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CONTENTS

Agenda item 20:

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued) 17

Page

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

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)

1. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to be able in the name of my delegation to congratulate you upon your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing you and of working together with you at the various sessions of the General Assembly can only be happy in knowing that the presidency of this session of the General Assembly is in your hands, because we know of your tact, your fairness, your wisdom and your judgement. I congratulate not only you but the General Assembly on the fact that you have been elected as its President.

2. May I, on behalf of my delegation, say a word of deep appreciation for the way in which Mr. Belaúnde acted as President of the last session of the General Assembly. We are all thankful to him for the great service he rendered to us.

3. Looking upon this day in the future, we shall feel its importance even more intensely than we do today. Very many great historical events are appreciated only after we have travelled some distance away from them, and it seems to me that this will be so for this generation to which we belong, this generation that has seen the great tragedies of dependence, of peoples being ruled by other peoples, that has witnessed the great struggles for freedom and independence; and has also been privileged to see this day of probably the greatest of all revolutions in human history. There is nothing so painful and so degrading as discrimination, and of all types and kinds of discrimination, the most brutal is discrimination against entire peoples because of race, colour and religion. Therefore, this is a great day for all of us, not only for the countries which today have become Members of the United Nations, countries which have only recently gained their independence and are now masters of their own fate. This is a great day for all peoples of the world, because it seems to me that by this time we have all learned the lesson that the world is not free so long as there are peoples in it who are not free and who are not independent. The freedom of each one of us is not complete until all peoples of the world are free and independent. This is, no doubt, one of the greatest days in the history of the human race. Those nations which have just been admitted into the United Nations are today free and are now in charge of the fate of their countries and

their peoples. They have attained their freedom after struggles and now they have joined our ranks—all sovereign nations.

4. Israel, being a new country, knows very well that it is only after the joy of the day of independence that the days of difficulties and problems begin, with the necessity of facing problems and solving them on one's own. It seems to me that in this, too, there is greatness in independence. It means that problems, no matter how difficult they are, have to be met by the peoples themselves. They face them, struggle with them and solve them on their own responsibility, with their own courage, and the necessity that stems from the lives of their own people.

5. The new countries from Asia, from Africa, as countries from other parts of the world, have come into existence in a very troubled world, in a world filled with danger and with tension. I only hope and pray, as we all do, that, with their presence, an element for peace and quiet and constructive building will be strengthened in this great Assembly of peoples, because they bring with them their enthusiasm for freedom and also the great necessity for work, for constructive effort, and for building. Their voices, coming out of necessity from people that need so much, must necessarily help us all.

6. And one more thing: there are many inequalities in the world. There are large countries and small countries, large peoples and small peoples, important and rich; but may I say that I think that the greatest inequality of all is not between countries that have riches and countries that are poor but between people that know how to do things and people that do not know how to do things. We are accustomed to dividing this world between the "haves" and the "have nots". May I say that, to me, the division is even more tragic between those that know and those that know not. And with all the help that we are all called upon to give—with the fullness of our heart and in the right spirit, in the spirit of brotherhood, of equality and of mutual aid—to all countries that are in need of aid, may I suggest that the real aid and the real spirit of mutual understanding and the sharing of common destiny is not to give that which is left over to those that have not, but is, with all our energy and ability, to work together with the new nations, so that as quickly as possible they will know how to bring forth from the soil—from the wealth that is in the soil of those countries—that which they need in order to make their peoples prosperous and happy.

7. May I say one word to a neighbour country of Israel that has gained its independence recently and has today been accepted as a Member in the United Nations—Cyprus. It is a very close neighbour of ours. We have in common a long history. We look forward to very close relations and mutual aid for the benefit of both our countries and for the welfare of the entire region.

8. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, may I offer you my warmest congratulations and those of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. Your personal qualities, your learning, your experience and your charming courtesy, as well as the sound policies followed by your great country in world affairs, are sure guarantees for the smooth conduct of our work, which will, I sincerely hope, lead to successful conclusions in an atmosphere of the utmost harmony.

9. May I also express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the President of the fourteenth session, Mr. Belaúnde, for the distinguished way in which he carried out his duties during that session and during the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

10. This is a historic and memorable day. We have begun the work of the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly by voting unanimously for the admission to our Organization of fourteen new States which very recently attained national independence and sovereignty. It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that I have the honour to offer, on behalf of the King of Libya, his people and Government, our most sincere and warm congratulations to the Governments and peoples of the States that have just been admitted to this family of the United Nations, on the realization of their legitimate aspirations for independence and sovereignty. I have great pleasure in welcoming them to the United Nations.

11. The Libyan delegation would like to take advantage of this happy occasion to express to the Governments and peoples of the fourteen newly admitted States its most sincere wishes for their prosperity and progress; it wishes them every success in their efforts for international co-operation and for the triumph, through joint action, of the ideals and aims of the United Nations Charter.

12. I should also like to take advantage of this solemn occasion to pay the warmest tribute, on behalf of Libya, to the peoples and leaders of all the newly admitted countries for their patience and tenacity, and for the remarkable efforts they have made and the heavy sacrifices they have borne in order to achieve self-determination, an aim which is dear to every people and which the Charter places in the forefront of all our concerns.

13. The countries which we have just had the pleasure of admitting to our Organization comprise thirteen African States and one State from the eastern Mediterranean. We share with the African countries a common past, common sufferings, a glorious Afro-Arab heritage and the same desire to live in freedom and in the dignity of independence and sovereignty. In the similarity of our situations and of our problems, in our aspirations and in our affinity, we shall undoubtedly find a source of inspiration for the strengthening of the increasingly firm bonds of mutual understanding and fruitful co-operation so essential for the future of our respective peoples and for the consolidation of world peace and security.

14. The achievement of independence by the African countries which have just entered the United Nations is a historic moment in the forward march of the whole of Africa and a triumphal advance on the road to freedom, dignity and enlightenment. To these countries, which seem close to us in many ways, we extend a

fraternal welcome and offer co-operation in every sphere. We solemnly pledge ourselves to work together for the triumph of the ideals and aims of our Charter in Africa and throughout the world.

15. The African community, with the number of its members considerably increased, is in a position to make a fruitful and increasingly useful contribution to the work of the United Nations and to establish world stability on surer foundations.

16. The African community is also called upon to play an important and effective part in bringing about in Africa and throughout the world the triumph of the principle of the self-determination of all the peoples who are still dependent and frequently oppressed, and thus speed the fulfilment of their dream of freedom with human dignity, sovereignty and independence.

17. The Libyan delegation feels bound to seize this opportunity of recalling, with great appreciation, the spirit attending the attainment of independence by the many African countries which not so long ago were under French rule. Our only regret is that the same spirit has, unfortunately, not prevailed in the method of dealing with the problem of the future of a neighbouring fellow country of North Africa, Algeria; this country has had to resort to extreme measures to defend the same right which has been conceded to so many others. We venture to express the sincere hope that the entry into the United Nations of the African countries formerly under French rule will be of help in finding through this Organization a speedy solution to the problem which will bring Algeria too into the United Nations, free and independent, and its friendship with France restored.

18. Other African countries have entered the United Nations through the international trusteeship system. We find in this a particular reason for rejoicing, for being thankful and happy that the United Nations has been able to fulfil its responsibilities by leading these peoples to independence and sovereignty. The successful completion of the United Nations task in those countries gives us grounds for confidence and hope in the effectiveness of the Organization and in its ability to translate the principles of self-determination into reality.

19. Lastly, from the eastern Mediterranean, we welcome the Republic of Cyprus where the patriotism of its people and the willingness to compromise of its rulers have achieved a victory for common sense. Bound by ties of good neighbourliness, sharing the same Mediterranean heritage and inspired by the same principles and ideals, we greet in the Republic of Cyprus a fellow Mediterranean country to which we extend the hand of friendship as an earnest of the most fruitful co-operation.

20. May I also express the hope that this historic occasion will enable the United Nations to find the desired solution to the Palestine question and to the tragic plight of the refugees from Palestine and from the south of the Arabian peninsula, in accordance with the resolutions and principles of the Organization.

21. In conclusion, I would offer once again to all the newly admitted States our warmest congratulations on their entry into the United Nations and sincerest wishes for a brilliant future, in prosperity and progress, within the framework of international solidarity, for

the benefit and well-being of their peoples and the strengthening of world peace.

22. Mr. NOVOTNY (Czechoslovakia):^{1/} As I take the floor for the first time in this great international Organization, permit me, Mr. President, to welcome you sincerely and to wish the General Assembly during its fifteenth session every success in its efforts to safeguard peace and security in the world and to develop friendly co-operation among nations.

23. On behalf of the delegations of the Albanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Romanian People's Republic, I have been authorized to welcome the admission of a number of new independent States, particularly those from the African continent. The Republic of Cameroun, the Togolese Republic, the Malagasy Republic, the Republic of Somalia, the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), the Republic of Dahomey, the Republic of the Niger, the Republic of the Upper Volta, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Chad, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Gabon Republic, the Central African Republic and the Republic of Cyprus have now become Members of the United Nations.

24. The long struggles for national freedom, during which the peoples of Africa endured great sacrifices, have not been in vain, for they have been crowned with success. The admission of these new States to this Organization is confirmation of the fact that world developments move forward ineluctably and any attempts to keep nations under the colonial yoke by force must be doomed to failure.

25. The people of the socialist countries have deep sympathy for the liberation movement in the African continent since they, themselves, had a long struggle for their liberation. I should like to assure the representatives of the new States that the socialist countries are ready to co-operate fully with them because it is thus that the economic, cultural and social development of new States will be achieved.

26. The socialist countries have many close ties with a number of the free countries of Asia and Africa, ties established on the principle of mutual respect, equality, non-interference, mutual benefit and friendship. I take this opportunity of reaffirming the wish of the Governments and peoples of the socialist countries to develop these relations with all new nations. Countries which have won their independence require a stable peace in order to eradicate the sad legacy of colonialism and to be sure that they will be able to consolidate their political independence and to develop their economy and their culture.

27. Experience has shown that the Asian and the African countries are destined to play an important and active role in the efforts of nations to strengthen peace, and this leads us to believe that the people of the new States, together with all peace-loving nations, will continue to work for peace with the same energy with which they fought for their own national independence. We do not forget that the colonial circles have not as yet loosened the fetters by which they bind some territories in Asia and Latin America. It is regrettable that, today, the representatives of these

countries are still unable to take their place among the Members of the United Nations. It is the duty of this Organization, with the support of the progressive forces all over the world, to continue to support their struggles for freedom. We have no doubt that the national liberation movements will soon celebrate their final victory over colonialism, of which mankind should be ashamed.

28. On the occasion of the admission of the new independent States to membership of the United Nations, I should like, on behalf of the Governments and people of the Albania People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Romanian People's Republic to express the wish that these States may consolidate the freedom which they have won and may achieve a high standard of economic and cultural development. We believe that these new States will contribute, through this Organization, to the strengthening of peace in the world in the spirit of the ideals of the United Nations Charter and of their own national ideals.

29. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, let me congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the high and responsible office of President of this Assembly.

30. Today's meeting, in the course of which we have admitted to membership of the United Nations thirteen new African States and the Republic of Cyprus, marks a very important date not only in the history of the peoples of the countries directly concerned but also in the history of our Organization and consequently of the entire international community.

31. The great success achieved by many African countries in their struggle for freedom and national independence represents, in fact, a decisive turning-point in the development of the African continent. This success will certainly give new inspiration and encouragement to the peoples who are now aspiring to independence and wish to take part on an equal footing with other nations in international life.

32. In their struggle, the peoples of Africa have not been and are not alone: they have the support of the peoples and governments of a great many countries most of which have had to struggle, in the still recent past, to achieve the same goal. Similarly, the peoples of the countries which we welcome among us today have always had powerful support from the United Nations Charter wherein are inscribed the principles of the right of peoples to self-determination and their right to independence and sovereign equality, in common with all other peoples.

33. In greeting, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, the representatives of the newly independent countries, I mention with pride the fact that the Yugoslav Government and people have always fully supported the just strivings and legitimate claims of these peoples in all circumstances, particularly within the United Nations organs. That is why we feel great joy in being able to congratulate them and welcome them as representatives of friendly countries, particularly as in many cases they are persons with whom we have already co-operated closely in this Organization.

34. It is clear that the serious problems inherited from the colonial past will necessitate the establishment of special co-operation between these countries

^{1/}Mr. Novotný spoke in Czech. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and the United Nations in many fields. I can assure the representatives of the African countries that, in this connexion, they will always be able to count on the greatest understanding and the sincere and friendly support of the Government and the delegation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

35. I also wish to welcome very warmly the representatives of an independent Cyprus whose people are so close to ours in many respects.

36. In conclusion, I should like to add that the admission of fourteen new Members provides a new source of strength for our Organization. The contribution of the new Member States will, I am sure, be rapidly and clearly felt when we come to discuss the important questions before us, particularly those relating to the fundamental aims of the United Nations, namely, the safeguarding of world peace and security and the fruitful development of international co-operation.

37. I regret to have to mention here something not connected with the ceremony of admitting new Members, but I cannot pass over it in silence. I refer to the groups of demonstrators who, a few yards from the residence of my country's Head of State, continue to insult him in the crudest manner without any effective intervention on the part of the police. I took this matter up personally with the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and asked him to request that adequate protective measures be urgently taken to guarantee normal conditions of work; I asked him at the same time to inform the President of the United States of my request as a matter of urgency. In the course of my remarks, I clearly expressed our conviction that the United States Government could not in any way decline responsibility for guaranteeing normal conditions of life and work for the Yugoslav delegation and for its Head, the President of the Yugoslav Republic, as well as for all other delegations. If it is impossible to guarantee such conditions, the question arises whether this is compatible with the normal working of the United Nations. I felt that it was my duty to inform the General Assembly of this situation.

38. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): Mr. President, let me first of all congratulate you most warmly, on behalf of my delegation and my country, on your election as President of this Assembly. The speech you made at the previous meeting was an act of faith in the destiny of the United Nations, and we see it as an expression of hopefulness regarding the success of your task.

39. This is a memorable day for the United Nations, as it welcomes into its midst fourteen States which recently attained independence and have come to join the family of free and sovereign nations. Before extending congratulations to the States which we are welcoming today, I should like to congratulate the United Nations for being faithful to its principles of freedom, equal sovereignty of all peoples and all races, and human dignity. These principles are today being solemnly translated into deeds; we hope that they will henceforth constitute the fundamental law of this Organization, a law which the United Nations should apply unreservedly and without restriction in its administration of world affairs as all mankind advances towards this noble destiny.

40. However, as they pass within these walls, free at last and filled with joy, these sister nations of ours cannot help looking back and noting that they leave

behind in Africa, and elsewhere in this wide world, other nations to which our doors are still closed, to which freedom continues to be denied, and which are waiting for their rights to be granted to them too. After fighting for their independence, with the sufferings endured in their struggle ever vivid in their minds and hearts, these peoples will be even more ardent than we in fighting in a new arena for the independence of their brethren—who are ours as well—and for an end to their privations. Hence, we shall not rest until the whole family of nations, some day which we hope is close at hand, is assembled here in an atmosphere of peace and harmony, labouring together for the well-being and happiness of mankind.

41. I have spoken of sovereign equality; but has equality been achieved in actual fact and in all its juridical and human aspects when nations which have just attained it remain in want and are unable to meet their most elementary needs? The most agonizing problem remains that of these peoples who are ill-fed, lacking in education, and yet, ignorant though they are, yearning for many satisfactions which are enjoyed by other peoples. It is true that, in withdrawing from Africa and Asia as they are now doing, the Powers which once colonized America, Asia and Africa have trained élites which will be able to direct their peoples' first footsteps along the path of independence and freedom; it is true too that they have left behind an economic system which is capable of development. Nevertheless, the gap between these peoples and their former rulers remains great. The wealth which the latter amassed over centuries, often at these peoples' expense, imposes such obligations upon them as that of providing vitally needed economic and technical assistance and promoting greater economic and social justice.

42. In these countries, which are among the most highly developed in the West, per caput income is \$2,300; in most of the countries of Africa and Asia, it is barely \$60 to \$70. Two thousand three hundred in one instance and sixty in the other—a ratio of 35 to 1; when one man is paid \$35, the other receives but \$1. Is such a state of affairs conceivable?

43. The unparalleled economic development of the Western countries is unquestionably due in large measure to Western culture and technology, which have continued to advance for a number of centuries, as well as to the enterprise and labour of many generations. But, on the other hand, who can deny that the superior economic power of Western Europe and North America is due to intensive exploitation of the natural resources of Africa and Asia accompanied by the payment of extremely low prices and wages?

44. The United Nations must show awareness of its responsibilities; it must bear in mind, moreover, that these peoples are impoverished by the extravagant expenditure on war preparations—preparations to which they make the biggest contribution whether in the form of raw materials purchased at the lowest possible prices or of labour receiving starvation wages.

45. The task of economic, social and cultural advancement facing the peoples of Africa is a vast one. The economic assistance contemplated by the economically most advanced countries, together with that of the United Nations Special Fund, amounts to less than \$1,000 million annually, i.e. less than \$1 per person for an impoverished or underprivileged population of 1,500 million; this is indeed inadequate for the vast

requirements of the liberated peoples in combating hunger, illiteracy and the most agonizing spiritual privation. In addition to being greatly increased, this assistance must be unaccompanied by political or other conditions which would justify the charge of neo-colonialism that has already been made.

46. We have confidence in the Powers which freed these peoples and which themselves submitted their application for admission to the United Nations. However, we do not dismiss the idea that a certain degree of supervision should be exercised by the Economic and Social Council and its regional commissions—a supervision of the assistance given by States. Co-operation between these States and the United Nations falls within the very scope of their common objectives. Their responsibility lies in promoting greater economic justice and providing economic and technical assistance. This course of action is dictated by the principles of our Charter, from which all peoples must benefit and the observance of which all peoples have the duty of ensuring. The nations which we are welcoming have rights just as they have obligations. Having been admitted in the name of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, they will be more zealous than anyone else in defending them, for they owe to those principles their freedom and human dignity, which have at last been recognized.

47. It has been said that this is the year of Africa. Let us not, however, forget the Republic of Cyprus. For it is more than the year of Africa; it is the year of all mankind, which is at last gaining an awareness of itself. Lebanon is particularly happy, because it is linked to Cyprus, its neighbour, by bonds of friendship going back three thousand years.

48. In the African States, thousands of Lebanese are working and will continue to work in close and loyal co-operation with the people of those States in order to promote their economic and social advancement.

49. It is therefore with profound satisfaction and a deep emotion which I will not attempt to conceal that I salute, on behalf of my country, the entry of Cyprus and the African States into the United Nations and that I wish them prosperity and greatness.

50. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Mr. President, may I express to you the warmest felicitations of the Portuguese delegation on your election to the high office of the President of the General Assembly. Your personal and most remarkable qualifications, your wide knowledge of the work of the Organization and your well-known diplomatic tact give us the complete assurance that the choice made by the General Assembly is certainly a most happy one.

51. The Portuguese delegation welcomes with great pleasure the entry into the United Nations of all the fourteen new Members admitted today by a unanimous vote of this Assembly. On behalf of the people and the Government of Portugal, we extend our warm and sincere congratulations to the peoples and Governments of these new States on this occasion which marks a most important event in their national lives.

52. Portugal recognized the sovereignty and independence of all the new Members on the very days on which they were proclaimed, in direct communications sent to their respective Governments. Towards all the new Members and, naturally, more particularly, towards those among them who are our close neigh-

bours in Africa, we entertain a firm and sincere desire of maintaining the most amicable relations, inspired by a spirit of mutual confidence and respect. These feelings were expressed by the Portuguese Government on the occasions of our recognition of this independence, and we were happy to see such feelings reciprocated by all the Governments of the new States.

53. We feel confident that the newly emerged States will make a significant and worthy contribution to the United Nations and the cause of world peace. On behalf of the Portuguese nation, I wish them and their peoples a happy and prosperous future.

54. Mr. TSIANG (China): Mr. President, I wish, first of all, to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Your integrity and your courtesy will enable you to guide our deliberations along wise and fruitful lines.

55. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly has begun with a happy and significant event, the admission of fourteen new Members to this Organization. As the representative of one of the oldest nations in the United Nations, I extend to the fourteen new Members the congratulations and good wishes of China.

56. The admission of these fourteen new Members is significant in many ways. It marks an important stage in the evolution of the United Nations. Hitherto, the great continent of Africa had been, in the opinion of my delegation, under-represented in the United Nations and, I might add, in the affairs of the world. With the addition of thirteen new African Members, this imbalance has been, to a large extent, redressed.

57. With new vigour and fresh viewpoints, the thirteen new Members from Africa will, I am sure, contribute a great deal to the discussion and solution of many problems which the United Nations faces.

58. The people of the Republic of Cyprus have been participants in great historical movements and civilizations. My delegation anticipates with great pleasure co-operation with the delegation of Cyprus in the work of the United Nations.

59. The world is full of troubles and difficulties. To all the new Members, I would like to say: grow strong, grow rich, grow as fast as you can. The stronger and richer you become, the better for you and the better for the peace, freedom and security of the entire world.

60. The present occasion is not only a tribute to the peoples of the new nations, but also a tribute to the enlightened statesmanship of France, the United Kingdom and Italy, without which we might not be witnessing the happy event we are witnessing today. My delegation wishes to make public acknowledgement of this fact.

61. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): At the very outset, may I, on behalf of my delegation, congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly to which you bring such outstanding qualities.

62. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, I warmly welcome the admission of the thirteen States of Africa, and of Cyprus, to the United Nations. Belonging to a country which became free only a few years ago, we still retain the memory of the first ecstasy of becoming free. The tremendous upsurge of freedom which we have witnessed in the African con-

continent during the last year or two now reaches culmination in the admission of all these States to the United Nations. Colonialism bows out of Africa. All these States bring to the United Nations tremendous youth and vigour. They greatly enrich this Organization. We trust that their enormous energy will be used in all humility for the welfare of all mankind.

63. This Organization is the most potent instrument in mankind's quest for peace and a better life. Year after year, the strength of the United Nations has grown. We are hopeful that, as the remaining countries take their place in our midst, the principles of universality, so intensely desired by all of us, will be speedily realized.

64. Article 4 of the United Nations Charter spells out the conditions for admission: that a State be peace-loving, that it be able and willing to fulfil the obligations assumed. It is necessary, in our judgement, that all States should, without reservation, carry out the decisions of the Organization and, for this purpose, place their resources at its disposal. This is the only way in which the hopes enshrined in the Charter can be realized.

65. This moment is a climactic one, a point of time when all nations, big and small, rededicate themselves to one purpose: to create a world free from fear, in which all can live as good neighbours, in peace, in unity and, above all, in dignity. In that sense, the admission of these States is a guide-post on the long road to the fulfilment of human destiny.

66. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): Like previous speakers, Mr. President, I wish to offer you, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of this Assembly.

67. After listening to your speech, I am more convinced than ever that the work of this Assembly will be conducted smoothly, speedily and impartially.

68. Today is a great day for the continent of Africa and the Africans. Never in the history of the United Nations have so many countries at one time, and from one continent, been admitted to this Organization. What a record for this continent and this people—that through their courage, determination and tenacity, Africa, the second largest continent in the world, which, up to six years ago, was represented in this Organization by two independent countries, now—in less than ten years—has twenty-three States that are Members of this Organization.

69. What has brought about such a rapid transformation? It is the realization that people, no matter how backward, how undeveloped, how poor, will not forever submit tamely to foreign domination or control. Ignorance, poverty, backwardness do not make men love freedom less or suppress their urge for independence or to be masters of their own destiny. For, we were all born free, and liberty therefore is an inalienable right. It is only greed, jealousy and ambition, the evils that have made one man master and the other man slave, that have plagued our world since its creation with strife and bloodshed.

70. It is to be hoped that, with mental power gaining the ascendancy over physical force, we will use this superiority not only to improve our standard of living, our conveniences and comforts, the exploring of unknown worlds, the unravelling of the secrets of nature,

but also to teach us to live as brothers, based upon freedom, right and justice. We now hold our own fate in our hands and we can avoid destruction only if right and justice prevail over injustice and exploitation. For, what would it profit us to have all our present conveniences and comforts if we are not alive to enjoy them?

71. It is with great satisfaction and deep emotion that we welcome here today the independent States of the Republic of Cameroun, the Togolese Republic, the Malagasy Republic, the Republic of Somalia, the two Republics of the Congo, the Republic of Dahomey, the Republic of the Niger, the Republic of the Upper Volta, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Chad, the Central African Republic, the Gabon Republic and the Republic of Cyprus. We salute their courage, their patience and their determination. For, it is difficult to live under any form of tutelage or domination, no matter how benevolent. It is indeed remarkable, therefore, that most of these countries have achieved their independence without untold hardship and bloodshed. Your experience and your trials under such trying and difficult circumstances, we hope, will bring to this Organization a new approach to our many and vexing problems, which require utmost patience and perseverance.

72. In our rejoicing, we cannot forget, or keep our minds from returning to our brethren who are still living under foreign rule, who still suffer and the humiliation, oppression, exploitation, and even death at times, of dependent people. I think I voice your sentiments when I say that we shall never rest or give up the struggle until the last vestige of foreign domination and exploitation disappear, not only from the continent of Africa, but from the face of the world wherever found.

73. Mr. ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia) (translated from French): Permit me first of all, Mr. President, to extend to you my cordial congratulations and those of my delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. This mark of honour and confidence which the Members of this Assembly have just conferred upon you is a tribute to your distinguished qualities as a statesman, and I am certain that you will discharge your high office with the same wisdom, fairness and impartiality that you have shown in the past.

74. The Ethiopian delegation is happy to join the previous speakers in expressing its joy at seeing fourteen new independent States admitted to membership of the United Nations. As one of the oldest independent countries in Africa, Ethiopia, which, for centuries, stood almost alone as the symbol of African independence, has a feeling of special satisfaction at seeing the number of independent African countries grow from year to year—and almost from day to day.

75. With the attainment of independence and of membership of this Organization by no less than thirteen African countries and by Cyprus, which is also a friendly neighbouring country, the fifteenth session of the General Assembly marks a milestone in this gratifying process of forward evolution.

76. Ethiopia welcomes in particular the Republic of Somalia, a neighbouring sister country, with which we hope to co-operate in sincerity and friendship for the greater good of our two countries. It is pleasant for me to recall here that, ten years ago, when the ques-

tion of Somalia was under consideration, I myself had the honour of leading the Ethiopian delegation. I remember that the Ethiopian delegation was almost alone at that time in urging immediate independence for Somalia. Today, when we see our Somali brethren admitted to this Organization together with other African countries, it is gratifying for me to be present myself and to greet their representatives.

77. On behalf of my august sovereign, His Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie, and the Ethiopian Government and people, I have the high honour of offering to the Republic of Cameroun, to the Togolese Republic, to the Malagasy Republic, to the Republic of Somalia, to the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), to the Republic of Dahomey, to the Republic of the Niger, to the Republic of the Upper Volta, to the Republic of the Ivory Coast, to the Republic of Chad, to the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), to the Gabon Republic, to the Central African Republic and to the Republic of Cyprus our sincere congratulations and good wishes for their prosperity and happiness.

78. Mr. ASHA (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Yemen and the United Arab Republic, I wish to express to you our hearty congratulations upon your election to preside over this Assembly and to guide us through our forthcoming deliberations. Your integrity, experience and exceptional ability, through serene moments as well as in the turbulence of crisis, give us the assurance of a solid and heartening guarantee of success in the work which we shall try to accomplish together during the following weeks.

79. The delegations of Yemen and the United Arab Republic wish also to pay high tribute to Mr. Belaúnde for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the last session of the General Assembly.

80. We greet the many worthy nations from Africa, and the people of Cyprus, which have attained their independence in the period between the previous session and the present one. We welcome them to the United Nations and to the community of independent States. Their admission gives us good cheer and fills our hearts with joy. Their contribution to universal peace and prosperity will be undoubtedly great.

81. They come forward with their enthusiasm, youth and vigour, the same qualities which earned for them their well-deserved independence; new to our Organization, they are free from the erring, the entanglement and the entrenchment in unwise positions into which not a few of us have been drifting for so many years.

82. The stepping of these nations in freedom into the world of impressive realities of 1960 stirs our deepest emotions, sparks our most daring thoughts and spurs our hope for greater dignity, higher honour and more and more liberty for the human race.

83. It is with this in mind that I have the honour and the distinct pleasure of extending to them, to the United Nations and to the world community of nations at large the greetings, warm welcome and congratulations of the delegations of Yemen and the United Arab Republic.

84. Mr. TOURE Ismaël (Guinea) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, I wish first of all, Mr. President, to offer you our cordial congratulations on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly for the fifteenth session. We are certain that, thanks to

your extensive experience of international affairs and your personal qualities, your delicate task will be performed with success.

85. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea fully associates itself with the good wishes and congratulations just addressed to the fourteen new States Members of our Organization. As the youngest of the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations and, in particular, of the African countries, we felt that we should not fail to express our feelings of joy on this momentous occasion.

86. When it attained independence, the Republic of Guinea boldly proclaimed to the world that its sovereignty would serve the cause of all Africa. For, when, on 28 September 1958, we finally rejected the colonial yoke, the choice we made was above all an African choice. For more than half a century, we were joined together under the same colonial system with almost all the States which the General Assembly is welcoming and honouring today. We wish to emphasize the special meaning that the victory of the African peoples has for the Republic of Guinea—a victory which is lent special lustre by the simultaneous appearance on the international scene of an unprecedented number of independent nations. This victory is our victory; it is the culmination of the heroic struggle waged by our peoples against the colonial system. All peoples of the world which are animated by love of freedom, dignity and equality can take pride in it. We feel sure that these young nations will join their efforts with ours in order, by lending the international community greater cohesion and strength, to speed the liberation of those peoples which are still enslaved. This liberation, which is so vitally necessary and is a fundamental objective of the United Nations, will be a powerful stabilizing force in the maintenance of international peace and security. Lasting peace is not possible until all the oppressed peoples have attained full and complete sovereignty.

87. We are convinced that the young nations of Africa and Asia, now that they have finally cast aside the system based on domination and indignity, will pool all their moral and material resources with the older nations to put an end once and for all to exploitation, injustice and inequality. We are also convinced that the United Nations will be able to count on the contribution of the new Member States in bringing about an era of general well-being, brotherhood and genuine peace for all peoples.

88. Mr. KHEIR (Sudan): Mr. President, let my first words in this brief intervention be words of congratulation to you on your well-deserved election to the high office of President of this Assembly. Your brilliant career, your record of unfailing contribution to the work of this Organization and your personal qualities speak for themselves and need no emphasis. Drawing inspiration from your great human qualities, it is our hope and expectation that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will be, as you put it, the "Assembly of humanity".

89. Secondly, it is a source of great happiness for the delegation of the Republic of the Sudan to welcome, in the name of the Government and the people of the Sudan, the new Member States to the United Nations. The achievement of independence is an event of paramount importance in the history of the peoples concerned, and also to their friends and neighbours, for

it represents the means to the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of those peoples for a dignified and better life. To other peoples of the world, and in particular to those of us joined in this Organization, the liberation of subject peoples is one of the most important factors in lessening the forces of conflict in the world of today and in releasing the energies of peoples for the realization of the very aims the United Nations stands for.

90. Once more, may I extend my heartiest welcome to our new Members. I am confident that they will prove to be an unfailing source of strength to our great Organization in the interest of world peace and faithful co-operation amongst nations.

91. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): To the congratulations which have been addressed to you and with which, as you are aware, Mr. President, I associate myself whole-heartedly, I wish to add a word of congratulation to ourselves for electing a President who is so capable and, if I may say so, is endowed with so attractive a personality.

92. Before paying tribute to the new Members, I feel I should pay tribute to the United Nations itself, for several, if not all, of the new Members admitted today were undoubtedly assisted by the United Nations in their preparation for and attainment of independence. It behoves me to recognize that fact and to pay a fitting tribute. Greece which, at the cost of very heavy sacrifices, had the great privilege of being among the founders of this world Organization, is particularly proud to have contributed to that founding when it sees the work done by the United Nations in this field.

93. As representative of the Greek Government, I am particularly happy to address a cordial greeting to the new States which have today been admitted to the United Nations. These are young and vigorous peoples, almost all of which live on the African continent—that great continent whose moral, political, spiritual and material awakening we are watching with admiration, interest and sympathy. From the bottom of my heart, I wish all the new Members much happiness.

94. Now I should like to address a more special greeting to one of the new Members the great majority of whose population is Greek. As representative of Greece, I welcome with deep emotion the entry of Cyprus into this Organization. I welcome the affirmation of its international identity—wholly free, wholly independent, wholly the master of its own destiny. I feel bound to state to you my conviction that the Republic of Cyprus, with its 3,000-year-old civilization, will be a constructive member of the international community. To cite but one reason for my optimism, may I say that the splendid co-operation shown by the Greek and Turkish communities on the island in managing their domestic affairs is an earnest of the spirit of international co-operation which, I am certain, will characterize this young Republic in the eastern Mediterranean.

95. On behalf of Greece, I wish the Republic of Cyprus and all the new sister States of the great African continent an independent existence filled with happiness.

96. Mr. SARPÉR (Turkey): I wish, first of all, to offer you, Mr. President, my warmest congratulations as well as the congratulations of the Turkish delegation on the occasion of your election to this high office of the presidency of the General Assembly.

97. It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to extend the congratulations of Turkey to the fourteen countries admitted today to membership of this Organization. I think I should join my colleague, the Foreign Minister of Greece, in making a special mention of Cyprus. I extend to the young Republic of Cyprus the congratulations of the Turkish people and of the Turkish Government on this happy occasion.

98. I wish to add my personal good wishes for the success and prosperity of the people of Cyprus. Their success will largely depend upon a sincere co-operation between the two distinct entities—the two communities—a co-operation in the spirit of the existing agreements based on a balanced safeguard of interests and rights of each community.

99. Mr. EDUSEI (Ghana): May I personally and on behalf of my delegation congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the high office which you now occupy. Ireland and Ghana have a common heritage, not only because our two countries had to struggle hard to attain independence and sovereignty from the United Kingdom but also because many Ghanaians spent their student days in your beautiful country. I sincerely believe that under your able guidance we shall find solutions to our problems.

100. Today is a momentous day in the life of our great continent. To the delegation, the Government and the people of Ghana it is a source of great pride and happiness to welcome to this world Organization our sister nations from Africa, and also the Republic of Cyprus.

101. It was the Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, the President of the Republic of Ghana, who proclaimed to the world when we became independent that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the African continent. Inspired by such aims, all of us in Africa have struggled to help ourselves by political organization and legitimate agitation to rid ourselves and the continent of Africa of the yoke of foreign rule, of colonialism and imperialism. For thirteen dependent States to accede to independence in a single year is an indication that Africa intends to be completely free. As we have always said, Africa cannot be half free, half slave, and so we want to assure all the representatives that in a very short time all African States will be free and full Members of this Organization.

102. You, Mr. President, have expressed the hope that this Assembly will go down in history as the "Assembly of humanity". My delegation and I myself have no doubt that all the African delegations will conduct themselves in a manner which will make the realization of this aim possible. The role of Africa in this world Organization is going to be decisive. I have no doubt whatsoever that our sister African States which have just joined us will feel free to speak their minds freely, without fear or favour, in the cause of Africa and world peace and thus help the further projection of the African personality, whose influence cannot but do good in the world.

103. Africa belongs to the peoples of Africa and is not—I repeat, is not—and never was a projection of Europe. And those European Powers who still think that they can create political and economic confusion in the continent, are doomed to failure. We shall expose them all.

104. We reaffirm our support for the United Nations and our unswerving loyalty to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. It is our belief that the future of humanity rests on the success or failure of this Organization, and it is our sincere belief that Africa—in the year of Africa and in the years to come—will not let down the United Nations.

105. I wish to place on record the honour my delegation holds to those who fell in the struggle for the political emancipation of their countries.

106. Hands off Africa. Africa is on the march. No amount of threats and no amount of intimidations and no amount of imprisonment will deter the honourable cause of Africa.

107. I entreat the new African States to project the African personality and to speak out, so that our suffering masses and brothers who are not yet free will know that Africa has more Members in the United Nations.

108. Once again, on behalf of my delegation, and myself, I welcome the new Members to our Organization.

109. Mr. M'HAMMEDI (Morocco) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Moroccan delegation is most happy to extend to you its cordial congratulations on your well-deserved election as head of the present General Assembly.

110. May I also, on behalf of His Majesty, the King of Morocco, his Government and his people, who regained their freedom and independence by fighting for them, offer to our fellow African States and their peoples our warmest congratulations on their attainment of independence and their admission to this Organization.

111. If the Republic of Cyprus, because of its rich history and its civilization, has rendered inestimable services to the world community, mankind owes no less a debt to us, the peoples of Africa, and to the African peoples which we are welcoming today, for the world benefited from our natural and human resources for centuries in achieving well-being and prosperity.

112. The presence of the African nations in the United Nations inaugurates a new era in world history—that of the creation of a world based on peace and prosperity.

113. For, until the last few years, Africa was a continent locked in a struggle for the liberation of the individual and of communities. It did not yet hold the reins of its destiny in its own hands. The whole of African history was a struggle to replace an old order that was temporary and unstable by an order that was natural, firmly established and stable.

114. The event which we are celebrating today stamps this century as not only that of the atom but also and above all that of universality and freedom acquired through sacrifice by the peoples of Africa, which have so long been muzzled and exploited.

115. The Kingdom of Morocco, an African State, is particularly pleased to note this event, which does it honour and lends it strength.

116. The world is at a decisive turning-point in its historical evolution. Freedom is advancing from triumph to triumph. The unity and universality of man are becoming an increasingly obvious fact. These two concepts are being translated into reality by the increasing and effective participation of the African

continent in world affairs. My country therefore speaks with assurance, and, with your leave, speaks on behalf of the African community, when it asserts that Africa must continue the struggle to make its independence complete and to safeguard its integrity.

117. At the same time, however, Africa must redouble its vigilance, lest it fall into the trap of disunity and division. The unity of the African peoples, of which we are one, is therefore a prerequisite for the consolidation of their independence. Such unity will enable us to mobilize our efforts and to rely essentially and above all on our own toil and sacrifice, yet without spurning disinterested and effective assistance offered by friendly peoples—although, let it not be forgotten, such assistance is to be regarded as something purely auxiliary and subsidiary.

118. I cannot close without expressing the hope that our ranks will soon be swelled by those peoples which, like Algeria, are still fighting for their freedom and which are justified in insisting upon the fullest support from the United Nations for the sake of justice and peace.

119. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): In taking the floor today, I should like, first of all, on behalf of the Indonesian delegation, to extend to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. It is true that the agenda for the present session is loaded with many explosive items. However, I am confident that, under your wise guidance, this session will achieve its end in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

120. Speaking on the subject of the admission of new Members, it is a great honour indeed, both for the Indonesian Government and for the people of Indonesia, to extend the warmest congratulations to the Governments and peoples of the newly admitted Member States: the Republic of Cameroun, the Togolese Republic, the Malagasy Republic, the Republic of Somalia, the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), the Republic of Dahomey, the Republic of the Niger, the Republic of the Upper Volta, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, the Republic of Chad, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Gabon Republic, the Central African Republic and the Republic of Cyprus.

121. The admission of these new Members to our Organization will, I am sure, give new strength and importance to the role of our Organization in world affairs. I trust that these new Members will make a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace in this troubled world.

122. Until the beginning of this year, all the newly admitted States had been, in one form or another, under the rule of other nations. They were colonies. Thanks to the energetic struggle of the people and their national leaders, one by one they have been able to achieve their national independence. This has not been done without sacrifice. Indeed, for many years in the past, their lives have known nothing but sacrifice. This sacrifice, however, has proved to be the investment of their present victory. Now they are sovereign.

123. Today we witness a momentous occasion in which the former rulers and ruled recognize each other as equals and as full members of the community of sovereign States.

124. The struggle for freedom for all nations, however, has not yet ended. Colonialism is still not dead. Millions of peoples are still under colonial oppression, but I am convinced that they also will one day be able to take their destiny into their own hands. The day will soon come—and I look forward to it—when they will join us in this Organization.

125. We extend to our friends a most cordial welcome to this Assembly and we hope that, together with other delegations, particularly those of the African-Asian group, joint efforts will be undertaken for peace and justice and for a peaceful, just and prosperous life for all nations.

126. Mr. MILLAN (Philippines): The Philippine delegation takes this opportunity to express its sincerest congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the highest office in the United Nations. In electing you, the Members of the General Assembly manifested their high regard and esteem for you personally and for the country and the people whom you represent.

127. Today we have witnessed the entry into this august body of the representatives of fourteen new States from Africa and the Mediterranean area. It was with much pleasure and great honour that my country and my delegation took part in the admission of these States to membership of our international Organization. The unanimity with which the General Assembly voted for their admission shows once again its sincerity and determination in pursuing the lofty principles embodied in the United Nations Charter.

128. The admission of the fourteen States is another monumental landmark in the long struggle of the subject nations for freedom and equality with the rest of the world. My own country and my people have played an important role in that struggle, and I am proud to say that we became independent fourteen years ago, not by force of arms, not by shedding precious blood in the battlefields, but by peaceful and friendly negotiations with a magnanimous country, often undeservedly referred to here as an imperialist nation. My delegation, therefore, has a special reason to be overwhelmed by joy and pride in welcoming the new Member States to the United Nations, for most of them also won their freedom by peaceful means.

129. I must say in all candour, however, that, although we are here now, our common struggle is not yet fully won. Together, and with the support of other Members, we must work unceasingly and relentlessly, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, for the liberation of other peoples still under colonial subjection and for their admission to membership in this international Organization. Above all, we must work unceasingly and relentlessly for the economic progress that is so essential to the reality of political independence. My delegation is confident that the presence here of the delegations of the new Member States will add more lustre to the great record of the United Nations and will lend strength and vigour to its efforts to promote lasting peace for the whole world and the prosperity and happiness of all mankind.

130. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): Mr. President, my delegation joins with many others which have expressed themselves on this rostrum in conveying its congratulations to you on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. The Assembly may feel assured that under your wise guidance and your patient

steering of the business in the Assembly our difficult agenda will have smoother sailing than otherwise.

131. I should also like to take this opportunity to recall the great services rendered by your predecessor, Mr. Belaúnde, in this Assembly by his unfailing kindness and courtesy and the extreme patience with which he conducted the business during the fourteenth regular session and the fourth emergency special session.

132. The fact that so many of us are gathered here for the second successive night meeting, although we did not have the privilege of being consulted, is testimony to the sentiments we desire to express on the admission of the new Members to the United Nations.

133. I hope I will not be striking a discordant note if I refer to the hard reality that not long ago the item "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" was a hardy annual item which did not produce many results for a long time. With the lowering of tensions in the world, to which all sides contributed, we have had, first of all, the entry of fifteen or sixteen of the older free nations, now followed each year by a succession of nations from Asia and Africa. So the great current that began at the beginning of this century with the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the liberation of western Asia, and which continued in the rest of Asia, now has spread over the greater part of Africa—but not all of Africa. And this movement, irrespective of whatever forces may be brought to bear against it, will not stop until every part of the world and every human being in this world lives under a free régime.

134. So today we think of these fourteen new nations which have joined us—some of them on the continent of Africa, others like Cyprus, populated by people who have inherited an ancient civilization. I think it is also right to say that, in some of these cases, as in Somaliland and Cyprus, for example—I hope I am not discriminating against anyone in this—the United Nations has taken a direct part, if I may say so, in that liberation. Not only those who have gained liberty but also those who denied them liberty have learned the lesson of liberty because the burden of empire is not always on those over whom the empire rules, but on the people of the empire itself. They may also rest content in thinking that, with the expansion of the political dimensions of humanity, they have contributed to this vast Organization greater and greater power towards peace because empire and peace do not live together. The greater the inroads we make into the negation of freedom which empire represents, the greater the hope and the prospect of peace in this world.

135. My delegation would also like to recall on this occasion the great numbers of men, women and statesmen who have contributed much both in the ruling countries and in the ruled or oppressed countries in order to bring about this consummation. I think it is only right that we should also remember those men and women who made the supreme sacrifice in order that those who came after them might become citizens of a free country.

136. The United Nations can congratulate itself that it is receiving into its fold millions of human beings who, perhaps a generation ago, would not have been thought of in this context, but who today represent in their own persons and presence here as independent nations the triumph of the principles of the Charter. But that triumph would have been short-lived unless

the imbalances that exist in the world, largely as the result of previous conditions, are not redressed both by the efforts of the people who are liberated and by those who are in more privileged positions.

137. I conclude by saying that, even before this Assembly rises, we hope to welcome into this fold newer elements who represent this freedom and that the whole continent of Africa, the rest of Asia, the remnants of the colonial empires will also see either the light of day or the curtain which keeps them away from it will be ripped open by the force and energy of peoples. Once again, I wish to congratulate all these new countries that have come into the United Nations, and my delegation and my country can make no distinction between one and the other because they all belong to the common land of freedom. We welcome them here. It is a privilege for us to do so, and I am quite certain that these nations will add to the strength of this Assembly in the strenuous efforts it must make in order to bring peace and co-operation to this world.

138. Mr. SANZ BRIZ (Spain) (translated from Spanish): Permit me, Mr. President, to congratulate you most cordially on your well-deserved election to the highest office in our Organization.

139. The Spanish delegation wishes to address words of warm welcome and greeting to the countries which have just entered the United Nations. Almost all of them are States situated on the continent of Africa which are linked to Spain by ties of sympathy and affection. We are also welcoming the Republic of Cyprus

—a Mediterranean country, as is ours to a great extent, and one eminently endowed with that Hellenic culture to which our own owes so much, inasmuch as we derive from Greece a great part of our spiritual heritage. We are therefore second to none in the joy with which we welcome the new States. We wish to point out, however, that the integration of this substantial portion of Africa into the international community is not an event that can be dismissed with a few words of greeting. Since the President asked us at the beginning of the debate [864th meeting] to confine our remarks within this compass and since the hour is advancing, we shall limit ourselves to these brief welcoming phrases—which, rather than mere phrases, are the expression of a profound emotion that is readily understandable in a Spaniard.

140. Nevertheless, the matter is of such importance that we reserve the right to revert to it in subsequent discussions in the General Assembly. Since we do not wish to prolong a meeting which has already lasted so long, we shall conclude these remarks, but they do not fully express the feeling of hope and expectancy aroused in us by the gratifying fact that so many new nations have just been admitted to the forum of the United Nations.

141. The PRESIDENT: As we have now come to the end of the speeches of welcome to the new Members, the Assembly will probably feel that this is an appropriate point at which to adjourn.

The meeting rose at 10.50 p.m.