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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 20

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

1. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the admission of new Members, the usual procedure will be followed. After the delegation of the Federation of Nigeria has taken its place on the floor of the Assembly, representatives will no doubt wish to express their welcome to the new Member. Twenty-six representatives have inscribed themselves for this purpose. After they have taken the floor, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, who is here for only one day, will wish himself to address the Assembly. In order to enable him to do so at an appropriate hour, I would ask the speakers who have inscribed their names to be good enough to restrict their interventions to a maximum of four minutes. I hope that delegations will be good enough to accept this arrangement too as an exceptional measure required by the circumstances.

2. Coming now to the matter before the Assembly, the admission of a new Member, the Federation of Nigeria, the Security Council has unanimously recommended^{1/} to the General Assembly that the Federation of Nigeria be admitted to membership in the Organization.

3. I shall now ask the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya, Ghana, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, Tunisia, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom [A/L.318].

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.

4. The PRESIDENT: I hereby declare the Federation of Nigeria admitted to the United Nations.

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

5. The PRESIDENT: Now that the representatives of the Federation of Nigeria have taken their seats, I would like, on behalf of the Assembly as a whole, to express to them very briefly a very cordial welcome to the United Nations. We are confident that the

* Resumed from the 876th meeting.

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, 903th meeting.

Federation of Nigeria will bring a most notable and valuable contribution to our work, and we assure them of our sincere good wishes for the future prosperity and progress of their country.

6. I propose now to call in turn on the sponsors of the resolution proposing the Federation of Nigeria for membership, and I call first on the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom.

7. Lord HOME (United Kingdom): The birth of a nation is an event which stirs our emotions and kindles the imagination, and I know that the membership of Nigeria in the United Nations will be acclaimed by the representatives who are present with full hearts and high hopes for the future; and with reason, because Nigeria is a great country. It is great in area; Nigeria is half the size of Western Europe. It is great in population: Nigeria had nearly 40 millions of people. It is great in prospects, because Nigeria has all the resources to maintain a powerful and a prosperous nation. And we in the United Kingdom, who know the Nigerians well, would add, great in character, for Nigerians are a happy people. They have the gift of laughter; the priceless gift of being able on occasions to laugh at themselves. They are a vigorous, self-respecting, self-disciplined people, with that backbone of moral integrity which is the secret of wisdom and the secret of human relations both individual and international.

8. The Prime Minister of Nigeria will perhaps allow me today to share a little of his pride in today's achievement, because together the United Kingdom and Nigerians have sought to build a nation. Nigerians for many years have played a full part in the local government of Nigeria, in the regions and in the provinces, because Nigerians recognized, with us, that democracy cannot be imposed from above, but must have its roots in institutions which the people understand and which the people can manage for themselves.

9. It was in 1922 that the first elected Nigerians took part in the Legislative Council of their country. It was in 1950 that the process of discussion began on the federal constitution of Nigeria. It was debated in the divisions, in the provinces, in the regions and at the centre until everybody was satisfied that the constitution would fit the internal needs of a very varied country and would take the strain of independence when Nigeria was launched as an independent country in a competitive and a sometimes dangerous world. The Nigerians and the United Kingdom took time and patience, because it was realized that if independence was to be real and if independence was to endure, then Nigerian society must be seen to rest firmly on law and order and justice; for those are the foundations of national stability and those are the standards which Nigerians would wish to follow in international conduct.

10. No doubt we, the United Kingdom, in the building of this great nation, have made our mistakes; but the facts of economic progress and political stability support the claim that we have laid the foundations, with the Nigerians, of a prosperous and powerful nation. I could call in evidence the economic development, the ports and the railways, the expanding cities, the palm oil forests, the cocoa groves, the ground-nuts areas, the schools, the hospitals, and the rest. They are great achievements. Of course, they raise great problems, too, for the future development of this great country. But when you think of the problems you then turn to the great university-college in Nigeria, where young people are being trained by the thousands, and come home to the United Kingdom, as I do, and see the 5,000 Nigerian students who are at present with us, eager to learn and to help to run this country which is now completely and absolutely their own.

11. While I have listened to these debates in the last few weeks, I have heard a number of things said about British colonial policy and about the independence that we have given to our dependent territories. I heard it once described as "fictitious". I was tempted, perhaps, to claim my right of reply. But why should I? Because if ever I saw a fact of independence—robust, colourful, indeed indomitable—it is here in the Nigerian delegation, which for the first time represents their country at this Assembly today.

12. After 100 years, at midnight on the last day of September, the British flag, which had flown over Nigeria for all that time, was lowered and the Nigerian flag was proudly raised in its place. There was, on the part of the United Kingdom and all of its people, no hint of regret in that ceremony; on the contrary, a complete sense of satisfaction and of fulfilment of a mission, that we and the Nigerians together had been able to do something which was very much to the good of the world.

13. In welcoming the Prime Minister and his delegation here today, on behalf of the United Kingdom I should like to wish them every success in their new and complete independence and many happy returns of this most auspicious day.

14. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): Mindful of the President's admonishment, I feel that many words are not required to assure the distinguished delegation from the Federation of Nigeria of the warmth of the welcome that has been accorded them already and of the enthusiasm with which we shall look forward to a close association in the work of this Organization.

15. The people of Nigeria come to this Organization well equipped in many respects to fulfil their obligations under the Charter and to strengthen the Organization itself. Their presence here today is a source of great gratification to all their friends because it indicates, for one thing, a closer approach to the theory of universality of the Organization, which all of us so ardently desire. It also indicates the onward march that is taking place of peoples, not only of Africa but of all other parts of the world, towards the goal of freedom and liberty, which is the dearest and the deepest wish of all humanity.

16. Nigeria comes to us fully equipped also because it is constituted of a people who have a long cultural civilization, which goes back to the ancient days of

the Hausa Kingdom, a civilization which has prepared its peoples to accept discipline in their national life and to devote all their energies to secure the welfare of their peoples in the political, social and economic fields and, at the same time, to join hands with all the international community to bring about the advent of international peace and security.

17. To us it is a pleasure to welcome the Federation of Nigeria as an addition to the Commonwealth, in which there are already ten independent countries joined together in an invisible bond of friendship, but always working together for those causes which we all hold so dear. We, therefore, have not the slightest doubt that Nigeria will give strength to this Organization, that Nigeria will stand by the Charter of the United Nations and that Nigeria will contribute to all international causes which, under the Charter, are intended to achieve freedom, prosperity and success in the world.

18. On behalf of my Government and the peoples of my country, who had the honour to send a special delegation to join in the independence celebrations on 1 October in Nigeria, we would like to express our heartiest congratulations and to wish the Nigerian Government and the Nigerian people and, particularly, the distinguished Prime Minister who has honoured us with his presence here today, prosperity and success, and the happiness of all their peoples.

19. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): For the third time this session, I have the signal honour and the great pleasure of coming to the rostrum to welcome a new Member, the Federation of Nigeria, with which my country has long had the most friendly and fraternal relations. As the representative of a nation which was one of the first in Africa to recover its freedom and its independence, I feel that the privilege given to me this year of sponsoring the candidatures of the new African States has a special value and significance.

20. Our dream, the hope which inspired all of us sons of colonized countries, of one day seeing our brothers recover their freedom and dignity, is thus materializing throughout the world. The hope, born at San Francisco in 1945, of one day seeing the representatives of all nations seated in this place and making their loyal contribution to the building of a better world, now becomes a reality. Like a "peau de chagrin", colonial rule is everywhere shrinking, liberating vast stretches of territory and tens of millions of human beings. From your chair, Mr. President, you see before you ninety-nine nations, united in their diversity by a common attachment to the principles of the Charter and by a common devotion to the cause of peace and freedom; is this not a wonderful and encouraging sight? There are still seats to be filled here; those, especially, of the African peoples who, both in the north of the continent and in the south and south-east, are still fighting, sometimes dramatically and painfully, for their freedom, dignity and independence. My delegation, nevertheless, hopes and expects that, through the earnest endeavours of our Organization, we shall in due course see them seated here in their rightful places.

21. And so it is most gratifying to my delegation and to all of us, especially in these distressing days when stormy debates give us so few occasions for rejoicing, that through shoal and tempest our Organiza-

tion holds its course towards its objective: a universal organization embracing all the nations of the world, equal in rights and in responsibilities, without distinction as to race or religion. The greater the number of Members of this Organization, the greater the chances of peace and stability.

22. The Federation of Nigeria, which we welcome among us today with joy, is a great nation with a glorious past which was the cradle of a noble and ancient civilization. The extent of its territory, the size of its population and the immensity of its natural riches make Nigeria one of the greatest countries in Africa. The political maturity of its people and the ability of its élite will make it a modern and truly democratic State. But the able men who preside over its destinies are fully aware, I am sure, that the true greatness of a nation resides essentially in stability, in respect for law and order and ability to maintain them within its frontiers, in harmony, tolerance, justice and fraternity. It resides also in a country's contribution to preserving or restoring international peace and security. The Tunisian delegation is firmly convinced that the Federation of Nigeria will be equal to its national and international responsibilities. There is no doubt that it is destined to become a catalytic element of liberty for the less favoured African peoples and a stabilizing factor in Africa. Side by side with its elder brethren, it will undoubtedly apply itself to that great work of justice for which it is marked out by the patriotism of its people and of its leaders. Nigeria's contribution to the return or maintenance of peace in Africa, on the basis of law and justice, and to the strengthening of international co-operation, will certainly be most valuable.

23. On behalf of the Tunisian people and of President Bourguiba, we extend our welcome to the Federation of Nigeria and invite it, in brotherhood, to take its part in this noble endeavour of working for peace and justice, which is the task of the United Nations.

24. Mr. MENZIES (Australia): My own country, Australia, very warmly associates itself with this welcome. We are delighted indeed that Nigeria should have become a fully independent nation. We have already expressed our delight, as the distinguished Prime Minister knows, by opening a diplomatic mission in his country. We like to extend the boundaries of independence; that is one of the great and happy circumstances in the world in our own time.

25. We know that the significance of Nigeria in the African continent will be very great. As has been pointed out, it is a large, powerful and responsible community. Its significance, therefore, in Africa will be very great, and as we all have reason to know if we did not know it before—although I am sure that most of us did—Africa itself has achieved in recent years a new and singular significance in the entire world, and therefore the great country of Nigeria may look forward to paying a notable part in the affairs not only of Africa but of the world.

26. We have already learned that the people of Nigeria, in particular their very distinguished representatives who are here today, are friendly people. I think that, whatever differences of opinion we might have on other matters, we may all say to them that here they will be friends among friends. They will find themselves completely at home.

27. The only other thing that I want to add—because I am respecting your command, Mr. President, to be brief—is that I hope that I shall be permitted to express, as the Prime Minister of a Commonwealth country, my own particular satisfaction in recording the fact that not only has Nigeria now been admitted to the United Nations but that, if my electors tolerate me sufficiently long, I shall look forward to seeing the Prime Minister of Nigeria at the next Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

28. Mr. NESBITT (Canada): In company with the other members of the Commonwealth, I am very pleased to congratulate and warmly welcome Nigeria on its admission to the United Nations. It is a most fortunate and happy circumstance that the Prime Minister of that country and the members of his Cabinet have been able to be present here in the Assembly on this great occasion.

29. I think it most appropriate that I should recall the record of Nigeria's progress towards independence. This record reflects the responsibility and high statesmanship shown by the Nigerian leaders and the harmony and co-operation existing between Nigeria and the United Kingdom. These two countries together have thus contributed much to the United Nations, and indeed to the world.

30. In extending its welcome to Nigeria, Canada offers its sympathetic interest and affirms its faith in Nigeria's future as a great African State and as a staunch supporter of the United Nations.

31. It must be a source of justifiable pride to the people of Nigeria that the transformation from colony to statehood has been accomplished in an atmosphere of dignity and good will, reaching its culmination last Saturday on Independence Day. The Canadian delegation to that celebration has sent back a glowing account of the occasion. On achieving independence, it happens that Nigeria has chosen to remain within the Commonwealth. This is an important event in the post-war evolution of the Commonwealth association of free and independent nations. This is indeed a further development of the pattern which was established almost 100 years ago in the period of Canada's evolution to independence within the Commonwealth.

32. In the United Nations all countries have an opportunity to express the concern of their peoples to promote the objectives of the Charter, and countries such as Nigeria and other middle Powers have a particularly important contribution to make.

33. This is a time when unusually heavy demands are being placed on the leadership of the African States. Nigeria is fortunate in having statesmen, legislators and administrators whose personal qualities, training and experience will enable them to serve it so very well. Nigeria also has the population and the resources to enable it to maintain and further develop its strength and stability. The voices of the independent States of Africa, to which Nigeria's is now added, will be heard with growing attention in meetings of the General Assembly and of other bodies of the United Nations. This will be a fitting reflection of Africa's increasing importance in international affairs.

34. To meet the varying needs of its national life, Nigeria has adopted a federal system not unlike our own in Canada. We are aware of the complexities of

such a Constitution and of the problem of reconciling national unity with diversity.

35. Canada has already established close links with Nigeria. Last April, in order to establish a firm foundation for future relations with independent Nigeria, Canada appointed a representative in Lagos who on Independence Day became our High Commissioner in that capital.

36. From time to time the Government and people of Canada have been very happy to welcome to our country a number of eminent Nigerian leaders. The Canadian Government looks forward to the opportunities for co-operation with the Government of Nigeria which the United Nations and the Commonwealth associations will open to us. The admission of this newest nation to United Nations membership is a step which today we are all marking with the warmest enthusiasm and the highest expectation.

37. Dato' KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): It is with sincere joy and a sense of great honour that my delegation joins in sponsoring the admission of the Federation of Nigeria into this great family of nations. Our two countries have many things in common, not the least of which is our heritage of parliamentary democracy and the rule of law with which, as members of the Commonwealth nations, we are endowed and on which foundation we aspire to build our nation. The background of our two nations are very similar too, for we have diversities of race, culture and religion. And yet, through unity and diversity, we have each attained independent nationhood in tolerance and tranquillity.

38. The independence of the Federation of Nigeria is a stupendous landmark in the history of the glorious resurgence of the African peoples. The liberation of the people of Nigeria from British colonial rule is a shining example of the emergence of a dependent people into sovereign nationhood by peaceful, constitutional means for which, I am sure, everlasting credit must be due both to the leaders and people of Nigeria as well as to the British administrators and Government.

39. I can recall similar very happy circumstances when my own country attained its independent sovereign status three years ago. No hatred nor enmity slept in its wake, but friendship, good will and mutual respect, which make the Commonwealth nations what they are today.

40. To the many millions of peoples in Africa and elsewhere now still aspiring to their own liberation, the independence of the Federation of Nigeria must surely be a source of encouragement and inspiration. Let us hope that this event will make a deep impression that the force of nationalism is irresistible and the sooner this is recognized the happier the circumstances in which these outstanding problems will find final solution.

41. For the United Nations this is a day of boundless joy. With the admission of the Federation of Nigeria, this family of nations is the richer by nearly 40 million free people whose representation here will certainly bring added wisdom and counsel, new strength and prestige to this Organization.

42. On behalf of the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya, my delegation warmly welcomes the new Federation of Nigeria to our fold, and

we express to the Nigerian delegation seated here today our heartiest congratulations. We look forward with the keenest anticipation to a happy association with it and to having, with abundance, the vitality and wisdom of its contribution to the tremendous task we have before us for the welfare and happiness of mankind.

43. Mr. ADO-ADJEI (Ghana): My delegation, the delegation of the Republic of Ghana, was greatly honoured and privileged to join the sponsors of the draft resolution for the admission of Nigeria to membership of the United Nations. It gives us the greatest pleasure and sense of pride to be associated with this occasion on which the Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution admitting the Federation of Nigeria to membership in the United Nations.

44. In the view of the Ghana delegation, the first day of October 1960 is a day of momentous importance. We do not look upon that day as marking the birth of a nation; we prefer to look upon it as the date marking the beginning of the re-emergence, the rebirth of an ancient people, an ancient culture which has been dormant owing to an accident in history for more than a century.

45. This is part of the rebirth of Africa, a rebirth, a liberation which began with the birth of Ghana, my own country. All Africa will take pride in the fact that the people of the Federation of Nigeria, numbering perhaps more than 40 million, have today assumed their rightful place in international life. Too long have the Federation of Nigeria and other parts of Africa been delayed, too long has the world been used to looking at itself from a selected vantage point on the face of the earth, and too long has this resulted in a distorted view of what is actually happening, what the peoples of the world want and what is to be done in the international community.

46. Perhaps I do not have to remind representatives that a large part of the ancient empire of Ghana which flourished in the Western Sudan during the mediaeval period formed part of the territorial area which now comprises the Federation of Nigeria. On an occasion like this, our minds go back into the glory of the historic past. Modern Ghana salutes the Federation of Nigeria.

47. The people of Nigeria and of Ghana enjoy close relations. Having been colonies under the same colonial Power, Great Britain, Ghana and Nigeria very early in their political and constitutional lives shared common ideas, common institutions and common aspirations. It is pertinent to mention here that one of the foremost political leaders of Nigeria, Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe started his political life in my own country, then known as the Gold Coast, where he was a source of inspiration to us, the modern youth of Africa, in our struggle for African emancipation and independence. Contacts between our respective political leaders during that period were fostered through such platforms as the Congress of West Africa, the West African Students Union of Great Britain and Ireland—of which I had the privilege of being president some time ago—and other political organizations. More recently, such contacts have been cemented not only directly by exchanges of visits but also through such forums as the All-African Peoples' Conference and the Conference of Independent African States.

48. On the practical level, contacts and co-operation have not been wanting. Ghana and Nigeria have been in continuous and mutually beneficial co-operation in such undertakings as the West African Cocoa Research Institute, the West African Building Research Institute and in other fields of scientific endeavour. Large numbers of our respective countrymen—students, businessmen and ordinary people—lead fruitful, happy and full lives in our respective countries. My Government is determined that these contacts and co-operation should be further developed for our mutual interest and benefit and in the interest of our common aspirations. We shall continue, together with the Federation of Nigeria and the other independent African States, to press on with the projection of the African personality on the plane of international affairs.

49. When we became independent in 1957, it was our hope that our independence would be one more proof to the colonial Powers that the African was capable of managing his own affairs. By the accession to independence of the Federation of Nigeria, another nail has been hammered into the coffin of imperialism and colonialism. While this is an occasion for rejoicing, we cannot be oblivious to the fact that there are still millions of people who are not yet free in Africa. So peaceful has the emergence of Nigeria been, so often do we hear the process described as the result of enlightened colonial administration that some of us may be tempted to forget the real meaning of the event. Some people talk of the past 100 years of colonial administration. We forget that for 400 years the slave trade, which was in fact initiated by an Englishman, John Hawkins, was carried on.

50. This occasion is a victory, a real victory, in the course of a long and difficult struggle, the end of which is in fact not yet in sight. The independence of the Federation of Nigeria, like that of all the African States that are now free, will only become truly meaningful when all our brothers and sisters in the other parts of Africa—in East Africa, in Central Africa, in the Union of South Africa and also in Angola—have become free and independent.

51. I wish to say that the history of Nigeria and the circumstances of the emergence of Nigeria as a sovereign State have established beyond doubt the willingness of the people of Nigeria to play their destined and significant role in modern international affairs. Once again, the Republic of Ghana salutes the Federation of Nigeria and welcomes Nigeria to the United Nations.

52. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My delegation is privileged to be associated with other Commonwealth countries and to be associated on behalf of the Government and people of India in the good wishes expressed from this rostrum both to the people and Government of Nigeria and the peoples and Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the present occasion when Nigeria has become an independent country. I have also the great privilege of speaking on behalf of our neighbour countries of Burma and Nepal, who asked me to do so.

53. We from India have special reason to feel gratified on this occasion, because the current of political evolution which was released by the emancipation of India—the oppressed colony of conquest—to be independent under the British Empire at that time,

that process, though sometimes obstructed by the smaller-minded administrators, has progressed, and today we have large numbers of these territories which were formerly colonial countries that have become independent. Not only have they become independent, but they have become independent on the one hand, by the process of resistance, and, at the same time, by following that resistance along routes that are not violent.

54. In Africa, this current manifested itself in the liberation of the colony of the Gold Coast, now the great Republic of Ghana, which regained its territories that it had a thousand years ago in the great Empire of Ghana.

55. Now, Nigeria, though its name and its present geographical boundaries are the result of those pages of history which we desire to forget for the four hundred years that preceded British settlement, and though its territorial boundaries are the result of imperial occupation and conquest, that land and its peoples who were then resident there came into the context of international relations in the first millennium before the birth of Christ. From the ports of Egypt and India sailed the ships of the Phoenician Empire into Nigeria in order to conduct trade, and so did the Carthaginians. So from all times there have been relations.

56. And while one does not want to be romantic about it, it is well to remember that when these new countries come into the context of what is popularly called Western civilization, they come in, as my Prime Minister described it the other day, with roots struck deep into their own soils. Even in the history of the last six or seven hundred years, there have been relations between established dynasties or régimes for the conduct of the new commerce.

57. There is at the present moment a comparatively unknown period between the Phoenician traders and, so far as I know, the later period when the French made an incursion into these territories, only halted by internal troubles in France itself. I would like to draw the curtain over the period that follows, because this is not the occasion for it. Then comes the challenge to the Portuguese monopoly, when the Portuguese protested to King Edward IV of England because some of his men had gone on to the coast of Guinea and they said they had a Portuguese monopoly in this area and no one should go there. So began the conflict between empires, which is always the hope of dependent peoples.

58. Then came the great liberal movements in England which were responsible—and I say this deliberately—which were responsible for the overthrow of slavery and the liberation of a large number of African peoples from the status they then had either in their own homeland or in other parts of the world. The British Empire settled Nigeria; the present boundaries began gradually to emerge. It is a matter for congratulation to the British people and a matter of satisfaction to the Nigerian people that, unlike some other parts of the world, their many institutions, tribal systems, and so on, for various reasons which we need not go into now, were left comparatively free and intact. The liberal administration of West Africa enabled the emergence of the present Federation with its territorial particularity and, at the same time, a great sense of unity. I think, if the

United Kingdom will forgive me, it is an occasion not only to pay tribute to the British Government and British State as such, and to the Nigerian people, but also to the large number of liberal administrators of West Africa—who are different from, the administrators in some other parts of the Empire who advocated the policy, though perhaps paternalistically, of the participation of the peoples themselves.

59. Thus, we do not need to impose upon the Secretary-General or anybody else the kind of burden that the United Nations has had to undertake in the Congo, because here are people educated, trained, and, perhaps, made to look forward to the assumption of responsibility.

60. Nigeria is the largest of the dependent territories of West Africa in population and extent.

61. The relations of our own country with Nigeria have been of an economic character. It is singular that that area, like the rest of West Africa, is surprisingly free from any trace of racial discrimination. It is a happy thing that those countries of the former British Empire which are now independent and entirely independent members of an association which we call the Commonwealth, where all power and authority derives solely from their own people, there is no racial discrimination in reverse. My own country would dislike to see, either on account of past history or on account of a newer form of colonialism, the emergence in any of these territories of a practice against a non-indigenous minority which recalls the "apartheid" practice in the Union of South Africa. Discrimination in one direction or another is against the principles of the Charter and all elementary conceptions of human relationships.

62. Together, therefore, we welcome into this community of nations another great African territory, its boundaries shaped perhaps by pages of history of which everybody need not necessarily be proud—but progress always has diverse elements in it—and they come here through progress made by their own efforts very largely responded to, as their leaders said in the Conference in London, by the peoples and the Government of the metropolitan country in various degrees. The number of the population liberated in Africa reached a total of 178 millions in the past twenty years.

63. In 1950, there were only four independent countries in Africa—that is, counting the Union of South Africa as an independent country by virtue of its membership in the United Nations, not in the sense that the majority of peoples are independent. Since then have come some twenty-five countries, making altogether a liberated population of 178 million out of an estimated total of 220 million. Out of the older colonial Empire of France, of four and a half million square miles, and the colonial Empire of Britain—smaller in extent, but larger in population—only three-quarters of a million square miles remain.

64. This leads us to the political aspects of this case, because it is neither a credit to Britain, nor to Nigeria, nor to ourselves, to treat this occasion merely as a sentimental expression of our views. The liberation of Nigeria—indeed, as of the rest of the countries—teaches us the lesson that there are no people anywhere in the world who are not fit to govern themselves.

65. Over a hundred years of peaceful administration have brought into existence a federation—and a federation is a far more difficult political structure to work than a unitary government—which is today functioning. In the continent of Africa the struggle for that independence has been carried on comparatively peacefully. What justification on earth can exist for the continued domination and suppression of vast territories either by one country over another?

66. The United Nations, therefore, can point to all these territories as witness of the success of its gospel and also as justification for the demand that it must make upon other colonial countries.

67. At the end of the year perhaps others also will join until on that great continent which has now become so significant in the history of the development of peoples there alone will remain the empires of Portugal and of South Africa dominating other peoples. We have not the slightest doubt that the sense of liberty and the passion for freedom that rests in the minds of peoples, the example of the greatness of these nations, their proximity, and the development—economic, social and spiritual—they will make will be a force which no empire in the world can resist. This is the hope that we must have today, and I, on behalf of my Government and the people of India and of my colleagues of Nepal and Burma, tender congratulations to Nigeria and to the Government of the United Kingdom, and to the United Nations itself, for being able to welcome to our ranks a new nation with new contributions to make.

68. The PRESIDENT: There are still sixteen names on the list of those who wish to express their welcome to the Federation of Nigeria. For the benefit of those who were not present when the meeting began, may the Chair again express the hope that speakers will endeavour to limit their interventions to a maximum of four minutes so as to leave sufficient time for the speech of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, who will address the Assembly after the speeches of welcome have been concluded.

69. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): The advent of new Members to membership of this Organization is, I believe, one of the most distinguishing features of this Assembly, but the entry of our newest Member, Nigeria, is an occasion of particular pleasure to the New Zealand delegation. It is a pleasure, first, because it has attained its independence in such conditions of harmony, good will and maturity and a pleasure also because it has chosen the road of interdependence as a member of the Commonwealth. I emphasize "inter-dependence" because, while proper emphasis is, and must be, placed on nationalism, the road of inter-dependence, which our own United Nations symbolizes in a special way, is, I believe, the highest expression of nationalism.

70. Nigeria is a nation of great material power, being among the most populous and relatively most developed in the continent of Africa. Nigeria has attained its independence in good order, an order, indeed, which gives evidence of those moral qualities of which Lord Home spoke, qualities which give us the fullest assurance that Nigeria will not only be a colourful ornament to this Assembly, but a country which will make a thoughtful and valued contribution to the wider councils of this Organization. Nigeria is, I believe, born to greatness, and that is true not only

because the Federation is a vast and populous country with great natural wealth, but also because Nigeria is rich in human resources and steps onto the world stage with a poise and maturity which is the mark of true nationhood.

71. Finally, I welcome this opportunity to express again on behalf of the Government and people of New Zealand our pleasure at the attainment of independence by Nigeria and to express also our warmest hopes for the well-being and happiness of the peoples of Nigeria and the greatness of their country.

72. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): The President's wish is my command, and in deference to it I have left behind a substantial part of my speech.

73. It is true that on 1 October there was the rebirth of a nation, as history is rich in evidence of Nigeria's great and glorious past. Today, we rejoice in the admission of Nigeria to the United Nations, and in so doing I speak not only for my delegation, but also for the delegations of Turkey and Iran. Colonialism is on the run in Africa, and we are confident that soon no vestige of it will remain. It is a malignancy which eats into the vitals of human values and mankind is duty bound to eradicate it from the fair face of civilization.

74. This has been a year of crisis as well as fulfilment for the United Nations. The crisis may loom large for the time being and over-shadow the other aspect, but ultimately and in the larger perspective the emancipation of many millions of people may well turn out to be of greater significance than the crisis of the moment. Therefore, the Pakistan delegation is very happy to join other Member States in welcoming the admission of the Federation of Nigeria to the United Nations. We are especially happy to welcome Nigeria because of the numerous ties that bind us together. Nigeria is a member of the Commonwealth. It is a country with whose people my countrymen share a common spiritual and cultural heritage. It is a nation of approximately 40 million people, the largest in the continent of Africa. We are convinced that its political stability, its economic potential, its progressive outlook and the quality of its leadership will enable it to play that great role in the affairs of Africa and the world which all of us expect it to do.

75. The vitality and the wisdom which it brings to this Organization, the high moral and spiritual values for which it stands, will enrich the Organization as equally they will enable Nigeria to overcome the numerous problems which face a newly independent nation.

76. With great interest, we will look forward to hearing the voice of Nigeria in the assembly of nations. We look forward to closer co-operation with it in the numerous tasks which face the United Nations, foremost among them the need for bringing about an atmosphere of peaceful existence so that we and they may be able to devote our full energies to improving the social and economic conditions of our people.

77. We look forward at the same time to co-operation with Nigeria in the Commonwealth of Nations, in that unique association of free countries united without regard to limits of geography, creed or colour. On this occasion, when Nigeria assumes the solemn responsibilities of membership, may I again, on behalf of the people and Government of Pakistan and

also on behalf of the delegations of Turkey and Iran, extend our warmest good wishes.

78. The PRESIDENT: The Chair announced a few minutes ago that there were still sixteen speakers on the list. Of that number, two have since spoken and twenty-two other delegations have inscribed their names. It will be clear to the Assembly that if all those delegations were to speak, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria would not have an opportunity of addressing the Assembly this evening. I would therefore suggest to the delegations who have put their names on the list the possibility of conferring among themselves and grouping their interventions in such a way as to enable the Prime Minister to take the floor not later than six o'clock this evening.

79. Mr. LOUW (Union of South Africa): I shall keep well within the generous limit of the four minutes which the President allows for speeches on an occasion of this kind.

80. The present session of the General Assembly has written a new chapter in the history of the United Nations by admitting sixteen new Members, of which fifteen are from our continent of Africa. The Assembly today unanimously approved the admission of yet another new Member from Africa, the Federation of Nigeria, which is not only a leader among the African States but also a member of the Commonwealth. My delegation was glad to be able to be a co-sponsor of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly. We in South Africa have followed with great interest the growth of Nigeria to nationhood and independence. It has been a sure and steady growth in which the people of Nigeria have been acquiring the political experience, the skills and the technique and also the economic viability which are so necessary for the exercise and enjoyment of true freedom.

81. May I at the same time congratulate the United Kingdom on the very important part it has played in Nigeria's evolution to nationhood and independence. Today is a proud day not only for Nigeria but also for the United Kingdom.

82. We are confident that Nigeria will make a valuable contribution to the work of this Organization and, consequently, to the attainment of that much desired goal, the peace of the world and, in particular, of Africa. In welcoming the delegation of Nigeria to this Assembly and in extending to the Government and the people of Nigeria good wishes for the future, the Government of the Union of South Africa looks forward to continued friendship and also to fruitful co-operation with this great African State in regard to all matters of common concern.

83. Mr. WILCOX (United States of America): This morning in the Security Council, Secretary of State Herter, spoke at some length about the reasons why the United States considers this such an auspicious day. It is Nigeria's day at the United Nations, and there could not be very many better reasons for joy than that. But as Secretary Herter said this morning, we believe that Nigeria's day here gives us also the occasion to contemplate the truly remarkable renaissance that is going on in all of Africa and to applaud the vital forces of liberty and national dignity which are reaching floodtide there. Indeed, I will go so far as to say that the rapid advance of political freedom in Africa constitutes one of the most im-

portant developments of this twentieth century. Never before in history have so many independent States emerged upon the world scene in such a short period of time. We in the United States cannot help but be profoundly moved by these developments. Many millions of our citizens have their racial origin in Africa. The United States itself is a young country. We know from intimate experience what it means to forge a nation from a population of diverse origin and experience. We know also from first-hand experience of the exhilaration which can come from hard work and co-operative effort which newly-won independence can inspire.

84. Nigeria begins its national life with a great many advantages and with a great many friends. We have just heard warm speeches of welcome from Nigeria's partners in the Commonwealth. The United States salutes the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth on this significant day when the newest member enters the United Nations. But most of all, we bid a warm and cordial welcome to Nigeria, to its people and to its leaders, and we look forward to a valuable and co-operative association with Nigeria in the important work of the United Nations. In our country we have watched Nigeria's progress towards independence with great attention and admiration. We extend our hearty congratulations and our sincere best wishes to the Government and the people of that great land for continued progress in the years that lie ahead.

85. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): In this turbulent era of international tension, a moment of joy breaks through into our midst, confirming man's faith in his own liberty and dignity. At last the Federation of Nigeria is with us, fully independent and fully sovereign. And how great it is to attain independence! How great it is to achieve sovereignty! However, this moment is to be enjoyed not only by the people of Nigeria, but equally by all peoples represented in this Organization. For the people of Nigeria, national independence is the greatest triumph ever scored in its history. For the United Nations, it is one victory in the battle for freedom, in the march to universality, without which the United Nations cannot lay claim to either its title or its name.

86. This is, therefore, a worthy occasion for all of us in the United Nations to extend our greetings to the Federation of Nigeria and to express our warmest congratulations to its Government and its people. Also, this is an occasion for the United Nations to express its hope to see all the peoples of Africa fully independent and fully sovereign. The Federation of Nigeria happens to be the ninety-ninth Member of the United Nations: we pray that Algeria may be the hundredth Member of this Organization.

87. We are particularly glad, however, that the Federation of Nigeria has given full testimony of its independence just at the dawn of admission to the United Nations. In an interview with The New York Times this morning, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, has declared that his country has no intention of allying itself with any bloc, East, West or neutral. This is dignified and talented advice coming from a new nation to the old nations. We rejoice that the Prime Minister of Nigeria has emphasized that he does not even join with the neutrals, for the neutrals here in the United Nations are not a bloc. At any particular moment, on

any specific problem, the neutrals often find themselves in one camp for a worthy cause common to all, and that is the nature of their grouping, and nothing else.

88. As a matter of fact, the policy declared by the Prime Minister of Nigeria is so inspiring that it could be made to become part and parcel of the Charter of the United Nations. This policy of Nigeria as stated by the Prime Minister of Nigeria, whom we are honoured to have seated with us here in the Assembly hall, has been phrased in the following words: "We are against any blocs, because the whole purpose of the United Nations is to establish the Organization to work for peace in the world and the happiness of mankind". This is independence in its reality. This is sovereignty in its purity. Independence is not a flag hoisted; sovereignty is not a national anthem to be chanted. But sovereignty and independence mean independence of thinking and sovereignty of action. We salute from this rostrum the Prime Minister of Nigeria for his independent thinking and for his sovereign judgements. I have stressed this point, for this is the burning issue now in Africa.

89. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General said the following:

"... in Africa the first beginnings can now be seen of those conflicts between ideologies and interests which split the world. Africa is still ... a virgin territory which many"—and these are the words I am stressing—"have found reason to believe can or should be won for their aims and interests." [A/4390/Add.1, p. 1.]

90. Nothing could be more grave and more honest than these words of the Secretary-General. Although lack of tact, lack of wisdom, on the part of the major Powers of the West have unjustly brought the Secretary-General into the arena of the cold war with the Soviet Union, this is an occasion for me to pay warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his admirable evaluation of the situation in Africa. This warning uttered by the Secretary-General makes of Mr. Hammarskjöld not only a worthy chief executive of the United Nations, but a great citizen of this world of ours.

91. Africa is really at the threshold of conflict between ideologies and interests. The Secretary-General, out of diplomacy or some other reason, did not say what we can all say here, that Africa is now caught in the conflicts of ideologies between the East and the West. The Secretary-General has pronounced a warning, and the Prime Minister of Nigeria has provided the answer. We applaud the warning; we applaud the answer, and we rest in the hope that Africa shall be neither West nor East, but shall be always completely independent and fully sovereign.

92. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): The admission of the Federation of Nigeria to the United Nations has a special significance for the Latin American group, because we believe that its inclusion in the international community will help to translate into reality the ideals of peace and justice that the African and Latin American peoples hold in common.

93. The Federation of Nigeria makes its entry into international life with a firm and confident step. Its

constitutional Government has shown a degree of seriousness, responsibility and foresight which justifies the highest expectations with regard to its work in solving the economic and social problems of the Nigerian people. We believe also that its contribution to the tasks of this Organization and its influence in the solution of the grave problems of mankind will be a most constructive one.

94. We welcome the fact that Nigeria's independence has been attained through an orderly process of co-operation between the United Kingdom and the Federation of Nigeria, and that this sovereign entity has decided to form part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, which has, as we cannot fail to acknowledge on this occasion, made such valuable contributions to the United Nations. With the independence of Nigeria, Africa hoists one more flag of a worthy and independent State for which we predict honour, progress and glory.

95. On behalf of the Latin American group, I have the privilege of extending to the Government of Nigeria a warm welcome and the heartiest congratulations upon its admission to the United Nations.

96. Mr. KHEIR (Sudan): I request the President's permission to repeat from this rostrum to the Government and people of Nigeria the heartfelt congratulations of the Government and people of the Sudan, and also of the Government and people of Iraq, which my friend the representative of Iraq has asked me to extend.

47. I have another reason. That is, to compensate myself personally for a missed opportunity. But for the journey to the United Nations, I would have joined the enormous crowds that rushed from Khartoum to Lagos, Sudanese and Nigerians alike, led by the Minister of Education of the Republic of Sudan, in order to participate in the celebration of the independence of Nigeria, which is a thrilling occasion, and particularly thrilling to the people of the Sudan. The occasion is particularly thrilling to us because of the relations that started from time immemorial between the two peoples. When caravans of Nigerians passed through Chad into the Sudan on their way to pilgrimage, the motive was noble and the occasion was very social. The relations which grew between the two communities were friendly and everlasting, so that a great number of Nigerians are now living permanently in the Sudan and a good number of them have already become naturalized Sudanese.

98. In the United Nations, and also in the community of African States which are independent, I am confident that Nigeria will play an effective and constructive role and help in the emancipation of Africa and that it will also develop a very constructive policy. I have had the experience of seeing some of their statesmen, whether in the Economic Commission for Africa or in one of the conferences of independent African States.

99. I hereby give my congratulations to Nigeria and salute its people.

100. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): It is with the greatest pleasure that I take the rostrum today, on behalf of my delegation and the delegations of Afghanistan and Yemen, to add our congratulations to those offered to the Federation of Nigeria on the occasion of its attain-

ment of independence and its admission to the United Nations. The more so since Nigeria is an African State like ours, a great African State by reason of its population, area and resources.

101. The United Arab Republic and its people have followed with great interest the progress of Nigeria towards independence and the negotiations which culminated in the proclamation of that independence.

102. We offer to the Federation of Nigeria and to the people of Nigeria our warmest congratulations and our best wishes for their well-being and prosperity. We are confident that the Federation of Nigeria will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations, especially in the settlement of questions concerning international peace and security. We trust that the other African nations which are still struggling for their independence will soon take their places in the international community.

103. Mr. TOURE, Guinea, President of the Republic of Guinea (translated from French): Nothing could be more natural than for the Head of State of the Republic of Guinea to pay tribute, on behalf of his people, to the Nigerian people which has just acceded to independence and national sovereignty.

104. Nearly a year ago, speaking from this rostrum [837th meeting] on the political situation in Africa, I pointed out that scarcely a third of the population of Africa was represented among us. How great must be the joy of all Africans, and of all nations which love justice, that Africa is now represented by more than two-thirds of its population. What an impetus this gives to the dynamic movements, both in Africa and throughout the world, by which all the national entities whose voices could not be heard in the past can now come here and make their contributions to the building of a new world.

105. If the development of that which is good, beautiful, true and useful is universally considered as constituting progress, we may also maintain that the development of an individualistic outlook into a national outlook, with consequent stronger cohesion within each society, and the eventual transformation of this national outlook into a universal outlook, binding together all mankind, are the outward signs of the progress of men and of nations. That is why every political liberation of a people is not only of benefit to that people, but represents an element of universal progress in the evolution of mankind.

106. We must pay tribute to the Nigerian people, for it is the author of its own progress. The true protagonists are the Nigerian people and its representatives who, as faithful interpreters of the aspirations of the Nigerian masses, have been able to establish understanding relations with the representatives of other peoples.

107. We are linked to Nigeria not by subjective considerations of race, religion or colour, but by history, by the necessities of our past struggle, and by a common hope in the destiny of our peoples.

108. Nigeria is a word taken from the name of a river which flows through West Africa; this river, 4,700 kilometres in length, rises in Guinean territory. I was born at the very source of this river, in the district called Faranah. It is known that a policy of deforestation in the Republic of Guinea has immediate repercussions on the rainfall, and conse-

quently on economic conditions, in the Sudan, the Niger, Nigeria, the Republic of Senegal, the Upper Volta, and other countries, as most of the rivers flowing through these countries rise on the national territory of Guinea.

109. But geography alone does not suffice to explain the joy which we feel on the occasion of the independence of Nigeria and particularly on its admission to the United Nations. What links us most closely is our common experience of the hard realities of the world, and of the cruelty with which we were treated during a dark period in our history. What links us further is that our message to the people of the world is a message not of hatred or of egoism, but of understanding and friendship.

110. Let us turn our backs on everything which hindered our emancipation, which threatened the normal exercise of our liberty; let us look with hope to a better future resulting from the establishment of co-operative relationships between our peoples and all other peoples, relationships transcending considerations of colour, race, or religious philosophy. It is our wish that the African, the European, the Asian and the American should work to create the universal man. This is the role, the historic mission of an assembly bearing such great responsibilities as yours, namely the United Nations.

111. Today, independence is being celebrated, not only in Nigeria, but in seventeen countries which have just gained their freedom. We send our fraternal greetings to all these new independent and sovereign States.

112. Let us remind everyone that the different circumstances in which peoples accede to sovereignty matter little. What matters, above all, is the way in which the regained sovereignty is exercised in the name of the people and for the people; what matters above all is the special qualities that each nation can and must contribute to consolidate the foundations of democratic progress in the world and ensure decisive victory in the battle for peace. We may say therefore that independence means "awareness" above all. Awareness of a nation's responsibility to safeguard its own personality and to develop its own civilization and culture, awareness of exercising the attributes of sovereignty for the benefit of mankind, both nationally and in a wider sphere.

113. We are convinced that the relative superiority of nations can no longer be based on the colour of the skin, or on wealth, but rather on the quality of their contribution to human happiness. Just as in a nation men are not graded by their height or size but by their national importance, we are a little surprised—and we should like others to recognize this—that some people, whilst applauding Nigeria's independence, do not emphasize the victory of Africa as a whole, the victory of all the peoples of the world, but stress what is peculiar to Nigeria as opposed to the other African States.

114. We read in the press that this great colossus of 35 million people will soon enter the United Nations and take on the role of leadership in Africa. Some say that Ghana is afraid of Nigeria; others that the countries of the French Community are also afraid of Nigeria, and so forth.

115. Those who speak of 35 million Nigerians never mention the 650 million Chinese, or demand that China should be represented here. We are not concerned with numbers, but with quality. The evolution of the world cannot be limited to an appreciation of numbers, race or colour. We are seeking truth and beauty, whether that truth be uttered by a European, an American, an Asian or an African. Our dignity requires that we approve the triumph of truth over untruth, justice over strength, and equality over the arbitrary disqualifications which have diminished the importance of men and of peoples up to this day.

116. We welcome all the new States and we thank this great Assembly which has accepted them, thus showing its high confidence in the common destiny of all peoples and in the better future in store for Africa. In the sphere of political and moral thought, as well as in economic and social development, our continent can now voice its message, which cannot but contribute to the harmonious development of mankind.

117. Time is short and I will not weary you further, as I shall have the opportunity, during the general debate, of discussing all these problems—problems of the exercise of sovereignty in our countries, the difficulties which still beset us and imperil the enjoyment of our young liberties, the agonizing problems of Algeria and of the Congo and the views of the Republic of Guinea on the important subjects which have been placed on the agenda of this session by various speakers and Heads of State.

118. In thanking the Assembly, we would express in conclusion our great confidence in the destiny of our peoples and our high hope that the United Nations will historically play an ever-increasing part in bringing about the final triumph of justice, liberty and solidarity in democracy and peace.

119. Mr. M'HAMMEDI (Morocco) (translated from French): I do not come to the rostrum in order to welcome such a great nation as the Federation of Nigeria; that would be presumptuous on my part. I come to thank it for joining us, to express our joy at finding again our brothers whose place was empty and to celebrate with them freedom, dignity and independence.

120. I need not emphasize—for others have done so before me and others will do so after me—how much we have gained and how much we are enriched. I need scarcely mention the size, the population, the economic resources of the new State. But one elementary factor must be mentioned: the human factor. As other more authoritative voices have said before me, Nigeria is noted for the public spirit of its population and the maturity of its élite, and its accession to independence is, in a sense, only a return to its native climate of liberty; it crowns the struggle of a people which, since losing its independence, has never ceased to strive towards it and has finally regained it.

121. I cannot forget, as an African, that our continent is not fully represented here; that our continent, which has felt a breath of freedom and independence, must, with human dignity, tolerance and friendship, sweep away the last traces of foreign occupation. I welcome in anticipation the peoples who will soon join us here to enrich both our heritage and the United Nations.

122. Mr. MAZUROV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The delegations of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Czechoslovakia, as well as my own delegation, have asked me to express on their behalf, that is on behalf of the socialist countries, their warm satisfaction at the admission to the United Nations of yet another independent African State, the Federation of Nigeria.

123. It gives us great pleasure to welcome the Federation of Nigeria, for the peoples of the socialist countries have always supported the people of Nigeria in their struggle for national liberation from the age-old slavery of colonialism. The emergence of a new independent State in Africa once again demonstrates beyond all doubt that the very existence of the infamous system of colonialism is historically doomed. We are profoundly convinced that the day is not far off when the long-suffering continent of Africa will be entirely free of all forms of colonial oppression.

124. Nigeria's road to independence has not been an easy one. The Nigerian people will have many difficulties to overcome before they can put an end to the economic backwardness resulting from long colonialist domination. Nigeria is an ancient country with a rich cultural heritage. At the same time, it is a large country, with a population of 35 million, and possesses rich natural resources and potentialities. These resources must now belong to the industrious people of Nigeria themselves. That is a prerequisite for the existence and development of every people.

125. We are confident that the Nigerian people will soon overcome the difficulties that stand in the way of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialist domination and in the way of developing their national economy and culture. We whole-heartedly wish the people of Nigeria national prosperity and democratic development. The socialist countries wish to assure the Government and people of Nigeria that in their efforts to strengthen their independence, and to reinforce peace and co-operation among nations, they will always meet with understanding and friendly support in the socialist countries.

126. The delegations of the socialist countries express the hope that through its participation in the work of the United Nations the Federation of Nigeria will make a worthy contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security among nations.

127. Mr. LIU (China): It is the mere sense of formality that prompts the delegation of China to join in extending a warm welcome to the Federation of Nigeria. Only a few days ago, and again in the general debate this morning, my delegation laid stress on the emergence of the African States as an event of unprecedented importance. This important event which stirs the imagination of free peoples everywhere is now crowned by the admission of the Federation of Nigeria, with all its attributes of a modern democracy.

128. This is a proud moment indeed not only for the great continent of Africa and for the British Commonwealth, but also for the United Nations which, by its Charter, emphasis on the progressive development of free institutions and towards independence, has in no small measure helped to accelerate the

process by which the peoples of Africa have been ushered into full nationhood in rapid succession.

129. We are confident that the Federation of Nigeria will bring added strength to this Organization and that it will contribute greatly toward the building of a world order in which all peoples without distinction as to race or religion will live together in peace and plenty, and, above all, in freedom.

Mr. Nesbitt (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

130. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): This is certainly a great day for all of us, all the people in the world who love freedom and wish mankind well. I wish, on behalf of the people and Government of Israel, to congratulate the Federation of Nigeria on its independence and its entrance into the United Nations.

131. It is a great occasion for me personally because it was my particular privilege and pleasure to have visited the great country of Nigeria two years ago. As I saw and felt the joy and optimism of the people of Nigeria, the extraordinary ability and the absolute devotion of its leaders to the cause of the people, led in this path by their great Prime Minister, as I visited their institutions of health and higher learning, as I saw and felt the fervour of the entire people for rapid development of the country, I could not but carry away the feeling that this was a country already free and independent in spirit. I feel that this day is not only a great day for the Nigerian people, and not only is it important for the contribution that the Nigerian Federation will undoubtedly make to the United Nations as a whole, but I am convinced that Nigeria's membership in the United Nations will be a great factor in the acceleration of the independence and freedom of all the States that are not yet with us in this Assembly.

132. I wish to congratulate the Federation of Nigeria and I wish to congratulate the United Nations and wish it many and speedy returns of days like this.

133. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The admission of another African State, the Federation of Nigeria, to the United Nations is a source of pleasure and great pride to the Liberian delegation. The Federation of Nigeria thus becomes the sixteenth African State to be admitted to the United Nations this year.

134. Nigeria gained its independence in an orderly, calm and peaceful manner. This in itself is a fine tribute to the perseverance, tenaciousness and sagacity of the Nigerian leaders and also to the United Kingdom, its former administering Power. On behalf of my country and its people, I extend warm, sincere and fraternal congratulations and felicitations to the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and its people on this bold step, and my delegation extends a hearty welcome to the Nigerian delegation.

135. Nigeria, with its vast territory, its large population, and its wealth of resources, as well as its historical and cultural heritage, will make an important addition to this Organization by playing a valuable and effective role in the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Nigeria's admission represents another victory in the relentless struggle in Africa and other continents for equality, human dignity and justice. In rejoicing over the fact that some of the principles enunciated in the Charter, particularly as they affect the right of self-

determination, are beginning to be achieved, we recognize that, as Members of the United Nations, we have assumed very heavy responsibilities as Africans. But I am confident that we will shoulder these responsibilities.

136. We have a unique opportunity to create new international relationships which will not be cast in the old moulds created by others to deal with different problems. I have no doubt that Africans will seize this opportunity and that we shall make important contributions to a better world and to international peace and security. That is our hope. Let us set about our task.

137. Again I extend a cordial welcome to the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria and his delegation, on behalf of President Tubman, his Government and the Liberian people.

138. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): The admission of the Federation of Nigeria to the United Nations is a happy event which is welcomed with the greatest joy by the delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya. I take this opportunity of expressing, in the name of the King of Libya, his people and his Government, the warmest and most sincere congratulations to the people and Government of Nigeria on the accession of a new brother African State to independence and sovereignty. I also offer the best wishes of my country and my delegation to the Federation of Nigeria on the occasion of its admission as a State Member of the United Nations. In greeting the brave Nigerian people and in paying tribute to the deep sense of responsibility and maturity which has brought them, in dignity and peace, to the attainment of their national aspirations, the Libyan delegation wishes the Federation of Nigeria continued success in its future development as an independent sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. Libya, which is bound by cultural, spiritual and economic links and by traditional bonds of warm friendship to the Nigerian people, hopes that Nigeria's independence will strengthen still more these fraternal relations, firmly founded on a long and sincere friendship, fruitful co-operation and the best neighbourly sentiments.

139. In repeating our best wishes for the prosperity, progress and peace of the Federation of Nigeria, its people and Government, on their attainment of national independence and on their admission to the United Nations, the Libyan delegation hopes that this happy and historic event will speed the process of liberation of all remaining dependent peoples, in Africa and throughout the world.

140. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland): The delegation of Finland has the great privilege and honour of extending, together with its own, the most cordial congratulations and fraternal wishes of welcome of the delegations of Austria, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Norway and Sweden, to the delegation of a new fellow Member, the Federation of Nigeria. Our seven delegations take much pleasure in looking forward to friendly and fruitful co-operation with the Nigerian delegation in the promotion of the common goals for the attainment of which we have undertaken to work in subscribing to our Charter.

141. In deciding unanimously to admit the Federation of Nigeria to membership in the United Nations, the General Assembly has paid a well deserved tribute

to its great achievements and to its willingness to participate in the work which this Organization has the duty to do for the sake of humanity and our common future. This year the General Assembly has taken more action to increase our membership than during any previous single session. We welcome this development and take pride in it.

142. Great new vistas of possibilities and promise are now opening before us, and we sincerely hope that we will all of us, in the spirit of unity, the very name that our Organization calls for, dedicate ourselves together with your delegation and taking advantage of your valuable contribution to our essential task as fellow nations on our planet, where so much that would be beneficial remains to be done.

143. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Several States recently admitted to the United Nations, namely, the Republic of Cameroun, the Central African Republic, the Republics of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Chad, as well as the Malagasy Republic, have done me the honour of asking me to speak on their behalf today at this moving ceremony. On behalf of these Republics, their Heads of State, their Governments, their Parliaments and their peoples, I congratulate the Federation of Nigeria on its accession to independence and its admission to the United Nations.

144. Four of these States have a common frontier with the Federation of Nigeria—Cameroun, Dahomey, Niger and Chad. These States have perfect unclouded relations with their neighbour; one of them, Cameroun, already maintains diplomatic relations with the Federation. I wish therefore especially to express the great joy of those peoples who, by reason of geographical proximity, and consequently of closer brotherly ties, have particularly friendly relations with each other. Where Nigeria is concerned, these relations rise from human and economic contacts of the greatest antiquity. I have, then, been asked by the twelve States that I have mentioned to stress how significant is the entry into international life of a State which is great, not only on account of its size and population, but for the moral and spiritual values which make it particularly deserving of independence, the greatest prize which a nation can win.

145. Like us, the Federation of Nigeria has recovered its independence in an orderly, harmonious and dignified manner. Like us, it has been able to provide a respected Government, an active and efficient administration, and all the essential machinery of a modern State. Like us, it has been able to inspire those feelings of unity, national pride, love of liberty and true democracy without which the forward march of a nation cannot proceed in harmony. Like us, it has been able to mould a national soul and to breathe into it faith and enthusiasm.

146. Throughout Africa, today's events will cause a stir. Its significance will not be overlooked in our towns and villages; Nigeria's entry into the concert of nations, following the entry of fourteen other African States and of Madagascar, means that Black Africa, whose influence has for so long been non-existent and latterly relatively weak, will now make its voice heard and express the point of view of millions of human beings aware of their rights, but aware also of their obligations towards the rest of

the world. Their unity will give them great strength. Among all the African peoples, this idea of strength through unity is often found in the sayings handed down to us by the wisdom of our ancestors: "If you wish to escape the crocodile, be many when crossing the river" says a Malagasy proverb.

147. We are sure that the new African States will understand how vital this unity is and that, hand in hand and with eyes fixed not on the past but on the future, they will work together within the United Nations to ensure the peace and prosperity of the world in harmony and brotherly unity.

148. Mr. SOEBANDRIO (Indonesia): It is a great privilege for me and a great pleasure, on behalf of my delegation and also on behalf of the delegation of the Philippines, on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people and the Philippine Government and people, to associate myself with the reflections expressed by the speakers before me. We heartily welcome the admission of Nigeria into the comity of nations which is the United Nations. We are confident that, as a Member of the United Nations, Nigeria will contribute much in bringing about speedy and wise solutions. We are confident that in our deliberations we will benefit from their wisdom and from their ingenuity of thought in this Assembly. We are sure that their entrance will give our deliberations more vitality and speedier progress.

149. From that we are also certain that Nigeria as an independent country, Nigeria in facing its problems, Nigeria in solving its problems, will also give inspiration to all of us, especially to the newly independent countries. The methods by which it is solving its problems—politically, economically, technically or socially—will certainly be of great advantage to other nations, especially the newly independent countries and the technically underdeveloped countries.

150. Apart from that, we all recognize that the emergence of Nigeria as an independent country and the admission of Nigeria in this Assembly hall also means that we are progressing towards the establishment of the universality of human civilization. After all, human civilization is not only a reflection of the technical civilization, it is not only a reflection of the craftsmanship of its people, it is not only an expression of its art, of its culture, it should also be a reflection of the characteristics of mankind, that they have a sense of justice for everybody, a sense of justice for their fellow human, and a sense of justice for their fellow nations. For this reason the admission of Nigeria means also that we are making progress in achieving the completion of human civilization for everybody, for every nation. In our time, it should be regarded as archaic, perhaps, and barbaric, for one nation to colonize other people or for one nation to exploit other nations.

151. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On behalf of the Government and the people of Cyprus, I address a hearty and cordial welcome to the Prime Minister and the people of Nigeria.

152. In response to the President's appeal to save time, and their special request, I convey also a warm message of welcome to the people and Government of Nigeria from Greece, whose many nationals residing in Nigeria have created special bonds of friendship.

153. The advent of Nigeria is a source of inspiration and encouragement to the United Nations. We are happy to welcome here one more voice from emerging Africa, and one so virile and vigorous. Nigeria has its ancient and progressive traditions and a civilization dating back to the Songhai Empire and will, in many ways, be a great asset to the United Nations.

154. There is much in common between the people of Cyprus and the people of Nigeria. Many Cypriots live happily in Nigeria as devoted citizens of that country, and they do so in a spirit of real brotherhood. We and the Nigerians have both emerged from a colonial status and attained independence almost simultaneously. Above all, we have, and cannot but have, the same outlooks and aspirations for world freedom and peace, the same dedication to the United Nations and, I trust, the same independent and objective approach to international problems, an approach based on the rights of, and justice for, the common good. In this spirit, I hail with joy and warmth the dynamic entry of free Nigeria to the United Nations.

155. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): The delegations of Japan and my own country have entrusted to me the privilege of extending a hearty welcome to the Federation of Nigeria on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations.

156. It is a source of gratification and satisfaction for the Government and people of Ethiopia to see the Federation of Nigeria attain its independence and be admitted to the United Nations. As I have said on other occasions, the independence of a nation and its admission to the community of nations are not in our view a privilege, but a right, an inalienable right of every nation which is able to discharge its international obligations and duties. It is our sincere hope that the right of independence and admission to the great family of nations which has so far been denied to many nations in Africa and elsewhere will be given in time, and peacefully.

157. I am sure not only that Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, with its vast human and material resources, actual as well as potential, is able to discharge its international duties and obligations prescribed in the Charter, but also that it will contribute to the solution of the many problems facing Africa in particular, and the world in general.

158. I should like, therefore, on behalf of the delegations of Ethiopia and Japan, to extend the most sincere and hearty welcome to the Federation of Nigeria on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations and to wish Nigeria every success.

159. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): The process of liberation now taking place in Africa is a positive and essentially historical process which, no doubt, strengthens to a considerable degree the forces of the international community in its struggle for peace, international security and development of international peaceful co-operation.

160. The emergence on the international scene of such an important country as Nigeria constitutes another very significant step towards the final liquidation of the colonial system and towards the strengthening of the positive role played by the new independent countries in international relations.

161. The great spiritual and material potentials of this new Member of the United Nations will, no doubt, enable it to make a major contribution towards the solving of outstanding international issues with which the contemporary world is faced.

162. I wish to express here the most profound friendly feeling of the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia towards the Government and peoples of Nigeria. We wish them much success in our common efforts directed towards the implementation of the purposes and principles of our Organization.

163. Mr. SANZ BRIZ (Spain) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the people and the Government of Spain, I wish to associate myself with the eloquent and cordial congratulations that have been addressed to the Nigerian delegation upon the memorable occasion of the new African State's entry, as a Member, into this great Organization, to which we are sure it will make an effective and brilliant contribution. This new contribution to the Organization's work in the interests of world peace is doubly welcome to us, inasmuch as Nigeria attains full sovereignty at a time when its political and economic maturity make it one of the most advanced and progressive countries of the African continent.

164. May your delegation to the United Nations count many successes in its mission, and may your people and your Government, to which we express our sincerest wishes for their prosperity and well-being, join in the work of the community of countries of good will that earnestly wish for peace.

165. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): It gives me great pleasure to welcome, in the name of Lebanon, the independence of the great Federation of Nigeria, especially as our two countries were already closely linked in friendship before either had attained independence. In accordance with the President's wishes, I will not refer to the period, thousands of years ago, when people of my country circled the great African continent, without however colonizing it, and gave to it the name of Ifrikia which has been handed down to us by succeeding generations.

166. Today, several thousand Lebanese, settled in Nigeria for more than a generation, are enjoying the hospitality of that country and are working with the Nigerians themselves in furthering its development and prosperity. The Lebanese have thus shared with the Nigerians the difficulties and the joys of this new African State's recent history. They have been admiring witnesses of the long effort and sacrifices of the Nigerian people in attaining its independence and freedom. They know that the Nigerians are worthy of this freedom and that their great country will be a useful member of the great family of free and independent nations.

167. With the admission of Nigeria, the process of emancipation of peoples and their entry into the United Nations, on the basis of the principle of sovereign equality, takes on an accelerated rhythm. Our ardent wish is that this fundamentally human process should, in the very near future, attain the objective envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the liberation of all nations, in whatever part of the world they may be, and of all men, to whatever nation they may belong.

Mr. Boland, Ireland, resumed the Chair.

168. Mr. MARTINO (Italy): The Italian representative on the Security Council was very glad this morning to join his voice with those of his colleagues in that body in recommending the admission of the Federation of Nigeria to the United Nations. It is with particular pleasure and gratification that I now take the floor also, on behalf of Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, in addition to my own country, to welcome this new State into our Organization.

169. The prestige of the Federation of Nigeria, this large, industrious and promising country of Africa, the achievements it has already won in many fields, its innumerable economic potentialities, and especially the very high standing which the leaders of Nigeria enjoy in Africa and throughout the world—all these constitute elements pointing to a most important role that the Federation of Nigeria will be able to play not only in the continent of Africa but also within the United Nations at large. We are encouraged in this conviction by the manner in which the Federation of Nigeria has attained the status of an independent and sovereign nation through a process of democratic and peaceful progress, making it now a constructive element in the international community. This new State, which is a harmonious, federated compound of free and peace-loving peoples, has developed a political awareness, an administrative structure and, finally, a constitution which guarantees to all that it will be able to meet the requirements of a modern nation based on the principles of freedom and justice.

170. For all this, I think we must also express our congratulations and our appreciation to the United Kingdom, which has made it possible, through invaluable contributions in the moral and material fields as well as through its far-sighted wisdom, to bring the people of the Federation of Nigeria to independence. The admission of the Federation of Nigeria constitutes one more evidence of success on the part of the responsible nations in that continent in striving to take their destinies into their own hands in full harmony and in compliance with the rules and laws of the international community. Through this achievement of the Federation of Nigeria we register another eloquent success on the part of the peoples of Africa, who I am sure will all contribute to the welfare of mankind, within the framework of our Organization.

171. Alhaji Sir ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA (Federation of Nigeria): Last Saturday the country which I have the honour to represent, the Federation of Nigeria, became independent and assumed the rights and responsibilities of a sovereign State. Today Nigeria has been admitted to the United Nations and assumes still more responsibilities.

172. On behalf of my countrymen in Nigeria I thank you all most sincerely for accepting us as a fellow Member of this Organization. We are properly grateful for this recognition and for the generous and friendly gesture made by so many Members who sent very distinguished delegations to join us in celebrating our accession to independence. I am particularly pleased that so many important representatives could come to Nigeria on that occasion, because they will be able to inform their Governments of the genuine

desire which Nigeria has to have friendly relations with you all.

173. Before proceeding to deal in detail with the many questions which are of interest to my country, it is better to state briefly the principles which we have accepted as the basis of our policies in international relations. First, it is the desire of Nigeria—as I have said already—to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organization. Secondly, Nigeria, a large and a populous country of over 35 millions, has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions. Thirdly, we shall not forget our old friends, and we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the British Commonwealth. But, nevertheless, we do not intend to ally ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the Power blocs. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations is founded. Fourthly, Nigeria hopes to work with other African States for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence.

174. It is perhaps natural that I should speak about Africa first. We in Nigeria have been fortunate in achieving our independence without bloodshed or bitterness, and I hope that this will lend weight to the proposals which I am about to set before you.

175. The recent tragic events in the Republic of the Congo must be uppermost in all our minds, and it is about that country that I wish to speak to you first. I frankly admit that there are many features of this seemingly intractable problem which remain obscure to me. I am in some doubt as to the exact manner in which the Constitution granting independence to that country was drawn up by the colonial Power which formerly administered the territory, and as to the degree of consultation which there was with the Congolese peoples themselves, and at what level that consultation was carried out. I do not know how widely the provisions of the new Constitution were known in that country, or whether there is any pattern of administration going up from the village to the provincial and to the national level.

176. Many other questions present themselves which require to be answered if we are to find a solution to the present problems. For instance, was a new Constitution imposed from above, or freely accepted by the Congolese; and what are the human resources in the country; and what sort of government machinery is available to execute whatever policies may be decided upon by the Congolese Government? Nevertheless, with the information which is available to us, we in Nigeria feel there are several important factors to be constantly borne in mind in dealing with the problem.

177. The first of these is that Africa must not be allowed to become a battleground in the ideological struggle. For this reason the Congo situation must be a matter to be dealt with primarily by African States at the political level.

178. Secondly, we believe that in dealing with the problem of creating a real political life in the country itself it will be necessary to start at the bottom, by seeing that local and provincial authorities are established, while maintaining the essential unity of the country.

179. We also believe that the Congolese people were right to appeal to the United Nations Organization for help and advice in rebuilding their country, rather than to turn to any individual Power. Until achieving our own independence we have hesitated to add our views to the general discussion about the Congo lest we should merely add to the confusion. But now I feel that it is my duty to put before you, and to ask for your sympathetic consideration, the possible solutions which have suggested themselves to us.

180. We warmly applauded the immediate response of the United Nations to the Congolese disaster. The speed with which troops were sent to maintain law and order was most commendable. But the mere sending of armed forces is not enough. I consider it essential that the United Nations should thoroughly investigate the root causes of the troubles which have arisen there, and I suggest the appointment of a fact-finding commission to look into the circumstances which caused the present crisis. Without a proper and thorough analysis it is idle to pretend that an effective remedy can be prescribed.

181. Here I would say that to my mind it is most important that none of the great Powers should be represented on the fact-finding commission because, however honest their intentions, it would be inevitable that they would be regarded as having a particular interest in the problem.

182. The first essential is to find a Government capable of governing, and for this it will probably be necessary to hold new elections in the Republic of the Congo. When these have been held, there will be some properly authorized leaders with whom the United Nations Organization can co-operate. I think it is important that the United Nations should work only with those whom I have termed the authorized leaders. They may seem to some of us to be far from perfect, and to some even objectionable; but if they are duly chosen by a majority, then they must be supported. It would be the height of folly to attempt to impose a Government which was not founded on popular support, and the result would only be even greater confusion.

183. I have studied various suggestions which have been put forward, and I can tell you that some of those which appear at first sight attractive are really quite impossible.

184. For instance, there can be no question of the United Nations taking on the role of an administering Power or of the Republic of the Congo being regarded as a United Nations Trust Territory. That Republic has been declared independent, and if a practicable plan is to be worked out, we must accept the fact and arrange for assistance and advice, which the United Nations can give on an agency basis without infringing on the sovereignty of the Government.

185. It is true that elections cannot be held overnight. It is an arduous and lengthy task to arrange elections in such a large territory, and some immediate action is required in the meantime. So I think that the United Nations must take a much firmer line than hitherto and quite firmly support the Central Government in maintaining law and order and in keeping the machinery of day-to-day government moving. This will entail giving additional powers to the United Nations Force and to its other agencies, but only for a limited period, until new elections have

been held. Once the people have chosen their representatives it will be possible to organize discussions to find out the form of government which will be generally acceptable.

186. Will the result be a confederacy or a federation? The root of the problem will lie in revenue allocation. And here the United Nations can be of the greatest assistance, by providing the necessary experts to inquire and advise. In all of its activities it is most essential that the United Nations make use of only the most able and experienced experts. I am not criticizing any of the United Nations staff now serving in the Congo, but I do want to emphasize that if this problem is to be solved, it is absolutely necessary to procure the services of men who are really knowledgeable and capable of working out practicable means of dealing with the various questions.

187. I have said already that much of the present situation in the Congo is obscure. But from what I have heard I believe that the situation is not so desperate as is sometimes thought. I am told that the lower branches of the civil service are efficient, that the public utilities continue to function and that there is a fair amount of executive capacity.

188. It seems to me important to ensure that the ordinary day-to-day government is kept working, because if that is allowed to collapse, the difficulties will be increased a thousandfold. In order to man the higher positions it will obviously be necessary to train the Congolese. To this end, I propose that those African States which hold the same views as Nigeria combine with us to find places in secondary and technical schools for some hundreds of Congolese boys. I do not think that ignorance of the language of instruction would be much of a problem, and I am sure that the effect of a large number of Congolese seeing how other African countries manage their own affairs would have a beneficial result and will help the Congolese to take a wider view and to realize fully the importance of not allowing a breakdown of the constitution to take place.

189. African States can also help by taking a limited number of Congolese for some professional training in community development, co-operatives, agricultural extension work, and the like, and by sending short-term advisory missions to survey the requirements of the Congo in building up what already exists there.

190. Nigeria is prepared to make its experience available and to send technical experts to assist in planning and development for the future. We can also lend professors and teaching staff from time to time to give short courses and lectures, and I assure you that many qualified Nigerians are eager to take part in such work during their school and college vacations.

191. Those are but a few of the ways in which the Congo can be helped. I am sure that late though it already is, it is not too late. We African States should come together to assist the Congolese to solve their problems. I feel sure that we can do so, but it must be done collectively and not done merely as so many individual States. We must do it together and we must be entrusted with this responsibility by the United Nations and be given its full backing. Nor would I limit advice and assistance to African countries, but would welcome the participation of other States,

though, I repeat, I think it would be advisable to exclude the great Powers.

192. Now to deal with the more general problems of Africa, problems which are bound to arise when the Powers which colonized Africa in the last century are now relinquishing their control and granting independence to their former colonies. The most serious problem in those cases seems to me to be that in itself political independence is totally inadequate if it is not accompanied by stability and economic security and if there is no genuine personal liberty, with freedom to express one's views and to profess whatever faith one desires.

193. Economic weakness lays a new country open to every kind of pressure and results in other countries depriving its people of the freedom to choose a form of government which they feel suits them best. Spreading political propaganda or more insidious infiltration through technical assistance can virtually rob any under-developed country of its freedom. I therefore feel that if the advanced nations of the other continents are really desirous of seeing the new African States stand on their own feet and make their own particular contribution to the peace of the world and to the happiness of mankind, they should make a real effort to desist from fomenting trouble in any of the African countries. The best way for them to assist us in reaching maturity is not by spreading ideological propaganda, in whatever form it may be disguised, but by helping us genuinely, with really good will, to develop our resources and to educate our human material up to those standards which are necessary for proper development.

194. Many of the new African States are, indeed, potentially rich and should contribute to improving the world but for the fact that they lack the technological knowledge and the financial capital necessary to develop their resources. It is especially in this field that I commend the many schemes which the United Nations has sponsored for assisting the under-developed countries. Indeed, I wish that there were many more of them. I would not necessarily limit technical assistance to the United Nations, but I do seriously suggest that it is in the best interests of world peace for assistance from elsewhere to be given only to those countries which, although still under-developed, are politically stable and have a properly constituted government which is capable of understanding the risks of accepting aid from another country. I certainly deprecate direct assistance being given by individual Powers to countries which are not yet able to stand on their own feet and are politically unstable, because such aid would only give rise to suspicion and, in the end, the receiving country may find itself involved in the ideological war, a thing which, as I have already said, we in Africa must do everything in our power to prevent.

195. I wish to make our position plain beyond any measure of doubt with regard to the African continent. We in Nigeria appreciate the advantages which the size of our country and its population give us, but we have absolutely no aggressive intentions. We shall never impose ourselves on any other country and shall treat every African territory, big or small, as our equal because we honestly feel that it is only on that basis of equality that peace can be maintained in our continent.

196. The colonizing Powers of the last century partitioned Africa in a haphazard and artificial manner and drew boundaries which cut right across former groupings. Yet, however artificial those boundaries were at first the countries they have created have come to regard themselves as units independent of one another. We have seen them all seeking admission to this Organization as separate States. It is, therefore, our policy to leave those boundaries as they are at present and to discourage any adjustment whatsoever. I hope that this policy will bring about an atmosphere of trust, and that if each country is given proper recognition and respect as a sovereign State it will be possible to have effective co-operation on all matters of common concern to us.

197. I hope that priority will be given in the various geographical groupings—I refer to the west and the north and to central Africa—to joint consultations about non-political matters such as the co-ordination of the transport and communication systems, research in connexion with natural resources, and, above all, education. I should like to see students being freely admitted into the universities of other neighbouring territories, and I am sure that by such steps we shall entirely eliminate any desire or need to station armed forces on our frontiers. However, I must say that I do not myself think that ideas of political union are practicable in the immediate future. I do not rule out the possibility of eventual union, but for the present it is unrealistic to expect countries to give up the sovereignty which they have so recently acquired, and I am quite sure that it is wrong to imagine that political union could of itself bring the countries together. On the contrary, it will follow as a natural consequence of co-operation in other fields. So I wish to state that I think that it will be the greatest threat to peace in Africa if any country sets out to undermine the authority of the properly chosen leaders of another State with a view to imposing political union. That way can only bring trouble. In the fullness of time, as political relations develop and there is more and more consultation between the States of regional groupings, then political union may well be a natural result, but it would be wrong either to impose it or to seek to hasten the process unduly.

198. So far I have concentrated on the problems of Africa. Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world. We are intensely interested in them and we hope to be allowed to assist in finding solutions to them through this Organization. But, being human, we are naturally concerned first with what affects our immediate neighbourhood. We do indeed believe in the United Nations as providing perhaps the only effective machinery for inducing world peace. But while proudly and gratefully accepting membership of this supreme world body, may I frankly say that we who waited for admission have sometimes been concerned lest our older and more powerful brethren are losing sight of the objective which, in founding this Organization, they sought to serve. If I think correctly, the whole purpose of this Organization is to enable the different countries to work together in a friendly atmosphere to procure the peace and progress of mankind, and this co-operation is meant to link all the Member nations, no matter what sort of Government each individual country enjoys within its own boundaries. It was also, I believe, the intention of the original

promoters to see that countries which are now backward should be assisted in every possible way to develop so that they become world assets and not liabilities. I do not think that it was ever the intention of any of those countries which were responsible for the creation of this Organization to turn it into an arena where party politics could be played on the highest level and where ideological differences would obscure the main objective of securing peace among the nations and stability in the world at large.

199. Nigeria is a populous country. There are about 40 millions of us and our territory is relatively large. We are willing to learn before we rush into the field of international politics, but we are totally unwilling to be diverted from the ideals which we think true. That is the reason we in Nigeria will not be found to align ourselves as a matter of routine with any particular bloc. Indeed, I hate the very idea of blocs existing at all in the United Nations.

200. The General Assembly, the supreme conference in the world, if the ideas on which it is based are really accepted, then one would expect every representative, no matter from where he comes, to feel absolutely free to express the mind of the country he represents, to feel that he is in no way restricted either by the lobbying of other representatives or, in the case of under-developed countries, by being put under an obligation through technical and financial aid. Each representative should be strong enough to resist all efforts to deflect him from the path of truth as he sees it.

201. We in Nigeria honestly believe in the principles of the United Nations, and we believe that with a change of heart among the Members, and especially among the more powerful nations, there is no reason why there should not be peace and happiness. I think that all will agree that the present tension in the world is due to mutual suspicion and the efforts made by groups of countries to impose ideological notions of one kind or another on their neighbours. I am speaking frankly to you, Mr. President, because this is the first occasion on which my country has been able to speak out in the councils of the world. One great advantage which we new nations have is that the accession to independence makes a clear cut with our past and presents us with the opportunity to enter the field of international relations untrammelled by prior commitments. It is probably the one occasion in the life of a nation when it is possible to choose the policies with the inherent qualities of goodness. And so, as we gratefully take the place to which you have invited us, we feel an immense responsibility to the world which you represent. We see nation wrangling with nation, and we wonder how we can help.

202. Just one week ago the clocks were striking midnight and Nigeria was on the threshold of independence. There was a brief ceremony at which the leaders of three different faiths each said a brief prayer. We then realized, all of us, that however much we might imagine ourselves to be responsible for the happy accession to independence, we realize that, above all, there is a divine Providence, and I do honestly believe that one primary essential for international friendship and co-operation is for each man to be true to his religious beliefs and to reaffirm the basic principles of his particular creed. It may be that then, when we hear the world crying out for peace, we may receive the inspiration to deal with

these intractable problems and be able really to devote all our resources to the advancement of mankind by applying those eternal truths which will

inevitably persist long after we ourselves are utterly forgotten.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.