. We could cite several examples of partitioning, not only in the former colonies but within them, by divisions carried out at the level of "cercles" and

cantons, for the sole purpose of placing obstacles in the way of the regional or national unity of the African inhabitants and the unity of the national liberation movement in Africa.

111. I do not wish to enlarge on the juridical and historical aspects of this question, which have been so brilliantly expounded by my colleague and friend from Morocco. We could have quoted unequivocal pages from the works of Arab, and above all French historians and from the files of the Institut français d'Afrique noire (IFAN) in support of the Moroccan thesis. We could have referred to acts of sovereignty by Morocco in this region: appointment of officials, designation of cadis, deputations to the Shereefian Court, missions sent by the central authority to the inhabitants of the region, resistance against the invader, etc. This is also eloquently demonstrated by the course of the French military occupation of Mauritania, for throughout the military campaigns the French military leaders recognized that the revolt of the Mauritanian tribes was of Moroccan inspiration and admitted that most of the chiefs of these warrior tribes proclaimed their allegiance to the Shereefian Sultan of Morocco.

112. We shall not dwell on these juridical and historical considerations. We have not forgotten the outcry raised last year by the States ranged on the side of French imperialism, which said that they failed to understand the steadfast support Mali was giving Morocco, the support of a State of Black Africa for an Arab State.

113. To this argument we reply that we are not racists, that we firmly believe in the unity of Africa above ethnic barriers, that we refuse to confine ourselves within tribalism, which is the most harmful virus with which the various colonialisms have inoculated Africa; and lastly, that pan-Arabism, a stalking-horse for some, does not frighten us because we have nothing to fear from its anti-imperialistic action.

114. We take this opportunity to denounce the imperialist myth which consists in splitting Africa into North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara. The true partisans of African unity will by their united action be able to dispel the mystification created by these worn-out watchwords and slogans of colonialist reaction. The fact that Mali is participating in this debate—and we were kindly reminded of this in the Security Council on 25 October 1961—is due to its solidarity with Morocco, with all the States of the Casablanca Charter that have come together on a single platform in opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. But over and above any written or tacit charter, Mali is at one with all African States, whether or not affiliated to a group, that have resolved to struggle against the vestiges of the colonial system and to practice, without bargaining or compromise, a real decolonization. We are among those who do not need to "blush" at their alliances, particularly an alliance with so respectable a State as Morocco, which has gained repute in the general struggle of the African peoples for their liberation from the colonial yoke, although our solidarity alone would suffice to prompt our defence of the Moroccan case.

115. But there are better arguments than those of a subjective nature, although we have not employed them; there are better things, in the face of this thorny problem, than the juridical exposition that might

have been made before the Security Council took its grave decisions of 25 October. The decisive, irrefutable arguments are however, inherent in the *de facto* situation before which we have been placed by the French colonialists, who, by successive military, political and legal manoeuvres during the period from 1904 to the present, by-passing the Act of Algeciras, have ended by dividing two regions which, geographically and historically, are but one, setting them against each other and finally crystallizing them in the form of States which appear to be foreign to each other.

116. Colonization has accustomed us to transformations and disfigurements of this type. In other words, it did not hesitate to present to us King Mohamed V, the Moroccan national hero, as an agitator, a trouble-maker whose royal origins went back only as far as Lyautey—only to recognize him with a great deal of stir, after his exile, the descendant of a royal line whose beginnings were lost in the mists of time.

117. For those who uphold, as a point of law in matters of decolonization, the maintenance of the frontiers artificially established by the last of the colonizers, we would draw attention to the scope and the Machiavellian nature of the latest manoeuvre, namely the idea of a partition plan for Algeria put forward by the French Government in order to calm the war-mongering frenzy of the ultra-colonialists. Are these sanctimonious persons prepared, after the victory of the Algerian revolution, to support the legitimacy of a partition carried out before our eyes on the basis of arguments that have not even the merit of being military or political and that stem from pure aberration?

118. Mali, as is well known, has bonds of all sorts, historical, geographical and emotional, with its neighbour Mauritania, to which, scarcely twenty years ago, a good piece of the former French Sudan, now the Republic of Mali, was arbitrarily attached by decree of the Governor-General of former French West Africa. It comprised the "cercles" Néma, Oualata and Timbedra; existing maps bear this out.

119. This does not mean that Mali is contemplating a crusade to recover these pieces of Malian territory. Mali even recognized Mauritania last November and it might surprise some people to see us giving our full support to Morocco today. The solidarity inherent in the Casablanca Charter is not the only reason for this. The other reason is a fundamental one: namely that for the past few months the inhabitants of the frontier regions and the Government of Mali have found Mauritania to be a warlike country. The Mauritians have carried out various incursions, especially in the regions of Nara and Nioro, and have made murderous raids on a number of Malian villages; these raids, which recall the unhappy period of anarchy that followed the colonial conquest have left many dead and wounded, with children taken off as hostages, foodstuffs stolen and livestock seized. A single one of these raids caused some sixteen deaths in a small village of Mali, attacked by surprise while its inhabitants slept.

120. The Malian authorities of these regions report that the bandits who were responsible for these outrages were armed with improved weapons and with heavily armed cross-country vehicles in which were leaders whose Moorish disguise and desert veils ill-concealed their European features.

121. We have thus learned to our cost that Mauritania is not a peace-loving State, that it is still armed and officered by foreign troops, that this military establishment has been considerably increased since the signing of agreements between Mauritania and its former metropolitan Power and that Mauritania is a potential base for aggression against the Republic of Mali and perhaps against other African States.

122. This is the language of facts. It is more eloquent than all the pseudo-juridical quibbles advanced to justify the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations.

123. For our part, basing ourselves on the facts that we have touched upon and that are known to the Mauritanian authorities—which have had occasion to discuss them with the Government of Mali—it is our contention that Mauritania does not meet at least one of the fundamental criteria set forth in Article 4 of the Charter, namely that it is not a peace-loving State.

124. This is why my delegation will find itself obliged not to give its support to Mauritania for its admission to the United Nations.

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

125. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My delegation stated its position on this question during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and we do not intend to reiterate in any detail the views which we then expressed in the First Committee [1115th and 1118th] as well as in the Assembly [1028th meeting]. It will suffice here to emphasize once again that what is at issue is not the independence of Mauritania. There can be no difference of opinion about the right of the Mauritanian people to free themselves from the shackles of foreign domination. Iraq has always supported the liberation movements in Africa and Asia, and our record in this respect is well known in the United Nations. The problem is not whether Mauritania is entitled to independence but how this independence should be achieved. Will the people of Mauritania attain independence through the partition and mutilation of the homeland of which they have always formed an integral part, or will they achieve independence and enjoy the blessings of liberty by reunification with their fellow compatriots in the independent State of Morocco?

126. The admission of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations would in effect constitute international endorsement for the illegal partition of Morocco and the violation of its territorial integrity. It is our view that the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations would bestow upon this partition a shadow of legality and perpetuate the fait accompli brought about by imperialism when it imposed its alien rule on the Moroccan people more than half a century ago.

127. In the larger context of world affairs, the question of Mauritania provides yet another example of the pattern which has become all too clear and which has been repeated in many parts of the world. The imperialist Powers seek to maintain their influence and consolidate their rule over colonial territories under a new guise and a new formula, that of shadowy and fictitious independence.

128. This is especially apparent in areas which are endowed with rich natural resources. This method of detaching a rich part of a country and granting it

false independence has been followed in Katanga with the disastrous results of which we are all aware, and also in Kuwait, where independence was proclaimed in order to maintain colonial influence and protect foreign economic and financial interests. If it is oil in Kuwait and copper in Katanga, it is iron ore in Mauritania. What possible reason is there to proclaim this large desert area, with its sparse population, the majority of whom are nomadic tribes, except the desire to protect French vested economic interests? The exploitation of these rich iron ore deposits is of considerable economic value for French and other foreign financial interests—as is the case, though to a much greater degree, with the vast British oil interests in Kuwait and the Belgian mining interests in Katanga. The case of Mauritania gives further proof of a tendency which is becoming increasingly prevalent, that of the refusal of the imperialist Powers to relinquish their economic interests even after they have relinquished or pretended to relinquish their direct political control.

129. It is against this background that we oppose the application of Mauritania for membership in the United Nations.

130. For the Mauritanian people, who are culturally and historically a part of the Arab nation, we have nothing but brotherly love, and we hope that they will realize where their true interests lie. Their destiny is with us, with the Arab world, whose language they speak, whose spiritual values they share and whose culture they themselves have enriched by their great contributions in the fields of theology and literature. The scholars and theologians of Shainquit—the Arab name for Mauritania—have a reputation for excellence and devotion to principle, known through the Arab nation.

131. Is it not in the interests of the people of Mauritania that they should rejoin their brethren in Morocco instead of maintaining a separate and uncertain existence which will always be subject to the whims of a colonial Power which only recently committed aggression against the people of Tunisia and for seven long years has desperately tried to stem the tide of Algerian freedom? Can the Mauritanian people have confidence in a future in which they will always be at the mercy of a colonial Power with such a disastrous record, at whose hands the peoples of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, who together with the inhabitants of Mauritania make up the grand Arab Maghreb, have suffered so much and for so long?

132. It is for all these reasons that my Government has instructed me to state before the Assembly that Iraq will be unable to support the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

133. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): I wish to explain briefly the vote which will be cast by my delegation on this item concerning the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the United Nations.

134. As the Assembly is well aware, we who have fought for our own national independence have always welcomed whole-heartedly the admission to the United Nations of newly independent nations. We have done so with a feeling of great joy in the wave of liberation sweeping across Asia and Africa and with satisfaction because of the greater strength and effectiveness which this international Organization gains with every new Member, as it moves closer to the full realization of the principle of universality.

135. However, in case of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, there still looms over it the cloud of a dispute which was a matter of consideration by the United Nations last year. At that time we urged that constructive recommendations should be adopted by the General Assembly for a peaceful solution to this dispute. Regrettably, this was not done, nor have steps been taken in the past year to find the way to remove the dispute which continues to exist. That is why my delegation will abstain from the vote.

136. Permit me, however, to take this opportunity to express our sincere and urgent hope that the present fissure between African brothers will be speedily and peacefully closed, both in the interest of Africa, which already has suffered and indeed is suffering from the lagacies and vestiges, and even worse, of colonialism—an African which has so much to offer to peace—and in the interest of the United Nations itself which, as perhaps never before, needs a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation.

137. It is in the light of this hope that the Indonesian delegation welcomes the Islamic Republic of Mauritania as a new Member of the United Nations. We are convinced that our common struggle for the speedy ending of imperialism and colonialism in all of its manifestations will be successful.

138. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen): The Yemen delegation wishes to express its view on the question of the admission of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations.

139. The opinion of the Yemen Government is based on the principle—shared by all Asian and African Governments—of non-partition of States, on the support of national unity, and on opposition to any attempts to inject hate and disturbance among the people of one nation by taking measures to divide and separate them. The Yemen Government is hopeful that the controversy over Mauritania, which was created by imperialism, would have been solved by establishing national unity. His Majesty the Imam, the King of Yemen, deeply regrets that imperialist methods have prevented a solution to this question internally. We see no difference between the separation of Mauritania from Morocco and the attempt to separate Katanga from the Congo.

140. We fully support the rights of Morocco and its legitimate desire to achieve complete unity between two parts of one nation.

141. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): My delegation, in its various statements, particularly on 25 November 1960 in the First Committee [1116th meeting], on 19 April 1961 in the General Assembly [989th plenary meeting] and on 25 October 1961 in the Security Council [971st meeting], made perfectly clear its position with regard to the problem of Mauritania and its admission to the United Nations.

142. I do not believe it useful to recall in detail the arguments that we advanced, but I may be allowed to explain to you the reasons for the vote which we are about to cast.

143. The problem of Mauritania results from colonialism and its policy of dividing and partitioning the countries over which it exercised its authority. You are not unaware that, as soon as negotiations opened with France concerning independence, the Moroccan Government raised in the clearest terms the problem

of Morocco's borders. The two parties agreed to come together in a joint commission in order to find a solution to this problem. However, the French Government rejected the Moroccan claims, stating, in a note dated 20 November 1960, that it intended to exclude from the discussion those territories under the administration of France and of the States Members of the community.

144. Morocco protested to France each time the French Government took any action tending to impair the integrity of Moroccan territory or committing the future of Mauritanian territory. Morocco could not accept a partitioning of its national territory, nor could it accept being deprived of having its say on the future of Mauritania.

145. Moreover, the population of Mauritania was not able to take a clear and specific decision as to its future. In the referendum of 28 September 1958 whereby the Mauritians were consulted regarding their future, the question of determining whether or not they intended to be united with Morocco was avoided.

146. I do not wish to dwell on these questions, which were raised by the representative of Morocco in his brilliant interventions in the Security Council and, today in the Assembly.

147. My delegation supports the Moroccan point of view, so eloquently expressed. Moreover, the Arab States that met at Chtaura in 1960 adopted the same position and supported the point of view of Morocco. The same position was taken by the countries which met at Casablanca.

148. For all these reasons, and as we stated in the Security Council, we cannot support the request for admission submitted today to the Assembly.

149. Mr. NINCIC (Yugoslavia): As this Assembly is no doubt aware, my country has consistently striven for the universality of the United Nations. We have, as is also known, supported the efforts of the peoples of the former French Union towards their independence and have welcomed with genuine gratification their entry into this Organization. However, for reasons which we stated at the time when the question of Mauritania was being discussed at our last session and which give the request for admission now being considered certain quite particular features, we are unable to lend our support to the draft resolution [A/L.358 and Add.1].

150. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): I come to this rostrum to make a few observations on the question of the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations. Ever since the admission of Jordan to this Organization my country has always been in favour of the universality of membership of the United Nations. We shall continue to work for and to support that principle. It is our view, however, that the United Nations, by considering the admission to full membership of part of another legally constituted Member State, exceeds its authority.

151. Mauritania is an integral part of Morocco. Throughout its history Morocco has always been a national entity based on a common linguistic, religious and cultural heritage, and with common ideals, values and aspirations. We need not at this stage dwell on an explanation of these facts, for they were discussed and presented by the Moroccan and other delegations, including our own, during the last session of the General Assembly. They were also very ably,

brilliantly and convincingly presented this afternoon by the leader of the Moroccan delegation. Jordan endorses the views of Morocco on this matter, and so did the Foreign Ministers of the Arab States who met at Chtaura, in Lebanon, in August 1960.

152. Jordan, a country which has deep brotherly ties with the rest of the Arab homeland, deplores any dismemberment, partition or division of Arab soil. We shall continue to work for the complete unity of the Arab homeland, and we shall always support the sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of the sister Arab State of Morocco. We are guided in all our endeavours by the firm belief that the unity of Morocco serves the purposes of the United Nations Charter, is conducive to peace and is in the interests of the Arab nation. The principle of political independence and territorial integrity of a Member State is one which we are all pledged to respect and safeguard. Since Mauritania is in reality part of another Member State my delegation cannot support the request for its admission to the United Nations.

153. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): I rise not to state a case, nor to substantiate it. Our friend, the leader of the Moroccan delegation, has stated and substantiated the case with a great deal of elucidation and forceful argumentation, with ability, with eloquence and with conviction. There is little to say. I rise simply to dispel misinterpretations or misunderstandings.

154. Here in the United Nations we are not against liberty or freedom. We, the Arab peoples, exist in the United Nations through our status as Members of this Organization, on the strength of liberty and freedom. We cannot be against ourselves, nor can we stand in any manner against liberty and freedom. Our modern history is only a record of the fight in support of liberty and freedom.

155. Morocco, the complainant in this case, sits with a great deal of honour and admiration here in this Organization in fruition of its struggle against France for liberty. Tunisia too, in its struggle against France, has achieved its independence, and one of its great sons now has become an international figure to preside over our deliberations. Libya also, another Arab State represented here in this Organization, fought Italy for its independence. Egypt, now the United Arab Republic, fought the British for its independence. Yemen fought the Ottoman Empire for its independence. Syria and Lebanon gallantly and bravely fought the French for their independence. Iraq, also, fought for its independence, and so there are many movements of liberation in the Arab world to liquidate all vestiges of imperialism and colonialism in the Arab homeland. We cannot stand against liberty and independence because we exist through liberty and independence, and that is our record. Not only for ourselves, but for the people of the whole world, wherever the cause of liberty and independence has arisen—in Africa or anywhere—we have stood in support of that cause, even in the case of those territories which did not fire one single bullet for their freedom and liberty. And we are not against the population of Mauritania.

156. The population of Mauritania are our brethren; they are our kith and kin. We hold them in a great deal of admiration and affection. Mauritania was a centre of Arab culture and Islamic civilization. They are part and parcel of the Arab world inasmuch as they are part and parcel of Morocco. We hold them in

a great deal of affection and admiration. Their liberty is our liberty. Their freedom is a continuation of our freedom. But the question here raises two major aspects. First, there is the question of the territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations. We know that Mauritania is part and parcel of Morocco. Its people are part and parcel of Morocco. Even the name "Mauritania" has been coined by the French; it is a French coinage. Mauritania is a name that has never been known in history or in geography; it was simply manufactured by France.

157. Therefore, we are not against the cause of liberty in its very rudiments. But we cannot accept, under the guise of membership of the United Nations, under the banner of independence and liberty, the admission of a Member in order to attack the territorial integrity of a State Member of this Organization.

158. The second dangerous aspect is the presence of France in Mauritania. Had France not been present in Mauritania and had there been a free plebiscite for the people of Mauritania, we would have accepted the will of the people of Mauritania either for unity with Morocco or for separation from Morocco and independence as a sovereign State entitled to become a Member of the United Nations. But the presence of France has not allowed a free plebiscite for the population of Mauritania.

159. There is not only a political presence; there is also a military presence—military bases, French barracks, French soldiers, French administrators, and what not. This has not afforded a free expression on the part of the population of Mauritania. It is because of these two dangerous aspects that the Arab League, the supreme organ for the co-ordination of Arab policies, has decided that Mauritania is not a distinct and separate entity and that it forms part and parcel of the State of Morocco. Secondly, the Arab League decides every case on its merits.

160. For the question of Mauritania the Arab League decided against distinctness of entity. For Kuwait it decided on full independence and Kuwait has become a full-fledged member of the Arab League. Following this line of reasoning, the Arab League has decided in favour of the reunion, I would say the restoration of unity, between Mauritania and Morocco. We do not vote against independence; rather our vote is cast for unity.

161. Mr. IQBAL (Pakistan): This great Organization was designed to become truly representative of all mankind. How else could it hope to achieve the ends and purposes for which it was created and become a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of those common ends. We are happy to find that it is steadily advancing towards universality, though we are also troubled by the feeling that large segments of mankind still remain unrepresented here.

162. However, my delegation will abstain from casting an affirmative vote in support of the admission of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations. It is not because we ourselves are in any doubt regarding both the right and responsibility of peace-loving States to assume the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter, but because, unfortunately, there appears to be some difference among the Arab States regarding the admission of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations. Consistent with the policy of our Government that with regard to matters of inter-Arab differences we would not take sides, we have to

refrain from casting our vote in support of Mauritania's admission.

165. Mr. Henry Ford COOPER (Liberia): My delegation, when there were only a few African States in the United Nations, supported vigorously the aspirations of any colonial people to independence and freedom. We did this in the case of Morocco and would have supported it vigorously had Morocco at that time laid claim to the country known as Mauritania. Having failed to do this, it therefore grieves us to see that Morocco, an African State which has known all the pains of colonial occupation, now seeks to obstruct the independence of another African State on the ground of territorial claims.

164. In the rape and partition of Africa there were no rights that the colonial Powers felt bound to respect. Therefore, the tribal rights were not observed, nor were the boundaries that separated them; one tribe or one people were separated from another in disregard of their wishes. We know that brothers and sisters were separated mutually by boundaries imposed to meet the requirements of the colonial Powers. Much as we deplore those arbitrary acts, those boundaries have become fixed after a period of time and form all boundaries of the independent States of Africa.

165. What chaos, what confusion, what hatred could be engendered by each of the new African countries against each other were those boundaries to be changed or readjusted. Happily for the majority of the African States, they have come to realize the situation. A better example could not be found than the case of the voluntary union of Egypt and Syria. We know that scarcely after a period of a year Syria unilaterally terminated such a union. Many would have expected the Egyptian Government to resort to force of arms to restore the union; history has many such examples. But we must congratulate and admire President Nasser for the broad and statesman-like attitude he adopted in this situation. It would be wise, therefore, for many other African States to follow the example of President Nasser.

166. The General Assembly recently adopted a resolution calling for the end of colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)]. All the African States campaigned vigorously for this resolution and supported it. Here we have France today complying with that resolution by the granting of independence to Mauritania which was part of its colonial possessions. Some may question the motives of France in this regard. We might also question its motives with regard to other African territories, but one does not look a gift horse in the mouth. On the other hand we have a State, such as Morocco, which has supported the resolution calling for an end to dependent territories, objecting to the implementation of this resolution which grants independence to Mauritania on the grounds of territorial claims. We cannot have double standards. If it was right for Syria to ask to be separated from Egypt, it must also be right for Mauritania to ask to be independent of Morocco.

167. Some have contended that the independence of some countries is fictitious. It is an assumption, and it is unjust for any State to query the independence of another State on the ground that that State has certain ties of friendship with another State or is bound economically by that State. Each State has its rights and it must be the sole judge of its own independence, its own security, and its own happiness.

168. The Conference of the Heads of Independent African and Malagasy States, meeting in Monrovia from 8 to 12 May 1961, fully supported the independence of Mauritania. May I be permitted to read an extract from the records of that Conference:

"The Conference is convinced that the Republic of Mauritania possesses all the qualifications for membership, and looks with concern upon any attempt to prohibit the Republic from association into that body by the exercise of a vote, or to link its admittance to other issues.

"This Conference feels that the General Assembly truly represents all the Members of this international body, and as such, its wishes should be respected.

"In the name of the leaders of twenty Independent African States representing about 120 million African people, I therefore in the name and by the directive of the Conference call upon the Security Council at its present sitting to approve the membership of this Independent African Republic."

My advice to my fellow Africans, especially those that live in African States, is to let sleeping dogs lie, especially if we want to have in Africa peace and happiness. Otherwise Africa will become another Europe whose soil has been drenched by the blood of its sons owing to the aspirations and ambitions of over-zealous leaders.

169. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to state its position on the question of the admission of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations.

170. Having succeeded, with the support of other peoples, in abolishing French colonial administration on its territory, the people of Mauritania has made what contribution it could to the general struggle against the colonizers and taken the first step towards liberating itself from the colonial yoke.

171. We consider however that, even in those cases where the national independence offered to colonies is by no means complete, it still releases national forces and brings the former colonies nearer to genuine independence. This process is undoubtedly taking place in Mauritania, although it is far from its termination.

172. At the same time, in discussing the question of Mauritania's admission to membership in the United Nations, we cannot fail to take into account a number of complicating factors, more especially the fact that the proclamation of Mauritania's independence has met with objections on the part of the State of Morocco, which has declared that historically, economically and juridically Mauritania is an integral part of Moroccan territory. It is well known that the view thus taken by Morocco was supported by a whole series of other States, including African States which, during the discussion of the Moroccan problem at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, described the granting of independence to Mauritania as a political manoeuvre on the part of colonial forces in France, undertaken by them for the obvious purpose of retaining their position in Mauritania, dismembering the territories of the African States and setting certain African States against others.

173. The Soviet Union, which pays close attention to the voice of the peoples and States born in the struggle with colonialism, cannot overlook all these statements, which have been confirmed by many delegations at the Assembly's present meeting.

174. In view of all this, the Soviet delegation will be unable to vote for Mauritania's admission to membership in the United Nations and will, in the vote, abstain.

175. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Upper Volta, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

176. Mr. BALIMA (Upper Volta) (translated from French): The representative of Morocco, in the statement which he made earlier committed some serious errors which I should like to point out. He implied, in fact, that my country was a puppet because it was a member of the French Community, and that it even favoured the establishment of bases on its territory. I wish to state before all the delegations here assembled that this is completely false.

177. First of all, my country, united behind its President, has very clearly stated that there will be, in the Upper Volta, neither Russian military bases, nor French military bases, nor American military bases, nor British military bases, nor any other military bases. I think that some reference was made here to the draft amendment [A/C.1/L.293/Add.1], in which the name of Upper Volta appears. But this is an error which has already been the subject of a corrigendum and it might be very useful for you to consult that document [A/C.1/L.293/Add.1/Corr.1].

178. The representative of Morocco also said that we were a member country of the French Community. I wish to declare, honestly and clearly, that we are no enemies of France. We had to choose between being false brothers of the French or true friends of France, and my country did not hesitate. We have very friendly ties with France, but we are absolutely not members of the French Community. We ceased to be members of the French Community before coming here, and even before we proclaimed our independence.

179. I have come to this rostrum simply in order to express our contention that every truly independent State should be one of us here, and that this is why we believe that Mauritania should join us.

180. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): At the fifteenth session the delegation of Morocco requested the inclusion of an item regarding Mauritania in the agenda [A/4445 and Add.1]. The General Assembly recognized the existence of a dispute and allowed the item to be discussed. However, the question of the admission of Mauritania is now before the General Assembly before the United Nations took any of the normal action in international cases like this dispute.

181. The existence of a dispute has once again been proved, not only because of the statements made by the delegation of Morocco, but also because of the many statements made by other delegations—and more will probably be made—in favour of the admission of Mauritania. As I have said, this proves that a dispute exists and that it has been before the United Nations on previous occasions, too.

182. We can only regard this as a case with special characteristics which cannot be ignored. My delegation is therefore compelled to abstain from the vote on this issue at this stage. We do so in the hope that,

whatever the decision of the General Assembly may be, the future developments will be only—and we repeat: only—in the interests of the people of Mauritania.

183. Mr. MAKHA (Guinea) (translated from French): In January 1961, at Casablanca, some African heads of State, whose nationalism and indefatigable efforts to bring about the total emancipation of the African continent are universally recognized, considered the Mauritanian problem, and, at the close of their deliberations, adopted an important resolution providing, among other things, as follows:

"Considering the colonialist intrigues aimed at dividing the territories of the African States in order to weaken them,

"Considering that, in general, the increase in the number of artificial States in Africa is a permanent threat to the security of the African Continent, and, at the same time, a strengthening of the forces of imperialism,

"Considering that the objective aimed at by France in Mauritania is the economic exploitation and strategic use of this area, particularly against the African countries, as well as the maintenance of artificial barriers in Africa,

"Considering that the defence of the unity and territorial integrity of all African States is, at the same time, the defence of the freedom of Africa,

"Solemnly denounces and condemns all forms of economic, political and military exploitation in Africa;

"Declares its determination to oppose, by all possible means, every attempt to partition and create satellite States in certain parts of the African Continent;

"Approves any action taken by Morocco on Mauritania for the restitution of its legitimate rights."

184. These are the considerations underlying the solidarity which the Government of the Republic of Guinea desired to express to the Moroccan Government in this grave dispute which, since independence, has set it against French colonialism alone, and which continues to do so. These are the reasons that will determine our delegation's negative vote on the draft resolution submitted for consideration by the General Assembly.

185. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of the Ivory Coast, in exercise of his right of reply.

186. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): I am intervening now in this debate because my country has been mentioned twice. I must say that the two quotations made were taken out of context from the statement I made yesterday in the Security Council. I actually said, and I say again, that if Mauritania has not yet been admitted to the Organization, it is not due to the circumstance that a majority or even a significant minority believes in the Moroccan claims. The reason for there having been no resolution in the First Committee was that Morocco's friends withdrew the motion so that there could be no vote. In the General Assembly, the paragraph of resolution 1602 (XV) which recommended that the Security Council should reconsider the Mauritanian problem was approved by 63 countries. In the Security Council [911th meeting], when the

Mauritanian problem was first raised, the Council, by a majority of eight votes, recommended approval of Mauritania's application. Only one negative vote was cast; the official explanation given us for this opposition was not that the country imposing its veto believed so much in the Moroccan claims, but that it wished thereby to make it absolutely clear that, Mongolia having until then been the victim of an injustice, it intended that the injustice should be rectified. The injustice has in fact been rectified.

187. It was stated that I had spoken of the Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast, which at one time were called Upper Ivory Coast and Lower Ivory Coast, or Lower Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. I again say that my words were taken out of their context. By this, I simply wished to say that all the countries which you have welcomed here result from actions of the Berlin Conference and their limits are the result of colonization. In the case of Ghana and Mali, only their names have been changed but the others have retained the names given to them by colonization.

188. Moreover, I have noted that my colleague from Mali, who quoted me, is not so much opposed to the admission of Mauritania because he is persuaded by the Moroccan thesis. It is rather because he considers that Mali, with its 4 million inhabitants, is the victim of a warlike State of 635,000 inhabitants.

189. We believe in African unity. We believe that it will come about. We cannot now precipitate events, however. History is the same, whether in Europe or in Africa. It can only be oriented.

190. In Europe, revolutions have created nationalities. These nationalities have asserted themselves, and it is only little by little that they have merged to create either federated States or single States. Africa too will undergo the same process. I am not in a position to know what the consequences of a hasty unity may be. I believe that others, who have passed through this, are more competent than I to determine whether it is advisable.

191. In the name of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, we cannot, in the present state of things—due to Morocco's failure to claim Mauritania in the conventions signed at La Celle-Saint-Cloud at the time of its accession to independence, whereas it did claim Tangier—we cannot, I say, compel the Mauritians to live under a régime or political and institutional system entirely different from those they have selected.

192. It has been said that the referendum was forced. Possibly it was, but that does not alter the fact that Mauritania voted several times. In 1958, at the time of the referendum, Mauritania had to choose among secession, the Community and the *status quo*. Guinea, which chose secession, was admitted here before we were; but Mauritania, like any of the other States in the same circumstances, could have made the same choice, and it too, would have been admitted to the Organization at that time. It chose the Community followed by independence, and has just voted again and elected its President. In our opinion, these successive elections have been acts of self-determination, and it is this self-determination which we demand for Mauritania, as well as for Kuwait and Algeria.

193. We mentioned yesterday another position that was taken by Latin America. It has been qualified

here as naïve. According to this thesis, at the time independence was attained, in order to avoid internal wars and not to jeopardize a sorely won independence, the territorial limits existing on the date of independence had been tacitly accepted. In our view, it is self-contradictory to invoke this argument in the case of the Algerian Sahara, to assert it justly for Kuwait and not to admit it for Mauritania. Our colleague from Iraq is consistent with himself, this we recognize. We also note that the representative of Saudi Arabia has realized that there was this contradiction; he said that the League of Arab States had accepted the granting of independence to Kuwait, while allowing it to identify itself little by little with Iraq, but that it refused Mauritania its independence. Why are there two weights and two measures? This has not been explained to us. But our brilliant colleague from Saudi Arabia foresaw that we would reproach him with this contradiction, and he wished to speak of it first.

194. The Assembly however, cannot contradict itself. It was the Assembly that asked the Security Council, by a majority of 63 votes, to reconsider the question of Mauritania. It went even further; it requested the Security Council to take note of its decision in regard to the candidature of Mauritania. I would refer you, in this connexion, to the terms of resolution 1602 (XV). My delegation recalled them to the Security Council in seeking its co-operation with the General Assembly in order to prevent this resolution from being flouted. We do not believe that the General Assembly can reverse itself, when the Security Council has simply complied with its resolution.

195. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): There are no more speakers on my list. I shall put the 14-Power draft resolution [A/L.358 and Add.1] to the vote.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Against: Yemen, Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Congo (Leopoldville), Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Mongolian People's Republic, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 68 votes to 13, with 20 abstentions.

196. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In view of the results of the vote, I declare the Islamic Republic of Mauritania admitted to membership in the United Nations.

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

197. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (translated from French): The General Assembly had just spoken its final word on the dispute between us and France over an authentically Moroccan territory: Mauritania. The decision it has just taken has deeply shocked and disappointed us, and the least we can do in this painful circumstance is to raise our country's protest to the last against those primarily responsible for this grave injustice.

198. The Assembly has not seen fit to take into consideration the legitimacy of our cause and the irrefutable evidence that we have advanced, which clearly demonstrates that Mauritania is an integral part of Morocco. We proclaim that this decision will not change the situation in any way. It cannot go against the course of history. It cannot go against the destiny of an entire people. Accordingly, Mauritania will never cease to belong, by right and in fact, to the Moroccan community. We also declare that the Moroccan people as a whole, both the inhabitants of the south and those of the north, will never understand this decision which is so unjust to them. This decision was taken in complete ignorance of the real facts of the problem and its various domestic aspects. We believe that in the circumstances, it cannot be anything but a decision imposed upon those concerned as well as upon the will of the entire Moroccan people.

199. The Mauritanian problem is, above all, a national problem, and as such it is one which must be solved, in the first place, by the Moroccan people. Morocco knows that in order to solve it, it must rely primarily on the efforts and determination of the Moroccan people itself, including the population of Mauritania. The Moroccan people, in the struggle it has waged to bring about its independence and in the one it is still waging for the liberation of all its territory, has never allowed itself to be influenced or unnerved by declarations or decisions hostile to its cause, regardless of their origin. Its unshakable faith in the justice of its cause has always enabled it to triumph over the obstacles which have been placed in its path. Despite a blind repression and the harsh measures taken by the colonialist system, which prevent all freedom of communication, or dissemination of news, and bar journalists from Mauritania, our brothers in the south have for many years been waging an heroic struggle against the occupation forces that seek to separate them from their brothers in the north solely to serve the aims of foreign interests. Every day, Mauritania is the scene of sanguinary incidents; its prisons are packed with patriots arrested for having sought to liberate their territory from colonialist rule in order to reunite it, as it was formerly with the common homeland.

200. No one can deny the unstable, explosive situation created in this Moroccan region by the many different provocations committed by the French army. A climate of terror, despair and irritation is spreading among our population at the idea of seeing our country mutilated and deprived of a part of its territory. Without Mauritania, our independence remains

incomplete. It will be threatened so long as Mauritania is occupied by French troops that have set up not only military bases, but also nuclear bases. This independence, dearly won by the blood of our compatriots, shall not have been in vain. We will know how to mobilize it and we shall mobilize our people's unshakable will to recover our southern territories and thus complete our territorial unity.

201. The decision taken today by this Assembly cannot sway the inhabitants of Mauritania from their firm resolve to be reunited with the rest of Morocco. The situation in Mauritania clearly cannot remain what it is today. We are sure—we are convinced that the will of the people will ultimately prevail and that the unity and integrity of the entire national territory will be achieved. This decision, founded on a colonial injustice, jeopardizes the very foundations of this Organization and its essential goal, which is to defend small States against oppression and aggression. Indeed, what use is it their coming here to set forth their grievances, if aggressions against them by large States not only are not thwarted in this Assembly, but are willingly tolerated?

202. Morocco disclaims all responsibility for the particularly grave consequences to which the decision just taken may lead, a decision which is sure to have a serious effect on international security and peace. Morocco, you may rest assured, will always remain faithful to the traditions of honour, pride, the spirit of liberty, independence and the defence of its sovereignty, and of the integrity of its national soil which its ancestors bequeathed to it, and which were personified by the heroic struggle of its late king, Mohammed V. His son, King Hassan II, and the Moroccan people will never fail to maintain those traditions.

203. Mr. SOULEYMANE (Mauritania): It is with deep emotion that we appear today before your august Assembly.

204. This justifiable emotion, intense though it may be, shall not prevent us from appreciating fully and in its proper context the decision whereby you have kindly welcomed us to this hall which is the symbol of friendship and brotherhood among peoples.

205. We wish to thank from the bottom of our hearts the delegations of France and Liberia, which agreed to sponsor, in the Security Council, with so much tact and kindness, our request for admission.

206. May we be permitted to express our gratitude, on behalf of our country and our Government, to all the States which, since our accession to independence on 28 November 1960, have tirelessly lent us their disinterested support. Our gratitude goes to the great majority of African States and, in particular, to the States members of the Brazzaville group, which have taken up our cause in the daily struggle that we are waging for the consolidation of our sovereignty and the permanence of our right to existence. This does not in any way mean that we nourish any enmity or hostility whatever towards those who have seen fit to challenge the existence of our State. To them, whether they be from Africa or elsewhere, we say that it is in the spirit of our people to extend the hand of friendship, even when we are right and are unjustly opposed. We therefore proclaim our firm resolve to co-operate with all peoples without any exception. Our co-operation with other States will, of course, be subject to fulfilment of the requirements of international law and order.

207. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania will always remember that it has achieved national independence in friendship and understanding with its former colonizer. Thus, in its proven desire for decolonization, France has spared us, like all the States of Africa south of the Sahara which it administered, the perilous paths of violence and bloodshed in the recovery of our international liberty and integrity. This is, indeed, the prime source of active friendship, sincerity with others and consistency towards ourselves. Nevertheless, for us Mauritians, friendship and co-operation are not combined with submission and dependence. This we have proved on many occasions, and particularly in connexion with the Bizerte affair, without, however, seeking any improper political notoriety.

208. You are admitting today into your Organization a peaceful State which has no pretensions but does have a great willingness to serve the cause of peace. This State is and shall remain respectful of the will of its people, its only source of power.

209. Although we are proud of our glorious past and our ancestral values, we have now gone beyond the forces of traditionalism to endow our State with a constitutional and political life fully consistent with democratic principles.

210. Our country reflects the principles that govern the United Nations. Furtherance of human rights and respect for fundamental freedoms are, in fact, not idle words to us. Several races live together on our soil in perfect harmony. Negroes, Berbers, and Arabs are undoubtedly animated by the same desire: to make any sacrifice in order to succeed in the building of our nation. In this, our country is proud to have brought about unity in diversity. We are therefore fully conscious of the important role our country can play in relations between the north and south of Africa.

211. Owing to its geographical position and its varied population, Mauritania is specially qualified to serve as a connecting link between two worlds separated by the Sahara which should understand each other better. In this, it will satisfy one of the essential aims of the United Nations, the development of friendly relations among peoples.

212. We have not waited until today to proclaim our unflinching attachment to the fundamental rights of man, immortalized in the Universal Declaration adopted in Paris by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948. We are, also, resolutely determined to fulfil, as a sacred trust, the obligations of the United Nations Charter which our country supports unreservedly. Our attachment to this international Organization, the greatest history has known, is all the deeper as we are convinced of the primacy of its role and the influence that it exercises over the opinions of peoples and Governments. It is here above all that friendly relations can develop among nations as a result of frank discussion and the free confrontation of ideas and attitudes.

213. This truth can triumph only on condition that some bear in mind their natural and technical weakness, and suppress all tendencies to demagoguery, relying upon their moral strength alone.

214. Faithful to our ideals and our alliances, we shall always strive to bring about the African unity in which we believe, whatever perils may threaten it. This unity, eagerly sought by all Africans, was fre-

shadowed by the African and Malagasy Union, itself a part of the broader Monrovia grouping. Because of this pan-African vocation we shall contribute faithfully and eagerly to tightening the bonds of solidarity and co-operation that make the strength and cohesiveness of our African and Malagasy Union.

215. This is why we are present, and always shall be present at the major inter-African gatherings where, in all serenity, the future and the welfare of Africans is peacefully discussed. We sincerely desire an end to the race for African leadership and the disappearance of personal jealousies, intrigues and rivalries, in order that, hand in hand, we may at last wage the decisive struggle against hunger, disease and ignorance.

216. Colonized only yesterday, we know today that we have an obligation to help, with all our means, our brothers struggling for their dignity and emancipation. This is in keeping with our real hostility to all forms of imperialism, colonialism and racism. Without wishing to anticipate future discussions, our delegation reserves the opportunity to define and defend its viewpoint with regard to all the burning problems of decolonization that most closely concern us.

217. In so doing, we are most conscious of the painful tragedy of Angola and the policy of apartheid. At the same time, the Palestinian question causes us constant concern. We shall have ample opportunity to dwell upon them in due course.

218. On this historic day for our country, we shall not conceal that all our thoughts go out to our brothers, the people of Algeria. From this rostrum, we call upon the French Government immediately to resume negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, with a view to defining conditions and supervisory procedures for self-determination to ensure Algeria's independence and respect for its territorial integrity.

219. Note must be taken of the anguish and moral pain felt by all those who wish to see an end to the suffering of the Algerian people, and to the shedding of the blood of innocent victims.

220. We beg your indulgence and forgiveness for having desired to make our preoccupations known to you. You will readily understand that after having so long sought the privilege of addressing your august Assembly, we might thus impose upon your time.

221. Before concluding we must express on behalf of our Government and our delegation, our sincere congratulations to Mr. Mongi Slim on his election to the high post which he occupies so competently and with such dedication. President Slim, for us, symbolizes the presence of Africa at the rendezvous of history. And if our pride is great, it is because Tunisia occupies a special place in our hearts and in our history.

222. The man whose great honour it was to be the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, once said that the failure of the United Nations would be the failure of peace, and the triumph of destruction. At this grave time for the future of this Organization, we simply wish that it may live and prosper for peace and brotherhood among peoples.

223. The PRESIDENT: I sincerely thank the head of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and I wish, as President of the General Assembly,

to express to him my most sincere welcome and congratulations.

224. As was done with regard to the Mongolian People's Republic, I ask all delegations wishing to congratulate and welcome the new Member State, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, to abstain from taking the floor at this meeting. They may register with the Secretariat, and I will give them the floor successively during the forthcoming plenary meetings.

AGENDA ITEMS 73 AND 72

Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal

The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective international control

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART I) [A/4942]

In accordance with article 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.

225. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I ask representatives to confine their statements to explanations of votes.

It was so decided.

226. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration the first part of the First Committee's report on the items to which the Committee decided to give priority, namely, items 73 and 72 entitled respectively "Continuation of suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and obligations of States to refrain from their renewal" and "The urgent need for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective international control".

227. In enumerating the substantive draft resolutions submitted to the First Committee in connexion with these two items, this report deals specifically with one draft resolution, the adoption of which the First Committee recommends to the General Assembly. Considering that this draft resolution concerns itself with an event which, on the strength of an official announcement, is expected to take place before the end of the present month, the sponsors asked for its urgent consideration, a request which was granted by the First Committee on 25 October. A number of delegations felt, however, that this draft resolution ought not to be given priority over another one of more comprehensive scope and, in addition, different legal and political arguments were advanced against the approval of this request. A motion for closure of the debate on this draft resolution having been approved by a majority of the members of the Committee, the draft resolution was put to the vote on 25 October. In explaining their votes, a number of delegations expressed the view that the concern manifested in voting in favour of the draft resolution was a humanitarian one due to the hazards to world health to be expected from especially powerful nuclear test explosions. At the same time it was stressed that the attitude of several delegations was to be considered as an expression of their stand against test explosions in general.

228. I have the honour to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly the draft resolution contained in paragraph 10 of the Committee's report.

229. Mr. Samir AHMED (United Arab Republic): I shall be very brief in explaining my delegation's vote. The Government and people of the United Arab Republic have on many occasions made their stand on the question of the suspension of nuclear weapons tests very clear. We are against any type of nuclear testing by any Power whatever. Much as we would have preferred that the General Assembly reflect in a unanimous vote humanity's abhorrence and condemnation of all kinds and measures of nuclear tests, appealing to one and all not to engage in such grievous tests, we are now confronted instead with this draft resolution of limited scope appealing only against one set of nuclear test explosions by one State, leaving the door open to what may be no less dangerous test explosions by whoever wishes to conduct them. Therefore, if we support this draft resolution on purely humanitarian grounds, as we are going to do, we wish our vote to be interpreted nevertheless as reflecting only our condemnation of any type of nuclear test explosions no matter what their size or their source.

230. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In connexion with the forthcoming vote in the plenary General Assembly on the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee [A/4942, paragraph 10], containing an appeal to the Soviet Union to refrain from exploding a bomb in the megaton range, the Soviet delegation has the following statement to make.

231. This draft resolution was submitted by Canada, Japan, Iran, Pakistan, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Sweden. In order to discover the purpose of this draft resolution and correctly to assess its aim or aims, it is, first of all, necessary to find out who the "parents" of this infant are and what they are really seeking to achieve. It turns out that the "parents"—that is, the creators and inspirers of this draft—are the countries members of the aggressive military blocs of the Western Powers, with one exception only—Sweden, which is not a member of the blocs and was obviously to serve as a neutral cover for the clearly expressed objectives of the Western military bloc.

232. The Soviet delegation takes serious objection to this draft resolution, and will vote against it.

233. During the discussion in the Political Committee, we gave a detailed explanation of our position on this draft, but we still consider it necessary to speak in plenary meeting of the General Assembly on this matter.

234. Two arguments have been put forward as formal pretexts to justify the submission of this draft resolution. It has been said, first that experimental explosions of nuclear weapons are in themselves a threat to peace, and secondly that such explosions generate dangerous atomic radiation; and that for these reasons it was decided to ask the Soviet Union not to explode a 50-megaton bomb.

235. Let us examine the substance of the question thus raised. The countries of the Western bloc want the Soviet Union not to explode a nuclear weapon of 50-megaton strength. But what about smaller nuclear explosions—30, 10 or 1 megaton, or less? What about a nuclear weapon that is even more powerful? And what about the Assembly's attitude to nuclear weapon

tests by France, or to the forthcoming atmospheric tests in the United States and possibly, also, in the United Kingdom? The Western bloc is in a hurry to use the Assembly for the prevention of an explosion in the Soviet Union, but as regards the underground weapon tests by the United States which are now being carried out and which will be carried out in Nevada in December, and as regards the imminent explosions—I mean United States explosions in the atmosphere, the Western bloc, of course, says not a word. That is quite understandable; but the Assembly, too, keeps silent.

236. The most alarming thing, however, is that the General Assembly says nothing about the crazy arms race now unleashed by the Western bloc. It keeps silence about the intensive military preparations of the Western Powers. It remains silent about the forthcoming transfer of nuclear weapons to Western Germany, which, disregarding the disastrous lessons of the past and smitten again, as with a malignant tumour, by militarism, is feverishly preparing for a new war.

237. Just think, gentlemen, what it is that they want to achieve by this resolution—the people who are putting it forward. From all the interrelated events throughout the world they select a particular one, isolate it from the circumstances giving rise to it, from the causes which gave it birth, and want to make it the subject of a special decision of the General Assembly.

238. To act as the majority of the Committee did on 25 October in adopting the Western bloc's resolution means attempting to eliminate the consequence without removing the cause which gives rise to, and is continually recreating, that consequence. It is the same thing as trying to pump water out of the hold of a ship without closing the hole. However hard you try, the ship will gradually fill with water, lose its buoyancy and stability and sink to the bottom.

239. Such a specific, discriminatory and narrowly selective approach to the choice of an issue for decision by the General Assembly—as in the present case—is not accidental. It is deliberate, and eloquently demonstrates the fact that it is adopted in the interests of the countries of the Western bloc, and in their interests alone.

240. The powers of the Western bloc realize full well that they will be unable to prevent the Soviet Union from completing the measures it has planned for the strengthening of its defensive capacity. They have no illusions on that score. It should therefore be clear to everyone that the manoeuvre, thought up by the Western Powers at this General Assembly session of adopting the Canadian—Japanese—Iranian—Pakistan resolution has nothing but propaganda value. It is a propagandist arrow shot by NATO against the Soviet Union. The countries of the Western bloc, realizing that it is now not quite so easy for them to drag other countries, not connected with the blocs, into their combinations against the Soviet Union, have tried to induce those countries to support their draft resolution by referring to the humanitarian aims which this draft allegedly pursues. But what is the value of the humanitarianism of such co-sponsors of the draft as Iran or Pakistan which have agreed to let their own countries be subjected to atomic bombing by their own allies, with a view to the creation of a so-called "nuclear curtain" through the conversion of vast areas of Iran and Pakistan into death zones?

241. The representatives of these countries in the First Committee tried to deny this, but on this point there are official, top-secret documents of the Bagdad Pact, now known as the CENTO Pact. We can show them to any delegation which wants to see them. And no matter how the representatives of Iran and Pakistan may try to refute these facts and describe these documents as forgeries, the documents are original ones, and your peoples will undoubtedly, in due course, pronounce their own harsh but just verdict on this matter.

242. Thus the real motive inspiring the delegations of the countries which are co-sponsoring this resolution is not consideration for ethics or humanitarianism, but purely military calculation on the part of allies in military blocs. The purpose of the draft resolution under discussion is to secure, for the Western Powers and their allies in aggressive military blocs, unilateral military advantages at the expense of the security interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist States.

243. The sponsors of the draft ignore the tensions created by the Western Powers and the acuteness of the international situation, which have compelled the Soviet Government to take a number of serious measures to strengthen the security of the Soviet Union, including the conduct of tests of the most effective types of nuclear weapons. The peoples of the world can only welcome these measures, for they understand that it is only the overwhelming might of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving States which can safeguard peace and preserve the peoples from war.

244. We have no doubt that the overwhelming majority of mankind will evaluate the Soviet Government's measures correctly. The strengthening of the defensive power of the Soviet Union is, at the same time, a strengthening of the forces of peace the world over. The sponsor must realize that there is a reliable force capable of protecting the peaceful labour, freedom and independence of peoples.

245. The tests by the Soviet Union of new highly effective types of nuclear weapons are intended to ensure that the peoples shall not fall under atomic, hydrogen or neutron bombs, that mankind shall never experience war explosions of nuclear weapons, as happened with the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. That is what real humanitarianism nowadays means.

246. The efforts to represent the matter as if the sponsors of the draft resolution were concerned about the well-being of peoples or were desirous of maintaining peace are spurious through and through. Genuine, not fictitious humanitarianism, genuine, not fictitious solicitude for the well-being of present and future generations, genuine and not fictitious anxiety for peace, required from everyone the most energetic and resolute struggle on behalf of peace. We must avert the possibility of the eruption of nuclear or rocket warfare which, if it once breaks out, can, in a matter of hours and minutes, destroy huge cities inhabited by many millions, annihilate whole countries and peoples and devastate entire continents. In such a war, many tens and even hundreds of millions of people will perish. World treasures of civilization will disappear beyond recall. With these monstrous consequences of nuclear and rocket warfare, the apprehensions expressed here about atomic radiation are, of course, in no way comparable.

247. As regards the Soviet Union, no manoeuvres by the NATO Powers will divert it from the taking of measures to strengthen the defensive power of the Soviet Union, or weaken its efforts to ensure universal peace. The Soviet Union, or weaken its efforts to ensure universal peace. The Soviet Union will follow this policy so long as the United States and its allies refuse to drop their policy of acting from a "position of strength", so long as they do not follow the line of deciding unsettled problems by negotiation, and so long as they refuse to agree to proceed to general and complete disarmament. Countries that are not members of blocs must also play their part in this matter. The neutral and non-aligned States must not stand apart from the realities of the world situation. They must realize that the testing of nuclear weapons is a consequence, not a cause. The cause giving rise to this consequence consists in the intensive military preparations of the Western Powers, preparations which have recently been particularly intensified.

248. The testing of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union is the inevitable outcome of the Western Powers' policy of conducting international affairs "from a position of strength", the outcome of their refusal to settle unsolved problems, and more especially the German problem, by negotiation.

249. In the circumstances of the crazy arms race and of intensive military preparations by the Western Powers, when these Powers, in reply to the Soviet Union's determination to conclude a German peace treaty, openly threaten to take up arms, instead of agreeing to settle the problem by negotiation—in such circumstances, the most effective way of eliminating the growing threat of war is to counter aggressive force with the overwhelming power of the peace-loving States. Only a readiness to deal aggressors a crushing, annihilating blow can restrain them from unleashing war and maintain peace. In this light alone should the testing by the Soviet Union of the newest and most effective types of nuclear weapons be viewed. When this is understood, all peace-loving States will easily be able to grasp the position and rightly concentrate their efforts with a view to removing the causes which are pushing the world nearer and nearer to the edge of a nuclear-rocket war.

250. When the cause is removed there will, of course, be no consequence, and the question of nuclear weapon tests will no longer arise.

251. All this goes to show that the main point on which the United Nations and all peoples of the world should now concentrate their efforts is the preservation of peace, the prevention of war, and disarmament. Such is genuine humanitarianism, genuine solicitude for the well-being of peoples and the future of mankind. It can be achieved, not by endless, futile discussions, but only by concrete measures.

252. The arms race, and the military preparations, must be stopped. We must come to an agreement as quickly as possible about general and complete disarmament. Finally, we must give up the idea of acting, in international affairs, from a "position of strength". We must accept the principles of peaceful coexistence and follow the path of settling all outstanding issues by negotiation, refraining from threats to resort to the use of force.

253. Only by following such a policy in international relations can the threat of war really be eliminated, and peace preserved.

254. That is the direction in which the United Nations should bring its energy and its abilities to bear. That is what it must seek to achieve, instead of vainly expending its time and strength on secondary issues which, from the standpoint of preserving peace, settle nothing and are also, in present circumstances, unproductive.

255. For these reasons the delegations of the Soviet Union will vote against the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee.

256. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): When this draft resolution was being debated in the First Committee I spoke in support of it, and I said the following:

"One, our position on nuclear tests is very clear. Two, as an expression of that position, we support the draft resolution which is now before us. We fully understand and appreciate the deep concern of the peoples who are concerned with this draft resolution.

"For these reasons, which are essentially an expression of our position, we support the draft resolution."^{1/}

257. I want to add that we shared, and do share, the deep anxiety of the peoples of Scandinavia, who are our friends, and Canada over the detonation of a 50-megaton device that may take place in the Soviet Union. Secondly, this morning when I moved in the First Committee that the general debate be temporarily suspended in order to allow us to discuss, to vote and to act on our draft resolution [A/C.1/L.283/Rev.2 and Add.1] against all nuclear tests, I said:

"I recall that the draft resolution"—

that is, the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly—

"was submitted, and rightly so, as an emergency resolution, and it is in that sense that my delegation accepted it and voted for it. Yet, though I conceded that point both by my statement and vote, I do not and cannot concede that I am not against one, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, sixty or whatever X megaton the Soviet Union or the United States may detonate. The position of my Government—and, I am most certain, that of the great majority of this Committee—is against nuclear tests."

Then, after I had explained in more detail why I had made my proposal, I said:

"I am, therefore, confident that they will understand our anxiety and will support my proposal. Our standard is the same: the problem is humanitarian and it is most urgent that the Committee appeal to all concerned, including the Soviet Union, that they stop all and every kind of nuclear test."^{2/}

258. The First Committee adopted this draft resolution and sent it to the Assembly, and the point of my repeating what I have said is this. We are against all tests. Today we voted with a clear conscience for the draft resolution which is before us now. But I want to make it absolutely clear that in so far as my Government and my delegation are concerned, we are against

^{1/} This statement was made at the 1177th meeting of the First Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

^{2/} This statement was made at the 1179th meeting of the First Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

all tests. We make no exceptions, and therefore in the First Committee we shall press for the adoption of our draft resolution.

259. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): I should like to comment on certain accusations levelled by the Soviet Union representative against my country in his explanation of vote today, which was only a repetition of what he has already said in the First Committee [1177th meeting]. Although I made a number of references to these accusations at that same meeting of the First Committee, they are of a nature so gross, so utterly fallacious, that some further elaboration in the Assembly is warranted in order to clarify our position, especially since the Soviet representative's delegation has seen fit to publicize the accusations further by circulating them to the Members of the United Nations and to the Press.

260. First of all, I should like in all sobriety to raise this question. If a group of States plead with a great Power not to explode a super bomb, with all its peril to the health of mankind, could this by any stretch of the imagination be interpreted as an aggressive act? As is his wont, the representative of the Soviet Union has referred to the Central Treaty Organization and the documents allegedly prepared by its secretariat. It has been previously stated, and I should like to confirm it once again, that these documents are absolutely spurious and there is no foundation whatsoever for those allegations. It is inconceivable that anyone in his right mind could believe that the authorities of a country could in any circumstances subject their own people to utter annihilation.

261. I said on Wednesday, and I repeat it now, that it is quite contrary to established international practices to call into question the person of a Head of State. The representative of the Soviet Union may rest assured that the Head of the Iranian State is so close to the hearts of his people that these falsifications have not and will not succeed in any way in shaking the loyalty of his people. His leadership has ever been a source of encouragement, especially when the interests of his country and people are at stake.

262. It is, I think, a timely moment to recall the period directly after the Second World War when his leadership, by restoring a province to the motherland, prevented the dismemberment of his country. I am glad indeed that the Soviet Union, in spite of this deliberate distortion of the facts, did not succeed in influencing the Committee which by an overwhelming majority voted for the measure whose purity of purpose could not be assailed or the noble intentions of its co-sponsors seriously challenged.

263. Mr. IQBAL (Pakistan): The charges which have been levelled against my country by the representative of the Soviet Union are false and we have already spoken about them in the First Committee. They are certainly based on falsehood and on lies. And now we are being told that there are certain documents which they have discovered about the Central Treaty Organization in which Pakistan and Iran were contemplating annihilating their own populations.

264. Could there be anything more that could be regarded as faked? I leave it to the Assembly to understand that documents are very easy to fix, and I regret to say here in the Assembly that such documents can be made up which are absolutely baseless and have no foundation at all. We have repeatedly denied these charges and they have been glibly repeating them.

265. I am not going to add more to what we have already said in the First Committee. The resolution which has been adopted there by an overwhelming majority is a solemn appeal to the Soviet Union to refrain from detonating the bomb that could lead to so much suffering in the long run so far as the health and welfare of all humanity is concerned. To regard this as something which has been moved by Powers belonging to aggressive pacts is something which is beyond the understanding of any rational man.

266. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have no more speakers on my list and I shall therefore put to the vote the draft resolution whose adoption has been recommended to the General Assembly by the First Committee, and which appears at paragraph 10 of that Committee's report [A/4942].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya.

Against: Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: Mali.

The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

267. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Members of the Assembly for their cooperation. We have thus finished with this item. The elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council will be postponed until a later meeting.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

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266. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have no more speakers on my list and I shall therefore put to the vote the draft resolution whose adoption has been recommended to the General Assembly by the First Committee, and which appears at paragraph 10 of that Committee's report [A/4942].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya.

Against: Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: Mali.

The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to 11, with 1 abstention.

267. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Members of the Assembly for their co-operation. We have thus finished with this item. The elections to the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council will be postponed until a later meeting.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.