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

AGENDA ITEM 20

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker on the list, I give the floor to the representative of Liberia on a point of order.

2. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): I am going to proceed backwards. First we wish to explain the reason why we are going to ask for an adjournment of the debate before we move for adjournment. Before moving for adjournment of the debate under rule 76, I am going to tell the reasons why we are doing so.

3. There is a very tragic situation that is taking place in Africa today. We brought the question of Angola before the Security Council. Since then conditions in that country have shown no improvement in any form whatsoever. Instead, the Portuguese are doing everything possible to suppress those who have agitated for better conditions in Angola.

4. With the President's permission, I would like to read to the Assembly a portion of a telegram received from that part of the world:

"Please transmit the following message to the Members of the General Assembly" concerning "events in Angola where the Portuguese are committing barbarities of unspeakable nature. Portuguese authorities presently appealing to Portuguese civilians all Portuguese colonies for formation of militia. Settlers, including men, women and youths, have been armed by Colonial Administration with purpose crushing native population. In plantations, farms, mines, shops, natives working presently under threat of arms and have been recruited by force. In case of Mavoio, Marhuangongo, Mandimba, Quitexe, Santa Isabel, and Primavera farms and other workshops. Heartrending news reaches us daily of massacres committed by Portuguese military troops and militia. In region of Bembe, Culmba, Mandimba and others, slaughters on increase. Entire villages burnt and destroyed by bombs. Entire families put to death. Portuguese troops composed of settlers embarking on veritable extermination of defenceless people. Killing pregnant women and children of tender years. This situation is evidently considered by Portuguese as normal. Once again we request inter-

vention on part all mankind to exercise pressure on Portugal to cease immediately horrible slaughters."

5. While I am here I must appeal to my fellow Africans to assist us by casting their votes in favour of a motion for adjournment on this item. The question of Mauritania is one which is also very dear to our hearts. But the Mauritians are not enduring suffering now. They have gained their independence. It is only a question of their admission to membership of the United Nations, and in spite of whatever resolutions we pass here, even by a vote of 99.9 per cent, Mauritania cannot be admitted to the United Nations unless and until it receives the recommendation of the Security Council. We make this appeal because our fellow representatives who insist on debating the question of Mauritania, especially the African delegations, will bear the responsibility for the debate and for the resolutions not passed at this session of the General Assembly on Angola. They will have lent their sanction to continued suppression of human rights in Angola by the Portuguese.

6. The PRESIDENT: The first item on the agenda this afternoon is item 20, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations". Adjournment of the debate on this item has been proposed under rule 76. Under the terms of that rule, in addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour and two against the motion, after which the motion is immediately put to the vote. Does any Member of the Assembly ask for the floor?

7. Mr. IGNACIO-PINTO (Dahomey) (*translated from French*): We always wish to be men of good will and we certainly have some classic dilemmas to solve. I entirely agree with the Liberian representative, who very rightly called our attention to the events in Angola. My delegation is particularly aware of these painful events, and I myself am heartbroken for historical and family reasons.

8. I am sorry to have to return to this rostrum in a debate in which, although I am quite quite prepared to listen to arguments bordering on quibbles, I must be myself, keep a cool head and firmly uphold only what is right.

9. I know full well that tragic events are taking place in Africa, particularly in Angola. But who is in a position to give us even more time than we need to analyse the question of Angola? How much time has been frittered away? I myself have a long personal acquaintance with parliamentary proceedings. We are very well aware of all the time we have wasted. When the question of Mauritania was introduced here, the Angola item was already on the agenda. Why is there so much anxiety at the last moment, two days before the end of the General Assembly's session, since the item was placed on the agenda last December by certain

nations as worthy of respect as our own but has always been side-tracked?

10. On this precise point I ask you once again not to try to avoid serious problems, but to seek a solution sincerely. What have we come here to do? Only to "pull strings"? This may be a vulgar expression, but this is how the situation appears to us.

11. I tell you, with all the good will I can muster, that we must be fair; we must go straight to the point and give each problem the priority which it deserves. We are told that Mauritania presents no problem and that everyone agrees about it. In that case why is it still being discussed, after nearly four months? Why did the discussion peter out last year in the First Committee? Simply because it was futile to oppose logic. I repeat: where will this procedure lead us? It may well break up the whole Organization. I tell you in all seriousness that "great oaks from little acorns grow". Does the question of Mauritania present no problem? What do you know about it? Do you know what will happen tomorrow on the frontier of Mauritania? And if tomorrow you were told that you had wasted time and that an armed invasion had begun, would you still discuss the matter interminably, when it would be much easier to recognize facts as they really are?

12. This is why, although I should like to support the motion for adjournment submitted by the representative of Liberia, my sense of justice and equity forbids me, because it is owing to such tactics that the question has dragged on for three days.

13. In the circumstances, although I regret this very much, I think we should finish with the question of Mauritania. For four months, a whole people has been left waiting at the back door like a servant of no consequence, although it fulfils the same conditions as all of us and deserves to join us with its head held high.

14. These are the reasons why I am unfortunately unable to support the Liberian representative's request for adjournment and shall vote against this proposal, with all the co-sponsors of our draft resolution [A/L.335].

15. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): It is indeed a very painful experience for me to have to speak at this stage. I had already appealed in private to the representatives who are insisting on the continuation of the debate on Mauritania, and I was awaiting a reply to that appeal. Since, however, the matter has now been brought to the Assembly, I have no choice but to repeat my appeal here, in a friendly and brotherly way.

16. I would say at the outset that the independence of Mauritania is just as dear to us as is the independence of Angola. If, therefore, we are now requesting a debate on Angola, it is not that we value Mauritania's independence less, but that we value it more.

17. I have looked at the list of speakers on the Mauritanian question, and it seems to me that it will take at least another three or four days to hear all the representatives who wish to speak. I hate to think that Mauritania would wish to be responsible for a delay in the discussion of the situation in Angola. For let us remember that Mauritania, by the grace of God, is independent—but not Angola. And, what is more, for Angola it is not simply a question of independence: it is a question of life and death; for the people of Angola it is not a question of being admitted to the United Nations: it is a question of life and death, a

question of survival. Anyone who cares to read the press reports will immediately realize that what I am saying is the truth and nothing but the truth.

18. It was for those reasons that, as I have just said, I made an appeal in private to the representatives who wish to continue the debate on Mauritania, and I was awaiting their reply. The question has now come to the Assembly, and I wish in all earnestness to appeal to them not to take the responsibility for delaying the discussion of the situation in Angola. It will not be a good thing to have to inform the continent that because of a simple question of admission the discussion of Angola was delayed.

19. Furthermore, let us remember that even if 98 per cent of the Members of the General Assembly voted in favour of the admission of Mauritania, that admission could be effected only if the Security Council agreed. The position of my own Government is quite simple. We celebrated the independence of Mauritania and we support Mauritania's admission to the United Nations. But I should be guilty of a dereliction of duty if I did not say that my vote here is not going to produce a miracle. If I thought that my vote would produce such a miracle, I would request from this rostrum that the discussion of Mauritania should stop at this point and a vote should be taken immediately. That, however, is not the case.

20. Hence, once again I appeal to my colleagues who are insisting on the discussion of the item on Mauritania to be compassionate and consider the people of Angola. I appeal to them to let us proceed with the debate on Angola. I particularly appreciate the sentiments of the representative of Dahomey and what he has just said from this rostrum, but, in the spirit in which he spoke to us, I appeal to him to be kind enough to let the Assembly proceed with the debate on Angola.

21. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): My delegation has listened with attention to the proposal made by the representative of Liberia, and just supported by the representative of Ethiopia, for the immediate adjournment of the debate on the question of Mauritania. We have also listened to the argument advanced by the representative of Dahomey against the proposal for adjournment. I must confess that, from a purely objective assessment of the position, an assessment which is made with a conscious regard for the elements in the Angola situation to which reference has been made, we cannot be persuaded that it would be the path of wisdom, or indeed of co-operation, for the Assembly at this time to adjourn the debate on the item which refers to Mauritania and Outer Mongolia.

22. It is a matter of record that we have been considering this question for some days now. I think it is also a matter of record—and I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I refer to this—that a variety of attempts have been made during that period to prevent the conclusion of our debate on the item.

23. I am conscious of the great importance which so many delegations attach to the question of the situation in Angola. No one can be unmoved by the reports that we have heard, and it is proper that at the earliest possible moment the General Assembly should turn its attention to the consideration of the question of Angola. At the same time, however, it does seem that equity demands that we in the Assembly, particularly when we shall so shortly be concluding the proceedings of

this session, should acknowledge the desire of so many Members to discuss the item, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations".

24. I really do not think that it is a sufficient argument to say that 99.5 per cent of the Members of the Assembly may not be effective in arranging the entry of a new Member to the United Nations. There are, I think, enough precedents in the annals of this Organization for the Assembly to discuss and express opinions on matters which a substantial part of the membership regards as important. We, no less than other delegations, think it important that the Assembly should acknowledge Mauritania's right to admission.

25. Small causes certainly have big effects, and we would hope that it still might be possible on reflection for those who oppose this proposal to disengage themselves from it and that we might be able to proceed with all speed and all earnestness, and with a conscious regard for the importance of the next item on our agenda, to debate on this item and to vote upon it.

26. The PRESIDENT: Two representatives have spoken against the motion and one has spoken in favour of it. Does any other representative desire to speak in favour of the motion?

27. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (*translated from French*): I admit that the step which has just been taken comes as a great surprise to us although we fully approve of it. We Moroccans wished to adjourn the debate, and we had already taken steps to that end on several occasions, for the following reasons.

28. The first reason is this: during our struggle for independence, and during the struggle for the return of our banished king from Madagascar and against the installation of an old man, a puppet king—a tradition of long standing, as you yourselves have seen on several occasions and illustrated by several examples—we felt isolated. We felt that the truth was covered up and that the strong, who prevailed over the weak, and of whom the representative of Dahomey has spoken, were always able to justify themselves. Today we see that this is because they are defended—perhaps indirectly, innocently and in good faith—by certain countries, which, in the name of liberty, still support slavery and French imperialism.

29. This is why we wished to gain time, in order to study the matter more closely and give our point of view, as we are entitled to do.

30. But we also felt the pressure of a cold war which France and its NATO allies are waging against a country that is becoming more and more isolated, although this country alone is in the right and, since it feels that it is in the right, walks with its head high and has the right to do so. Now France has discovered the best trick of the fifteenth General Assembly. Whenever it wants to say something, it does so fourteen times; if Mauritania is admitted, it will do so fifteen times. I see that the same tactics are being followed now in support of another cause, the cause of Salazar, who has taken over the Ministry of Defence himself in order to carry out further butchery, equalled only by the butchery of the French who massacred eighty thousand innocents in Madagascar.

31. The PRESIDENT: I would remind the representative of Morocco that we are not now going into the merits of political situations. We are dealing with a procedural motion which is concerned solely with the question whether or not this debate should be adjourned.

32. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (*translated from French*): In Angola, there is a very serious crisis. Yet another colonial Power, a NATO Power, is going to carry out a massacre which has already begun. And here we see sincere patriots shedding tears, since no one stands behind them to take up the banner of liberty. The patriots also see that the time is coming when the Assembly will end its work, that their cause is not recognized and that they are alone, as we were. They are still alone and they want a little time. They do not want to be put off indefinitely, nor do they want to be left until the last day. But they want a little time, and this is why they ask for priority.

33. Yesterday they met me. I told them: "If I take up your cause, I shall be accused of delaying tactics". The representative of Dahomey goes so far as to make this charge against a brother, instead of accusing an imperialist country which had an empire in the Middle East, another in Asia and a third in Africa. This country is not accused of delaying tactics, but an innocent country like Morocco is so charged. This is disgraceful and the imperialist country which is behind the whole matter should also be ashamed.

34. We have, then, been unjustly attacked. We bear no grudge against our African brothers, but we wish to uphold the truth and to come closer to our African brothers. I told these Angolan nationalists that I could not take up their cause because I would be accused of delaying tactics.

35. For the time being, I see that we must keep our eyes closed and walk straight ahead on the road of reality. The people of Angola are right to ask that its problem should be studied now. The people of Mauritania, like the people of Katanga, the people of Ruanda and the Saharan people of Algeria, are threatened with Balkanization.

36. And here, while the NATO Powers point towards the decoy of independence, they seek to throw dust in our eyes and to accuse those whose country is still divided. Morocco was divided into seven zones; it has recovered three, but it still has four to recover.

37. The representative of Dahomey, and those who are with him, must know this. We tell him that we have faith in his conscience and in the goodness of his heart. We know that he wishes to fight for freedom, for which he has fought in his own country. But, on the question of Angola, the representative of Dahomey has no right to doubt the gravity of the situation or the sincerity of those who are now begging for the support of their brothers; beg is the right word.

38. I do not blame the representative of France for gesticulating across the chamber and whispering a word to right and left. He has the right to do so, and we do the same with those who understand our cause. But here we are addressing the General Assembly, and the General Assembly should know that it is the sole guardian of war and peace. If the General Assembly did not exist, we should have had a third World War long ago. But small countries such as ours, which have been Balkanized and torn apart, and which possess neither fleets, jet aircraft, bombs nor anything else, have only their courage and their spirit with which to address you.

39. And yet we see a representative of New Zealand changing colour here and becoming an African for the freedom of Africa. As a man, he is right. But he should not come here to allege that those who would

give priority to the question of Angola are guilty of delaying tactics in order to shut out a brother country, instead of admitting it to the United Nations. He is right to defend his ideas, but we must say that we do not agree with him because we are part of a mutilated body; our wound still bleeds, and our pain increases whenever we see an African come to the rostrum to take the side of France. There is yet another irrefutable argument against France: this is the whole French army, which is still in Algeria. There is freedom for you—the facts speak for themselves. The question of Mauritania is meaningless so long as the French army is there, so long as 600 prisoners are still in jail, so long as 30,000 refugees are in Senegal, and so long as over 200,000 people live near our frontier and come to Morocco whenever they are threatened.

40. Who is to be given independence? The sand? The mountains? We are to give independence to the iron mines in Mauritania, and to France, to the four military bases which are still there. These are to be given independence, and we shall fight against this, even if...

[At this point, the President called the speaker to order.]

41. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (*translated from French*):...we think that priority should be given to the question of Angola, because that is the wish of the Angolan nationalists here.

42. The PRESIDENT: I am glad that the representative of Morocco finally came to the point in his last sentence. He was quite out of order before then.

43. Two representatives having spoken in favour of the motion and two against it, the motion is now, in accordance with rule 76, put at once to the vote of the General Assembly. No points of order can be taken now. A roll-call vote has been requested. The motion is that the debate on agenda item 20, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations", should be adjourned.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Abstaining: Austria, Chile, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Federation of Malaya, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Mexico, Nigeria, Somalia, Thailand, Togo, Venezuela.

The motion was rejected by 41 votes to 33, with 15 abstentions.

44. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will accordingly now proceed with its consideration of agenda item 20, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations".

45. Mr. PADMADISASTRA (Indonesia): Since the principles that govern my delegation's position on this item have already been set out on previous occasions, since the issues involved are clear-cut, and since time is running short for the resumed session of the General Assembly, I shall be as brief as possible in explaining the views of my delegation on the matter before us.

46. Moreover, under the general heading, "Admission of new Members to the United Nations", it is my intention to deal separately with the requests concerning, respectively, the Mongolian People's Republic and Mauritania. It seems to us that this is the only sound procedure to follow.

47. Indeed, we regret the fact that, by virtue of the Soviet amendments [A/L.336] to the draft resolution [A/L.335] submitted by the eleven Powers, the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic is linked with that of Mauritania. This is not, in our opinion, a fitting or happy conjunction.

48. The case of the Mongolian People's Republic does not, and rightly should not, present problems for anyone; on the other hand, the case of Mauritania is an unusual one, certainly a highly controversial one, and one which inevitably must create difficulties for the United Nations.

49. Therefore, we feel that it would have been preferable if the Soviet amendments had been presented to the Assembly in the form of a separate draft resolution. But none the less the adoption of a procedure different from the one we would have preferred does not detract at all from our complete support of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations.

50. We are of the view that the Mongolian People's Republic is a peace-loving State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter, that it is able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter, and that it should accordingly be admitted to membership in the United Nations. We believe that its membership is, in fact, long overdue. The continued exclusion of the Mongolian People's Republic from the community of nations is obviously contrary to the principle of universality, as well as to the fundamental principles of justice and fair play. As such it cannot but harm the prestige of this Organization. We hope, therefore, that this situation—an indefensible situation—will be speedily corrected, and that soon we will be able to welcome the Mongolian People's Republic in the United Nations.

51. As to the question of Mauritania, I may refer the Members of this Assembly to the statement of my delegation in the First Committee [1115th meeting] during the course of its consideration of the problem of Mauritania. The views expressed at that time still stand.

52. However, to avoid any misunderstanding let me stress again that Indonesia welcomes the freedom and independence of the Mauritians, as we do that of every and any people. We are for the eradication of colonialism everywhere, in all its manifestations—politi-

cal, economic, military and cultural. There can be no question of our dedication to freedom.

53. But the issue involved here is not one of freedom from direct colonial rule. What is involved is freedom from colonial intrigue and manipulations, freedom from a colonial *fait accompli* and the removal of its destructive consequences.

54. From the colonial past has emerged a dispute concerning Mauritania. No one can deny the existence of that dispute. No one can overlook that dispute in considering the declaration and request contained in the eleven-Power draft resolution. It is not, we submit, in the interest of the Organization to adopt a decision on this matter before real efforts are made to resolve that dispute. Whatever our future decision may be, it should surely be our first task to promote a peaceful settlement rather than to bring into play new difficulties both within and outside the Organization.

55. So, though we do not question the high considerations and ideals that have guided the sponsors of the draft resolution, it is our humble conviction that the cause of peace and harmony among nations will be better served if the energies of all Member Governments, of this entire Organization, are channelled into finding a solution of the controversy that today festers in a part of the African continent.

56. Faced with a colonial *fait accompli*, let it not be said that we merely applied the rubber stamp. Let us instead apply ourselves to promoting peace and security.

57. It may perhaps be somewhat anti-climactic to add at this point that we seriously question the propriety of the request to the Security Council contained in the eleven-Power draft resolution. It is within the province of the Security Council to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of new Members to the United Nations, and we do not believe it is wise to tamper with this procedure, to change it and practically turn it upside down.

58. However, if the eleven-Power draft resolution and the amendments thereto are brought to a vote, our position will be determined by the considerations I have set out.

59. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (*translated from French*): I have come to the rostrum to support, on behalf of my Government and my country, the arguments put forward by my friends who preceded me and who had the privilege of introducing the draft resolution [A/L.335] submitted by eleven African States.

60. Mauritania is a member of an association formed at Yaoundé and designated the African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation. It is with conviction that we defend Mauritania because we are convinced that that country is the victim of an injustice. We wish to speak calmly and without passion, analysing the situation and its causes, and endeavouring to suggest a solution for consideration by the General Assembly.

61. Nor is there anything strange in the fact that France should be alongside us, as a friendly country, in the defence of Mauritania. Certainly, as everyone here knows, we have not always been in agreement and my delegation, particularly in the Fourth Committee, has often taken France to task in connexion with certain problems, such as that of *apartheid*. But let it not be thought that we have come here to inveigh against colonialism or anti-colonialism. What we say is this: "We are fighters, and we are in the fight against colonialism, but we fight steadily and calmly, because we are

certain of victory and because the principle which guides us, in the Ivory Coast, is: 'More haste, less speed'".

62. We understand the problem of Angola, and we are co-sponsors of the draft resolution which has been submitted to you. But we are bitterly disappointed that it is not realized that the Mauritanian problem is not a problem between Mauritania and Morocco. The problem has become a distressing and a burning one because Mauritania is caught up in the cold war, and because this precedent is fraught with danger for Africa.

63. Whose fault is it if we have thus far been unable to bring the debate on Mauritania to a close? We have been told that there is an established rule that the General Assembly does not hold a plenary meeting while the First Committee is meeting. In this way, delaying tactics have been used for several days. We have been unable to meet.

64. Was it overlooked for a single moment that the problem of Angola was coupled with that of Mauritania, and that by postponing discussion of the Mauritanian problem, the debate on the Angolan problem was also being postponed?

65. If you want us to discuss this problem—and we appeal to you to have it discussed reasonably quickly—it is for you to make the necessary effort, to avoid procedural devices and to allow us to bring the matter to a head.

66. Eight months ago, eleven countries which had undergone the same colonization as Mauritania, and known the same constitutional structures and the same course of development, would have entered the United Nations at the same moment as Mauritania if the timetable for the independence celebrations had not delayed the submission of the latter country's application. The eleven countries in question were welcomed unanimously and with acclamation, whereas when Mauritania arrived the doors were closed and it was obliged to sit in the waiting-room.

67. The most disturbing thing is that no one has told us how the difference in status arises. Is Mauritania not independent? Is it not able to carry out the obligations deriving from the Charter? Is it not a peace-loving country? If it were shown to us that Mauritania fails to satisfy these conditions, the only conditions imposed by the Charter, there would be just cause for making a distinction. But, if the opposite is true, we would be guilty of a grave injustice which our distinguished Assembly could not condone without dishonour to itself.

68. My delegation is confident that it will have no difficulty in demonstrating the injustice of the situation. Mauritania is a country of more than a million square kilometres, with a population numbering about a million, with an agricultural economy, but offering the certain prospect of economic expansion because of the iron ore in its sub-soil and the exploitation of this ore with the help of a loan of \$66 million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

69. The territory was colonized in 1903, at a time when Morocco was not yet under French rule, since the Protectorate was not set up until about 1912. At that time Morocco made no protest. The truth is that relations between Mauritania and Morocco were no different from the relations maintained by all other countries with all the other parts of Africa. Mauritania

had continuous relations with Black Africa—Africa south of the Sahara.

70. From 1904 onwards, Mauritania formed a federation with the seven other African States constituting French West Africa: Senegal, the Sudan—which has become Mali—Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, the Upper Volta. There was a Governor-General, a Federal Assembly, and a Governor and a local Assembly in each of the federated countries. During that period, France maintained perfect relations with the Sultan, who, to protect his throne, refrained from setting up a local democratic assembly. France did not at that time receive any protest from the Shereefian Kingdom regarding this democratization of Mauritania.

71. The Constitution of 1946 first established the principle that Africans should govern their own affairs in their respective countries, and founded the French Union. This Union did not include Morocco and Tunisia, which refused to participate. My country, on the other hand, together with the seven other countries of French West Africa, including Mauritania, formed integral parts of a Republic, one and indivisible, the French Republic. Morocco which, by simply expressing its wish to do so, was able to stay outside the French Union, did not protest against the integration of part of its territory—Mauritania—in the French Republic.

72. In 1956 Morocco became independent after a heroic struggle led by its revered Sultan of blessed memory, a hero in the anti-colonialist struggle esteemed and honoured throughout Africa, Mohammed V. The independence of Morocco was acquired after negotiation, and nowhere in the records of the negotiations or in the final agreements is mention made of Mauritania, although problems such as French bases and land owned by France and by Frenchmen were discussed.

73. The claims were first made in 1957, at the time when, by the *loi-cadre*, France granted internal self-government to the African States, and those claims began to be pressed more insistently and aggressively only after the 1958 referendum, as a result of which first Guinea and then the other African territories were to become independent.

74. Would Morocco prefer a Mauritania which was a French province, forming an integral part of the French Republic, to an independent Mauritania?

75. If so, our determination to fight against all odds to save Mauritania will be understood. But we would like to think that Morocco and the States supporting it are fighting against Mauritania only because they believe that its independence is not true independence and that it continues to be a province of France. In that case, their fight would be laudable and their objective a noble one. But such a view is definitely mistaken, for no one can doubt the independence of Mauritania proclaimed on 28 November 1960.

76. It is true that the weakness of the cadres in our newly independent countries forces us to appeal for technical assistance from States which are more developed and more favourably endowed than ours. The United Nations itself regards the sending of technical advisers as a necessity and as a contribution, not only to world peace, but to the development and strengthening of the independence of these young States, and this is borne out by the fact that the countries which became independent before us, such as Morocco and Tunisia, kept all the French technicians that they had at the time of their accession to independence, and that the

agreements establishing the independence of Morocco were accompanied by agreements on co-operation.

77. At La Celle-Saint-Cloud, in 1955, Morocco signed the so-called "independence in interdependence" agreement. Prince Moulay Hassan was in command of a Moroccan army with French officers. The Moroccan *gendarmérie* included Frenchmen. Yet Morocco was independent.

78. We did not then doubt for a single moment that the independence of Morocco was genuine independence. Mauritania, however, acceded to independence without any co-operation agreement, merely by signing agreements with France on the transfer of power. At the present time, Mauritania is one of the few countries among those colonized by France—including Morocco—which is not tied to it by any agreement, and we confess that the independence of Mauritania at the present stage appears to us more real than was that of Morocco after the agreements of La-Celle-Saint-Cloud.

79. But my delegation feels that the discussion should be raised to a higher plane and that, if Mauritania has not been able like the seven other countries of former French West Africa, to enter the United Nations, this is not the result of the claims made by a once colonized country, but because it has been the victim of the cold war.

80. Sixty-two countries have recognized Mauritania as an independent State. Moreover, on 28 November 1960, the Soviet Union sent a letter of congratulation to the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, stating that the Soviet Government considered Mauritania's achievement in proclaiming its independence as a step forward. That is tantamount to a *de facto* recognition.

81. Indeed, everything is but a step in a longer process, and the October Revolution is no exception to this law. The period from October 1917 to April 1961, when the USSR took a short trip in another world and came back to earth, was a series of steps. Let Mauritania also have the chance to take the steps which will lead it to independence which is safeguarded by economic expansion.

82. Most of the countries composing the United Nations have admitted Mauritania to the specialized agencies and related United Nations bodies, in which democracy and the equality of nations hold sway: for example, the World Health Organization, the Economic Commission for Africa, and the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa south of the Sahara. The sole reason why Mauritania has not yet been able to take its rightful place in the highest international forum and become a member of this Assembly is that it has come up against the veto of a great country committed to democracy and equality in a United Nations organ where aristocratic principles and inequalities prevail, where voting power depends not on population size but on economic power and wealth.

83. History shows that the veto is the weapon of dictators and despotic monarchs. Perhaps we shall have the opportunity some day to democratize all the organs of the United Nations. But in the present case we find that a great socialist country, from spite perhaps, has made use of this dictatorial and despotic instrument.

84. Since 1946 a dispute has existed between East and West over Mongolia. What responsibility do Africans bear for this situation, created at a time when they themselves were still under the crushing yoke of colo-

nialism? Are we finally going to find ourselves in the comic or tragicomic situation of seeing a country which is one of the champions of the liberation of colonial peoples bartering with the colonizers: Mongolia for Mauritania, China for Tanganyika or Sierra Leone? What a nightmare! What insanity! In the interest of fairness, justice and equality, the sole principles which guide our attitudes and actions in the United Nations, we are ready to vote for the admission of Mongolia. But, please, do not embroil us in your quarrels. That would jeopardize world security and the peace which is essential for the consolidation of our independence.

85. This situation has had two consequences. Firstly, it has enabled the Mauritanian parties to unite. The Nahada Party (the opposition party, which has certain links with the League of Arab States), the PNM (the *Parti national mauritanien*) and the PRM (the *Parti du regroupement mauritanien*), faced with the threats of the great Powers of this world to sacrifice Mauritania on the altar of the cold war, have reorganized themselves and, following the pattern set by other sister African republics, have formed a single party: the *Parti de l'unité mauritanienne*. There is now no cleavage, and no pretext for anyone to use internal differences in support of their arguments.

86. But this situation has also had an unfortunate consequence, because the present plight of Mauritania suggests an uncertain future for young African countries like ours, and increases their need to fight for their survival, to unite in self-defence and to secure for themselves, reluctantly, the protection of one great Power lest they should be threatened by others. We wonder whether, tomorrow, Sierra Leone will not be sacrificed in order to solve the disarmament problem, or Tanganyika sacrificed to solve the problem of China. We appeal to the consciences of the smaller countries fighting for their independence and ask them to unite to avoid becoming pawns in this cold war. We appeal to the consciences of the great Powers to recognize that the rule of the strongest is not the rule of justice, and that might is not right.

87. It is for the reasons which I have stated that we feel sure that this democratic Assembly, devoted as it is to the principles of the equality of men, races and States, as it has just proved at this fifteenth session by the admission of many African States and by its anti-colonialist resolutions—devoted as it is to world security and peace, to the protection of the small against the great, the weak against the strong—cannot but rectify this flagrant injustice by recommending the Security Council to admit Mauritania.

88. Mr. KALENZAGA (Upper Volta) (*translated from French*): My delegation is particularly happy to defend the cause of Mauritania, since for more than fifty years the Upper Volta has shared the same political and administrative life with Mauritania, within the group of territories which used to be called French West Africa. Common federal institutions bound the eight territories closely to one another. Never in this long period did we hear of any kind of claim to all or part of Mauritania. Each of the former colonies has now recovered its independence and national sovereignty within the territorial limits of the colonial age. National consciousness was forged and strengthened in each territory by over half a century of a common destiny and of subjection to a life and laws which were common to all races. These countries were prepared for a long time to manage their own affairs democratically, and

each has acquired its own inalienable personality. Today all of them—except, alas, Mauritania—are Members of the United Nations. It is on their behalf, and on behalf of many others, that I have the honour to speak.

89. At the end of the first part of the fifteenth session, eleven States submitted a draft resolution [A/L.335] for the purpose of having the General Assembly consider the question of admitting the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the United Nations; only the veto of the Soviet Union had prevented the Security Council from making a recommendation to that end. The question was referred to the second part of the present session, and is now on our agenda. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania celebrated its independence magnificently at Nouakchott on 28 November 1960, in the presence of many delegations from the whole world. It has already been recognized by sixty-two nations, and we should certainly have welcomed it into the United Nations if it had not been for the unfortunate veto of which I have spoken.

90. Since the end of the first part of the fifteenth session, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has been admitted to several international and regional organizations. The first was the Economic Commission for Africa, at its third session; then the World Health Organization, at its fourteenth session held at New Delhi in February 1961; and, lastly the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa south of the Sahara, at its sixteenth session held at Lagos in February 1961. Soon the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and others will admit the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to membership.

91. The result of the recent Moroccan claims to Mauritanian territory has been to rally the entire political opposition around the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which they had fought before independence, and to place this Government in a better position to bring about national unity, which had, until then, been difficult. This unity is the best guarantee of the integrity of Mauritanian territory and of the strengthening of its independence in international peace and friendship.

92. The Mauritanian people can scarcely believe that the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations can be held up by the will of one nation which declares its profound respect for the aspirations of peoples to free development, and which, by its position, gives unexpected encouragement to the opponents of independence and of the self-determination of peoples. Nor can the Mauritanian Government and people understand why the admission of the Mauritanian nation—which is now a fact—should still depend on low dealing and bargaining. The Mauritanian people, confident of its own destiny, proclaims to the world its will to guarantee the integrity of its territory and to ensure its free political, economic and social development. Above all, trusting the wisdom and spirit of fairness of this Assembly, Mauritania hopes soon to take its rightful place in the great family of nations.

93. Mr. TSIANG (China): Since the representatives of Dahomey and Upper Volta have spoken on this subject with a deep and intimate knowledge, I find it unnecessary to make a long speech. I shall therefore be extremely brief.

94. The subject of Mauritania was discussed in the Security Council in the beginning of December, at its 911th meeting. My delegation was satisfied at that time that Mauritania had all the qualifications for membership in the United Nations. Therefore, when on that occasion the representatives of France and Tunisia introduced a resolution recommending Mauritania for admission, my delegation regarded it as a privilege to vote for that resolution. That was the stand of my delegation in the Security Council, and that is the stand of my delegation today in this Assembly.

95. The year 1960 in the United Nations has frequently been considered—and rightly so—the year of Africa. I had hoped that Mauritania would have been admitted as enthusiastically as were many other African States. Unfortunately, this was not the case. The Mauritanian application has encountered opposition from Morocco. I do not wish to presume to judge the claims of Morocco. I wish to say only that, if there is to be some union or federation or some kind of association between Morocco and Mauritania in the future, it seems to my delegation that such a relationship must come by way of self-determination. In other words, if the people of Mauritania should freely choose to be united or federated or in some way associated with Morocco, no one could oppose them. So long as the people of Mauritania desire to remain independent, as is the case now, it is incumbent upon the United Nations to uphold the independence of Mauritania. For these reasons, my delegation will vote for the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.335].

96. There is no reason for linking the application of Mauritania with any other application. Our Charter specifies that each application must be studied on its own merits. On this question there can be no doubt. The International Court of Justice has rendered an advisory opinion¹ which states that the conditioning of one application upon another or the linking of one application with another is illegal. Therefore, in this case we see no reason why the application of Mauritania should be linked with that of Outer Mongolia. In the case of Outer Mongolia, my delegation has opposed its application on the sole ground that Outer Mongolia is not really independent. That remains the stand of my delegation to date.

97. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland): We have before us a draft resolution [A/L.335], presented by eleven Powers, on the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations, and an amendment [A/L.336] to this draft, proposed by the Soviet Union, to the effect that the Mongolian People's Republic should also be admitted to this Organization.

98. The issue was discussed in the Security Council [911th meeting] in the course of the first part of the present session of the General Assembly, but the then deliberations produced no result. The main reason for that was the persistently stubborn refusal of the Western Powers to recognize the rights of Mongolia, though it meets all the requirements for membership in the United Nations.

99. Ever since its establishment, the Mongolian People's Republic has unswervingly followed the policy of peace and international co-operation. The Mongolian people have bent all their efforts towards setting up and

expanding their country's political, economic and cultural relations with other nations. The Mongolians have invariably raised their voice for disarmament and peace and against cold war and the arms race. At present, the Mongolian People's Republic has diplomatic relations with a great many countries. It is noteworthy that the nations which recognize the Mongolian Republic total more than half of the entire population of our world. Mongolia has considerably broadened its trade relations with other countries, thereby steadily increasing the volume of its foreign trade. It is a member of numerous world organizations and takes an active part in international conferences.

100. Mongolia's rising prestige is closely linked to its success in internal policies. May I quote an eyewitness statement on the subject which was published in the June 1960 issue of *The World Today*, a monthly published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Oxford University Press. Here is what it says:

"The immense changes within the country, the growth of agriculture and industry, the establishment of health services, the manning of international and internal air, rail and lorry services, printing and publishing, and so on, have necessitated a heroic work of education since the establishment of the Republic. New schools serve the whole country and feed a number of institutions of higher education, including a university. Books of all types are published, including collections of folk literature, proverbs and poetry and are sold widely through book stores and open air booths. A small cinema industry is growing up, and the State Theatre has a high standard of performance in an international repertory. It is evident to the foreign visitor that Mongolia has succeeded in supplying herself with all the essentials of a modern State—education, medical services, communications, etc. can all be taken for granted."

101. The Mongolian people have a wise proverb. They say, "You cannot cover the sun with your palms." The existence and the flourishing achievements of the Mongolian People's Republic are real and palpable facts; to disregard them amounts to political blindness.

102. We are faced with two applications for membership in the United Nations. One is from Mauritania, of very recent date; the other is from a State which, in a couple of months, will be forty years old and was the earliest applicant to the United Nations.

103. We have heard a number of arguments for Mauritania's admission to the United Nations, but no justification has been adduced to substantiate the refusal to accept the application of the Mongolian People's Republic. In point of fact, never has any cogent reason been advanced for delaying the admission of Mongolia to the United Nations.

104. It would be no more than just, and in harmony with the principle of universality of the United Nations, to do away with discrimination against the Mongolian Republic. I need hardly tell you that any such discrimination has nothing in common with the principles and purposes of the Charter and the functions of the United Nations which is called upon to promote co-operation among all States, regardless of their social systems. It is in this connexion that Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, said in the General Assembly on 3 October 1960 [882nd meeting] that it would be absolutely wrong to exclude the peaceful Mongolian

¹ *Conditions of Admission of a State to Membership in the United Nations (Article 4 of the Charter): I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 12.*

people from this Organization and strongly recommended the admission of Mongolia to the world assembly of nations.

105. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): I will not reply to certain ill-considered words which have been uttered just now with respect to my country by the representative of Morocco. When he re-reads them calmly, he will realize that he had lost his composure. Anger is a bad counsellor; it has sometimes even been said that a bad temper implies a guilty conscience.

106. The General Assembly is called upon to vote on the draft resolution [A/L.335] submitted by eleven African States, namely, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, the Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta, regarding the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to our Organization. This is not a new request. It was first submitted by these States on 18 December 1960 [911th meeting], after the meeting of the Security Council on 3 December.

107. The Soviet delegation which, fifteen days previously, had vetoed the admission of Mauritania, refused to discuss the request; it quoted rule 21 of the Rules of Procedure and argued that the text of this proposal—which, it said, could not be deemed to be a procedural matter—had not been circulated to delegations on the day before the meeting. And yet, on 3 December, the Soviet representative had not hesitated to call for an immediate discussion by the Security Council on a proposal the text of which has not been circulated at all.

108. The request of the eleven African States was the normal outcome of the debates which took place in the First Committee and later in the Security Council. The First Committee [1109th meeting] had been asked by Morocco to consider what the Rabat Government called "the problem of Mauritania".

109. On 18 December, in the General Assembly [954th meeting], the spokesman for the eleven African States stressed the fact that the situation in the First Committee had been clarified by the withdrawal of the issue. None of the proposals submitted in turn by Indonesia, Afghanistan, India and Iraq had obtained a majority, and the debate had had to be curtailed by the very people who had initiated it.

110. In the Security Council, on 3 and 4 December, eight States belonging to Africa, Asia, North and South America and Europe had declared themselves in favour of the admission of Mauritania. Another Asian State, Ceylon, had abstained. Two communist States of Eastern Europe, Poland and the Soviet Union, had cast the only negative votes. It had thus been necessary for the Soviet Union to use its veto in order to prevent the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania from being recommended to the Assembly.

111. In order to protest against such injustice and to ask the Security Council to make it good, the eleven African States, feeling concern at the fate of a country whose evolution had taken place along the same lines as their own, but which had been refused admission—whereas to them, the same had been unanimously granted—submitted the draft resolution that we have before us.

112. France unreservedly supports this draft resolution and will vote for it, for this text contains no paragraph which could evoke the slightest hesitation on our

part. Let us read it again. How could one fail to note the fact, recognized by all, that:

"... eight members of the Security Council voted on 4 December 1960 in favour of a draft resolution recommending the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to membership in the United Nations, but that no recommendation was made to the General Assembly because of the opposition of a permanent member."

How can we fail to agree with this wording? And how can we fail to recognize:

"... that it is important for the future of the United Nations that all applicant States which fulfil the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter should be admitted to membership in the Organization"?

There is also no doubt that:

"... the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is a peace-loving State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter, that it is able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter, and that it should, in consequence, be admitted to membership in the United Nations."

Lastly, it is only reasonable that we should ask:

"... the Security Council to take note of this decision of the General Assembly in regard to the candidature of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania."

113. France can naturally be expected to support this proposal, because it had the honour, together with Tunisia, which was representing Africa on the Security Council, to sponsor the candidacy of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania before the Security Council, as it had sponsored that of the thirteen other French-speaking African States admitted to membership in our Organization in 1960.

114. I have already stated, either in the First Committee or in the Security Council, the geographical, historical, ethnic and political considerations which justify the granting of independence to Mauritania. I have described the conditions in which, like the eleven other African States whose evolution it shared, the Islamic Republic attained independence. I have pointed out how much we deplored the quarrel into which this young State was being drawn. I shall not revert to these matters.

115. Nor shall I bother to refute the gratuitous allegations according to which France's recognition of Mauritania's independence represents some kind of colonialist machination. In order to set them aside, I will only make one single remark: to what accusations—justified in this event—would France not have laid itself open if, repudiating the obligations it had entered into with respect to the Mauritanian people, it had attempted to prevent Mauritania from achieving independence, and if it had supported Morocco's claim and refused to grant the Islamic Republic, though possessed of all the prerogatives of a State, the international status it had requested?

116. The situation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is perfectly clear. Since 20 November 1960, it has been a State with complete mastery over its own destiny. To date, sixty-five countries have recognized it as a sovereign and independent nation; and on the day when Mauritania celebrated its independence, the Soviet Union itself did not fail to send congratulations, although five days later it opposed Mauritania's admis-

sion to the United Nations for entirely different reasons. Indeed, the Soviet Union so unreservedly recognized Mauritania's independence that it officially requested the Nouakchott Government's authorization for the Soviet aircraft that carried President Brezhnev to fly over Mauritanian territory and make a landing for technical reasons at Fort-Trinquet.

117. Need I add, therefore, that all the specialized agencies or regional bodies to which Mauritania has applied have accepted it as a member? This is the State whose admission eleven brother African States are asking the Security Council to reconsider and the General Assembly to recommend to the Council.

118. The representative of Morocco puts forward territorial considerations. He refers to what he calls the unity of his country and tells us that this unity is as dear to the people and Government of Morocco as is independence itself. My country, which is bound to Morocco by so many ties, can only rejoice whenever Morocco achieves its legitimate ambitions. But can the Moroccan Government disregard the desire for independence manifested, in its turn, by the population of Mauritania? If there is a dispute over territory, cannot Morocco settle this with the Islamic Republic of Mauritania when the latter has been admitted to the United Nations? The representative of Morocco claims that justice and historical rights require that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania be absorbed by the Kingdom of Morocco, and that the southern frontier of his country be shifted from Taraya to the banks of the Senegal River, more than 1,500 kilometres further south as the crow flies. If there is any merit in this claim, there is nothing to prevent it from succeeding after the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations. Has not our Organization seen two of its independent and sovereign Member States merge together without let or hindrance?

119. In these circumstances, has Morocco really any interest in, or reasons for, opposing the admission of Mauritania to our Organization? The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is its own master in all fields. If its people and Government should desire to establish particular ties with any of its neighbour States, they are free to do so. This is purely their own concern. France has only one wish, that there be established between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania that close friendship for which everything has prepared them and which they have every reason to promote.

120. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is a happy example of the peaceful cohabitation of different races; its population of more than 650,000 inhabitants, mostly Arab and Berber, includes a large number of ethnic groups from darkest Africa which play a particularly active part in the life of the country.

121. As the Head of the Mauritanian Government has stated on many occasions since 1958:

"Because of its ethnic character, because of its geographical and political situation, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania can, on the African level, play the role of a junction between black and white Africa."

Mauritania will only be able to fulfil this historic role by co-operating closely with all the various populations concerned. Linked by an equal friendship to Morocco and to the African States which have signed the present draft resolution, my country could only welcome such an outcome, which it desires most wholeheartedly. In

conclusion, I should like to say a word about the amendments (A/L.336) submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union. If, during the Security Council meeting of 3 December 1960, the French delegation refused to discuss the Soviet request for the admission of Mongolia, this was because the request had not been made in due time and appeared to be a subterfuge designed to block acceptance of Mauritania's request; moreover, it was because my country, for its part, is not prepared or accustomed to bargain when the fate of another country is at stake.

122. The representative of the Soviet Union has reminded us that the People's Republic of Mongolia has been an applicant for several years. In the course of those years, its case has been discussed on many occasions, either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly. During the debates, my delegation has never voted against the admission of Mongolia. What is more, on two occasions at nine years' interval, namely in 1946 and in 1955, it voted in favour of that country's admission. This is as much as to say that the French delegation will declare itself in favour of the reconsideration of Mongolia's candidacy by the Security Council.

123. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (*translated from French*): When I came to this rostrum a few moments ago to support the request that priority be given to discussion of the question of Angola, I raised a problem in which my country, and I myself as a patriot, are vitally interested, since it is a national problem created by colonialism.

124. There are two watchwords in Moroccan nationalism: the first is liberty, which means nationally and internationally recognized independence; and the second is territorial integrity, without which the colonialist sword of Damocles will forever hang over the detached part of our territory.

125. I have unfortunately been impelled to use my right to reply to certain remarks made by some of our brothers. The heart is naturally more sensitive in dealings with a brother than with one who will have no tie of brotherhood with you. I have therefore been impelled to use my right to reply to certain remarks and insinuations which have been directed at my country each time the question of Mauritania has come up for discussion in this Assembly. You yourselves know, Mr. President and my fellow representatives, that for the six months during which we have been discussing Mauritania, Morocco has maintained a courteous silence. It has never replied to any attack or insinuation. But when these attacks and insinuations begin to be accepted by the public as proof of the weakness of the Moroccan cause and of the uneasy conscience of the Moroccan delegation, it then becomes the right and the duty of every diplomat, who is first of all a citizen of his country, to face these insinuations and rise against this injustice, and to defend the truth known to his heart and conscience.

126. For six months we have made absolutely no reply. We remain convinced that it is much better for Africans to address other Africans with the voice of reason, persuasion and earnest but firm argument, so that one side will end by convincing the other, just as in our search for truth each man brings his own lantern to light up the darkness. But to say that a brother country like Morocco is a colonialist and expansionist country which employs delaying tactics, creates a pain-

ful situation and a feeling of grief. We should care little if these accusations were made by a colonialist Power. We ourselves have been held down by that colonialist Power's army. But when these accusations are made by a brother, we have every right to reply in all sincerity; diplomacy can always play a part, but sincerity must prevail.

127. That is why we have felt it necessary to reply clearly, firmly and frankly, and the proof that our reply is honest, firm and frank is that this morning we privately contacted certain delegations and told them that, though we had kept silent for six months, we could not continue to do so if these attacks continued to take hold in more and more people's minds. For a lie may well be a lie, and the first and perhaps also the second time it is heard it will be taken as a lie; but when it is repeated a thousand times it may be accepted as true. That is why we ask our African brothers not to play this game which the colonialist has invented, in which he sets us by the ears and stands by laughing at us. Here again we are caught up in a comedy of independence in the style of Katanga, Ruanda, and Mauritania, like the one which, with the same sets, the Netherlands is now presenting in West Irian at Indonesia's expense.

128. Here again we are witnessing a new farce which the imperialist Powers have just staged in Africa and Asia with the support of their allies who, greedy for profits, are determined to maintain zones of influence everywhere in the world. But this is the saddest of all comedies, because its theme and plot are based on abuse of the innocence of certain countries which know little about the situation, and on the servility of certain governments set up and controlled by their former colonizers, who tried unsuccessfully to do the same thing with us when they exiled our King and replaced him by an ignorant old man. Fortunately many countries have not been caught in the trap of pseudo-independence. I salute certain young African countries, whose representatives are seated here in our midst, which have retained their independence of mind; we tell them this both in private and in public. But it is no secret to anyone that sooner or later these bitter comedies, like Shakespeare's tragedies, end with a general disaster which falls first and foremost on the evil-doers themselves, who are more venomous than all the perfidious Albions of history. These lugubrious comedies begin with bad faith and end with bad faith.

129. The whole dispute between France and Morocco began when France broke faith with Morocco, which believed in peaceful, quiet and bilateral negotiation; it continued in the same spirit with the breach of trust committed by France in using its power propaganda machine to deceive a number of innocent countries whom an hour of reflection and inquiry would have awakened from the hypnotic influence of neo-colonialism.

130. Today France is seeking international ratification of a breach of trust. Like Belgium, France is scheming, by the same means but a coldly-planned method, to detach from one nation a province which has always been an integral part of its national territory. Whereas in the Congo circumstances made Belgium commit its aggression very noisily, France has been careful to adopt the smooth, silent approach of a snake. A snake moves smoothly and silently, without noise, until he strikes suddenly and fatally.

131. Morocco was divided into a northern and a southern part long ago, and some of our African friends find it quite natural to accept this division as an ideal to defend; they propose to make this piece of "katanganization" final. This is distressing.

132. Belgium in Katanga and France in Mauritania are resorting to balkanization as the last card of defeated colonialism on its death-bed. The Netherlands is doing the same thing in West Irian at Indonesia's expense. There is a striking similarity between all these examples of balkanization. The only innovation France has contributed is to set Africans against Africans while it affects innocence and rubs its hands in glee at the success of its trick. This is distressing. In the corridors of the United Nations, too, you can see the joy on the faces of the neo-colonialists when they have succeeded in knocking some African heads together. This is distressing. Neo-colonialism settles itself comfortably on its throne, laughing at all the world. Has it any right to call other nations perfidious Albions?

133. But the similarity between the balkanization of Katanga and that of Mauritania quickly rips away the mask and unveils the eyes. We shall bring up only twelve points of resemblance between Belgium in Katanga and France in Mauritania, summarizing to save time.

134. A comparison of the two secession movements premeditated and provoked by aliens on the national territory of a former colony will equip us sufficiently to understand what is meant by bad faith. Morocco was the first victim of France's bad faith; the next were certain innocent and even brother countries which, lacking knowledge, fell victims to the same breach of trust perpetrated by the powerful French propaganda machine with the support of the new Zionist imperialism throughout Africa and the world.

135. The first similarity is that both Katanga and Mauritania have always been integral parts of the national territory of their respective States. Mauritania has never been detached from the rest of Morocco. All the French propaganda in the world, even if repeated for ever, cannot remake history as it chooses, to suit its taste. Quite the contrary: any falsification of history redounds to the discredit of the neo-colonialists. We have so amply proved this truth that there is no point in repeating our delegation's earlier statements or even in referring to the documents which have been distributed.

136. The south and the north of Morocco have unceasingly contributed to the formation and the development of the Moroccan nation in all spheres of human activity, from geography to the spiritual heritage of our people. This is the major reason why neo-colonialism fears the expression of true popular feelings and why, in an effort to suppress them, it fills the prisons with the pick of the patriots and persecutes all people devoted to the unity and the territorial integrity of the country as a whole. I am thinking of those who are in prison in Mauritania at the present moment. There are 600 of them out of a population of 620,000, while only 4 per cent of the school-age children are attending school. In other words, all the *élite* are now in prison. That is why neo-colonialism can maintain itself in Mauritania only by the presence of a powerful army and through its control of the finances of the region which is being occupied in the name of a fictitious republic. The only

possible proof of good faith would be the departure of the soldiers.

137. The second similarity is that the regions of Katanga and Mauritania, which form part of the national territory of their respective States, were merely provinces administered by the central authorities. This, for Morocco, is the key to the whole history of the North and the South. In addition, these provinces have never even been members of a federation of States; they were provinces pure and simple. It is precisely because of these strong ties that it has been necessary to instigate and prefabricate secession movements. The intrigues aimed at breaking Katanga and Mauritania off from the rest of their national territories afford clear proof of the bonds which existed in former times and the artificiality of the balkanization.

138. The third similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is that these provinces have never at any time in history been independent entities separated from the motherland. Quite the contrary: they were part of large entities, great countries, which were broken up, divided and later balkanized by nineteenth-century imperialism. In Mauritania this is now extremely obvious. As in all the territories of the extreme south of Morocco, even the largest settlements are quite small villages. There has never been a capital which could have been a relic of a former period of independence. Since France's breach of trust, French colonialism has made every effort to create a new capital called Nouakchott, which started last year with a population of barely 400 and no hotel. During the comedy of the independence-day ceremonies the guests were housed wherever possible; even in a school which was turned into a dwelling place for the occasion. That day French imperialism succeeded in making people forget that it had to its credit seven years of war in Indo-China, seven years of war in Algeria, the death in exile of the King of Tunisia, the banishment of the King of Morocco, the massacres at Sétif, the death of at least 40,000 persons in Algeria, and the butcheries in Madagascar, and that, while continuing the Algerian war and its intrigues in Laos, it had put on the mantle of Mephistopheles in order to lavish independence on a part of Moroccan territory.

139. The fourth point of similarity is that this secession movement and this comedy of independence were produced only when the nation's policy became truly independent and sovereign. Belgium wanted to give the Congo only a veneer of independence, a pseudo-independence, a smoke-screen behind which it could maintain its political, administrative and economic domination. Similarly, France in Morocco hoped to keep the presence of its occupation troops and its air and naval bases hanging like the sword of Damocles over the head of our nation and our Government.

140. In the same spirit the French Government wanted to conclude with now-liberated Morocco agreements which could perpetuate French neo-colonialist domination over it. In other words, Belgium in the Congo and France in Morocco nursed the secret wish to make our respective countries veritable satellites, whose very governments were to be formed under the influence of the imperialist States. But since emancipated African patriotism has eluded the neo-colonialist snares in the Congo and in Morocco, and since true nationalism is working for real political and economic independence, foreign intrigue has quickly set about creating puppets and instigating secession movements. The only differ-

ence between Katanga and Mauritania is that in the Congo the manoeuvre has been done at white heat with great commotion and United Nations troops, while in Mauritania the perfidy of French colonialism has done everything coldly and secretly, using the smooth and silent approach of a snake in the grass.

141. If we had not demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases from liberated Morocco, if we had not practised a policy of political and economic non-dependence, in short, if we had agreed to be satellites, puppet regimes the colonial Powers would have been the first to devote themselves to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of our respective countries, the Congo and Morocco. The very name of Mauritania would not have been invented or retained, dreamed up out of the blue; only the Arab name Cher-guit—Mauritania's real name—would have been used, as it is among the people. If you talk to a nomad or a peasant from this region of something called Mauritania, he will not know what you are talking about, because the name known and used in current speech is the Moroccan name Chenguit. This is a striking example of what the powerful propaganda machine possessed by the colonial Powers can do, while our only resort is to make speeches here from time to time.

142. The fifth point of similarity, or of comparison, between Katanga and Mauritania is that both provinces belong to countries formerly under the colonial occupation of European imperialist Powers, and that the secessionist manoeuvre is being carried out through the armed intervention of troops and the military and technical personnel of the colonial Powers. Neither in the south of the Congo nor in the south of Morocco is there any question of a normal and natural secession movement such as might be carried out in territory not occupied by foreign colonial Powers. On the contrary, these are movements provoked by and enjoying the sole support of the forces of those Powers, against the will of the local population. At this very moment French forces are deployed throughout Mauritania supported by strategic points which are as powerful as the strategic bases existing in that area.

143. The sixth point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is that these secessionist movements are not only not desired by the people but are being actively resisted. The population of the area known as Mauritania, which is twice as large as France, is about 620,000. As I said just now, about 4 per cent of the school-age population attends school; after half a century of occupation 4 per cent of the school-age children can go to school! These figures show that the *élite*, or at least what in modern parlance is called the *élite*, must be very small. Very small. Yet, and mark this well, note how France has coldly perpetrated the most cruel injustice: nearly all this *élite* is in prison. This is what you have recognized, those of you who have recognized Mauritania: the *élite* of the region paralysed, enslaved, buffeted by the blind forces of French imperialism. And this is what you call the self-determination of peoples, this is what you call independence.

144. I am emphasizing this point in order to show all those who have recognized the independence of Mauritania that they have been victims of a real breach of trust. We do not blame them; blame French colonialism. But I want to show them that their act is tantamount to recognizing the independence of Katanga, whose prisons are also full of patriots and victims, so that once their ignorance of the situation, from which only

the colonial Powers can benefit, is dispelled, their consciences, newly enlightened, will compel them to revise their attitude.

145. The seventh point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is their mineral deposits, which are a source of vast natural wealth. In Katanga, there is a powerful company, the *Union minière du Haut-Katanga*, in which the Belgian Government holds shares. This company, and others of its kind, are behind all the evils in the Congo crisis. In Mauritania vast deposits of iron and copper are exploited by two large companies, MIFERMA and MICUNA. These companies have many foreign investors, which explains the Holy Alliance of the colonialist clique in the NATO family. Moreover, the *Banque Rothschild*, one of the most feudal institutions in the modern imperialist capitalist system, is involved in these mining monopolies almost everywhere. It was this bank which, two years ago, pressed the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington to grant the loan to MIFERMA, on the pretext that it was for a new independent African State. This also is distressing, because in our view the bank is a so-called international agency. The personal intervention of Mr. Rothschild was needed to make the Bank agree at last to a loan to MIFERMA in Mauritania, thus proving that the spirit of financial feudalism exists even in an international institution such as the Bank.

146. The eighth point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is the control by the neo-colonialist Power of all the police forces and gendarmerie, as well as the regular or so-called regular army. It is this vital point which explains the existence of a police terror system in Katanga and Mauritania. If France and Belgium wish to prove their good faith, they must evacuate their armed forces immediately and give up their hold on the local police and gendarmerie.

147. My brothers, we in Africa have all been colonized; but we have known that only terror, intrigue and puppet politicians enabled the occupying Power to administer and control our territory; and we have known that freedom and the presence of the colonialist Powers were two incompatible, contradictory and irreconcilable facts.

148. The ninth point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is the puppet regime in both regions. Since the prisons are full of patriots—some of whom, including a number of Mauritania's greatest leaders are here with us now—since the colonial Powers want to make the whole world believe that there is a certain degree of independence, these Powers have to find people who do not oppose the policy that they have laid down, but on the contrary serve it and thus qualify for the blessing of the "metropolitan countries". If these puppets espoused the ideals of their countries and adopted a policy truly in conformity with the national aspirations, they would automatically cease to be puppets and be in prison with the rest of the patriots.

149. The real patriots have been condemned to death—some of them are here among us—and others have quite simply been murdered. Only the Tshombés survive as temporary dictators.

150. These puppets are part of a modern feudal system, Tshombé-style, characterized psychologically by personal ambition and servility to the neo-colonialist Powers. These Powers should be ashamed of buying and corrupting the consciences of their fellow-men, in a

fashion unworthy of civilized human beings. In any event they are building on sand, for sooner or later, the people take their revenge. It is only a question of time.

151. The tenth point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is the propaganda designed to give the impression that Katanga and the Congo are two different countries and Mauritania and Morocco two different countries. It really hurts us to hear this from our brother Africans. If this view was accepted, it would be a direct accusation against Morocco and against the Congo, and any truly honest African conscience must reject it.

152. The historical facts are quite otherwise. Before the European colonial occupation of Africa there was only one Congo with a province of Katanga, and only one Morocco with a province of Chenguit, now known as Mauritania. To speak of two brother African countries—Katanga and the Congo, Mauritania and Morocco—whose independence must be respected is the easiest way of falling into the imperialist trap and in effect becoming without meaning to, an unpaid spokesman for the new colonialism. This is distressing. Nothing could be more unfair than to praise a colonial Power which jeers at the whole world and engage in a dispute with fellow-Africans, all of whom have been victims of the same imperialist system and must sooner or later revert to family and brotherly feeling because that is the way they were born. Geography demands it, history demands it and their common aspirations demand it.

153. The eleventh point of similarity between Katanga and Mauritania is the unlimited power of the mining companies, the financial backing behind them, and the deadly war they wage against any attempt at reunification unless it leads to a situation they can control.

154. The twelfth and last point of similarity between Katanga and South Kasai on the one hand and Mauritania on the other is the promise of a federal State. This is what we are hearing about now. Colonialism has divided Morocco in two. We are told: "Later you will be reunited, perhaps in the form of a federal State." However, the Congo crisis has enlightened us about what a federal State means. In the Congo it is only too plain. Concerning the province of Mauritania and the rest of Morocco, we are told in the First Committee and the General Assembly: "Let Mauritania become independent and join the United Nations. If later on it wishes to unite in some way with Morocco, it will be free to do so". This is a highly suspect formula. It is the embodiment of hypocrisy and vicious malice. In order to show how contradictory it is, let us summarize it in the formula: Divide to unite. That is something new indeed: Divide to unite! One should really be in a madhouse to use such language. If you analyse this formula, however, you will find behind it the old, vague neo-colonialist policy of a federal State, proposed by the Belgian magnates in the Congo and echoed by the neo-colonialists in connexion with this part of North Africa.

155. This twelfth point leads me to reveal French neo-colonialist policy as it emerged from a speech made by the Prime Minister before the National Assembly on 9 June 1960:

"If we want to keep what is essential, if we want to safeguard the fundamental principles and fundamental virtues of what we have achieved, we must not only know how to evolve—but first and above all, how to lead this evolution."

The operative word is "lead". The Prime Minister continued:

"As far as France is concerned, we want to safeguard our political interests, our strategic interests, our intellectual influence, and our economic opportunities."

156. The lines which I have just quoted are a complete summary in themselves of all I have been saying about Belgian and French neo-colonialism. They throw a blinding light on this farce of independence supervised, directed, and remote-controlled from the metropolitan countries and their capitals whenever major political decisions are involved. This supervision becomes impossible if countries like Morocco refuse to have troops and military bases on their territory. It cannot succeed if a truly independent nation is determined to take over the reins of the country, and if above all it opposes foreign economic domination. What is then left for neo-colonialism to do? That is very simple: it must continue the old tradition of "divide and rule". Divide the Congo from Katanga, in Ruanda-Urundi give independence to Ruanda alone, do as the imperialists are threatening to do in Algeria, and as they are trying to do once for all in Morocco with Chenguit, otherwise known as Mauritania.

157. Apart from territorial matters, the European imperialists are all seeking to divide the Africans themselves and set them by the ears, in order to preserve European domination. To do this, the imperialists must convince some Africans that they are the champions of freedom, and through them fight those who oppose the presence of foreign troops and military bases, ascribing to them the worst intentions. In this way Africans are encouraged to feed their suspicions of each other and fight among themselves. This is most distressing. Today in Africa the neo-colonialists claim to be in favour of independence; from the summit of their gigantic interests they call the tune. It is distressing to have dance to it.

158. The comparison I have just been making between Katanga and Mauritania can be extended indefinitely. Yet these two are only a special manifestation of a general phenomenon familiar to all continents in all periods of history. It would take too long to list examples, and would be even more distressing. Out of courtesy and respect, I shall give no specific examples. There is worse than that to be said.

159. I should like now to address myself to certain Afro-Asian countries in particular. I want them to pay close attention to what follows, because I want to speak to their consciences, to that sense of responsibility which is the crowning virtue of the human spirit.

160. In central Europe the country whose history is best known for divisions and dismemberments of its national territory is Poland. The term "the partition of Poland" is found in all textbooks. We have there a tragic example of the dismemberment of a country and a nation. In Africa, Morocco has undergone the same fate. Are Members aware that Morocco was torn apart, dismembered and divided into no less than seven zones of foreign imperialist occupation—seven scraps of territory in which the rapacious and parasitic European colonialist Powers installed colonial regimes? We have regained three zones of our country, as I said at the beginning of my speech; four remain to be liberated and restored. They are, from north to south, the following.

161. The first is the International Zone of Tangier. This zone was controlled by a host of foreign Powers including France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and other countries, all European. The Tangier area has a population of about 100,000. Today it is liberated from the colonial yoke.

162. Yet I ask you, particularly my African and Asian brothers, and also those Europeans who have courage and a clear conscience: if colonialism, impelled by the same circumstances as prevail in Africa today, had thought in time of giving Tangier its independence and sponsoring its application for membership in the United Nations, would you have recognized it?

163. The colonialists would have explained that Iceland too was a country of less than 200,000 habitants, that there were at any rate the Republics of Andorra and San Marino, and that the local inhabitants aspired to independence or self-government or some other nonsense.

164. The second zone was the Spanish Protectorate, one part of which was in the north and the other in the south of now liberated Morocco. The population of these Moroccan territories is slightly over one million. Suppose Spanish colonialism had contrived to give the Protectorate independence, on the pretext that the Spanish occupation of that part of Morocco had lasted roughly half a century: I ask the representatives of the countries which have now recognized the independence of Morocco's Mauritanian province, would you have recognized it? Colonialism would have maintained at that time that the move would help to create out of nothing a republic twice as populous as Mauritania and three times as populous as Gabon. On heart and conscience, would you have fallen into this obvious trap, of an independence poisoned by perfidy like that of French neo-colonialism?

165. The third zone into which our beloved country was split was the French Protectorate, under French colonial rule. This zone, which has between 9 and 10 million inhabitants and was one of the largest of all the zones of Morocco occupied by European imperialism, was in turn subdivided into three different zones called the civil zone, the military zone and the forbidden zone. Yes, that is what I said: the forbidden zone, for Moroccans could not enter or leave it without a safe-conduct, by special permission of the French imperialist occupation authority. The aim of this malignant imperialism was to divide the Moroccan people into mutually hostile groups, to pit the different sectors of the population against each other in accordance with the policy of tribalism and regionalism, so that imperialism could reign supreme over the country. This was the famous Berber policy, i.e., the policy of pitting Berbers against Arabs, Arabs against Berbers, and so on. It is exactly what this same imperialism is trying to do today on a vast scale in Africa, seeking to set African brothers against each other so that it may reign supreme in the African continent. This zone has fortunately been liberated and united with the other two liberated zones. The three are what is now known as Morocco. These three zones are the only ones which have been liberated. There are four more, which we shall now examine.

166. The fourth zone, which is still under Spanish rule, is situated in the very heart of the liberated Morocco which I have just described. It is an enclave

on the Atlantic coast called Ifni. This enclave has a population of about 30,000.

167. If European colonialism, on one pretext or another, decides to grant it independence, will you, our African and Asian brothers, agree to recognize this travesty of independence? Will you not realize from these farcical examples that the colonial Powers are putting you in the position of innocently supporting their neo-colonialist policy?

168. The fifth zone of foreign occupation in the heart of now liberated Morocco is the Spanish military posts, in particular the towns of Ceuta and Melilla, on the Mediterranean coast. Representatives of African and Asian countries, will you allow these towns in the heart of liberated Morocco to remain under Spain's national sovereignty? Or are you some day going to recognize a manipulated, controlled and artificial independence granted to these territories, to these small cities?

169. The sixth zone, which is still under Spanish occupation, consists of two parts of Moroccan territory. One of them is Saguia el Hamra and the other is Rio de Oro. Each of them has some 30,000 inhabitants, so that their total population is about 60,000. The combined area of these territories equals about half that of modern Spain. The Spanish Government is redoubling and intensifying its efforts to interest United States and other oil companies in these territories and persuade them to prospect and make borings there. That is what it is now doing. The zone is, in short, Mauritania under Spanish rule. What position should be taken? Should it be kept under Spanish rule? If Spain should one day propose to enact the farce of giving independence to its 60,000 inhabitants, would you not be the first to call for justice? Would you not be the first to maintain that in its history and in the aspirations of its people this zone had always been part of the territory of Morocco and to denounce Spain's covetous designs on the petroleum wealth of the area?

170. We now come to the seventh zone of Morocco, this Morocco which has been dismembered, fragmented and balkanized by France and other Powers with the innocent blessing of certain of our brothers who have not realized what was going on, who are ill-informed, and the Machiavellian blessing of other imperialist and neo-colonialist Powers and of the great monopolies and trusts. It will be noted that the most striking aspect of this farce of independence for Morocco's Mauritanian province is the impressive number of Mauritanian prisoners and political refugees. The number is indeed impressive, and it is shocking. It is the shame of neo-colonialism, which abuses the trust of many countries and buys the consciences of many of our African brothers in Mauritania just as it did within liberated Morocco itself at the time of the exile of His Majesty King Mohammed V. You will recall that in Mauritania, which has a population of about 600,000, barely 4 per cent of the children go to school. I said it before but I repeat it now because it is a fact of the utmost significance: 96 per cent of the children of school age are not attending school. It will also be recalled that even now as I speak there are more than 600 patriots in French prisons in Mauritania, who have refused to sell out to French neo-colonialism and are trying their best to do their duty as good citizens for the sake of the independence and territorial integrity of their country, just as all the Congolese are now doing their duty for the sake of the territorial integrity of the Congo.

171. Is not this impressive number of political prisoners and refugees driven from their homes, refugees who belong to the *élite* and are now in countries bordering on Mauritania or in liberated Morocco, is not this regime of terror sufficient to arouse the consciences of those who have been deceived by the propaganda machine of French neo-colonialism? Is a colonial Power which once ruled a vast empire in Africa, the Middle East and Asia now to be represented as a guardian angel of the independence of peoples while the charge of annexationist designs is levelled against a small country which is itself a victim of this colonialism, which has been occupied as a result of this same French imperialism, which has been part of this vast French empire—a small country which has been dismembered, fragmented, divided and subdivided into various zones of occupation by several colonial Powers, rather than just one?

172. Is it not the saddest irony of the century that certain African representatives should dare to make such accusations? Is not the spectacle of the present Balkanization of Morocco sufficient in itself to unmask the neo-colonialists' manoeuvres and arouse the consciences of even the least well-informed? To accept such a travesty of independence is to be hoodwinked by France into playing the game of camouflaged imperialism, which declares with a mocking smile that there is no point in this debate and that the dispute is now between Africans. That is how French neo-colonialism speaks while a foreign army and foreign monopolies rule Mauritania.

173. Morocco will not fall into this trap. It declares that the dispute over the integrity of the national territory is essentially a Franco-Moroccan dispute and that all the French neo-colonialist manoeuvres are aimed at making people forget this fundamental point, the touchstone of the entire problem.

174. The defendant here is France, with its army, its all-powerful monopolies, its regime of terror and its prisons in Mauritania, just as the problem of Katanga is in reality a conflict between the people of the Congo and Belgian imperialism.

175. The importance which my country attaches to the problem now under discussion is well known. Morocco has never since its admission to the United Nations brought its disputes with other Powers before this august Assembly. It sought to solve its problems by means of direct negotiation with the Governments concerned. We feel that this method is both effective and courteous. I hope that our friends of the French delegation will not forget this fact. Furthermore, it is an approach which has the advantage of relieving an organization such as ours of the need to study a problem which can be settled elsewhere, as many delegations have observed. In the case of our Mauritanian provinces, therefore, we entered into conversations with the French Government as soon as we have obtained our independence with a view to negotiating a settlement of this important problem.

176. Nevertheless, in order to safeguard our position internationally, the representatives of Morocco have repeatedly made known to the appropriate United Nations bodies express reservations concerning this part of our territory. The records of the United Nations bear witness to that fact. Until the eve of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly we confined ourselves to make such reservations on the future status of this territory,

at the same time making representations to France in the hope of bringing it round to a better understanding of our cause. It was only under the threat of a fictitious independence to be granted to the territory of Mauritania, under the threat of being faced with a *fait accompli*, that my Government, driven to the wall, addressed itself to the United Nations in order to alert international opinion and to insist that justice should be done to Morocco.

177. It was at the request of Morocco that the question of Mauritania was first included in the agenda of the United Nations [A/4445 and Add.1]. My delegation has had occasion to present its case with regard to this matter both before the First Committee and before the Security Council. The way in which the debate in the First Committee ended shows that, contrary to France's allegations, the United Nations did not take a definite stand on the matter. In the absence of a resolution indicating the position of my country to be either right or wrong it may be understood that the United Nations sought thus to leave the door open to negotiations between Morocco and France with a view to a settlement of this thorny problem.

178. Yet now, to our surprise, we are faced with a request by several fellow African States, which should be constantly increasing and strengthening the bonds of brotherhood, for the admission of Mauritania to membership in this Organization as a sovereign State. We for our part feel that when France granted a fictitious independence to our southern provinces we were through that unworthy manoeuvre faced with a *fait accompli*. We consider that the United Nations would be deciding on the substance of the problem if it adopted the draft resolution (A/L.335) which a number of fellow African States submitted to the General Assembly today.

179. This initiative taken by our friends the African States reflects a certain point of view. They themselves have just acceded to independence and they are very naturally inclined to uphold and defend the independence of any part of Africa which is still under foreign occupation, an attitude with which we are in full accord. I must tell them, however, that the independence of Mauritania is not independence and the State of Mauritania is not a State.

180. You have just heard a comparison drawn between Katanga and Mauritania, between South Kasai and Mauritania—South Kasai whose chief has proclaimed himself king. In Mauritania will they perhaps proclaim an emperor?

181. The policy followed by Morocco since the attainment of its independence demonstrates quite clearly its firm adherence to the principle of the universality of the United Nations. Our delegation has never failed to make known its satisfaction when other Member States have joined our ranks. The liberation of any territory in the world is a guarantee of the sovereignty and liberation of other territories. The subjugation of any territory in the world cannot but be regarded by us as a threat to our own sovereignty and our own freedom.

182. It is because of our uncompromising anti-colonialism and our unremitting support for African peoples struggling for their independence, which is at the same time our own, and for their unity and prosperity, which also are our own, that we have been obliged to pay this heavy tribute to our former colonizers.

183. Let our African brothers not be deceived. The division which we suffer today afflicts all of Africa. Everyone here agrees that the geographical map of Africa is as much divided as the minds and hearts of Africans. Everyone here agrees that the independence which has been granted us must be preserved. This is not enough for us. Later we shall wage a new battle for the reunification of the pieces which have been torn asunder by colonialism. Everyone tells us, "Although you are not in the wrong, accept the independence of Mauritania; later you will have union. We are living in an era which calls for union."

184. Thus everyone, whether consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, blames the new colonialism and recognizes that all the Africans without exception are right.

185. Everyone knows that the policy of the colonial Powers has always been to make of Africa a mosaic of peoples and States pitted against each other with regard to other African territories, as in the case of the Congo, or to parts of their own territories, as in the case of Mauritania.

186. The Moroccan delegation stands before its African and Asian brothers as a brother whose heart has been rent but whose solidarity with them will never be shaken. We are merely exchanging views. Our hearts continue to beat as one.

187. The classic tricks of colonialism will not deceive anyone. Colonialism wishes to divide and weaken us in order to maintain its presence in Africa in new ways and to continue to exploit our riches for the benefit of the former metropolitan countries, the monopolies and trusts. The more that Africa is divided and fragmented the more colonialism will regard it as its prey.

188. In the particular instance of Mauritania you are all well aware that it is not a case of an African State which Morocco, another African state, opposes. Proof of this is to be found in the comparison between Katanga and Mauritania. Mauritania is a Moroccan province. It is an integral part of our national soil. It is as Moroccan as Morocco is Mauritanian. For us it is one territory, one people. We are 12 million Moroccans; we are 12 million Mauritanians.

189. It is those who suffer that must be listened to, not those who are temporarily in power; those who are hunted down, not those who are paid off; those who are in exile, not those who are the prisoners of their colonial masters. The hunted, the men under sentence of death, the exiles are seated there in their own Moroccan-Mauritanian delegation, representing a single country and forming a single delegation.

190. The problem of Mauritania is a typical colonial problem. It has now been aggravated by circumstances of which you are aware. Colonialism, defeated in the northern provinces of Morocco, wishes to retain its hold over the southern provinces. Comparable to the Hydra of Lerna, which grew new heads whenever one of its heads was cut off, colonialism is desperately hanging on wherever it is still able to do so. We all know that the devil is masquerading as an angel and pretending to grant freedom to the peoples he maintains under his rule.

191. We know, however, that this is a mere façade of independence, a balkanization. Mauritania set up as an independent State cannot have anything but a fictitious independence. Such independence would be con-

trary to its history, its geography, its economy, its traditions, its most vital interests. Such independence would defeat its own ends. The peoples of the area are aware of this fact, for every time that they have been able to express their will their authentic representatives have made unmistakably clear their desire to be one with their Moroccan brothers of the north.

192. Made strong by the will of the peoples themselves, Morocco is defending a just and noble cause, which the future will show you as it really is. You yourselves will be the first champions of the unity and territorial integrity of sister nations in Africa. You will realize, when Morocco has defeated the powerful French propaganda machine, truth, emerging from its imprisonment, will at least be heard. Africans, who are brothers by nature, will then see the real face of freedom and truth. They will find that Morocco has spoken to them with confidence, sincerity and patriotism.

193. Morocco refuses to see its southern provinces form part of political, economic or military blocs. The majority of Members of the United Nations have had so many opportunities to denounce the new face of colonialism that I need say no more. Neo-colonialism has learned its lesson from its unfortunate past experience. It can now distinguish between what is essential to it and what is secondary. That distinction between the essential and the secondary must always be borne in mind. This is proved by the quotation made a moment ago from a speech in the National Assembly. When neo-colonialism wishes to continue to exploit a people, it seeks to lull and flatter them by generously giving them, or imposing upon them, a relative political independence, as in Katanga or Mauritania, but it quietly maintains complete domination in all other fields. Colonialism has now learned to distinguish between the quarry and its shadow. It is ready to abandon the shadow in order to pursue the quarry.

194. Faithful to its ideals, Morocco will fight neo-colonialism wherever it appears, with the energy it has shown in fighting colonialism.

195. Since what is dearest to us—our national territory and our compatriots—is directly affected, we may be forgiven if we protest forcefully against the dismemberment of our country. We say this to our African brothers in a spirit of true fraternity. We should be traitors to our cause if we did not show firmness and tenacity over many years, if necessary.

196. We cannot accept the successive truncations of Moroccan territory by those who thought they could make a final partition of our country, dividing it into zones of sovereignty of influence. We shall continue to work for the restoration of our country's historical and legal boundaries. This is a question of life or death. We want no sword of Damocles hanging over our heads.

197. The colonialists would be in a very comfortable position if, by giving fictitious independence to the territories in which they are still present, they could persuade the United Nations to give international recognition to certain dependent territories. Once the latter are represented here as Members of our Organization, it would no longer be possible for anyone to question the intrigues and machinations of the occupying Power, disguised for the occasion as a liberator. Moreover, this precedent might set a fashion. We should always remember that.

198. In this connexion, we make an urgent and brotherly appeal to all African, Asian and other peoples to ponder the possible consequences of the application of this neo-colonialist doctrine. Neo-colonialism would be encouraged and increasing difficulties would await us in the future.

199. On the contrary, it is our duty to neutralize neo-colonialism and to wish the greatest prosperity to all nations, including France and the United Kingdom. They have a right to defend their existence; but this right must be reciprocal. Respect for territory must be reciprocal. Respect for the human heart must be reciprocal. Respect for ideals must be reciprocal. People must not be treated as toys or puppets. Respect for peoples and the right to territorial integrity must also be reciprocal. Here, my African brothers, we must remember the idea of the strong and the weak. Circumstances prove my point and will prove it still more forcefully.

200. Of course, although we use different words and sometimes accuse one another, we have the same objectives and the same sincerity. That is why the future is on our side. Our African family will never be broken up. We are ready to begin the struggle against balkanization and for unity. The main feature of the first half of the twentieth century was the struggle for independence. The main feature of the second half will be the struggle against toys and puppets, against balkanization and the dismemberment of territories.

201. We want to co-operate. We do not want to be dominated. This is a time for union not for disunion. The United Nations General Assembly, in which Morocco placed all its trust and all its hopes at the worst moments of its struggle for freedom, should not assume a heavy responsibility for dismantling Morocco, now that Morocco has the honour to be one of its Members.

202. Moreover, the Assembly should not ratify an arbitrary act by recommending the admission of a supposedly independent State of Mauritania, which is in fact no more than an integral part of a State Member of the United Nations. Obviously this might set a precedent which could be most dangerous to other Member States.

203. We have seen several examples of conflict between great Powers and small countries. We ourselves have often felt isolated. We have had this personal experience twice in our history. The first time was when our King was in exile. We felt isolated then; no one was with us. But we continued our struggle and the exile of the King of Morocco ended with his release and with independence of the northern part of the country.

204. Today we are undergoing the same experience; and, since we know that faith can move mountains, we have said and we say again that we shall continue the struggle in order that the play-acting and the shadow-show staged by colonialism may not, in the end, prevail. La Fontaine's fables always begin by depicting many obstacles, but they end with the punishment of the wrongdoer. Cartoon films invariably follow the example of La Fontaine's fables. I ask the French Government to consider carefully the maxims of the thinker La Fontaine.

205. We wish to draw the attention of the delegations present to the gravity of the decision open to them. Morocco knows the price of freedom too well to be tempted to refuse freedom to others. Throughout our

history of over fourteen centuries of uninterrupted independence, the word "Moroccan" had a synonym, *amazerg*, which means "free man". Elected local assemblies composed of such free men, such *amazerg*, existed for 2,000 years.

206. We ask for the return of Mauritania to the Moroccan fatherland because we are certain that this is the will of the Mauritanian peoples, of peoples who are hunted, imprisoned and condemned to death, although some of them can now make their voices heard because they have moved into the liberated part of northern Morocco. We demand the restoration of this land, from which we have been cut off, because our union with this land of Mauritania is recorded in nature, in our history, in treaties, in the economy, in language, in religion, in the hearts of men and in their united determination to fight for unification until victory is won.

207. All aspects of our unity with the southern provinces have been set before you at length and my delegation has no wish to return to the subject; but it feels bound to refer here to some events which have taken place since the matter was discussed in the First Committee. I ask you to listen to this carefully. These events show that the situation in Mauritania is far from what we are asked to believe.

208. Everyone knows that the atmosphere which has ushered in "independence" in no way resembles the atmosphere in which all other territories in Africa and elsewhere have attained independence. In Mauritania, outside official circles, there has been neither gaiety, nor popular demonstrations, nor shouts of joy. The so-called independence of Mauritania was born in indifference. Like the delivery of an illegitimate and indeed illegal child, this birth took place amid the universal disapproval of all the great Mauritanian family.

209. Only the direct artisans of this cut-rate independence should have attended the event. In order to give their bastard child international recognition, however, they invited as many foreign representatives as possible to attend. Those present at the ceremonies, apart from those who felt obliged to accept Ould Daddah's invitation, accordingly included those Mauritanians who have played the colonialists' game at the expense of their own country's interests. France was represented by its officials, its advisers, and also its army and its engines of war. The Mauritanian peoples themselves gave way to no popular demonstration or rejoicing. In any case, the French authorities, fearing the worst, kept them away from the ceremonies.

210. It is indeed amazing to see France granting independence to Mauritania, which does not want it, while obstinately refusing it to Algeria, which is giving its life-blood to win it. This too should enlighten us regarding France's intentions.

211. But what can be done? We are a very small country. Before attaining independence we were stifled, cut off from the world and isolated; and now we lack the power to make our voice heard through a propaganda machine as colossal as that of France.

212. Moreover, the French authorities decreed a state of emergency throughout the territory, and this state of emergency has been stepped up since. The whole world has learned—and the bloody events of last March would serve to prove this, if proof were needed—that the Mauritanian people wanted none of this fake independence and were resolved to struggle for true independence which would enable them to rejoin the

northern part of the country. Of course, as was to be expected, the events of last March produced a violent reaction by the French authorities and their supporters.

213. Our Mauritanian brothers now live under a reign of terror. There is great tension in our southern territories. Not a day passes without incidents. In some areas the Nouakchott Government is still represented by the French army. Militant nationalists, in their hundreds, are in prison. Among those prisoners, the only ones released are those who agree to collaborate with the occupying Power and to whom profitable deals are proposed.

214. But the overwhelming majority of the Mauritanian people are determined to continue the struggle against the French colonialists and the "Tshombé-style" authorities of Nouakchott. Our southern compatriots, like their brothers in the north, are determined to struggle ceaselessly against this fictitious independence and against this regime which seeks to cut off Mauritania permanently from the rest of Morocco. Despite the curfew imposed throughout the territory from 7 p.m. to 8 a.m., despite the seizure of all civilian vehicles in Mauritania, and despite the supervision by French troops, we learn every day that our compatriots in Mauritania are waging a true struggle of liberation against the foreign occupiers.

215. We in the northern part of the country cannot abandon our brothers in the south to continual exploitation by France. The rights of the Moroccan State to the Mauritanian provinces are indisputable. Morocco has always exercised sovereignty over the national province of Mauritania. The continuity of this sovereignty is proved by legal evidence and by the effective exercise of central power over this part of our country: the investiture of emirs, the designation of caliphates, the collection of taxes, the regular dispatch of delegations from Mauritania to the central authority, visits by Moroccan sovereigns to this part of their kingdom, and the fact that the Moroccan army was composed of both northern and southern elements—all this proves to the world that our claims to the southern part of our territory have their source and justification in our common history and also in the will expressed daily by the Mauritanian people themselves. I used the word "claim", but the right word is "unification", will to unification.

216. As we did in the cases of the Tangier zone, the Spanish zone in the north and the Spanish zone in the south, and as we want to do in the cases of Ifni and not other territories in a country as torn as Africa—an Africa as torn as the hearts and conscience of Africans—we repeat aloud that the dispute which we bring before you today is not a dispute between Mauritania and Morocco, nor between Africa and Africans, nor between northern and southern Africa, nor between Morocco and other African countries.

217. The real dispute is between France and Morocco, for it is obvious that the idea of independence for Mauritania was born in French minds, and that the French are the artisans of this independence, the grave-diggers of the Algerian people.

218. To prove this I need only mention the military occupation of Mauritania by large numbers of French troops. The French army's presence perpetuates the military presence of France in a part of the African continent which demands the complete evacuation of all foreign troops stationed in Africa.

219. It is a sad state of affairs, that only the presence of these troops protects Mocktar Ould Daddah and his friends from demonstrations by the Mauritanian peoples who, since Morocco became independent, have been expressing in a broad popular movement their will to reintegrate the national community and who, when they do so openly, are imprisoned, sentenced to death or exiled. I say this to French civilization: this is a sad state of affairs, and contrary to the spirit of the century. For months the French army has been imprisoning, expelling, torturing and executing Mauritania nationalists in revolt against this neo-colonialist operation. This is a sad state of affairs.

220. France's dogged determination to have military bases and keep soldiers in Africa is matched by a no less dogged determination to exploit the wealth of Mauritania to the sole advantage of colonial capital. There again, at a time when all free countries in Africa are trying to give their peoples the benefit of the wealth their territories contain, France has seized in a direct grip the substantial wealth of this part of our country. This is not just; indeed it is a sad state of affairs, for the game is out in the open now.

221. How true it is, that he who laughs on Friday will cry on Sunday. The combination of military occupation and economic exploitation proves the colonial nature of the French presence, and by that token, the absence of any true sovereignty from the so-called Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

222. That territory remains one of the last bastions of colonialism in Africa, a bastion in which colonialism is strengthening its position strategically, politically and economically and is in fact setting up an artificial and unviable State in the heart of the African continent.

223. Let us not befuddle ourselves with the words "Islamic Republic of Mauritania". How ironical it is, too: France is the champion of Islam, as Mussolini declared himself the sword of Islam, the better to cut its throat! The "Islamic Republic of Mauritania", which you are now asked to admit to membership in the United Nations, is and will be no more than a site of French sovereignty and domination in Africa. It is, in the last analysis, a foreign-made State—that is to say, a State created by France—which is to be installed at the very heart of our continent and of our country. France will speak to France in Mauritania through a puppet Government, as Belgium wishes to do through Tshombé.

224. Apart from the danger which the creation of a foreign-controlled State in Africa represents, my country can produce yet more evidence of its right to intervene, since neo-colonialism has chosen part of our national territory on which to give its creation tangible form.

225. Morocco has always denounced the fragmentation of its territory and the successive amputations of its land by those who sought to divide our country among them once and for all. We continue and shall always continue to work for the restoration of our nation's historical and legal frontiers.

226. Neo-colonialism well knows that Morocco, with other African States—and their number grows daily, as the truth spreads—is working relentlessly for the realization of all the ideas which, now and henceforth, are embodied in the Charter of Casablanca. With your permission, I shall quote from this Charter:

"We, the Heads of the African States, meeting in Casablanca

"...

"*Affirm* our will to preserve and consolidate our identity of views and unity of action in international affairs, to safeguard our hard won independence, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, to reinforce peace in the world by adopting a policy of non alignment,

"*Proclaim* our determination to liberate the African territories still under foreign domination, by giving them aid and assistance, to liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms, to discourage the maintenance of foreign troops and the establishment of bases which endanger the liberation of Africa and to strive equally to rid the African Continent of political and economic interventions and pressures,

"*Proclaim* the necessity for the Independent African States to direct their political, economic and social policies to the exploitation of the national wealth for the benefit of their peoples and to ensuring an equitable distribution of that wealth among all nationals,

"*Affirm* our will to intensify our efforts for the creation of an effective form of cooperation among the African States in the economic, social and cultural domains."

227. Today neo-colonialism issues a veritable challenge to all Africa, and Morocco in particular, by opening in its flank a formidable breach which might become a permanent threat to the realization of the ideas embodied in the Charter of Casablanca.

228. Incidentally, I should make it clear that the Casablanca Powers lay no claim to the sole paternity of these ideas. We know that other African leaders think as we do, and we hope that all our efforts will be combined and that we shall become more and more numerous and united for the common good of Africa, for its freedom, its real independence, its unity and its territorial integrity.

229. The African and Asian States, and those European States which are working for true freedom, place great hopes in the United Nations. We hope that our Organization will do justice to Morocco and will not merely ratify a neo-colonialist scheme which would inflict serious damage on my country and would also injure the true and lasting interests of all Africa. A precedent never goes unrepeatd.

230. I have listened to speeches. Until this morning I obeyed the tradition of our delegation and Government by remaining politely silent before all insinuations. We continue to have friendly, respectful and fraternal relations with all our African brothers. We come and go; but our countries remain. The peoples we represent lay upon our backs a burden of responsibilities. Our peoples want their dignity well represented here, and their struggles for freedom faithfully reflected here. They want it known that the African ideal is an ideal of African making; that it is in the pay neither of East nor of West, neither of Orient nor of Occident, nor of any other region, but springs from the human conscience; and Africans, who have suffered all the harrassments of racism, colonization, frustration and obscurantism, are in the United Nations today to work first as men who have recovered their freedom, then as Africans, and lastly as nationals of their own countries.

231. We shall persevere relentlessly in this line of thought, for one of the contradictions in which the

West has placed us is an ideological void, a neo-colonialist Machiavellism, while, we, who have emerged from the struggle, are like all those in Europe who have taken part in revolutions for their countries' freedom, and like those in America who have fought for the freedom of their peoples.

232. We wish to remain faithful to an ideal for which we have exposed our bodies to death, our minds to imprisonment, and our families to disaster and sometimes to murder and machine-gun bullets. We wish to follow the tradition of those who have become diplomats but have never forgotten that they were patriots, and who now wish to transform the old diplomacy of Bismarck or Machiavelli into an activity for men of honour.

233. Today, when the West is asked "What is a modern country?", it replies at once that it is an economically self-sufficient country. To us Africans, this means: "We live to eat." When you ask an African: "What is a modern country?", he will tell you: "It is a society of honest men". That is our way, that is our philosophy, and those are the terms we shall always use to our Asian brothers and to all our brothers on all other continents.

234. I thank you, Mr. President, but I reserve my delegation's right to exercise its right of reply if necessary.

235. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Dahomey in exercise of his right of reply.

236. Mr. IGNACIO PINTO (Dahomey) (*translated from French*): This is the first time that I feel it my unavoidable duty to take the floor in exercise of what is generally termed the right of reply. I should have been very pleased to not to have to speak. But I represent not merely my own insignificant and humble self, but a country which has its pride and honour.

237. For all the emotional stress of this debate, in which the representative of Morocco and I are on opposite sides, even though each of us has the right to plead his own cause, even with passion, I must refuse categorically to follow him. My country has always greatly admired Morocco and so the first part of his address grieved me deeply. In several passages of the second part, however, I once again noted the composure, the self-control that one sometimes shows even in moments of deep emotion.

238. But I should like to make it clear that in this intervention my exclusive concern is to defend the honour of my country which has been treated with a certain amount of vague circumspection. We do not want to be treated with circumspection! Either we deserve confidence and are considered the representatives of independent and sovereign countries, or we are not worthy of confidence. We could, of course, be wrong. *Errare est humanum*. We ask for nothing better than to make an immediate and honourable apology, as soon as we learn our mistake, without persisting in it.

239. That is why I am extremely sorry to have to tell the representative of Morocco that my country is very far from being a lackey of France, and that, so far as my insignificant self is concerned, I believe there are Frenchmen here who could provide information on that subject. I am not for sale to France today, thank you.

240. But, you see, this house is a place where, we are told, it is incumbent on us to strive for unity: we

are in the United Nations. I am not entirely sure that certain remarks in the first part of the Moroccan representative's speech are likely to foster unity. So far as I know, hate, petulance, and insult have never brought peoples, far less men, closer together. Is this a family quarrel? I do not quite see how we are going to convince the people in Mauritania, who—let us be frank about it—are wrong to demand independence. They are lackeys; they are puppets. Allow me to say that this is not the right way to speak of certain other Africans.

241. I have the honour to belong to this category for the good reason that mine is a little country, lost on the shores of the Gulf of Benin. I would even recall that Dahomey was once a part of the ancient Empire of Benin. According to the arguments we have heard today, my country is about to claim a good part of Nigeria, at least as far as the delta of the Niger, which might justify me having myself proclaimed the new Emperor of Benin. You can see how utterly ridiculous I would appear!

242. This is why I asserted, in our discussion in the First Committee [*116th meeting*], that we should not indulge in bitter criticism, and I challenge the honourable representative of Morocco to point to a single part of my statement that could have offended his country's honour.

243. I quite agree that we may have some rather harsh things to say to each other outside in the corridors. But I refer my colleague of Morocco to what I said in the First Committee last December. I stated at that time that my delegation would not associate itself with certain accusations ascribing annexationist tendencies to Morocco. What more can I say to show my complete understanding of Morocco's situation?

244. Now let us understand each other, once and for all. As human beings we have the most absolute right to take such and such a position on such and such a problem. But let us—especially us young African States, which are newcomers to this august house—accept it as a rule of conduct—and it is an old custom in my country—not to raise our voices to insult anyone. Indeed, according to our old African traditions, those who come together in an august residence to seek the bond that unites men are categorically forbidden to raise their voices to insult or abuse one another.

245. Having made these remarks, prompted by the old tradition of my country—which may be a backward country, but I think, for all that, there are others here who think as we do, even non-African States—I do not believe that the problem posed today, for us and for those who like us are devoted to the ideal of liberty is, after all, so very difficult.

246. My dear and noble representative of Morocco, as I have already said others may have taken advantage of you by inducing you to take a position out of harmony with the trend of history. Neither of us has a monopoly, but today we are concerned with the ideal of liberty acknowledged as the right of a people still for the greater part within the geographical area of Mauritania.

247. It would be dangerous today to allow a minority living abroad to dominate the local majority, especially when that majority already has its own Assembly. What is more, even though Mauritania may be an illegitimate child, sixty-two countries have witnessed its birth. Poor illegitimate child! What a misfortune to

have had sixty-two witnesses of your illegitimate birth!

248. It is precisely because we are so attached to this ideal of liberty that we want it known, once and for all, that there is no one at all here whom we would wish to insult. But we have no desire to assume the responsibility of delaying, even for a single second, the accession of Mauritania to international sovereignty, which is the matter before this Assembly. That is the problem. All the rest is but dilatory, futile procedure, for the cause is, fundamentally, just. There are ninety-nine of us here. If the cause is not just, why have we already discussed it? Furthermore, there is proof; sixty-two countries, which are not, after all, puppets, have now assisted in the birth of the State of Mauritania, once a province.

249. I have had my say and I am indeed sorry to have had to make such a statement. Yet I am convinced that I have offended no one by my remarks. But I do have the right to raise the tone of the discussion, and to defend my country's honour. That is why I appeal to the best that is in us, to our own consciences, which, in the night, when we are alone in our beds, may sometimes speak to us directly but can never reproach us, if our intentions were really honest. Thus, today, no one, no matter who he may be should be

termed a puppet. In any case, my country will not tolerate such an appellation from anyone, be he great, small, or of medium stature. The record of its representative here is such that he will not allow himself to be spoken of as a "puppet", without taking up the gauntlet. If we failed to do this, we should be untrue to the traditions of our country, where even the women have fought a country as powerful as France.

250. I am sorry that an African should have been the first to apply this name to my country because, for once, we differed on a procedural matter. For it is indeed merely a question of procedure with which we are dealing.

251. Mr. SANZ-BRIZ (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the Spanish delegation I wish to enter a respectful but most vigorous protest against this strange introduction of Ceuta, Melilla, Ifni and the Spanish Sahara into a debate which, as the President knows, concerns the admission of new Members to the United Nations.

On behalf of my Government I protest at the Moroccan representative's reference to these Spanish Territories.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.