



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (concluded)

1. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly has before it the special report of the Security Council on the question of the admission of new Members [A/4656], and the draft resolution submitted by eleven African States, together with the amendment to it submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

2. It will be recalled that, at its meeting on 3-4 December last year, the Security Council proved unable to take a positive decision on the question of the admission to membership in our Organization of two States—the Mongolian People's Republic and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The main reason for this was the discriminatory policy of the Western Powers towards the socialist countries.

3. As is well known, in the past year the number of Members of the United Nations has considerably increased, especially as a result of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the former African colonies, which, thanks to their stubborn struggle against colonialism, finally managed to achieve their independence.

4. The Soviet Union consistently supports the just struggle of peoples for independence and national self-determination. Our country was one of the first to give full and unconditional recognition to the newly formed African States.

5. In our resolute support of the new nationally independent States, we realize that the colonialists are trying to make the granting of independence subject to various reservations, in order to preserve by every conceivable means their political and, in particular, their economic positions in the new States. We consider that, even when the granting of State independence to a colony is far from being complete, it sets the national forces free and brings nearer the time when the former colony will achieve complete and genuine independence.

6. We base our position on the fact that the people of Mauritania, with the support of other freedom-loving peoples, has achieved well-known successes, forcing the colonialists to make considerable concessions and, in particular, to abolish the colonial administration.

7. However, during consideration of the question of Mauritania's admission, we have encountered certain facts, which were not present in similar cases in the past. At the time when the question of Mauritania was discussed in the First Committee, it was clear that the granting of State independence to this country involved a number of problems, concerning in particular the sovereign rights of another independent African State—Morocco.

8. As the discussion in the First Committee showed, many independent African States, to which this problem is most familiar, regard Mauritania as a part of Morocco. In their opinion, the granting of State independence to Mauritania is a political manoeuvre of the French colonialists, and these countries therefore do not recognize the independence of Mauritania.

9. It is impossible to disregard the presence of French troops in the territory of Mauritania, which inevitably gives rise to doubts about the French Government's policy towards that territory.

10. Finally, the very fact of the discussion of the problem of Mauritania at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly proves the existence of serious complications in connexion with the proclamation of this country's independence. It is significant that fewer than half the Members of the United Nations spoke against the arguments advanced by the delegation of Morocco in the First Committee.

11. Thus, we were asked in the Security Council to accept into the United Nations a State concerning which there are a number of serious controversial issues. Showing clear favouritism towards Mauritania, the Western Powers were at that time continuing by every possible means to sabotage the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic, which had already existed for forty years as an independent State.

12. It will be recalled that the Mongolian People's Republic first applied for membership in the United Nations fifteen years ago, and has, since that time, repeatedly raised the question of its admission to the Organization.¹ In the statement by the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic dated 7 December 1960 [A/4645], we read:

"The Mongolian Government, on behalf of the people of its country, requests the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic as a sovereign independent State advancing along the road of progress and prosperity."

13. However, no positive solution has yet been found for the question of the admission of the Mongolian

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, First Year, Second Series, Supplement No. 4*, document S/95; *ibid.*, *Fourth Year, Supplement for June 1949*, document S/1035 and Add.1; and *ibid.*, *Twelfth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1957*, document S/3873 and Add.1.

People's Republic to membership in the United Nations, because of the policy of discrimination followed by the Western Powers, although the Mongolian People's Republic fulfils all the requirements of the United Nations Charter and has every reason to be accepted into our Organization.

14. It is a matter of general knowledge that the Mongolian nation is one of the oldest nations in the world. The history of its statehood dates back to the earliest centuries. As a result of the victory of the People's revolution in 1921, the Mongolian people achieved a revival of the Mongolian State along the lines of a people's democracy. From the very beginning of its existence, the new State proceeded to rebuild the country's social and political life on democratic foundations and to develop its economy and culture. Soon, Mongolia ceased to be economically backward. National industries were established, agriculture was reconstructed and a cultural revolution took place. The successes in the development of industry and the national economy as a whole have been particularly noticeable in recent years, as is shown by the sole fact that by 1960 industrial production in the Mongolian People's Republic was almost six times greater than in 1940. As a result, Mongolia has changed from a cattle-raising to an agrarian and industrial country.

15. The successes of the new Mongolia in the field of social and cultural development are particularly significant. Illiteracy among the country's adult population has generally speaking been eliminated, universal education for children has been instituted, some establishments of higher education have been set up, free medical services have been introduced, State allocations for social security are increasing and the worker's level of living is continually rising. Last year the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic adopted a new Constitution which confirmed and consolidated in legislative form the notable victories of the Mongolian people, gained during the years of the people's authority, and reaffirmed the fundamental rights and democratic freedoms of all citizens.

16. From the outset of its existence, the Mongolian People's Republic has resolutely and consistently followed a peace-loving policy, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter; it consistently advocates a reduction in international tension and the elimination of the "cold war". The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic follows a policy designed to extend relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

"The principle of peaceful coexistence," the Head of the Mongolian Government, Mr. Y. Tsendenbal, has stated, "has been and remains the firm basis of the struggle of the Mongolian people and its Government in the defence of peace."

17. The successes of the Mongolian People's Republic in national development and in the strengthening of international co-operation have received due recognition from the countries of Europe and Asia which have established diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with it. The total populations of these countries account for more than half of mankind. They include such strong Asian States as China, India, Indonesia and Burma. These countries regard the Mongolian People's Republic as an equal and worthy partner in inter-

national relations, and are developing relations with it in every field.

18. Despite all this, the United States and certain other Western countries have for many years been obstructing the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations. For example, in December 1960 a number of members of the Security Council, and in particular the United States, adopted a position which radically conflicted with the cause of strengthening the authority of the United Nations. Instead of taking, with regard to the application of the Mongolian People's Republic, a decision based on the generally recognized principle of the universality of the United Nations, these States persisted in their policy of discrimination towards this country, just as they have for a long time been following a discriminatory policy towards a number of other countries, purely because of their internal social and political systems.

19. The representatives of the United States tried to conceal, in the Security Council, the fact that the negative position adopted by them in regard to application of the Mongolian People's Republic is motivated by a hostile attitude towards that country's social and political system. In order to justify their position, they spread all kinds of rumours, trying to sow the seeds of doubts about whether Mongolia was a sovereign State. Rumours of this kind can delude no one. The Mongolian People's Republic exists as a sovereign State, irrespective of whether this is pleasing to one Power or another and whether or not they recognize it.

20. We venture to hope that the new United States Administration will adopt an objective attitude towards the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations, especially since at a previous juncture the United States had no doubt that the Mongolian People's Republic was in fact a State. Its representative to the United Nations, suggesting in 1946 that a number of countries, including the Mongolian People's Republic, should be admitted to membership in the United Nations said:

"We would not have made this proposal if there had been, among the candidates, any country which was not a State in the international sense of the word or lacked the administrative authority or the practical means wherewith to fulfil the obligations of the Charter."

21. The validity of the requests for the admission of Mongolia to membership in the United Nations was confirmed during the discussion of the question of the admission of new members at the tenth session of the General Assembly. It will be recalled that at that time twenty-nine delegations submitted a joint draft resolution, suggesting that the Security Council should admit to membership in the United Nations eighteen States, including the Mongolian People's Republic. This resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly, fifty-two votes being cast for it. It was only because of obstruction by the Chiang Kai-shek representative in the Security Council that it was not possible to adopt the proposal for the admission of Mongolia to membership in the United Nations. All these facts irrefutably show the complete groundlessness of the assertions of those delegations which are trying to cast doubt on whether the Mongolian People's Republic is qualified to be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

22. The unwillingness to admit Mongolia to the United Nations simply reflects the attempt to make the United Nations adopt unilateral, discriminatory decisions with regard to the admission of new Members and thereby to prevent the achievement of co-operation between countries with different social systems. A policy of this kind is basically contrary to the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter, according to which our Organization should be a centre for the development of friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights of all peoples without exception.

23. The policy of discrimination and colonialist disdain for the smaller nations—as emphasized in the speeches made by the heads of States and Governments during the general discussion at the fifteenth session—merits the most resolute condemnation by all who genuinely wish to strengthen the authority of the United Nations.

24. The Soviet delegation considers that it is time to put an end to the policy of discrimination in the matter of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations.

25. On the basis of these considerations, we have submitted amendments [A/L.336] to the eleven-Power draft resolution—to the effect that the General Assembly declares 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, in consequence, be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

26. We hope that our amendment will be accepted, and that justice will finally be done in respect of the Mongolian People's Republic.

27. Mr. N'GOUA (Gabon) (*translated from French*): I have listened attentively to the speakers who preceded me on this rostrum. The representative of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, in supporting the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations, very clearly described the position occupied by Mauritania before its independence. At the same time, he mentioned the Conventions between France and Morocco, which contain no clause relating to Morocco's present claims. The clarity of the statement made by the representative of the Republic of the Ivory Coast [988th meeting] will, I am sure, enable the delegations here present to vote in a reasonable manner when, shortly, a vote is called for.

28. I have also noted the Moroccan representative's appeal to the Africans [988th meeting] that they should unite instead of indulging in internecine struggles to the benefit of the colonizing countries, which are always anxious to apply the old adage "Divide and conquer". It follows that my own statement will be short. Nevertheless, I should like to set forth here the views of the Government of the Gabon Republic regarding the problem with which we are now concerned.

29. On 16 November 1960, speaking before the First Committee [1111th meeting] on behalf of the Government of Gabon, I stated that Mauritania's recently acquired independence was no less valid than that of the other African States recently admitted to membership in our Organization. This independence was born, in circumstances absolutely identical with our own, from the clearly and freely expressed wish of the Mauritanian people. At that time this was doubtless not thought to be the case, since the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was unable to obtain satisfaction. All the

African States felt personally affronted by this refusal. Since then, the independence of Mauritania has been recognized by a constantly growing number of States, now amounting to sixty-five in all.

30. In these circumstances, it would be hard to understand why the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which—and I wish to stress this point—has all the features of a free, independent and sovereign State, should be rejected by our Organization and fall a prey to what I must regretfully call a new imperialism. If that were to happen this time, the Africans—and particularly the French-speaking ones—who regard themselves as linked by ties of solidarity with the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would draw the inevitable conclusion.

31. As the representative of Gabon, I have always endeavoured to contribute words of peace and to seek conciliatory solutions, in accordance with my Government's wishes and the spirit of the Charter. I therefore have all the less hesitation, today, in drawing the attention of the representatives here present to the disastrous consequences of a negative vote, or even of a vote designed to delay indefinitely the settlement of a question which has remained unsolved for all too long.

32. Our Organization has suffered a considerable loss of prestige in Africa as a result of the Congo affair. To say this is to state a commonplace. Any further delay in admitting Mauritania—regardless of the reasons, and especially if they were apparently only procedural—would this time deal a mortal blow to our Organization's prestige in Africa. It would, moreover, be looked upon as discriminatory and as an intolerable affront to African honour.

33. On arriving here, we found our elder brothers from North Africa, who welcomed us with open arms in the name of African solidarity. They asked us always to display a united front and a single face in this Assembly, especially in connexion with problems affecting Africa. They complained of the distinction made by the colonial Powers between Africa north of the Sahara and Africa south of the Sahara. And we were ready to think, as they did, that our divisions were purely artificial and that Africa, including North Africa, was a single entity. Gabon does not wish to believe that these statements did not express what was sincerely felt.

34. And yet, is not some doubt on that score in place when we find that, when faced with harsh realities, the champions of anti-colonialism and African solidarity are the first to wish to strangle a young nation whose independence—and I cannot repeat this too often—has the same features and the same value as our own? Shall this new-born independence become the prey of a new colonialism which dares not speak its name? It is unthinkable that this glaring anomaly, this amazing paradox should receive the Assembly's approval.

35. We in Gabon have a proverb: "Everything done to the hen is watched by the duck". For the duck knows full well that, being also a barn-door fowl, he will shortly suffer the same fate. African wisdom is wont to express itself in such similes. Everyone will have understood that the African States soon to be Members of the United Nations and now, like Mauritania, knocking at our door, are also watching. What they see must not lead them to draw disagreeable and discouraging conclusions as to the real worth of their independence.

36. I shall therefore end with a vigorous appeal, primarily to Morocco but also to any African-Asian States

which might be tempted to support the Moroccan standpoint, that they should reconsider their attitude regarding Mauritania. I must apologize for saying this again, but, as I pointed out in my statement of last November, if there is in Mauritania a real desire to merge or federate with Morocco in one form or another, the Mauritanian people will always have a chance of independently expressing that desire, and the truth cannot be indefinitely stifled. We have witnessed, for instance, the federation of Egypt and Syria, which are here represented under the name of the United Arab Republic. But let us not begin by strangling this new-born independence.

37. To the socialist group, I say that Gabon is ready, for the sake of conciliation, to support the amendments [A/L.336] which the Soviet Union has suggested shall be made to the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.335], and I would thank all those who have tried to show a way out of the impasse and to remove the disastrous effects of the December veto. To the representatives of the Western Powers that are lovers of peace and justice, I would address the request that they support the draft resolution, and all the amendments thereto, without hesitation and not take refuge in negative abstention, especially if—as is the case with most of them—their Governments have already recognized the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

38. The time has now come to make amends in respect of Mauritania. For all delegations here, the moment of truth is at hand. Everyone must now shoulder his responsibilities; we have already shouldered ours.

39. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (*translated from French*): I have listened very closely to the statements made by the representatives who preceded me, and especially to the Moroccan representative's statement [988th meeting]. I should now like to make a few remarks about the question we are discussing this evening.

40. When in 1956 Morocco acceded to independence, its Government did not fail to make known repeatedly, to international opinion, its standpoint on the question of Mauritania—a standpoint with which you are all familiar, and which the Moroccan representative has explained. The Government of Morocco has continually asked that its rights with regard to this territory should be respected; and it has expressed the most formal reservations on this score to the French Government, to the United Nations and to international institutions. Moreover, in the negotiations with France which led to the establishment of Moroccan independence on 2 March 1956, Morocco had agreed with the French Government that a joint commission should meet as soon as possible to study the frontier problems which it had proved impossible to settle.

41. The Moroccan Government repeatedly asked for the immediate opening of negotiations with a view to the settlement of the problems outstanding—including that of Mauritania—through the joint commission. But the joint commission was unable to meet, since the French Government had rejected the Moroccan claims, and hence the claims of the Mauritanian peoples, in advance—e.g. in its statement of 20 January 1960, by which it excluded from the scope of the talks all territories coming under the sovereignty of France, and the States members of the French Community.

42. Morocco justifiably considers itself unable to agree that Mauritania, receiving independence without even being consulted, should be amputated from its ter-

ritory. Morocco cannot accept the consequences of this colonial policy. Moreover, the Mauritanian people has not been asked whether it wishes or does not wish to be incorporated in Morocco.

43. If the French authorities really wanted to consult the Mauritanians on this subject and ascertain their desires, surely one of the questions which ought to have been asked, in the referendum of 28 September 1958, is that relating to integration with Morocco. Yet we know that that question was, in fact, never put. I am sure that if a Mauritanian had asked for integration with Morocco his vote would have been considered null and void, as being unrelated to any of the questions put to the Mauritanian people in the referendum of 28 September 1958. If France at that time had really wished to respect the freely expressed desires of the peoples, it could have negotiated with Morocco through the joint commission, and a plebiscite could have been organized under the supervision of the United Nations or any other international body, so as to ensure completely free elections.

44. That was a possible way of solving the conflict—and one whereby the desires of the people, by the guarantee of a free vote, would have been respected. Unfortunately, however, the French Government followed a different procedure; it disregarded and refused to negotiate with the Moroccan Government, took unilateral decisions and organized referenda which it has been said were rigged, and which have made the problem even more difficult to solve.

45. Furthermore, according to information we have received, the vast majority of the Mauritanian population would favour integration with Morocco. We trust, however, that a solution in keeping with the dictates of justice will be found for this problem.

46. We are now engaged in studying the question of Mauritania's admission to the United Nations. In my delegation's view it is, for the reasons I have just given, at present too early to consider this question. In any case, we think that discussion of it in the General Assembly is useless; the issue will be decided by the Security Council's recommendation. That is why we have repeatedly urged that consideration of the question be adjourned.

47. For these reasons my delegation, which supports the position of the Moroccan delegation, regrets that it is unable to vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.335] submitted by Cameroun, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Senegal and the Upper Volta.

48. My delegation's attitude with regard to the question of the Mongolian People's Republic is well known. The vote of my delegation will accordingly be cast in favour of the Soviet amendments [A/L.336] concerning that State.

49. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq): There are two primary reasons why my delegation is strongly opposed to the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.335]. One of the reasons is a procedural one and the other is one of substance. The first, which may appear to be a simple procedural one, touches the very foundations of our Charter and the carefully worked-out, delicate balance of prerogatives assigned to each of the principal organs of the United Nations. There is in the Charter of the Organization a delicate balance of checks which, if

tampered with, may lead to disastrous results. Article 4, paragraph 2 of the Charter provides that the admission of any new State to membership in the United Nations shall be effected by a decision of the Assembly upon—and I here stress these words—upon the recommendation of the Security Council. I shall comment on the word "State" as used in the present context when I come to the substantive view of my delegation on this subject.

50. The procedure for the admission of new Members to the United Nations is very well known, especially to those Members who have sponsored the draft resolution before us, since most of them are among the newest Members of this Organization. A recommendation of the Security Council is imperative. Applications for admission to membership are not submitted to the General Assembly; they are submitted in the first instance to the Security Council, and unless there is a favourable recommendation by the Security Council we do not believe the Assembly should even be seized with the problem of the admission of a new Member. And here is where we raise the question of whether this item should properly even be called "Admission of new Members". We are all acquainted, and I am sure the sponsors of the draft resolution before us are well acquainted, with the Security Council report [A/4656] to this Assembly regarding the application which constitutes the substance of the draft resolution. The Security Council, on 16 December 1960, reported to this Assembly—and this is an inescapable fact—that it had rejected the application of the so-called Islamic Republic of Mauritania for admission to the United Nations. As far as the procedure is concerned, we believe that the eleven-Power draft resolution constitutes a dangerous precedent, and the General Assembly should not go into the matter of questioning the motives or reasons as to why the Security Council rejected this application.

51. Now I come to the substantive views of my delegation regarding this question. I said earlier that membership in this Organization is open to States only. I have dealt with the procedure by which these States are admitted. The position of my Government as to whether the applicant under consideration is a sovereign State or not has been repeatedly stated both in and outside the United Nations, but I beg the indulgence of the Assembly so that I may repeat it once again.

52. We regard Mauritania as an integral part of the Kingdom of Morocco. We do not believe that the so-called Islamic Republic of Mauritania meets the first condition of membership in the United Nations, and that is, that it is a State. Now, lest this position of ours be misunderstood, deliberately or not deliberately, let me state the following. The position of my Government and my delegation on two sacred principles which are at the foundation of our Charter is very well known. These two principles are the principle of the liberation of colonial territories and their emergence into independence, in the first instance, and the other equally sacred principle of self-determination. But we have stated repeatedly, and in many instances in connexion with the present question, that these sacred principles should never be invoked as a pretext to dismember either a colonial territory or an emerging national State. We have stated before and we repeat: we are in favour of the people of Mauritania emerging into independence, but only—and this is very important—only within the context of Greater Morocco which does, as we have so often stated, include Mauritania.

53. I believe that no one will be fooled by this pretext of self-determination on the one hand, and the so-called opposition to national independence on the other, that are invoked by France and supported by so many other countries in this Assembly. The record of my Government in this particular instance is clear, and we refer anyone who has any doubt about it to the voluminous records of the Fourth Committee, of this Assembly and of all other organs of the United Nations.

54. But let me repeat, we regard Mauritania as an integral part of Morocco. The only way, in our view, that the people of Mauritania can enjoy their right to independence is within the greater context of their mother country, Morocco, and that is why my delegation is so strongly opposed to the draft resolution.

55. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States wishes to reaffirm its support for the admission of Mauritania to membership of the United Nations. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.335] sponsored by eleven African States. We welcome the advent of this new country to the expanding family of independent nations. We welcome also the opportunity—the first we have had under the new United States Administration—to explain our attitude towards the application of Outer Mongolia.

56. I should like first, however, to say that the United States continues to believe that the admission of one country to the United Nations must not be made conditional on the admission of another. In short, we are opposed both in principle and in practice to package deals. The International Court of Justice itself has held them to be incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. We believe that package deals are an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of independent nations. Last December the Soviet Union proposed this package deal. It was rejected by the Security Council and then revived here in the General Assembly in the form of amendment [A/L.336]. This particular package deal should, we feel, be as offensive to those who oppose Mauritania's admission as to those who favour it. This is an attempt to do by indirection what cannot be done directly: to exploit the wide support for a genuinely qualified State by linking its admission to that of another applicant, whose qualifications are not yet clear. None of us will gain by submitting to pressure tactics of that kind. We believe that it is in the interest of all of us to oppose them. We believe that the Soviet amendments should be rejected. We have no doubt that the application of Mauritania will be overwhelmingly endorsed.

57. But now a word about Outer Mongolia. The United States will be prepared to support and even to sponsor Outer Mongolia's admission when we have been able to determine whether in fact it has the attributes of an independent State and is able and willing to enter fully into relations with other States and to discharge its international obligations. The United States Government is beginning discussions with a number of other countries with regard to that question. We hope to be able to reach informed conclusions at an early date.

58. To sum up: The United States favours the admission of Mauritania and will vote in favour of the draft resolution. We reject the proposition that Mauritania cannot be admitted unless Outer Mongolia is admitted first. Therefore, we shall vote against the Soviet amendments. If the Soviet amendments should be

accepted—and we would regret that very much—we shall abstain from the vote on the draft resolution as amended.

59. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting takes place.

60. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (*translated from French*): May my first words express the sadness of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea at the regrettable turn taken by this debate, which has served merely to lay bare from this rostrum perfidious and fratricidal divisions cleverly engendered, organized and co-ordinated by colonialism, to the greatest detriment of the higher interests of Africa and the Africans.

61. In these circumstances, who could fail to identify those who alone stand to gain from a situation which for us African nationalists is in every respect a tragic one? And, arising out of this, how could we fail to declare publicly, here and now, that our delegation regrets and condemns all the insinuations, attacks and accusations which have been directed more or less openly against the Moroccan Government from this rostrum? And how, in the same line of thought, could we fail to welcome the statement of the Moroccan representative [*988th meeting*] emphasizing that there is no dispute between the people of Morocco and the people of Mauritania, and that the only adversary attacked by the Moroccan Government in Mauritania is neo-colonialism, which seeks to assume new forms, more subtle and therefore more dangerous than the old?

62. To these Moroccan and Mauritanian peoples, which everything unites and no serious issue divides; to these peoples which, we are deeply convinced, will succeed in working out their future within the framework of African solidarity and the ultimate interests of their common destinies, freely and without any foreign interference; to these peoples, our brothers and friends, we are happy to renew here, at this juncture, the formal expression of our active confidence and solidarity.

63. The position of the Government of the Republic of Guinea on the question of Mauritania has already been explained before the First Committee [*1114th meeting*], on the occasion of the discussion of this matter during the first part of the General Assembly's present session. It is no secret that, from the time of its first appearance on the international scene, the Republic of Guinea has always, everywhere and in all circumstances, formally proclaimed that its independence and sovereignty were entirely at the service of the total emancipation of the African continent. This is, indeed, the main *raison d'être* of the Republic of Guinea. No consideration, no difficulty, no obstacle will deflect us from this line, which our people has consciously, freely and responsibly chosen with a view to serving Africa and its populations.

64. What we seek is immediate and genuine independence for the whole of Africa, effective structures for a real unity based on the freely expressed wishes of the peoples, and finally, respect for the territorial integrity of Africa's sovereign African States and for the principle of non-intervention in their domestic affairs.

65. Such an objective naturally requires never-failing vigilance and the constant denunciation of the new forms assumed by colonialism, which concurs in the

outward manifestations of independence but in fact takes every measure to rid this independence of its dynamic and progressive content. Against this neo-colonialism, in all its forms, we are totally and irrevocably committed.

66. Such are the considerations which have guided, are guiding and will always guide the Government of the Republic of Guinea in regard to all the complex problems involved by the African continent's decolonization and its various consequences. This attitude, which Guinea's leaders at all levels have scrupulously maintained in all their activities, whether in Guinea, in Africa or internationally, is too well known to require restatement or further explanation today. We shall therefore merely set forth, briefly, the considerations which will determine our delegation's vote on the draft resolution [*A/L.335*] submitted to the General Assembly.

67. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea believes that the debate which has just taken place here is one serving as an occasion and a pretext for manoeuvres and bargaining which must be deplored and denounced. No one in this Assembly doubts that our discussion is a purely academic one and that the problem of the admission of new Members should be considered according to another procedure, namely that described in Article 4 of the United Nations Charter. Paragraph 2 of this Article specifies that "the admission of any such State [i.e., a State fulfilling the required conditions] will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council". Hence, under this Article, the General Assembly should take a decision regarding the admission of a State to the United Nations only after a recommendation in due and proper form has been made by the Security Council.

68. The procedure proposed to us today is entirely the reverse, and is therefore—to borrow an expression used by a sponsor of the draft resolution before us—altogether too unusual, we would even say too irregular. It is astonishing that this flagrant violation of one of the relevant provisions of the Charter should not have been noted with a view to avoiding this useless, irregular and deliberately acrimonious debate, the only result of which will be to give free rein to shabby manoeuvres. It is regrettable that the General Assembly should in this fashion have encouraged intrigues and horse-trading for which, in any event, this hall is not the place.

69. The normal procedure for the admission of new Members requires, under Article 4 of the Charter, that the case shall first be examined by the Security Council and that the General Assembly shall take its decision, in full knowledge of the facts, only on the basis of a regular recommendation by the Council.

70. For all these reasons the delegation of the Republic of Guinea refuses to endorse the present debate, which it regards as out of order, and will wait, before expressing itself on the substance of the matter, until the question has been submitted in conformity with the Charter, after regular examination and a normal recommendation by the Security Council.

71. Thus we must clearly state that our vote today will not bear on the admission of new States to membership in our Organization. Our decision on this important point will be made known only when a normal recommendation of the Security Council is properly submitted to us. Then, and only then, shall we decide in full knowledge of the facts and with our accustomed clarity,

in the light of our unwavering championship of the total and speedy emancipation of Africa and of its peaceful and genuine unification which is essential to its rational economic development. That is why, in these circumstances, our vote today will represent, unambiguously, a formal protest against all the neo-colonialist intrigues and manoeuvres which have inspired the present regrettable debate.

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

72. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I have asked for permission to speak only in order to explain the vote of my delegation on the draft resolution [A/L.335] and amendments [A/L.336] which are now before the Assembly. This explanation will be very brief, and its brevity results only from our wish for a better atmosphere and a better way of solving the problems with which we are confronted in the United Nations.

73. It is the conviction of my delegation that the presentation of the draft resolution to the General Assembly—in view of the fact that the matter in question is of a nature that any decision upon it depends on another body of the United Nations, namely, the Security Council—was quite unnecessary.

74. Basing ourselves on this principle, my delegation will abstain on all the provisions of the draft resolution, and the amendments, because we do not think that it would serve any useful purpose for the General Assembly to request the Security Council to note the decision of the Assembly in regard to the candidature of any country. Thus, we shall abstain from voting on the entire question.

75. It is our hope that, even at the eleventh hour, neither the draft resolution nor the amendments will be pressed to a vote in the Assembly. However, we have really no hope of this and, therefore, we shall have only one choice, namely, to abstain from voting at all on this issue. Nevertheless, our abstention does not mean that we either approve or disapprove of the candidature of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania or the admission to the United Nations of the State of Outer Mongolia.

76. About these issues we have made our position clear in the past; our position has never been changed. All that we can say is that we are in favour of the principle of universality of the Organization. But if things are not done in the order that they should be done, in that case, for impartial people whose judgement is independent, there is no other choice than regretfully to abstain.

77. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the Ivory Coast on a point of order.

78. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (*translated from French*): I wish, rather, to explain my vote. My delegation will obviously vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/L.335] of which it is a co-sponsor. However, we will also vote in favour of the Soviet Union amendment [A/L.336], for reasons which we explained in our statement during the general debate [988th meeting]. The problem of Mauritania is not a problem between Mauritania and Morocco. It is not from that standpoint that my delegation views it. We are thinking rather of the danger of an African country being mixed up in the quarrels of the great Powers. It is on this issue that my delegation would like the General Assembly

to take a stand and put an end to this dangerous trend by an overwhelming vote.

79. The legal arguments which have been put forward here are mere evasions. The General Assembly is fully entitled to discuss this problem under rule 138 of our rules of procedure, which states:

“If the Security Council does not recommend the applicant State for membership or postpones the consideration of the application, the General Assembly may, after full consideration of the special report of the Security Council, send back the application to the Security Council, together with a full record of the discussion in the General Assembly, for further consideration and recommendation or report.”

It seems to us that this rule is very clear. It is on this point that we wish the General Assembly to take a decision, and it would have been better if the African delegations which have spoken here had explained their convictions boldly by saying “yes” or “no” instead of taking refuge in legal stratagems.

80. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (*translated from French*): I wish very briefly to explain the vote of my delegation and of the African and Malagasy Republics which have sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.335].

81. Mauritania is one of the fifteen African territories to which France offered in 1958 a choice between independence and autonomy within the French Community and, in 1960, the choice between autonomy and independence. The other territories attained independence in 1960 in absolutely identical circumstances, and became Republics. They have been admitted, without opposition, to the United Nations.

82. Morocco should pursue its claims according to the spirit and letter of the Charter, namely on the sole basis of the free determination of peoples and through direct negotiations with Mauritania. Whether we like it or not, Mauritania is today independent, both in fact and in law. Its inhabitants are masters of their own destiny. It is for the Mauritians, acting in accordance with their aspirations and interests, to decide as a sovereign people in regard to their union with Morocco. Let it not be said that such a decision is impossible at their present stage of political evolution. A people can always express its wishes when they are clearly and deeply felt.

83. Mauritania has a parliament elected by universal suffrage. The deputies issue directly from the people and have the duty of making its wishes heard. When this parliament was elected, after a democratic electoral campaign, the voters might have supported only those candidates who favoured union with Morocco. The whole world is witness that the campaign for such a union was unsuccessful. Nor was it successful subsequently in parliament—which shows that there has never been any pressure of public opinion in its favour.

84. Under various pretexts certain delegations have questioned Mauritania's independence. Some have spoken of the existence of foreign capital—whereas their own countries and all the under-developed countries have only one desire, namely to see foreign capital amply invested in their territories. Others have mentioned agreements reached with France. But independent Mauritania can, easily, within the limits of its sovereignty, request the revision of agreements which might

seem contrary to that sovereignty, if such is the wish of the people.

85. It must be stressed once again that Mauritania and France have signed no other agreements except those concerning the transfer of powers. Can it be conceived for a single instant that France will try to seize from Mauritania the independence which it granted to it before the eyes of the world? If such an eventuality, brought about by direct or indirect means, is really to be feared, would not the best way of preventing it be to place Mauritania under the protection of the United Nations by admitting it to membership?

86. The hour of freedom has struck, and I address my remarks more particularly to the representatives of those African and Asian countries which, together with my own country, voted enthusiastically in favour of a resolution [1514 (XV)] designed to abolish colonialism and enable those territories which are still dependent to become independent and sovereign. Now here is a State which declares itself independent. Will you reject it? Under what pretext? Will you let your deepest feelings yield to your friendships? Have you asked yourselves how, in the remoter areas of Africa and Asia, this action will be interpreted? Even if you have some doubts about the extent of Mauritania's independence, will you not help it expand and complete this independence by admitting it to United Nations membership?

87. The ten African Republics and the Malagasy Republic which have submitted a draft resolution proposing the admission of Mauritania are sure that you will have the courage and loyalty to make your deeds correspond with your words.

88. The young Republics are watching you and waiting for you. The fate of African friendship and unity, which are our ultimate aim and yours, is in your hands. For my delegation, the choice is made; it will vote for that friendship and for the search for unity and hence for the admission of Mauritania and for African collaboration. It will also, in accordance with its policy of non-discrimination between independent countries applying for membership, vote for the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic.

89. Mr. JOURY (Jordan): I shall speak rather briefly in order to explain my delegation's position on the draft resolution [A/L.335], sponsored by eleven African States.

90. The delegation of Jordan made its position unequivocally clear on the question of Mauritania when this question was considered in the First Committee. In brief, we presented then historical evidence that Mauritania is an integral part of Morocco, that its people are part of the Moroccan nation and that the Mauritians had always owed allegiance to the Moroccan sovereign and were under his protection. We further emphasized that the military occupation of Mauritania by France did not and should not establish for France any right to enable it to colonize the territory and later detach it from its motherland under the pretext of independence. We said then that the independence of Mauritania stems from the independence of Morocco, and therefore it should have been declared on the same day on which the independence of Morocco was proclaimed. In fact, the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco over Mauritania was recognized in the pledges of France to the Sultan of Morocco and in the international agreements pertaining thereto.

91. In our opinion, the termination of French colonialism in Mauritania should have taken place at the time when Morocco began to recover its sovereignty over the territories which formed parts of its national soil.

92. This being the case, it becomes obviously clear that any unilateral action on the part of France to decide the future of Mauritania is an arbitrary measure which aims at partitioning the Moroccan national territory and establishing in its southern part a separate State. No State which respects the principle of territorial integrity and national unity would accede to such measures, which serve to impair this principle.

93. The question of Mauritania, as presented by the Moroccan delegation in the First Committee and in today's statement in the Assembly, was given the full consideration of my delegation. On the strength of this presentation my delegation will vote against the eleven-Power draft resolution.

94. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no further speakers on the item before us, the Assembly will now proceed to the vote.

95. Two documents are before the Assembly: the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.335] and the amendments of the Soviet Union [A/L.336] to that draft resolution.

96. In accordance with the rules of procedure, the Assembly will vote first on the Soviet amendments, and will vote on them seriatim.

97. In respect of the first amendment, there is a request for a vote by division. The request is that a separate vote should be taken on the first part of the sentence, which reads:

"Noting that the Mongolian People's Republic has been awaiting a decision on its application for admission to membership in the United Nations since 1946..."

The Assembly will now vote on this part of the first amendment.

The first part of the amendment was adopted by 52 votes to 11, with 26 abstentions.

98. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the Assembly the second portion of the first amendment in document A/L.336, that is the part beginning with the words "and that a favourable decision on this question" and terminating with the words "to membership in the Organization".

The result of the vote was 36 in favour, 21 against, and 34 abstentions.

The second part of the amendment was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

99. The PRESIDENT: I shall now ask the Assembly to turn its attention to the second amendment contained in document A/L.336. I propose to submit this amendment as a whole to the vote of the Assembly.

The amendment was adopted by 48 votes to 15, with 24 abstentions.

100. The PRESIDENT: I shall now ask the Assembly to vote on the third amendment contained in document A/L.336.

The result of the vote was 39 in favour, 24 against, and 22 abstentions.

The amendment was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

101. The PRESIDENT: I will now ask the Assembly to turn its attention to the draft resolution submitted by Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta [A/L.335], as amended by the votes which the Assembly has just cast. A request has been received for voting on this draft resolution paragraph by paragraph, if it was amended. It has been amended, and therefore, if there is no objection on the part of the Assembly, we will proceed to vote on it paragraph by paragraph.

102. As the resolution will read now, the first paragraph of the preamble will consist of the first part of the first amendment, that is, of the following words:

"Noting that the Mongolian People's Republic has been awaiting a decision on its application for admission to membership in the United Nations since 1946".

That will be the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

103. The Assembly has just voted on that first preambular paragraph, and has adopted it by 52 votes to 11, with 26 abstentions. Unless there is some objection, I will interpret the sense of the vote which the Assembly cast on this first part of the first amendment as being that it does not desire to vote on it again, and I will now put to the Assembly the second preambular paragraph of the amended draft resolution, starting with the words *"Noting that eight members of the Security Council voted on 4 December 1960"*. On this preambular paragraph a request has been received for a separate vote on the words *"because of the opposition of a permanent member"*.

The words were adopted by 36 votes to 9, with 32 abstentions.

104. The PRESIDENT: I now put this preambular paragraph as a whole, that is, as it appears in document A/L.335, to the vote of the Assembly. I am putting to the vote the preambular paragraph starting with the words *"Noting that eight members of the Security Council"* and terminating with the words *"because of the opposition of a permanent member"*.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan,

Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia.

The paragraph was adopted by 61 votes to 11, with 23 abstentions.

105. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the next paragraph of the preamble, which starts with the words *"Considering that it is important for the future of the United Nations"*.

The paragraph was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

106. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the Assembly the second of the two amendments to the draft resolution. As the Assembly is aware, it has just adopted the paragraph involved by 48 votes to 15 with 24 abstentions. Is it therefore necessary for the Chair to put this paragraph of the draft resolution to the Assembly again? In view of the vote, I would assume that it is not; and unless I hear some request to the contrary, I shall proceed accordingly.

107. Hearing no request, I now ask the Assembly to turn its attention to what is now the second operative paragraph of the draft resolution, which is the operative paragraph starting with the words *"Declares that in its view the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is a peace-loving State"*. I now put this operative paragraph to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sweden.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan.

Abstaining: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, Mali, Poland, Romania.

The paragraph was adopted by 63 votes to 15, with 17 abstentions.

108. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland): In view of the rejection of the third Soviet amendment and in view of the adoption of the first amendment, the present wording of paragraph 3 seems to me to be illogical. I would like to request a separate vote on the following words: *"Requests the Security Council to take note of this decision of the General Assembly"*, and a separate vote on the rest of that paragraph.

109. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has heard the request made by the representative of Poland. Since I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the request. I therefore now put to the vote

the portion of paragraph 3 of the operative part consisting of the words "*Requests the Security Council to take note of this decision of the General Assembly*".

The words were adopted by 56 votes to 9, with 19 abstentions.

110. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the second half of paragraph 3 which consists of the words "in regard to the candidature of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania".

The words were adopted by 46 votes to 22, with 14 abstentions.

111. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, as amended. I should remind the Assembly of the amendments which have been made in it. These consist first of all of the insertion of a new preambular paragraph consisting of the first part of the first Soviet amendment. Secondly, there is a new operative paragraph 1, consisting of a second Soviet amendment. With these amendments, I put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Union of South Africa, Upper Volta, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia.

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

Abstaining: Mali, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Laos.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 47 votes to 13, with 34 abstentions.

112. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to representatives for explanations of vote.

113. Mr. JHA (India): I would like to take a few minutes of the Assembly's time to explain the vote of my delegation on the resolution and the amendments, our vote having been a consistent abstention. I would like to say—and this is something which is well known to the Members of the Organization—that my delegation stands for the universality of membership of the United Nations, and the efforts of India towards broadening the basis of membership of the Organization, many years ago when there was a serious deadlock on the question of admission to membership of a large number of States, are well known. As a matter of fact, many of our friends who sit here will bear eloquent testimony to the Indian attitude.

114. If we have abstained on this resolution and the amendments, it is not because we are indifferent to the admission of the States which were concerned in the resolution and the amendments. As a matter of fact, our attitude towards the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic, which is an old question before the United Nations, is well known, and only last September the Prime Minister of India made a plea for the admission of this peace-loving State as a Member of the United Nations, a State with which we have diplomatic relations and with which we have had great cultural connexions through the centuries.

115. The reason why we felt bound to abstain on the resolution and the amendments is that we have to go by the Charter in a matter of this nature. The relevant Article of the Charter is Article 4, which in its second paragraph states:

"The admission of any such state"—that is to say, any State which is a peace-loving State and seeks membership of the United Nations—"to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

116. It is our contention that the General Assembly can take a decision only on the recommendation of the Security Council. That is the Charter. That may be inconvenient, but we have to abide by the provisions of the Charter. It is our view that the decision in paragraph 3 of the resolution that has just been adopted is really outside the scope of Article 4 of the Charter, since no decision recommending that a particular Member or particular Members should be admitted can be taken except on an affirmative recommendation from the Security Council.

117. Another reason why we thought fit to abstain on the resolution and the amendments, although we are not disinterested in these questions, is that we feel that it would perhaps not be easing the difficulties, the many difficulties, with which the Assembly is faced if we should make this question of the admission of States in regard to which there has been some controversy—and I do not at this stage wish to speak about the justice or otherwise of these controversies and objections—a hardy perennial of the United Nations; for it is well known that no resolution of the General Assembly has any value, except perhaps as a gesture, in so far as membership is concerned. Membership must first be recommended by the Security Council. We should not try to put the cart before the horse.

118. This is one of those questions on which, evidently, there is a division of opinion, deep divisions particularly on the continent of Africa, and it did not seem to us that we should, by our vote, encourage a procedure which might accentuate these divisions and which might lead to an exercise of this nature year after year until, of course, the Security Council came to an affirmative recommendation. We hope that the Security Council will consider this matter and send us a recommendation, but until then we feel that there is no point in going into the substantive aspects of this question. Therefore, although, as I have said, we have definite views, we felt that we should abstain on the resolution and the amendments.

119. Mr. POLDERMAN (Netherlands): My delegation was not able to vote for the amendments proposed by the Soviet Union delegation because we still harbour some doubt with regard to the ability of Outer Mongolia

to meet fully the qualifications for statehood as established by international law.

120. My delegation voted for the resolution as a whole because we favour the admission of Mauritania, which is an independent State fully qualified for membership.

It acquired independence by exercising its right of self-determination. To that fundamental right we adhere fully and entirely as it constitutes an essential element of international law and of our Charter.

The meeting rose at 11.20 p.m.