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President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 21.

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before I call upon the speakers who have asked to explain their vote on the Assembly's resolution on the admission of new Members, I should like to extend a brief but warm welcome to the representatives of some of the new Member States who are in the Assembly Hall today. My welcome will be brief because the Assembly will, in due course, have the opportunity of welcoming and hearing—if they wish to speak—the representatives of the sixteen States at an appropriate ceremony for which the necessary arrangements will be made.

2. At this meeting, we shall proceed with explanations of vote. As certain delegations unfortunately did not know, for one reason or another, about last night's meeting, and as some of them wish to explain their position, I shall call first on the representative of Paraguay.

3. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation was not present at last night's meeting. Unfortunately it was not informed of the meeting, which was called so suddenly. I want to state that fact and to thank the President for explaining the situation.

4. For these reasons, and in view of my country's interest in the matter, I would ask the General Assembly and the President to record my delegation's vote as follows: in favour of the admission of Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and especially Spain, the spiritual mother of all the Latin American countries which is always dear to us, and Italy, which has so generously enriched our culture.

5. I should also like Paraguay's abstention with regard to Albania, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria to be recorded.

6. Moreover, I should like to say how pleased my delegation is to see the representatives of those countries for which it voted with us here in the Assembly.

7. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): Following the statements made last night, I think that the Indonesian delegation at this great and historic moment has a particular reason for welcoming the momentous decision taken last night by the General Assembly; not only because the Indonesian delegation has always stood for the widest possible membership of the United Nations, inherent in the principle of universality of our Organization; not only because of the honour my delegation has had in being a co-sponsor of the draft resolutions, both in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and in the General Assembly, which preceded this momentous decision, but also because of the fact that Indonesia, prior to the decision last night, was the youngest Member of this Organization, and that distinction, if I may call it that, has now ended. With the significant decision of last night, we cannot but be happy about the end of this special distinction of ours, insignificant as it may be, and it is indeed with the greatest pleasure and appreciation that my delegation welcomes the entry of sixteen new Members, the entry of new life and, indeed, the entry of new hopes into our Organization.

8. Sixteen new Members mean a great deal. It is true that we would have liked to have all eighteen countries, as recommended by the decision of the General Assembly [552nd meeting] which we so strongly supported, admitted immediately to our Organization, and we regret indeed that two countries, Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic, have been left out—only for the time being, I hope. But, with the admission of sixteen countries, we feel encouraged to believe that those two countries too will soon find their rightful places in our Organization. For this, and indeed to bring all nations under the wing of this Organization, the Indonesian delegation will continue its endeavours, will continue to render its fullest co-operation in collaboration with all other Member States.

9. I should like at this time, on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people, to join whole-heartedly in the joyful recognition of this present achievement—tremendous as it is—which has been arrived at with so much pain and so much labour on all sides. Sacrifices have been made. Compromises have been made. But all this has not been in vain. As I said in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [30th meeting] in the debate on this very matter, if the proposal was a package, it was a package of goodwill, of conciliation—and indeed of political wisdom.

10. I think I should pay a tribute to all those who have done everything possible to translate this political wisdom into the objectives we have sought for so long, with the adoption of the resolution last night. And I am sure also that this goodwill, conciliation and wisdom will be met by those sixteen countries with that same spirit which made their admission now possible.

11. We need them and they need us, and my delegation has confidence, therefore, that seventy-six Members—instead of sixty—will be a gain for all of us in this Organization in our mutual co-operation for peace, justice and freedom, which is the very aim and purpose of our lofty Charter. Welcome to them all—welcome to our new brothers in this family of nations. Let us now make our Organization greater through this great decision.

12. And, in conclusion, may I congratulate the President that this great occasion should have taken place under his wise leadership.

Mr. Le Gallais (Luxembourg), Vice-President, took the Chair.

13. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): The Iraqi delegation is very happy indeed to join in celebrating this happy and historic occasion, the occasion of the admission of sixteen new Members. We sigh with relief that we have finished with a long period of suspense and frustration. We know that some of the Member States which have been newly admitted have been waiting and waiting for years, and it looked as though there was no hope. The fact that the deadlock was broken yesterday certainly permits us to heave a sigh of great relief.

14. My delegation has always stood for the principle of universality of membership. We believe that this Organization should open its doors to all States that wish to enter. There is no doubt that certain norms which the Charter prescribes must be observed, but those norms could not be dealt with in a manner of absolute standards. There is relativity. That relativity is unfortunately inevitable. None of us is perfect; no State that wishes to enter the United Nations is perfect. That is why we must accept the principle of relativity of norms in admitting new Members and in opening the doors to all those who wish to join us.

15. My delegation has always stood against the use of the veto in connexion with the admission of new Members. We believe that the veto has no place in a recommendation to the General Assembly, which will decide who is to be admitted or not. We all know that it is the veto that delayed the admission of so many States for so many years. We are glad, however, to see that concerted action and patient work did lead to the breaking of the deadlock.

16. We are grateful to those States which exerted their efforts and also to those persons in particular who worked hard to bring about this result. I wish to make mention in this regard of my learned friend, Mr. Belaúnde, and my distinguished colleague, Mr. Martin, who certainly deserve great credit. The good work of the President of the Security Council is also worth mentioning, and the Secretary-General, through his patient and quiet work, certainly contributed much.

17. I am not going to list now all those States which worked, and worked hard continuously, to achieve this happy conclusion. However, I must make special reference to the delegation of the Soviet Union, whose action yesterday certainly brought about this happy result. It was the Soviet Union that had blocked the admission of many Members by the veto, but it was the Soviet Union again that yesterday, seeing that world opinion was not at ease, seeing that so many States were barred, brought about a compromise. We wish that this manner of approaching deadlocks would

be continuously pursued by the Soviet Union, not only in matters of membership but in all such matters. The "all or nothing" policy, the "all or nothing" diplomacy in all issues, does not bring us to any final settlement. We must learn to give and to take.

18. This happy occasion is very meaningful. It is meaningful for the Member States which have joined us. They should realize that in being admitted to the United Nations they have accepted new responsibilities. They have to shoulder new burdens in fighting for freedom and in defending the cause of justice and peace. It is meaningful for this Organization, for this Organization is bigger, and we hope it is better, because of the admission of sixteen new Members. It is not merely a matter of additional votes and additional seats; we hope the new Members will add their creative spirit and their conciliatory attitude and their contribution to peace, and make the work of this Organization more fruitful and more effective in the world.

19. But the admission of these new Members has still another meaning, in relation to world tensions. There are many who think that some of the problems facing the world are beyond hope of settlement. Deadlocks have been frustrating to many of us. But this happy occasion shows us that deadlocks require us to exert further effort; it shows that we should not be impatient and that we should not lose hope. The action by the fifty-two Members which voted here certainly won the support of world public opinion, and world public opinion certainly had to have its effect on those States that had stood in the path of admitting so many new Members for so many years.

20. Fortunately, in settling this deadlock a way has been found for settling world tension. Let us hope that the admission of the new Members ushers in a new era in dealing with difficult world problems. If that is the case, then the admission of the new Members becomes much more meaningful than the act itself—it extends far beyond the limits of admitting sixteen new Members. Let us hope that we are celebrating here a new era in dealing with deadlocks and in facing world tensions. The method is clear to us; the way to approach it is now well known.

21. In the name of my delegation, I wish to offer a word of welcome to all the sixteen States which were admitted last night. We are certainly happy to see with us two sister States of the Arab League, Jordan and Libya, both peace-loving and free countries. Jordan has been waiting for years to gain this seat, and we are happy that at last this has been done. Libya is a State which achieved its independence through the help of the United Nations. Libya has been a credit to this Organization and we hope that it will be a credit as a Member also.

22. We extend our welcome in particular to all States of the Asian-African group. We are very happy to see Ceylon among us, a State whose representative, Sir John Kotelawala, played such a magnificent role at the Bandung Conference.

23. We are happy to see that great European nations to which we are attached by ties of friendship, history and culture, will be among us. I wish to make special mention of Spain, that great Latin country, and of Italy, that country of great art and law.

24. I cannot conclude without expressing my delegation's regret that the great nation of Japan was not

included among the newly-admitted Members. Japan certainly is a great State in Asia, and we all hope that it will soon be among us. This Organization cannot afford to lose the contributions of a great country like Japan.

25. In extending my welcome, I wish to express the hope that all the new States will provide a new force in this Organization, a new force for freedom, justice and peace.

26. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece) (*translated from French*): I merely want to say that the Greek delegation's vote on the admission of the applicant States was explained in the statement I made at the 552nd meeting of the General Assembly, held on 8 December 1955. That statement, which I do not think it necessary to repeat, gives a valid explanation of the vote we cast yesterday.

27. My delegation regrets that our joy at the admission of so many friendly countries, which we heartily congratulate, should be clouded by the exclusion of Japan. We express the hope that its admission has merely been delayed and that in the very near future Japan will take its place in our family of nations.

28. One of the consequences of the admission of many new States today is that the number of observers to the United Nations will be greatly reduced. The day may not be far off when the pleasant role of observer will be left exclusively to our Mr. Lindt, the observer for Switzerland. Mr. Lindt, incidentally, is the only observer who is content with this role and does not become discouraged as a result of observing us.

29. Mr. TARCICI (Yemen) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Yemen, which believes in the universality of the United Nations, has, upon every occasion, supported the applications for admission to the United Nations of the States which fulfil the requirements of the Charter. In our view, the admission of new Members should not be in any way influenced or delayed by political considerations or ideological differences of any kind if international co-operation is to remain possible.

30. We had hoped that at this session of the Assembly all the countries which fulfilled the conditions laid down in the Charter and which had applied for admission would have their wish, which is also our wish, granted. It was for that reason that, both in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and in the General Assembly, we supported the admission of the eighteen countries mentioned in the original General Assembly resolution [A/RES.357]. We had hoped that the eighteen applicant States enumerated in that resolution would be admitted to membership.

31. Nevertheless, we are glad that the Security Council was able yesterday to adopt an enlightened and wise decision, which the General Assembly has confirmed. As a result, sixteen of the countries mentioned in the original resolution have already been admitted. The spirit underlying that decision shows that the door will be wide open to all the other countries that want to play their part in international co-operation. We venture to hope that before the end of next year other new Members will be sitting in this Assembly. Next year promises to be a happy one, for it is our hope that, with the widening of our ranks, international tension will be still further relaxed and optimism will prevail throughout the world.

32. Consequently the delegation of Yemen warmly welcomes and congratulates each of the new Members admitted yesterday. It extends an especially hearty and cordial welcome to two sister countries, Jordan and Libya. It also hopes that other countries, whether Arab or not, which are now struggling for total independence so that they may meet the requirements of the Charter for membership in the United Nations, may soon join us in this Organization.

33. Finally, my delegation hopes that the conciliatory spirit which proved so effective yesterday will extend to the solution of all the international problems still outstanding, so that the world situation may improve, the United Nations may grow stronger and the world may be guided towards a happy future in confidence, peace and prosperity.

34. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): The Norwegian delegation is deeply appreciative of the significance of the decisions which the General Assembly took last night. The admission of a number of new Members to the United Nations is a step which my Government, like the other Scandinavian Governments, has advocated and worked for over a period of years. We welcome this event, which we believe will bring new vitality to this Organization by enabling it to take into consideration to a greater extent than before the realities of the world in which we live.

35. I feel that I could not express my Government's satisfaction at this happy development without paying a tribute to the Government of Canada and to the leader of the Canadian delegation, Mr. Martin. Without the Canadian initiative and without Mr. Martin's determination, I doubt very much that this development would have been possible during this session.

36. On behalf on the delegations of Denmark, Iceland, Sweden and Norway, may I express a warm welcome to all the new Members and at the same time express the hope that our membership will be further expanded in the near future.

37. I am sure that it will be understood that the four delegations which I have just mentioned are particularly pleased and grateful to see as a new Member of our Organization our old friend and good neighbour, Finland. We feel confident that Finland's Government and people will participate in the work of the United Nations with the same determination and devotion which have characterized Finland's long and proud history.

38. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): It was with deep satisfaction that the Polish delegation welcomed the Security Council's decision recommending to the General Assembly the admission of sixteen States to the United Nations, and it voted in favour of all those States in the General Assembly.

39. For years we had felt that the membership deadlock was harmful to the prestige of the United Nations and that it reflected adversely on its capacity for action. The situation was becoming all the more abnormal in that over the years the number of States applying for membership and possessing all the necessary qualifications was increasing. The feeling that it was time to put an end to this situation, which was detrimental to the United Nations, had become so widespread that the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly and providing for the admission of eighteen new Members was adopted [552nd meeting] by an overwhelming majority. The decision taken yesterday

by the Security Council and the General Assembly was the expression—though an incomplete one—of this general desire.

40. It is to be regretted that the Security Council did not include in its recommendation the Mongolian People's Republic, whose application for admission was one of the earliest and which fulfils all the conditions laid down in the Charter. We know full well that its application was rejected by the vote of a man who illegally occupies a seat in the Security Council which belongs to one of the great Powers. In the circumstances, the admission of Japan during the current session became equally impossible.

41. Nevertheless, we consider the decision taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly to be an historic one. We welcome the admission of the countries of Asia and Europe, and among the last-named the countries of Eastern Europe, with which we have special ties. On the occasion of the admission to the United Nations of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, I address my best wishes to those countries, whose every activity has for long marked them out as deserving of a place among us.

42. The admission of the sixteen States has an even wider significance. The United Nations will become more representative and more capable of discharging the mission incumbent upon it under the Charter. Reflecting, as it will, more accurately the relative strengths on the international scene, the United Nations will be in a position to play a more active part than hitherto in the development of peaceful co-operation between States with different political and social systems and in the promotion of peaceful coexistence.

43. That is why the decision taken yesterday is so important and so just. It is an expression of the will of the nations. We are convinced that it will open the way to the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic and Japan at the next session.

44. Mr. ECHEVERRI CORTES (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): The admission of sixteen countries made yesterday a memorable day for the United Nations. It gave my delegation great pleasure to vote in favour of the admission of each one of them.

45. For my delegation, and for all the countries of Latin America in general, it is a matter for rejoicing that Spain, our mother country, Portugal, which played such a large part in the discovery of America and in our culture, and Italy, to which we are united by spiritual and racial bonds, have been admitted to the United Nations. Those countries will assuredly contribute to the maintenance of peace and help us to carry out faithfully the provisions of the Charter.

46. I should like to say that my delegation is sorry that Japan has not been admitted, and we hope that this mistake will shortly be rectified.

47. I feel it is my duty to join the representatives who spoke before me in applauding Mr. Belaúnde, the representative of Peru, who, as Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices, worked with all the other members of his Committee to secure the admission of these countries. I should also like to mention the outstanding contributions of Sir Leslie Munro, of New Zealand, and Mr. Martin, of Canada, to whom we must all be grateful for their pertinacity, intelligence and eagerness in promoting the admission of these countries.

48. In conclusion, I must pay a great tribute to our President, Mr. Maza, for his incomparable and tireless efforts to secure for the United Nations the Christmas present which it has received in the form of sixteen new Members.

49. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (*translated from French*): It is difficult for me to add anything to the eloquent statements that have already been made by so many eminent speakers. The effects of the decision which the General Assembly took last night will reverberate throughout the continents of our planet. History will appraise at their true worth the purposes and objectives by which we were inspired. As the result of this decision, sixteen new countries will take their places among us, in order to participate in the noble work of maintaining peace and security and promoting the well-being of mankind, whose fate means so much to us.

50. My delegation was happy to note the agreement which was reached in the Security Council and which made it possible to overcome the obstacles which lay in our path. The Security Council was thus able to adopt the recommendation without which we could not have admitted the new Members.

51. The principle of universality has finally triumphed. I am pleased to remind you that this principle inspired the statements of the Syrian representative in the Security Council in 1947 and 1948, as also those of all the others who have had the privilege of speaking on behalf of my country, both in the Committees of the General Assembly and in the General Assembly itself.

52. We welcome the admission of two Arab States, Jordan and Libya. All the States members of the Arab League have now become Members of our world Organization. Jordan and Libya, like all the States which have just been admitted and which have won their independence and sovereignty at the cost of great struggles, will place at the disposal of the United Nations the experience gained in those struggles for the achievement of their national aspirations. It is reassuring to see that the hopes expressed at the Bandung Conference have to a great extent borne fruit.

53. We are also glad to be able to affirm that the immanent and invincible force of human solidarity has guided our voting and our final decision. It is thus that countries with different economic and social systems will be able to discuss the problems which are troubling the world today. The spirit of the Charter inspired our deliberations.

54. In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's thanks to the Security Council and its President, to the President of the General Assembly and to all the representatives who bent their efforts to the service of the just and right cause that they tirelessly defended to the end. We are convinced that a smiling future awaits the United Nations in its work for the greater good of the peoples of the world, whose unswerving gaze is fixed upon us.

55. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Burma has been a firm and consistent supporter of the principle of universality in relation to membership of the United Nations, and year after year we have pleaded for the acceptance and implementation of that principle. Consequently we are overjoyed at the happy result which was reached yesterday. We believe that the United Nations will be the better and the stronger for this infusion of fresh blood.

56. In particular, we are glad that our sister States of Asia have had our doors opened to them. We deeply regret that two of those States which we had hoped also to welcome, Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic, continue to be kept out of our Organization. We are confident, however, that this is only temporary and that it will not be long before we can extend to them the same cordial welcome which we extend to the present group of new Members.

57. Where so many heads and hands have contributed to the breaking of the deadlock, it might seem invidious to select some individuals for special mention, but I cannot let this occasion pass without mentioning the very great services rendered to our cause by Mr. Martin of Canada and by Mr. Belaúnde and his colleagues of the Committee of Good Offices. Not only the new Members but all of us who were already Members owe them a deep debt of gratitude. I do not think I exaggerate when I say they have helped to save this Organization and to put into it fresh vigour and strength.

58. Finally, I should like to congratulate the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Maza, and the President of the Security Council, Sir Leslie Munro, on the joint success they have had in piloting the General Assembly and the Security Council through the uncertain seas of the last few weeks. It was a task which demanded extreme patience and unflagging perseverance, and we were fortunate that at this critical juncture in our affairs we had two distinguished gentlemen who have these qualities in such abundant measure to guide us in the two organs which were most directly concerned.

59. Mr. TSIANG (China): I participate in these proceedings with mixed feelings. First of all, I am happy that twelve free nations have been admitted. During the years of the long deadlock, the delegation of China, together with many other delegations, worked hard for their admission. Now, at long last, they are with us. They are happy, and we are all happy.

60. Secondly, I am very unhappy over the fact that Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam have been prevented by the Soviet veto from becoming Members of the United Nations. Were it not for that abusive veto these three free nations would also join us.

61. Thirdly, while I am glad that Outer Mongolia has been excluded, I feel very sad over the fact that four captive nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania—have been included. By including them the United Nations has accepted their captivity, *de facto* and *de jure*. What is more, the United Nations has, in appearance at least, set the seal of approval on their captivity.

62. I know that many representatives have made specific reservations and qualifications with regard to these four captive nations, but the iron curtain will shut out these qualifications and reservations from the ears of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Romanian peoples. These peoples will never understand the real motives of the United Nations action. I am afraid that they will never forgive us for deserting them and for deserting, at the same time, our own principles. This is to me the evil part of the "package deal". For abstaining on these four captive nations in the Security Council, I confess I feel ashamed. My action has made the chains of these peoples harder to bear, at least for the time being.

63. The debate on the admission of new Members started on 1 December in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and ended here last night with the vote on Spain. During those days of intense effort, many representatives were good enough to come to me to tell me that, whether they agreed or disagreed with my stand, they understood me and, to a certain extent, appreciated the fight that I was making for the freedom of these captive peoples. I wish to thank them for their courtesy and their sympathetic understanding. In the United Nations mutual understanding is, I think, sometimes even more important than mutual agreement.

64. I refer to these private assurances for another reason—an even more important reason. I see in them a real hope. In different circumstances, I believe, many of the free nations of the world will yet give to these captive peoples their support in their struggle for freedom. I hold this belief because the hard facts of life will yet teach the world that an enduring peace cannot be based on appeasement or on a compromise with principles. Enduring peace can be established only on the solid foundation of the freedom of peoples.

65. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia): The admission of sixteen countries to the United Nations is undoubtedly a significant event in the life of our Organization. At the same time, however, one cannot fail to note that this decision, welcomed by all of us, does not fully meet the will of the General Assembly expressed in its resolution of 8 December [552nd meeting], in which it recommended to the Security Council the admission of the eighteen applicants for membership without exception.

66. Those who followed the course of the discussions in the Security Council on this issue saw, two days ago, the agreement on the admission of the eighteen countries—an agreement achieved thanks to the patient efforts and the mutual understanding of the overwhelming majority of Member States—brought to naught by the intervention of a person who is unlawfully occupying a place in the United Nations. However, thanks to the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union, a solution was found even in this situation, a solution making possible the admission of sixteen out of the total number of States recommended by the General Assembly.

67. The Czechoslovak delegation would voice its particular regret at the fact that the Security Council did not recommend the admission to membership of our Organization of the People's Republic of Mongolia, whose application has been wrongfully blocked since 1946.

68. We welcome the fact that sixteen additional countries will share in our future work and our efforts. We do so with the conviction that all these States, which have accepted the obligations and responsibilities laid down by the Charter, will devote all their energies to a consistent observance of the provisions of the Charter with a view to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

69. In particular, we should like to extend our welcome to Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, with which countries we are linked by firm bonds of friendship. We welcome these peoples' democracies into our Organization, and wish them every possible success in the common endeavour towards the relaxa-

tion of international tension and the solution of outstanding international issues by peaceful means.

70. The admission of new Members is an important step which will enhance the prestige and the role of the United Nations in international relations and which constitutes an eloquent confirmation of the rightness and the vitality of the principles which are the basis of our Charter, particularly the principle of the possibility of peaceful co-operation among States with different social and economic systems.

Mr. Maza resumed the Chair.

71. Mr. RAMADAN (Egypt) (*translated from French*): The representatives of sixteen new States are taking their places among us today. This is a memorable occasion, which will be engraved in the annals of our Organization. We were fervently hoping for this decision, which will enhance the prestige of the United Nations and above all testifies to the supreme wisdom that prevailed after alternating moments of discouragement and great hopes. This decision crowns our heartfelt aspirations and echoes the voice of world public opinion, which reacted with sensitive receptivity to the fluctuations of our debates and clamoured for a favourable solution of the long-discussed and long-postponed problem of the admission of new Members.

72. At this historic moment, we turn our gaze with confidence towards the future of our Organization, for the most encouraging prospects for the development of harmonious co-operation are opening up a path which will lead us towards greater international understanding. The United Nations, now strengthened by the admission of so many States whose ancient civilizations and historic contributions have enriched mankind, will henceforward be better able to fulfil its basic mission, which is to strengthen the foundations of peace and prosperity in a troubled world, torn by the uncertainty of the future.

73. Today we address the new Members to convey to them our happiness and pleasure in welcoming them into our midst. I should like to make particular mention of Libya and Jordan, to which we are linked by bonds of religion, race, culture and common tradition, and which are also members of the League of Arab States.

74. Our joy is not unmitigated, however, for we should have liked to see the principle of universality accepted once and for all. Egypt has consistently upheld that principle, at all international meetings and conferences, since the establishment of the United Nations. We are fully convinced that the United Nations will be unable to attain the objectives it has set itself until all the peoples of the world are fully represented in it. We had hoped for the admission of all the applicants without exception, including Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic.

75. I should like to pay a heartfelt tribute to all the persons who have shown goodwill and made such noble efforts to bring about a happy solution of this problem. A tribute is also due to Mr. Belaúnde, Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices, with whom I had the honour to collaborate as the representative of Egypt and as a member of that Committee.

76. As we enter upon our second decade, which opens up new prospects for our Organization, we can face the future with our confidence strengthened by the striking demonstration of a spirit of solidarity, based

on the will towards action and progress. Henceforth there is nothing we may not hope for. Confident in the destiny of our Organization and sure of the support and valuable assistance of the new Members, we shall be able to increase our responsibilities to achieve the high ideal which was the objective of the founders of the United Nations at a time when the guns were thundering and when the gaze of a weary world was turned towards our nascent Organization, in the hope that the effulgent light of an era of peace, security, justice and freedom for all peoples would at last shine from a cloudless sky.

77. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to express my delegation's pleasure at the decision adopted yesterday by the General Assembly in approving the draft resolution submitted by forty-one delegations [A/L.208].

78. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution [A/RES.357] which the Assembly transmitted to the Council, and it accordingly voted in favour of the admission of the sixteen countries enumerated in the draft which was submitted for our consideration after the Council's decision.

79. My delegation wished by its vote to contribute to the admission of these countries, particularly those which, like Spain, Italy and Portugal, are closely bound to Venezuela by indestructible ties of history, race and culture.

80. On the occasion of the general debate in this Assembly, I said [528th meeting] that many States were knocking at the doors of the United Nations, asking for admittance. It seemed to my delegation unjust that they should not be given a chance to work with us. Yesterday, before the Security Council's decision, we thought it our duty to make a positive contribution to enable those States to share our responsibilities.

81. The Venezuelan delegation extends the most cordial welcome to the States which now swell the ranks of the United Nations, and it is confident that they will co-operate, with goodwill and good sense, in the solution of the problems which face us.

82. I wish to congratulate the President, Mr. Maza, on his efforts to solve this problem, and I repeat my congratulations to Mr. Belaúnde, to Mr. Martin and to Mr. Urquía, who have all done so much to secure the admission of these countries.

83. I should not like to conclude without expressing my delegation's regret that Japan is not on the list of Members admitted today. My delegation is confident, however, that very soon we shall have the representative of that important country among us.

84. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The Ethiopian delegation joins this parade of explanations for what it truly is, a parade of jubilation. The possibilities of achievement in the United Nations and the opportunities for increased collaboration are now set to a fair wind and better weather. We assure the new delegations who will soon be joining us of our earnest desire that their work here may not only help to make a more effective and useful Organization for all of us, but also result in even closer collaboration with my own Government.

85. Through a correction in the vote, my delegation participated in the vote and in the welcome to the sixteen new Members.

86. Of the new Members, we particularly welcome the new Italy. Although my people still feels the consequences of fascist aggression, our relations with the new Italy are cordial and co-operative. We are most hopeful that Italy's assumption of the full responsibilities of membership in the Organization will contribute to the solution of the remaining problems outstanding between us, particularly those questions that are of immediate interest to the United Nations. My delegation would not here explain the past, but celebrate the opportunities of the future.

87. Mr. RIZK (Lebanon): Before joining the chorus of happy voices which have succeeded each other on this rostrum to proclaim their joy and their gratification over the momentous events of yesterday afternoon and evening, allow me to pay a personal tribute to the President, Mr. Maza, a tribute to his patient and relentless efforts to bring the question of the admission of new Members to its present happy *dénouement*.

88. It is also a tribute to those fine qualities which have made of him one of the greatest presidents this Assembly has ever had, for never in the course of the three years during which I have represented Lebanon at the United Nations have I seen a president or a chairman literally enjoy being disobeyed or having his ruling so utterly ignored by the whole Assembly. Sitting in my seat in this Assembly last night, I could discern a feeling of happiness in the President at the way in which speaker after speaker not only interpreted liberally but also took the widest possible liberties with his directive to restrict their interventions to an explanation of vote.

89. And how right they were to take such liberties! What was there for the overwhelming majority of representatives to explain other than to express their joy and their happiness at the admission of sixteen new Member States to our Organization? What better words could they have chosen than expressions of gratitude to those statesmen and diplomats whose unremitting and unselfish labours at last had borne the desired fruit?

90. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to our able Secretary-General, to Mr. Belaúnde of Peru and his Committee of Good Offices, to Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, who so ably steered the admission of new Members through the Security Council over which he presides, and, last but not least, we wish to pay a particular tribute to Mr. Martin of Canada, whose patience, statesmanship and able seamanship brought the ship of new Members to its safe haven, the United Nations.

91. My country has always stood for the principle of the universality of membership in the United Nations. We have always striven for the attainment of that goal, which would make of our Organization a body representative of the whole world, the representative body which its founding fathers intended it to be, and which it should and must become, if it is to face squarely and effectively the ever-increasing problems which beset our world, the representative body which it must be if the principles and purposes of the Charter are to acquire their full meaning and significance.

92. My delegation is gratified at the result of the vote taken yesterday because it brings us closer to the desired goal. Our gratification and our happiness are all the greater when we consider that, among the

States which have just joined our Organization, Lebanon can point proudly to several to which it is firmly bound by the closest ties of kinship and friendship. It is with a mixed feeling of pride and happiness that my delegation welcomes the admission of two sister Arab States, Jordan and Libya. We also welcome the admission of the Asian and European States with which we enjoy the closest links of friendship and mutual respect.

93. Our joy is however mitigated by the fact that that great country, Japan, has not been admitted along with the others. It is our sincere hope that its admission will not be delayed for long. It is also our earnest hope that the United Nations will before long become the effective instrument of peace and the centre for harmonizing the actions of all nations for the good of all.

94. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): As an Oriental, I could easily break into poetry to celebrate this historic occasion. But, in deference to the President's wishes, I shall be brief and confine myself to a few words welcoming the new Members for which we voted, and in this welcome lies the explanation of our vote.

95. On behalf of the people, the Government and delegation of Pakistan, I welcome cordially the new Members to the United Nations as colleagues and friends in this Organization which is fast becoming what Mr. Martin has called "the parliament of man".

96. We welcome Libya and Jordan, with which we have ties of common religion and culture. We welcome Ceylon as a member of our Commonwealth and our valued neighbour. In the same way do we welcome Nepal, which is in our region and which has a common history with our sub-continent. We welcome Laos and Cambodia as our Asian friends and colleagues, with which the Moslem world has historical and, shall I say, blood ties. And we welcome Spain as a brother in our fraternity. Italy and Portugal are welcome colleagues, bringing with them the background of their great role in history. We welcome Austria, Ireland and Finland as very useful Members from Europe. I am particularly happy at seeing the representatives of Finland with us, as I had the good fortune to be my country's first representative in Finland. We welcome Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary as Members of the United Nations, and look forward to their collaboration in this world Organization.

97. I cannot terminate these few remarks without expressing the hope that this occasion will be a good augury for the admission of all other States qualified under the Charter to become Members of this Organization, particularly Japan, with which my country has such close and cordial relations.

98. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): The Netherlands delegation whole-heartedly joins in the expressions of sincere gratification which have been heard from this rostrum after the momentous decision to admit sixteen new Members was taken last night. By this decision we, the representatives of sixty countries, invited sixteen nations to be represented here, to work with us and to seek with us the ways and means to apply and practise the principles of the Charter.

99. By its vote yesterday, the Netherlands delegation showed that it had some well-considered reservations as to the qualifications of some of the countries whose

applications we could not support. We have accepted the decision of the Assembly and, if a vote had been taken on the draft resolution as a whole, we would have voted in favour of it, because we agree with what was stated by the representative of the United Kingdom in the Security Council [703rd meeting], namely, that our acceptance of those countries is an act of faith, faith in their willingness to carry out the obligations which they assume by becoming Members of the United Nations.

100. On behalf of the Netherlands delegation, I therefore welcome all sixteen new Members, and I hope that our collaboration with them here will be in the interest and to the benefit of mankind.

101. Our sincere joy is necessarily tempered by the regrettable fact that Japan has to be omitted from our words of welcome. We deplore this fact because we think that Japan is eminently qualified to be one of us in the Assembly. The Netherlands delegation looks forward to the day when Japan will take its rightful place among us. Our confidence that this will soon happen is strengthened by the knowledge that those representatives to whom the United Nations owes so much for their efforts, which have now been crowned with partial success, will continue in the future their endeavours to complete the membership.

102. Finally, I should like to say that our feelings of gratification are enhanced by the fact that these historical events have taken place under the able leadership of our President, Mr. Maza.

103. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia): Taking advantage of the very great liberty which the President has allowed us in explaining our votes, my delegation desires to express its satisfaction with the resolution which has been adopted with respect to the problem of the admission of new Members. Liberia was happy to join, in its initial stage, in co-sponsoring the draft resolution [A/AC.80/L.3] providing for the admission of the original eighteen countries, because my delegation believes in the principle of universality in regard to membership in the United Nations.

104. We feel that each one of the sixteen nations that has been admitted is capable of making some contribution towards strengthening this structure which we are erecting in the name of peace. We heartily welcome one and all of our new collaborators. In meeting the problems which are presently confronting us, there cannot be too much effort, there cannot be too many hands, at the task. Each one, bringing its own different approach to the several problems, should, we believe, render them more susceptible of solution.

105. Although the representative of Canada, Mr. Martin, was modest enough to say in his statement last night that no one delegation or person could take the credit for the event we are now celebrating, I hope that he will pardon our disagreement with him on this point. It was he who patiently and determinedly gave substance to the hope which was beating in the breast of every representative in this Assembly who noted the favourable climate which pervaded the opening of this session. I do not think that we can too highly estimate the service that he has thus rendered to the cause of peace. My delegation is happy to take this occasion to pay a tribute to his tact and sagacity and to his Government. I do not think anyone will disagree with me when I say that he was the leading spirit in the solution of this great problem.

106. At the same time, I do not think that we should belittle or pass over without recognition the initiative of those who, when all seemed lost, reopened the negotiations in a spirit of compromise, which has finally resulted in the admission of the sixteen new Members to our Organization.

107. We desire to express our appreciation for the efforts of the Committee of Good Offices under its Chairman, Mr. Belaúnde, and to the President of the Security Council for his able and sagacious guidance of that organ, which we have all come to realize is characteristic of him in the dispatch of business.

108. Finally, I should like to express the keen satisfaction of my delegation that the augmentation of over 25 per cent of the membership of the United Nations has taken place during the incumbency of our charming and able President, Mr. Maza, who, though firm, has by his tact, consideration and kindness endeared himself to us in bonds of friendship.

109. Mr. LUDIN (Afghanistan): The delegation of Afghanistan considers it a pleasant duty and a great privilege to welcome the sixteen new Members into the United Nations.

110. It was a happy task of the delegation of Afghanistan to have co-sponsored, with twenty-seven other delegations, the draft resolution [A/AC.80/L.3] which was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, and eventually in the General Assembly, regarding the admission of the eighteen States into the United Nations. When, later, the sixteen States applying for membership in our Organization were recommended by the Security Council, the delegation of Afghanistan was one of the forty-one delegations which co-sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.208] providing for the admission of these sixteen new Members. The delegation of Afghanistan is really happy to have done that.

111. My delegation pays a tribute to all those delegations which devoted untiring efforts to this task. I pay the tribute and admiration of my delegation to the patient, unceasing and statesmanlike work of the representative of Canada, Mr. Martin. He deserves the praise of this great Assembly.

112. The historic decision of the Security Council yesterday, and that of the General Assembly last night, brought closer to realization the principle of universality of the United Nations. My delegation expresses the earnest desire and hope that this principle will find its full and complete expression in the near future.

113. The sixteen new Members bring with them rich traditions and cultures of Asia, Europe and Africa. Their participation in the deliberations of this Organization will make our work rich and our efforts fruitful. Once again I should like to welcome them to our Organization and to express our fervent hope that our joint efforts will help to bring about a world blessed with peace, security and happiness.

114. Mr. SHALFAN (Saudi Arabia): My delegation has consistently argued that a broader representation in the United Nations is not only desirable, but that it is of great interest to the world community and the cause of international peace and harmony. We have also consistently argued in favour of the principle of universality.

115. It is a great honour for my delegation to welcome all the sixteen new Members. Two of them call for special mention: I refer to Jordan and Libya. My country shares with those two countries their attributes of language, tradition, history, throes of the past and aspirations of the future. It will indeed be an hour for rejoicing for us when the rest of the Arab countries join the United Nations.

116. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the President and to express our gratefulness and appreciation to all those who took an active part in bringing the issue of membership to a happy conclusion.

117. Mr. DIAZ ORDÓÑEZ (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation extends its cordial greetings to the new Members of the United Nations, our comrades who since yesterday have been able to share with us the responsibilities and the satisfaction of our work. It is a matter of particular satisfaction to my delegation to have the Latin nations, Spain, Italy and Portugal, as fellow Members, and especially Spain, in whose favour my delegation has since 1946 been putting forward the most sincere and honest arguments to induce the Assembly to find a way of achieving the just and amply warranted result attained some hours ago, namely, the admission of Spain to the United Nations.

118. In 1950, I had the honour to be the leader of the Dominican delegation which started negotiations to include in the agenda of the fifth session the item proposing the repeal of resolution 39 (I), of 12 December 1946, whereby Spain was excluded from membership of the specialized agencies.

119. This filial loyalty of the Dominican Republic to Spain has deep roots in history and sentiment. We can never forget how Spain, in its occupation of Dominican territory, left us two treasures which are the enduring pride of our country: it left us our faith and our language, as if in its passing it had left us the company of Christ and Cervantes. This is a permanent and indestructible tie: it will endure as long as does the Dominican Republic.

120. Furthermore, as our President, Mr. Maza, has so kindly give us this opportunity to explain our votes, I will say that while the Dominican Republic voted in favour of the proposal for the admission of eighteen applicant States, it made an honest, clear and specific reservation on the subject in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [28th meeting] and cast its vote yesterday in the Assembly in keeping with that reservation.

121. I should not like to conclude my remarks without offering my congratulations not only to the new Members, but to the United Nations itself, and in particular to all those who worked in so praiseworthy and disinterested a fashion to achieve this result which since yesterday has shed a ray of hope on the Organization and brought with it so great a measure of optimism and faith.

122. The admission of these new Members constitutes a real step towards the correct application of what we may call the principle of universality. My delegation will always support that principle, provided that it is applied justly and effectively, for we are convinced that the wrong application of certain rights can lead only to the rebellion, and sometimes the violent rebellion, of facts and circumstances.

123. Mr. PRICE-MARS (Haiti) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Haiti regrets that it was absent from last night's meeting at which the new Members were admitted. We regret that we were not informed that there was to be a meeting.

124. We have always been in favour of the universality of the United Nations and we should certainly have voted in favour of the admission of the sixteen States. We therefore welcome them into our midst with great satisfaction and we are convinced that they will co-operate with us in the maintenance of world peace.

Mr. Deressa (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

125. Mr. MENON (India): In common with all the delegations in this Assembly, we approach this problem at this stage with mixed feelings. The reasons are many. The only way to explain it is for us to look for a moment at the background of the development now confronting us.

126. We are now being enabled to explain our vote on the resolution in regard to the admission of new Members adopted [555th meeting] as the result of a previous resolution adopted [552nd meeting] by the Assembly, the main basis of which was universality—or near-universality—as a principle, and the admission of eighteen Members to this Organization in the concrete. That is the background of our present position.

127. We are faced with the position where, neither in our achievement nor even in the protracted processes that went before it, did the conception of the widest possible membership, or universality, gain the upper hand. On the other hand, it is equally true that, while a resolution provided for the admission of eighteen Members and was voted for by fifty-two Member States in this Assembly, it was not able to gain the approval of the Security Council.

128. We regret the absence of two Asian States from this list: Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic. My Government considers it necessary for us to state our position fully on this matter.

129. Japan is a great and ancient neighbour of ours, a country that in the past has made, and in the future will make, great contributions to civilization, and one without whose presence the international Organization cannot be regarded as complete. Its absence we deplore.

130. We deplore also the absence of Outer Mongolia from this list, a people which first contacted the European world about twelve centuries ago, probably as an invading force, but which has long existed as a people with a consciousness of its own and which, what is more, has for over a century been a nation.

131. The present Mongolian People's Republic proclaimed its independence in 1924 and has had diplomatic and other connexions with other parts of the world. The Assembly may recall that only a few years ago the Mongolian People's Republic sent its delegation here in order to press its claims. We say this because of the general suggestion that this is a kind of phantom State. My country is in diplomatic relations with the Mongolian People's Republic, and we regard its exclusion as the exclusion of a country that has close and friendly relations with us.

132. We have had longer and more intimate ties with Japan, but in both these cases we have the fervent

hope—not the hope that is born out of some sense of escape from reality, but that is born out of the experience of our times, and particularly of the last few days—that this problem will soon be solved.

133. I would be failing in my duty if I did not regard this Assembly as a body that is representative of Governments, a body that is of a political nature and not like a testimony meeting. Therefore it is necessary to go into the causes of this matter. It is on account of the veto cast in the Security Council [704th meeting] against the eighteen-Power draft resolution that we are in this position. That leads us to another problem, and that is the doctrine of universality. The idea of having the widest possible representation must be carried a step further by this Assembly in seeing that representation inside this Assembly is real and not otherwise. We deeply regret this veto. In spite of all the opinions that are prevalent, we had hoped until the last moment that this power would not be used against the Mongolian People's Republic.

134. We are happy that we have sixteen new Members in the United Nations. My country recognizes each one of them and has diplomatic and friendly relations with all of them—friendly with all but one, perhaps, but we have diplomatic relations with all of them. Thus we welcome them all equally.

135. We cannot subscribe to the view that States which are admitted to the United Nations belong to different classes of membership. That would be contrary to the Charter. The Assembly admits them because they are independent nations; it recognizes them as independent and sovereign nations. Once that has been done, anyone who speaks of free nations and nations that are not free among the new Members is not challenging this or that particular State, but the decision of the Assembly and its judgement. We therefore welcome all of them, irrespective of any differences we may have with them on any detail. We believe that they all have contributions to make to our common tasks.

136. I think that in these brief observations it is appropriate that one should express one's feelings of gratitude to a great many people.

137. I think I will begin by referring to the former observer—now representative—of Ceylon to the United Nations, Mr. Gunewardene, and to the observer of Japan, Mr. Kase. They have devoted their labours and their energies, not only on behalf of their own countries, but also in the service of the United Nations. I hope that I will be pardoned for using this opportunity on this rostrum to pay a public tribute to these two gentlemen who have greatly contributed, not only today, but over the months, both here and with regard to the organs of public opinion, in making this result possible, because it is really the impact of public opinion that has made it possible for us to realize, at least partly, our desire to extend the membership of the Assembly.

138. I should like in this connexion to mention that the Press of the world, including vast sections of the Press of the United States, has been of great assistance in giving momentum to this trend of opinion.

139. I should like to follow the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Pierson Dixon, in saying that, after the first breakdown of the whole of this problem, it was the contribution made by the Soviet Union that

enabled us to arrive at this position. My Government would be failing in its duty if it did not say that it is appreciative of the way in which the Soviet Union has responded to the approaches we have made to it in the last few days. It is not for me to go into the hows and whys and wherefores of this, but it is only fair to say, especially when these things are not said so much, that the Soviet Union has responded magnificently to the appeals made in the name of the United Nations and the principles involved throughout the representations that my Government has made to them in the last few days.

140. It is hardly necessary to say how much we owe to Mr. Martin, with whose Government—Her Majesty's Government in the Dominion of Canada—the Government of India has co-operated in these endeavours over many months.

141. The same thing applies to the representatives of Ecuador and Peru, who, on behalf of their Latin American colleagues, have been of continual assistance in promoting the purposes of this resolution.

142. We now have additional strength in the United Nations, and, although we have friendly relations with all these countries, and no antagonism towards any, it is only human that we should feel a special regard for those which are very close to us, and historically connected with us, more than for others.

143. First of all, there is the Kingdom of Nepal which, when we were a subject people still, was independent and has never lost its independence. It comes here today into the comity of nations to contribute to the richness of our cultures by the richness of its own.

144. There is our near neighbour, Ceylon, with which we have been historically associated for three millennia: What is more, we are associated with Ceylon in the British Commonwealth of nations. I have already referred to Mr. Gunewardene, who more or less waged a one-man war against the obstructions that existed. We are happy that we shall have the pleasure of being associated with Ceylon.

145. There are two other countries which are closely linked to us in culture, tradition and other ways, and which have had those links with us over a period of many many centuries—Laos and Cambodia.

146. From western Asia and from North Africa come two others, Jordan and Libya; they were represented at the recent Conference at Bandung. Their contributions there were no less important than those of any others. We welcome them.

147. From what I have stated, it is clear that the imbalance of Asian representation previously existing in this Assembly has to a certain extent been rectified. But the great and vast continent of Africa still remains. We hope that, in the years to come, and in a very few years at that, the movement of independence and freedom happily sponsored by the present policy of the United Kingdom in West Africa will result in the admission to this Organization of two or three of the great West African States, and that this example will spread to East, Central and North Africa. In North Africa, there are populations with ancient civilizations that ought to be sitting side by side with us, and not be merely the subjects or objects of our concern and thinking. So, while Asian representation has been somewhat corrected (when China

is properly represented in this Assembly it will be even more properly corrected) it is my hope that in a very short time the great continent of Africa will take its place among us. Without it, the whole association of nations will not only be poorer but also will be facing economic and social problems which will to a certain extent lay upon us the mantle of empire, and that is something to which we would not be a party.

148. It is my duty and my privilege to mention the name of the President of the Security Council, Sir Leslie Munro, whose patience and tact assisted us a great deal in the solution of this problem. With strict impartiality he tried to promote the purposes of the Charter.

149. In this connexion, also, I should like to mention the President of the General Assembly. Although we both represent countries which are not among the great Powers, we have come into contact more than once in connexion with the development of business in this Assembly; he brought to bear on this problem the qualities of his personality, and his dignified and equitable approach was manifest in every difficulty that arose. He was accessible to every party that was concerned in this matter, and his great desire to strengthen the United Nations was infectious. To him also we pay our tribute.

150. Now that we have come together, my delegation expresses the hope that those of us who have been here will not only welcome the newcomers but will also not try to divide them as sheep from goats. They are all here on the basis of the Charter. The Charter is the common bond. Our aspirations are what should bind us together. We do not recognize, therefore, any differences arising from religion, politics, culture, or even recent historical background, and that is why we have withdrawn whatever objections we may have had in the past. We have no reservations whatsoever in having voted for the eighteen States. We should like to welcome them all to our midst.

151. We join with others in expressing the hope that the addition to our strength is only the beginning of other things to come, and that in a very short period the two Asian States which have been excluded will be with us, so that the rest of Asia is properly represented. We hope that Africa will rise to its freedom and be represented by independent Governments in this great gathering.

152. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Haiti and Paraguay were unfortunately not present last night when the voting took place on the admission of new Members. This morning the Assembly heard their statements on the positions of their Governments regarding this question. The representative of Ethiopia, who arrived late at the meeting last night, also wishes to record the views of his Government on all the applications.

153. In view of the special circumstances of last night's meeting, may I assume that there is no objection to complying with the requests of these three delegations that their votes should be recorded?

It was so decided.

154. Mr. PEREZ DE ARCE (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation voted for all the States which have been admitted, because I think that if the United Nations is to be a really universal organization, it must embrace all the nations of the world. My delegation fervently hopes that this will come about.

155. We also think it appropriate to draw attention to the need for finding a way of amending the Charter and the rules of procedure as soon as possible, so that, with the increase by one-third in the membership of the General Assembly, the Councils may be properly representative of the various geographical regions.

156. Finally, I should like to express my delegation's gratification that this historic step, acclaimed by the whole world, was taken while a compatriot of ours was President of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 35

The Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration

REPORTS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/3088) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3089)

Mr. Massonet (Belgium), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

157. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): As the representative of an African State, the delegation of Liberia wishes to express its deep gratitude for and appreciation of the efforts of the Fourth Committee as a whole, and the co-operation of the Administering Authority, in arriving at a draft resolution which, if adopted, will give the inhabitants of the Territory of Togoland an opportunity to express their true wishes as to their political future.

158. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/3088]. This draft resolution consists of two sections, which I shall put to the vote separately.

159. The Assembly will vote first on section I.

The section was adopted by 42 votes to 7, with 11 abstentions.

160. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with section I, which the Assembly has just adopted, I should like to call the attention of representatives to operative paragraph 3, by which it has been decided to appoint a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner. The Chairman of the Fourth Committee has informed the President of the General Assembly that the Committee has decided to recommend the appointment of Mr. Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto, an eminent Mexican citizen, as Plebiscite Commissioner. If there is no objection, I will consider that the Assembly has adopted this recommendation of the Fourth Committee.

It was so decided.

161. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put section II of the draft resolution to the vote.

The section was adopted by 45 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions.

162. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom): Amidst the world-wide interest which this morning's historic ceremony will evoke, the decision which the General Assembly has just taken will inevitably tend to be thrust into the background—and yet this decision, too, marks a great, unique and historic occasion.

163. Today we have taken the decisive step in the first termination of a trusteeship arrangement in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations

by an Administering Authority. I therefore felt that it was my duty to mark the occasion by addressing a few words to the General Assembly.

164. The United Kingdom delegation voted for this resolution although it is not, as my colleagues are aware, in all respects in accordance with the preferences of the British Government. We recognize, however, that, in spite of the special position of the Administering Authority in relation to the Trust Territory under its administration, it is of the greatest importance to reach, as we have in this case, what I might call a balanced synthesis of the views of all the Members of the United Nations. It is because the resolution which has just been adopted succeeds, as far as is humanly possible, in achieving that result, that the United Kingdom Government could give it full and unqualified support.

165. We shall carry out the tasks which the resolution entrusts to us in the greatest good faith, and it will be an honour for us and, I might add, for the Government of the Gold Coast, too, to work in the closest accord and co-operation with the representative of the General Assembly—Mr. Espinoza y Prieto—whom we are so delighted to welcome to this appointment.

166. I should like to convey the sincere appreciation of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Mexican Government for making available the services of Mr. Espinoza y Prieto to fulfil the important task which the United Nations has invited him to undertake.

167. It only remains for me to express the gratitude of my Government for the manner in which the General Assembly has seen fit to consider the request which was put before it at the last session [A/2660], and also for the decision which has now been taken.

168. At this time, when we are seeking to lay down the trust which we have held for this Territory for so many years, we do not wish to claim any credit for the achievements which others at the United Nations have been generous enough to commend, but simply to express our sincere conviction that the people of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration can justifiably look forward to a future freely chosen by themselves in which they will enjoy the full benefits of democracy, independence and peace.

169. Mr. MENON (India): The United Kingdom representative said at the beginning of his observations that, although this was a great and historic occasion, it would perhaps be overshadowed by what he regarded as the greater occasion that had just preceded it. It is my Government's view—a view which my delegation has repeatedly expressed during the last two years—that the action taken by the Administering Authority of Togoland under British administration, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, is a great act of fulfilment of the Charter.

170. My Government has looked upon this Togoland problem as one of the major issues before the General Assembly. The fact that this Territory is only 13,000 square miles in size and is inhabited by only 500,000 people does not take away from the circumstance that, for the first time, the purpose of the Charter that dependent peoples should be enabled to emerge to independence without conflict and under the terms of the trusteeship system has been realized. We have no

reservation whatever in paying a tribute to the United Kingdom Government and to those primarily responsible of accelerating the implementation on this policy.

171. The original draft of the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted was submitted by the delegation of India. India also took part in the successive stages of the Trusteeship Council's consideration of the matter.

172. We have now laid the foundations for accelerating the process of self-government and independence in all the West African Territories. Furthermore, as a result of the action which the Assembly has just taken, the minor impediments in the way of the attainment of the independence of the Gold Coast have now been removed.

173. In approaching this problem, my delegation has never lost sight of the obligations which we have to the peoples of the Trust Territory. While my observations today are addressed to the General Assembly, it is our hope that they will reach that vaster audience in the Trust Territory itself. It is also our hope that the step that the United Nations has taken to safeguard the interests of the people of the Trust Territory, namely, the appointment of a Plebiscite Commissioner of high quality and integrity, to whom the Administering Authority has offered its full co-operation—will give the people of the Territory all the facilities necessary for them to establish their independence, in the way they desire.

174. Some apprehensions have been voiced, both during and outside the discussions of the problem, because the Territory has been administered as part of the Gold Coast and because its future has sometimes been spoken of in terms of that situation. The main element, however, is the independence of the people of the Trust Territory. We believe that, as a result of the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted and of the decision which, as we all hope, will follow the plebiscite, the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration will march forward to independence; what is more, we believe that the example will be followed elsewhere, so that other dependent peoples in Africa will emerge to independence more quickly.

175. Once again, I wish to say that we owe a debt of gratitude to the Administering Authority. The Administering Authority has opened a door which it will be very difficult for others to ignore, even if they wish to do so—and I do not suggest that they would wish to do so.

176. This is perhaps a good occasion to point out that liberal administrations in these dependent territories have yielded rich harvests and good results, with long-range implications. In this connexion, my Government would wish me to say a few words of appreciation to the many men and women who have served in these territories—first, no doubt, as representatives of imperial authority, and, subsequently, as representatives of the Administering Authorities. These men and women have given of their best in many ways. If they had not carried out this high policy, and if they had not realized that the purpose of administration was to assist in the establishment of independence, today's achievement would not have been possible. Hence we also owe our appreciation to these men and women who cannot take part in public life. Equally, we must pay a tribute to the Ministers and the Government of the Gold Coast. These Ministers and representatives

of the Gold Coast Government have shown a great deal of understanding and, what is more, have not tried to influence results in advance.

177. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): In expressing my warmest thanks for the undeserved distinction conferred upon me the day before yesterday in the Fourth Committee [549th meeting], I informed representatives that I would immediately request the statutory permission required by any Mexican national before taking up a high international office. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has now been pleased to authorize me to accept the appointment, subject to its confirmation by the General Assembly, which has just been given.

178. I therefore have the honour to inform the President that I accept with much gratitude the appointment conferred upon me as United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. Mr. Padilla Nervo, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, and Mr. de la Colina, Chairman of the Mexican delegation, have instructed me to express to the President and the representatives the sincere satisfaction of the Mexican Government at this appointment, and to offer them its warmest thanks.

179. I have given careful thought to the nature of the mission entrusted to me by the Organization and to the responsibility which I undertake in accepting it. My duty, as I understand it, is to see to it that the plebiscite which we envisage is held in such a manner as to enable the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, with a clear conscience, to inform the General Assembly at its eleventh session that the people of Togoland under British administration have expressed their wishes in complete freedom, and without hindrance of any kind.

180. The Fourth Committee fully discussed the question whether the task should be confided to a group of persons constituting a mission, or to a commissioner. Those of us who took part in the debate were in no doubt that the Committee considered that the responsibility should be conferred on one man, having regard to his character, his sense of justice and the firmness of his convictions. It is in that spirit that I accept the appointment.

181. Should any circumstance which I am unable to foresee, and which I hope will not materialize, cause me to think that the plebiscite was not held under the conditions just mentioned, or that adequate safeguards were not provided, no power on earth will prevent me from coming before this august Assembly and saying so. If the plebiscite, as I have every reason to hope, takes place in an equitable manner, which does credit to the authority conducting it, no power on earth will prevent me from saying so, with equal firmness, in this Assembly.

182. My delegation felt the justice and timeliness of the proposal the Egyptian delegation made in the Fourth Committee, to the effect that an annex to our resolution should be adopted, defining the powers of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner; but it was obvious to the entire Committee that it would not have been possible, in the time available, to go beyond the relevant proposals the Visiting Mission made in its report [T/1206 and Add. 1].

183. The powers and functions vested in me are defined in the resolution we have now adopted and

in the pertinent sections of the Visiting Mission's report, in particular in chapter IV. I should like here to pay a tribute to the Visiting Mission for its scrupulous care in incorporating in that chapter points which will be of fundamental importance for the relationship between the United Nations Commissioner and the authorities who will be organizing the plebiscite.

184. My activities will be based on the powers conferred upon me by the Assembly in its resolution. The better to carry out my task, I shall endeavour to establish close relations with the Commissioner to be appointed by the United Kingdom. I am certain that in him I shall find that co-operation which will enable me to accomplish my task properly.

185. I clearly understand from the terms of my appointment that it is the Administering Authority which will conduct the plebiscite. I shall therefore carefully avoid trespassing in any way upon the functions of the British Commissioner. I am sure that the United Kingdom representative in his turn will clearly understand the very definite functions entrusted to me by the General Assembly and will realize that the supervision I exercise must necessarily be extremely conscientious.

186. From the adoption of the Liberian amendment to paragraph 2 of the resolution, it is clear that the plebiscite will take place on the basis of two questions, which are essentially the same as those proposed by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 105 of its report.

187. I should like, now, to make special reference to paragraph 108 of that report. As representative of Mexico, I stressed in the Fourth Committee the serious disadvantages inherent in the fact that the results of the plebiscite were to be assessed on the basis of a division of the Territory into four districts. This was one of the few important points in the Mission's report with which the Mexican delegation found itself unable to agree. Despite its misgivings on this point, which it made very clear, my delegation acknowledged that the division was advocated by very respectable interested parties and stated that it would conform to the views of the majority of the Fourth Committee in the matter. But since the amendment submitted by Liberia on this point was defeated, I take it that the Assembly, in its resolution, has rejected the Visiting Mission's proposal.

188. Consequently, if the Administering Authority, in carrying out the plebiscite, treats the Territory as a whole, I as Commissioner shall have no reason to raise any objection, although I am perfectly well aware that it is for the General Assembly to decide whatever is appropriate in this connexion.

189. The Assembly has decided that this responsibility shall be conferred on a single person and not on a group, and it is on those terms that I have accepted it. It is in the same spirit that I shall accept the valuable and indispensable assistance which I shall receive from members of the Secretariat, without whom I should be unable to carry out my task.

190. I shall personally supervise and direct every stage of our work. I am going to demand a great deal from my collaborators, but it should be clearly understood that any complaint or claim which the Assembly or any of its members may later wish to make in this matter should be addressed to me.

191. I shall set up our headquarters in the town of Ho, or at some suitable point within the Trust Territory, and apart from journeys which may prove necessary in connexion with the task in hand, my fellow workers and myself will remain in the Territory all the time. I intend to visit all the important localities frequently and to get to know them.

192. In full awareness of my functions and of those of the Authority conducting the plebiscite, I shall always be ready to listen, whenever necessary and for as long as necessary, to any person desiring to raise a matter that is within my competence.

193. All questions which arise will be dealt with under the terms of our resolution, in the light of the relevant sections of the Visiting Mission's report and, in cases not provided for, in accordance with clear, equitable and just procedures to be determined by the

Commissioner of the Administering Authority and the United Nations Commissioner.

194. I shall give account of my stewardship to this august Assembly, and shall support it by ample and clearly presented documentation.

195. Once again I ask my colleagues to accept the expression of my deep gratitude for conferring upon me a distinction which honours me and which I do not deserve. Although I shall be fulfilling my task in a personal capacity, and not as the representative of Mexico, it is clear to me that the Assembly has made this appointment because of my nationality, in recognition of the firmness with which Mexico has always demonstrated its support for the self-determination of the peoples, for international harmony and for the authority and prestige of the Organization.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.