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[Agenda item 9]

SPEECHES BY MR. AKLILOU (ETHIOPIA) AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Mr. AKLILOU (Ethiopia) (*translated from French*): A year ago, when the fourth session of the General Assembly met, there was an atmosphere of optimism and determination to accomplish the work before us. The President of that session, General Rómulo, expressed the hope that the fourth Assembly might become known as the "Peace Assembly".¹ Now, twelve months later, that spirit of optimism has given way to a spirit of acute concern, if not fear, at the dangers which threaten the peace of the world. It was this which led the United States Secretary of State to say the other day [279th meeting] that a feeling of anxiety pervaded our hopes and our work. "Why is it", he asked, "that we have been unable to achieve peace and security through the United Nations in these five years?"

2. We are filled with anxiety, then, concerning the surprises which the future may hold in store; fears that the United Nations may be called upon to face events even more serious than those of the present time, and that such problems may greatly exceed its powers and capacity. As the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom so aptly remarked the other day, the United Nations has no assurance that, now that the spectre of war has loomed up, it may not manifest itself elsewhere. Indeed, the danger exists everywhere, in Europe, in Africa, in the Pacific islands and in other parts of the globe.

3. Is there any reason to be surprised at this? Some speakers have tried, with varying degrees of clarity, to

determine the responsibility for this state of affairs. For my part I shall confine myself to drawing the attention of other members to the rather more general aspects of these problems. We are told that we are, if not participants in a cold war, at least spectators of it. This expression, "cold war", was in current use barely a few months after the end of the Second World War. This means that the problems raised by that frightful war have not yet been solved, and that, while some of the conditions which caused it no longer exist to disturb us, they were replaced in the course of the war by other and even more serious problems.

4. Thus, wittingly or unwittingly, we have gone directly from the Second World War to the cold war without enjoying a period of peace.

5. When we recall that the era of the Napoleonic wars, which lasted for twenty-three years, came to an end with the treaties of Paris and Vienna, concluded within the short period of two years, and that the Treaty of Versailles followed the First World War after an interval of a few months, we have every reason to wonder at the existing situation, for although five years have passed since the Second World War, the principal enemy States have not yet signed peace treaties, and we are, in fact, in a permanent state of war.

6. We should recall that five years after the First World War began the period of the Geneva Protocol and the Locarno Treaties; Germany entered the League of Nations, although the League was an infinitely weaker organization than the United Nations. Today, five years after the Second World War, not only have no peace treaties been concluded with Germany and Japan, but we are faced with the most serious threat to world peace.

7. Can it be wondered, then, that the United Nations, which was set up to serve the cause of peace, and to

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 220th meeting.*

maintain that peace, should be accused of failure? Surely the Organization should be based on a firm structure of peace treaties. Is the United Nations not, so to speak, in the position of a train unable to move or go forward for want of a track?

8. In these circumstances, is it surprising that the United Nations should now be confronted with the difficult question of Korea, and that the question of Formosa should be included in our agenda, when the disposal of those two territories should have been settled by peace treaties which still do not exist five years after the armistice? No wonder, then, that the Members of the United Nations are in constant fear that a new crisis may break out in Europe, Asia, or Africa, over territories and peoples whose fate is still to be determined.

9. Most of the problems with which the General Assembly is now confronted have arisen out of the fact that no peace treaties have been concluded; that applies particularly to the question of the former Italian colonies in Africa. Apart from Italy's renunciation of them, disposal of these former colonies is not in any way provided for in the Treaty of Peace concluded with Italy in 1946. As we all know, the disposal of these colonies was to be determined by the four great Powers or, in the event of their failure to agree, by the General Assembly.

10. With the exception of certain frontier adjustments claimed by Egypt, our very great friend in Africa, Ethiopia, is the only Member of the United Nations which has territorial claims to be settled under this peace treaty. Certain problems resulting from the war which were not solved by the Peace Conference thus have to be settled. Owing to the failure to achieve the settlement of these problems, and in spite of the peace treaty of 1946, which incidentally did not cover all the issues, it has been impossible hitherto to re-establish relations of friendship and trust between former enemies; and the accumulation of bitterness caused by seventy-five years of injustice has still not been removed and has resulted in the recent disturbances in the southern regions of Ethiopia.

11. In this case, therefore, the United Nations is not called upon to carry out one of its routine functions, namely, to see to it that the provisions for the peaceful settlement of international disputes are observed, but rather to fulfil a function and a responsibility of a more fundamental kind, namely, to lay the very foundations of peaceful relations. Therein lie the function and responsibility of the General Assembly, to which the twenty-one countries which took part in the Paris Peace Conference referred the question for settlement. It was a novel and unprecedented step to make the General Assembly itself responsible for settling the consequences of a war and of half a century of aggression, misery and bitterness.

12. Why, then, was it decided, under the terms of article 23 of the Peace Treaty with Italy, to call upon the General Assembly to settle this question? There are only two possible reasons for the decision to appeal to the Assembly in the event of the failure of negotiations between the four great Powers responsible for settling the question.

13. The first of these reasons was certainly that if the great Powers failed to agree, the matter should be placed before the smaller States, which, having no interests at

stake, would be more capable of reaching an objective and impartial decision based on justice and equity.

14. The other reason for referring the question to the General Assembly, and at the same time, for designating that organ in preference to the Security Council, was the desire to prevent any failure to reach a solution due to the existence of the veto in the Security Council.

15. Such, at all events, are the only reasons which can justify referring the matter to the fifty-nine States members of the Assembly, whose disinterestedness and sense of equity are the only guarantees that a just decision will be reached in this matter.

16. But it is clear, in our opinion, that the very reasons for referring the issue of the colonies to the General Assembly have already lost their validity. If the intention was to avoid political bargaining, there was no point in referring the matter to the Assembly, for the very simple reason that none of the great Powers or any of the other States which took part in the Paris Peace Conference are seeking to engage in political bargaining. As far as they are concerned, there is no obstacle in the way of a solution. On the contrary, they openly seek a settlement in favour of Ethiopia.

17. In this connexion, I would recall that at the Peace Conference, Brazil, a country friendly to Ethiopia, was among the nations directly concerned and signatories to the treaty. Do India and the Union of South Africa, which are not agreed on certain of the questions before the General Assembly but which played a particularly important part in the liberation of the former African colonies, disagree concerning the general terms of the settlement of the Eritrean question? Can it be said that Norway, which took part in the Paris Conference but, desiring to preserve complete objectivity, did not ask to participate in the discussion of the question there, is among the countries opposed to finding a just solution for that territory? Moreover, Egypt, the European countries, indeed all the States represented at the Paris Conference including the three great Powers most closely concerned with the problem, are agreed upon a solution.

18. Yet in statements made at the General Assembly on the evening of 17 May 1949,² open reference was made to political bargaining. The justice of the Ethiopian claims were frankly recognized by an overwhelming majority, but at the same time it was stated that, for reasons of political expediency, they could not be satisfied.

19. When we are told that the decision to refer these questions to the General Assembly was made because the members of the Assembly would have a keener sense of justice, we wonder what the people of Somaliland think of such justice? And what do the people of Eritrea, whose deepest aspirations have not yet been satisfied, think of it?

20. Although it was not the right moment to discuss the substance of the question, the representative of Guatemala spoke fervently the other day [280th meeting] from this rostrum in praise of a solution recommended by two of the five members, or by a minority, of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea. The solution he advocated is contrary to the

² *Ibid.*, Third Session, Part II, Plenary Meetings, 218th meeting.

welfare of the inhabitants, contrary to the wishes of the vast majority of the population, which wants union with Ethiopia, and contrary to the interests of Ethiopia, whose interests the representative of Guatemala took upon himself to interpret. Is that justice?

21. So we have fled from a non-existent danger, only to meet it precisely where we might have expected to be able to avoid it, that is, in a forum where the question ought to be discussed with complete objectivity. It must, then, be concluded that the declared reason — the desire to avoid political bargaining — is no justification for referring this matter of territorial settlement to the General Assembly.

22. Moreover, the second reason, the reason why the matter was referred to the General Assembly rather than to the Security Council—the desire to avoid a veto by a single Power—has likewise proved illusory. If the General Assembly has not escaped the danger of becoming a centre of political bargaining which, four times within three years, has prevented any solution of the problem, the responsibility for this is now clearly established.

23. If a single State, whether or not it is a Member of the United Nations, can in practice defer or prevent the solution of a problem, are we not in the same position as we were in the Security Council, where the right of veto exists, and are we not faced with the very danger which we wished to avoid?

24. Consequently the arguments which were invoked to justify reference of the question to the General Assembly have, by reason of the actual course of events, unfortunately been proved to be without foundation.

25. Much has been said in praise of the idea of regionalism and of the need to leave the responsibility for settling their own affairs to the States of the same continent or the same region. There is no doubt that, far from constituting an obstacle to a decision, the States of the African continent are actively seeking to satisfy the desires of the peoples and the just claims of Ethiopia. Ask them, ask Egypt, ask the Union of South Africa, ask Liberia. Neither the African States nor the twenty-one States that shed their blood and expended their resources for the liberation of the territories concerned and then drew up the peace treaty are impeding this decision.

26. It is therefore doubtful whether in the case of the other peace treaties which have still to be drafted the settlement of certain questions should be referred to the General Assembly, as was the case for the treaty of 1946. It may well be asked once again whether it was right to refer the matter to the General Assembly, which, with its Interim Committee, has already failed four times to meet its responsibilities because of purely political considerations.

27. Meanwhile, threats to the peace continue to develop in Africa, while territorial claims are directly and openly made against my country in the very region where the war broke out in 1935. In the circumstances, I feel that I am entitled to ask the members of this Assembly how much longer we must wait to obtain justice from the General Assembly.

28. Ought we still to be patient? Patient, after ten years of waiting, after four postponements of the prob-

lem by the General Assembly itself, patient in face of grave threats to our national security? Shall we be told that we must display a spirit of moderation and conciliation? My country, faced with a threat to its national security, is the only country which at the present time gives evidence of a spirit of conciliation. Everyone knows that we have carried this spirit of conciliation to the limit.

29. That is why I ask you how much longer we must wait to obtain justice from the General Assembly. Is that body determined to find just solutions for the problems which it has the duty to solve, and that without hesitation and in all sincerity? Last year, when the fourth session of the General Assembly began its work, I found it necessary to call attention³ to the fact that the same questions which had appeared on the agenda of the third session of the Assembly had remained unchanged on the fourth session's agenda. Today we observe exactly the same phenomenon: the same problems again come unsolved before the General Assembly. Moreover, the Interim Committee, despite the advantage of working under the direction of an eminent Chairman, has made no progress whatever with its programme of work for this year.

30. These are the reflections which the work of the General Assembly during the past three years arouse in us. It is high time to face problems squarely and to tackle the questions which have been held over from the first four sessions of the General Assembly. As was very well stated the other day [279th meeting] by the United States Secretary of State:

“This session of the General Assembly is a session of decision. Before us lies opportunity for action which can save the hope of peace, of security, of well-being and of justice for generations to come. Before us also lies opportunity for drift, for irresolution, for effort feebly made. In this direction is disaster . . . If [the United Nations] does not move forward it will move back.”

31. If there should be further failures on the part of the General Assembly, we should be justified in asking whether there was not profound truth in the shrewd words of the great British statesman who, a century ago, with reference to the Concert of Europe — the United Nations of that period, if I may say so — said the following: “Each nation for itself and God for us all”.

32. The time has come to face the problems on the agenda squarely and, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, to find a solution for each and all of them.

33. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the Secretary-General, the last speaker in the general debate.

34. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: We are all, I am sure, ready and eager, after seven days of general debate, to begin work here and in the committees upon the seventy items of our agenda. What I have to say today will therefore be very, very brief.

35. First, allow me to express my gratitude for the references made during the debate to the Secretariat.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 227th meeting.*

We shall continue to do all we can to help make this session of the General Assembly a fruitful one.

36. At a moment when the world is more sharply and dangerously divided than at any time since the United Nations was founded, I have been greatly impressed by the strong support for the principles of the Charter and the faith in the United Nations approach to the problem of peace that have been expressed by so many speakers in the general debate.

37. It must be admitted, of course, that the basic differences between the two sides in the world conflict have not been diminished by a few days of general debate.

38. At the same time I do not recall at any previous session such a demonstration as we have had here in the opening days of purpose on the part of governments to make the United Nations work effectively for peace. Many concrete proposals to this end have been made. They will receive, I am sure, the consideration they merit from the committees that examine them.

39. My own views as Secretary-General on the great issues before this session of the General Assembly have been placed on record in several reports and statements during the past few months.

40. I refer to my fifth annual report⁴ to the Members on the work of the Organization and my memorandum of points for consideration in the development of a twenty-year programme for achieving peace through the United Nations [A/1304]; to my statement to the Security Council on 25 June last, concerning the Korean conflict, when for the first time I invoked Article 99 of the Charter; and to additional statements of my position on some of the issues before you in public addresses at Oslo and Chicago.

41. I shall not take the time of the representatives to repeat these views today, although I wish to discuss some of them further at a later stage, in particular when the time comes for the Assembly to consider the development of a twenty-year peace programme.

42. I wish now only to place before you the following three articles of faith as a short resume of the whole debate:

43. First, the United Nations must and can demonstrate its capacity to deal effectively with armed aggression now and in the future.

44. Secondly, through the United Nations it is still possible gradually to reduce the present tensions and, by patient work, to move towards a reconciliation of the conflicting interests so manifest in the world today.

45. Thirdly, the Member States can and should use the United Nations and the specialized agencies in a comprehensive programme aimed at effectively raising living standards within the next few years throughout the world, and especially among those 1,500 millions who today live either in poverty or on its borderline.

46. The President stated the grave responsibility of this Assembly in two sentences on the opening day, when he said:

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 1.*

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, fifth year, No. 15.*

"The United Nations was created to preserve peace and prevent war. We should be failing in our duty if we did not succeed in saving the world from the catastrophe which threatens it."

47. The issue of war or peace does indeed rest in the hands of the governments represented here today. Through the action that your governments authorize you to take in this Assembly you have it within your power to increase or to decrease the chances of peace in a way that may be decisive for the future.

Admission of the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations

48. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has before it three documents.

49. The first [A/1393] contains the text of a letter dated 25 September 1950 from the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. To this letter is appended a declaration in which the Permanent Observer, on behalf of his Government, states that the Republic of Indonesia accepts the obligations of the Charter and undertakes to honour them from the day when it becomes a Member of the United Nations.

50. The second document [A/1402] gives the text of a letter dated 27 September 1950 from the President of the Security Council to the President of the General Assembly, drawing the attention of the Assembly to the resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 503rd meeting on 26 September 1950,⁶ concerning the admission of the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations.

51. Finally, the delegations of Australia and India have presented a joint draft resolution [A/1403], the text of which is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting the recommendation of the Security Council of 26 September 1950 that the Republic of Indonesia should be admitted to membership of the United Nations,

"Noting also the declaration made by the representative of the Republic of Indonesia to the effect that it will accept the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations,

Admits the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations."

52. If there are no objections, and if no delegation wishes a vote to be taken, I shall declare this draft resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly.

The Republic of Indonesia was admitted to membership of the United Nations by acclamation.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Palar, representative of the Republic of Indonesia, took his place on the rostrum.

53. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I am sure that I speak for all the members of the General Assembly in welcoming the representative of Indonesia and assuring him of our deep satisfaction at the admission of his country to membership of this Organization.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 45.

I ask him to transmit to his Government our sincere good wishes for the prosperity of the young Republic of Indonesia.

54. I shall now call upon those representatives who have requested an opportunity to express their satisfaction and extend a welcome to our new Member.

55. Mr. VAN HEUVEN GOEDHART (Netherlands): It is with feelings of deep satisfaction and of friendship for the Indonesian people that I rise to welcome gladly and wholeheartedly, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Netherlands, the admission of the Republic of Indonesia to the community of nations.

56. Ever since the Round Table Conference at the Hague was brought to a successful end, my Government has been hoping that the unfavourable situation which exists with regard to the admission of new Members to our Organization would not prevent Indonesia from now becoming a Member of this Organization.

57. I shall refrain from dwelling at length on the problem of United Nations membership. I am aware of the fact that at the gates of Lake Success stand a number of countries which, in our firm belief, fully qualify for membership, but which have, on the basis of irrelevant considerations, been barred from admission for several years. I know that there are many delegations here present that sincerely deplore this abnormal and unfortunate situation. They will the more readily join me in welcoming the Republic of Indonesia, whose immediate admission has been recommended by the Security Council and adopted by the General Assembly this afternoon.

58. The privilege of membership carries with it many duties and responsibilities. I have no reason whatever to doubt that the Indonesian Government is fully aware of this and recognizes that, by joining our Organization, it shoulders a heavy but therefore fascinating task, the task of trying to live up to the high principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

57. Above all, that Charter aims at the establishment and maintenance of a community within which law, order and basic human rights are secured, and membership of the United Nations implies willingness to bear and share the heavy burden of the preservation of world peace and security.

60. The peoples of Indonesia are peace-loving. It is, I am convinced, their earnest desire to contribute to the well-being of the world. But it is not only for these reasons that my Government welcomes the Republic of Indonesia as the sixtieth Member of the United Nations. Apart from those considerations, which may have induced every delegation to vote for the admission of Indonesia to the United Nations, the Netherlands had a special reason of its own: the pleasure of welcoming our partner in the Union representing a new conception in East-West relations.

61. So many ties have been established and do now exist between Indonesia and the Netherlands that it is only natural for the Netherlands Government and people to take particular pleasure in greeting in our midst the independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia. It is therefore for us a reason for rejoicing that the flag of Indonesia will be hoisted on a sixtieth mast in front of this building, and that the Members of the

United Nations have jointly accepted the responsibility for that momentous event in the history of the young State of Indonesia.

62. Mr. KESKALA (India): It is a matter of great pleasure to my delegation that this session of the General Assembly has unanimously accepted the United States of Indonesia into the family of nations. I take this opportunity of offering my hearty congratulations to the representative of Indonesia on the consummation of his country's great struggle for independence and liberation.

63. My country has very intimate ties with the people of Indonesia, both historical and cultural. During the long course of history, we have been associated in various ways with its people. It is a matter of special pride to us because our country has been the first which, from the very beginning, has tried in its humble way to further the cause of the independence and liberation of Indonesia. Therefore it is with feelings of great gratification that today I am able to congratulate the representative of Indonesia on the admission of his country into the family of the United Nations.

64. Knowing the valiant people and leaders of Indonesia so well, I am sure that Indonesia will fulfil in a very able way the obligations and duties of a member of the United Nations.

65. I again take the pleasure of congratulating the representative of Indonesia and the Indonesian Republic and offering to them my hearty congratulations.

66. Sir Keith OFFICER (Australia): My delegation is very happy to have been associated with India in proposing to the General Assembly that it act at once on the recommendation of the Security Council that Indonesia, our very dear neighbour, should be admitted to membership in the United Nations, and at the immediate and unanimous response of the General Assembly.

67. Last Saturday [281st meeting], we heard the head of the Netherlands delegation remind us that Indonesia stood at the door of the United Nations and that the time had come to open it and let Indonesia in. Today we have done so and now I can welcome, on behalf of my country, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as the latest Member of the United Nations.

68. Today, Indonesia has come with us to the end of the long and sometimes difficult road towards full nationhood. We are hopeful that, as a result of the agreements reached between the Government of the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia, this will be the last occasion on which it will be necessary for the affairs of Indonesia to figure on the business paper of the United Nations. We look forward with confidence to a long period of peace and prosperity for our latest Member, and we feel certain that its contribution to our work will always be a useful one.

69. Mr. SARPEN (Turkey): I am sincerely pleased and happy today to have the privilege on behalf of my delegation to welcome the Republic of Indonesia as the sixtieth Member State of this family of nations.

70. The sympathy of the Turkish people towards the people of Indonesia is not new. It has been publicly expressed by the entire Press of Turkey on almost every occasion. I am happy to associate my delegation

and myself personally with these sincere expressions of sympathy and friendship towards the people of Indonesia. I am sure that the Republic of Indonesia will bring a valuable contribution to our efforts towards achieving the aims of the United Nations. There can be no doubt that the Republic of Indonesia will be an element of stability in its part of the world.

71. I congratulate the representative of the Republic of Indonesia and convey my best wishes of success to him personally and of a peaceful prosperity to his country.

72. I must pay tribute to the people and the Government of the Netherlands for the comprehension they have shown towards the yearning of this young republic for freedom and independence.

73. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before calling upon the representative of Iran I should like to draw your attention to the fact that there are still fourteen speakers on my list. I hope that in his speech, the representative of Iran will set an example in brevity.

74. Mr. ARDALAN (Iran) (*translated from French*): As a believer in the principle of universality within the United Nations, the delegation of Iran has always supported applications for the admission of new Members. As the representative of an Asiatic and Islamic country, it is with especial pleasure that I congratulate the peoples of Indonesia on achieving their independence. It is thanks to the wisdom of their country's leaders as well as to the breadth of vision of the Netherlands Government — not to mention the efforts of the Security Council and the General Assembly — that this has been achieved.

75. It is an honour and a keen pleasure to me to see that the Security Council's recommendation has been unanimously adopted by this Assembly, and to hear the applause from all sides.

76. The Iranian delegation is convinced that the cooperation of the young Republic of Indonesia will contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

77. Faris EL-KHOURI Bey (Syria): I shall be very brief. However, I have to refer to a few points which it would be profitable to mention on this occasion.

78. The existence of the United Nations and of its Charter, with the conditions established therein for self-determination, was a good awakening point for the colonial Powers to recognize that the present age is not as it used to be and that they were ready to grant independence to the non-self-governing peoples without obliging them to struggle fiercely for their independence. Appreciation should be expressed here to the United Kingdom, which was the first to inaugurate this policy. The Netherlands Government has taken another step in that direction, a step which is appreciated by the whole world.

79. At the same time, it must be remembered that Chapter XI of the Charter, which deals with Non-Self-Governing Territories, is a very good stimulus in that respect to all nations. We now find that the non-self-governing people in Asia have been attaining their independence one after the other. In the future, we hope that the rest, not only in Asia but in every

country — in Libya and elsewhere — will also attain their independence in the same way.

80. We should also not forget a second point, namely, that the people of Indonesia suffered as it continued its fierce struggle for independence. Syria was a member of the Security Council while it was dealing with the problem of Indonesia and is therefore aware of the sufferings endured by the Indonesian people. For that reason Syria is delighted to see that Indonesia has now attained its independence and that it has been welcomed into the United Nations by a unanimous vote.

81. Another point which has to be taken into consideration is the fact that Indonesia, in joining us here, will make great contributions in two different respects.

82. First, Indonesia will contribute in helping the remaining non-self-governing peoples of the world to attain their independence, because those who have suffered and know the meaning of loss of freedom also understand the difficulties of others and will be able to help them.

83. Secondly, Indonesia will be very helpful, with the other small nations, in safeguarding the peace of the world. I say "small nations" although Indonesia, with over 70 million people, should not really be called a small nation. With its resources and geographical position it is counted as one of the great nations of the East. Nevertheless it is considered as a small nation in relation to the five great Powers which are now dominating the world.

84. We are solicitous of peace, but we have to understand who is disturbing it. Are the small nations disturbing peace? Never. It is the great Powers which are disturbing it, either directly or through their followers or subordinates. If that is so, what can we small nations do in order to secure peace and to oppose and suppress the activities of those who disturb it? We have no armies and no forces to oppose them, but there is another way open to us. We are Members of the United Nations, and we each have one vote just as have the biggest of the Members of the Organization. By casting all our votes on the side of justice and what is right we shall keep at bay those who would perpetrate aggression or seek to use the resolutions of the United Nations as a means of establishing their policies.

85. That is our way. It is a very strong way, and we should not underestimate our capabilities. The small nations must agree, as I have indicated, not to cast their votes except on the side of justice and of right. They must not support power politics or serve the aims of the politicians by helping them. If we do this, and if we allow no one to rely upon our votes in order to establish his aims and desires, we shall be rendering a great service to universal peace. We shall stop those who wish to disturb the peace, for although we are weak and have no armies we nevertheless have our votes. We must be careful not to cast them recklessly.

86. Mr. KYROU (Greece): I shall conform to the President's advice and be really very brief. Congratulations to Indonesia; congratulations to the United Nations.

87. Sir Mohammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan). The struggle for independence in Indonesia began just over five years ago and achieved its happy consummation last year when a peaceful settlement was arrived

at between the Netherlands and the people of Indonesia. That struggle for independence was, at a very early date, sponsored by the United Nations; the credit for the achievement of the independence of Indonesia is therefore to be shared between the people of Indonesia, the people and the Government of the Netherlands, and the United Nations. In that sense independent Indonesia is a child of the United Nations, and today we mark, as it were, the coming of age of one of the children of the United Nations.

88. It will be recalled that almost from the beginning of its own membership of this great Organization, Pakistan became, along with Australia and India, a co-sponsor of the Indonesian case before the Security Council. When the settlement to which I have referred was reached and reported to the General Assembly and the Assembly welcomed it and marked its sense of satisfaction concerning it [*resolution 301 (IV)*], we expressed the hope⁷ that we should, at an early date, welcome Indonesia as a member of this great Organization. We rejoice to see that hope fulfilled this afternoon. It gives us great joy to welcome the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations, to which it has been admitted by a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly on the basis of a unanimous recommendation by the Security Council, something for which we have long waited but which has, in the case of Indonesia, been achieved this afternoon.

89. This consummation marks one further milestone along the road of self-determination of peoples, which is one of the declared objectives of the United Nations. While, therefore, expressing our joy and satisfaction at the admission of the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations and welcoming it to this great fellowship, we may be permitted to express the hope that many other nations and States which are still awaiting admission will also, at an early date, be admitted to this fellowship.

90. In this connexion we might mention particularly Ceylon which, for some incomprehensible reason, has so far not been admitted to membership. Ceylon is as independent, as sovereign and as peace-loving a State as, for instance, Australia, Canada, India or Pakistan. We therefore hope that Ceylon and other nations which are sovereign and independent and peace-loving, and with regard to whom it is felt that they are able and willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter, will soon be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

91. With regard to the progress of self-determination, I may be permitted to state that with the coming of age, as it were, in respect of independence, of the Republic of Indonesia, we in that region particularly felt that a certain deficiency which we have felt throughout in respect of our own independence had been made up. But we do not yet have that complete sense of independence which would only be achieved by us if other States in that region still awaiting their independence were to achieve it in practice. I might make particular reference to Vietnam and Malaya in that respect. We impatiently await their independence and sovereign status, and we hope that after they have attained it they, too, will be admitted to this great fellowship.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 271st meeting.*

92. Of course, there are other nations and States awaiting their independence, some of which are on the way to achieving it under the sponsorship of the United Nations. Libya has been mentioned as an instance. We are hoping that as from 1 January 1952 Libya will also be independent and will in due course be admitted to membership. I need not go further to particularize other nations which are awaiting a similar, happy consummation, but it is a very important principle. It is one of those things without which this Organization would never be complete, that the principle of self-determination should be carried to its utmost consummation at as early a date as possible.

93. Once more I welcome the admission to this great fellowship this afternoon of the Republic of Indonesia.

94. Mr. FREI (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): The Government and the people of Chile welcome the admission of Indonesia as a new Member of the United Nations. Our nation, which has a Pacific coast-line of more than 3,200 miles, views with particular interest, from a geographical and political point of view, the course of events in South-East Asia, events which are certainly destined to change the equilibrium of the various continents and to pave the way for economic development of trade.

95. The encouraging example of the Netherlands, which understood the historic significance of our times, must be recognized and stressed. We must not forget here that almost simultaneously with the discovery of America in 1492 came the discovery of Indonesia in 1946. Today we meet again because we have a common task: to determine the interests we have in common and to work for the improvement of the conditions of our people, without which all success becomes impossible.

96. It is important for the United Nations to admit a nation of almost 75 million human beings into the international community. The strength of the Organization lies in the fact that it includes all peoples, no matter what their regimes. In this great parliament they acquire rights and undertake obligations. We who believe in democracy and human dignity consider their presence here to be essential, for it is thus that large sections of mankind which heretofore have remained outside international organizations can come into contact with institutions which will enable them to exchange ideas and methods of ensuring the success of their efforts and of improving their standards of living.

97. General ROMULO (Philippines): I rise on behalf of the Philippine delegation to express our gratification at the unanimous approval of the draft resolution for the admission of the Republic of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations. The deep interest which my Government has taken in the establishment of Indonesia as a sovereign and independent State is well known to all. We took an active part in the deliberations of the Security Council which brought about the termination of two so-called police actions against the Republic of Indonesia and the final settlement of the dispute last year at the Hague.

98. Together with eighteen other States of South-East Asia and the Middle East, the Philippines attended in January 1949 the New Delhi Conference which was called to express the solemn and unanimous support of the Asian peoples for the political aspirations of the Indonesian nation. The Philippine Government has

recognized the Republic of Indonesia since 1947 and has shown in various ways its deep instinctive sympathy for the valiant efforts of this great new nation to maintain its independence and to solve the various political, economic and social problems that confront it. That sympathy remains and will be deepened further by the knowledge that the Republic of Indonesia will soon have the opportunity to labour side by side with us in solving the larger problems of the world.

99. The admission of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations is an act of simple justice towards that country and an act of enlightened self-interest on our part. The participation in our work of a country of 75 million people, possessing enormously rich natural resources and stretching along the Equator from the Pacific ocean to the Indian ocean cannot but be regarded as an act of transcendent significance in the history of the United Nations. In the perspective of the growing universality of the United Nations, this act is equivalent to the integration of a whole continent in the world Organization. And that is important to remember at this juncture because for Asia, which today has become the focus of the most vital international developments, the presence of the Republic of Indonesia in our midst represents a major acquisition.

100. Here, where the voice of the Asian people must and will be heard more and more on matters that concern them, as well as on the peace and well-being of humanity as a whole, the presence of the Republic of Indonesia will be an additional guarantee that that voice will resound with greater fullness, clarity and force than before. Welcome to the great people of Indonesia to this council of the nations of the world.

101. MYANAUNG U TIN (Burma): It is indeed a very pleasant task and a proud privilege for me to come up to this rostrum today to welcome the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations. Exactly sixteen months ago, during the latter part of the third session of the General Assembly, I came up to this very rostrum^a with a heavy heart and, on behalf of my delegation, I expressed grave doubts about the sincerity of the Netherlands Government in proposing the postponement of the discussion of the Indonesian question so that a settlement could be made between the two parties. In view of the then prevailing circumstances, our doubts were quite natural. Happily, these conditions and circumstances have changed for the better, and I take this opportunity to pay our tribute to all those Member States which joined in the effort to restore independence to Indonesia. In fact, as Sir Benegal Rau, the leader of the Indian delegation, said the other day in the Security Council,^b and as Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan said five minutes ago on this rostrum, Indonesia is a child of the United Nations.

102. I must also take this opportunity to congratulate the Netherlands Government on its success in arriving at a peaceful settlement with Indonesia.

103. If the third session of the General Assembly, held in Paris two years ago, could be described as that of

^a See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part II, Plenary Meetings*, 208th meeting.

^b See *Official Records of the Security Council*, fifth year, No. 45.

the under-developed countries of the world, this session might be considered to be the session of the Asian countries, because the agenda is heavily loaded with items relating to Asia. We therefore deem it most appropriate and timely that Indonesia should come into the fold at this crucial moment so that she can contribute towards the solution of Asian problems which, incidentally, are world problems.

104. It is indeed good to note that all the members of the Security Council except China voted for the admission of Indonesia. China abstained on the grounds that Indonesia had recognized the People's Republic of China. Incidentally, on behalf of my delegation and my Government, I should like to say that we remember with feelings of deep gratitude the kindness shown to us by the Nationalist Chinese delegation when in 1948 it sponsored the admission of Burma to the United Nations. In fact, this was not the only kindness. There have been more instances of kindness shown to us. Nevertheless, while we acknowledge them, we must say that Burma has no alternative but to recognize the realities of the present situation. That is why almost all the countries neighbouring China have recognized the new regime. The situation of Indonesia is the same as that of Burma, India and Pakistan.

105. I do not propose to dwell at length on the rapidly growing importance of Asia in world affairs. As Mr. Lange, the Foreign Minister of Norway, very rightly pointed out yesterday [287th meeting]:

"The process of national and social liberation in Asia is one of the most striking features of the revolution of our time. The experience already gained by countries which have recently and successfully emerged as free nations, several of which are represented in this Organization, entitles them to play a prominent part in the solution of the Korean problem. . . . [They] may be expected to have a better grasp of the problems involved in the reconstitution as sovereign States of nations that have long been under foreign domination than have countries more distant from the scene and with a widely different background."

106. The Norwegian Foreign Minister surely sounded the right note, and the Burmese delegation hopes that the representatives of the non-Asian countries, particularly those of the metropolitan Powers, will be able to appreciate his observations.

107. Burma's firm and consistent stand in regard to questions relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories is well known to this General Assembly. From the very outset, our delegation has championed the cause of unfortunate countries, making use of knowledge based on our actual experience of the pangs of foreign domination. We consider it a great duty to fight for freedom, for our freedom as well as for the freedom of all those peoples who are less fortunate than we are. I am fully satisfied that Burma has not failed Indonesia in her hour of trial and now that that country has become a sovereign independent State and a fully fledged Member of the United Nations, we welcome Mr. Palar as the representative of that country with the greatest of pleasure and congratulate him most heartily on the splendid work he has done for his country and, incidentally, for South-East Asia.

108. MOSTAFA Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): After the eloquent statements of the speakers who preceded me, I feel constrained to be very brief. At this time, when the Republic of Indonesia has been unanimously admitted to the United Nations, the delegation of Egypt deems it a pleasure to pay a tribute to the heroic people of Indonesia and to the efforts they have exerted to regain their independence and ensure the territorial integrity of their country.

109. Egypt was one of the first countries to extend recognition to the young Republic of Indonesia, having done so in 1946; and was the first State to conclude a treaty of friendship with it. Since that time, the members of the Arab League have followed with unceasing admiration the determined efforts of the Indonesian Republic to consolidate its independence.

110. Now that this republic has become a Member of the United Nations, there can be no doubt that it will be, by reason of its potentialities and resources, an important factor for the consolidation of peace and stability in its area, which is so vital to the security of the world.

111. The Egyptian delegation — and I believe I speak also for the other Arab delegations here — is happy to extend a warm welcome to the Republic of Indonesia into our midst; and we express our most fervent hopes for its glory and greatness.

112. Nai Warakan BANCHA (Thailand): The delegation of Thailand gladly supports the entry of the Republic of Indonesia into the United Nations. Bound from ancient times by ties of friendship, economics and culture with the people of Indonesia, the people of Thailand welcome with great joy the rise to independence of Indonesia. We are particularly gratified that that independence was attained by the peaceful means of settlement with the Netherlands under the auspices of the United Nations. This augurs well for the important part that Indonesia will play in the promotion of peace and progress in South-East Asia, and the delegation of Thailand is happy to have this opportunity of welcoming Indonesia's admission into the United Nations.

113. Mrs. ROOSEVELT (United States of America): The United States has been deeply gratified by the action of the Security Council in recommending to the General Assembly that the Republic of Indonesia be admitted to membership in the United Nations. We note with pleasure the General Assembly's cordial and unanimous welcome to the Republic of Indonesia. The United States welcomes the appearance of this new State in the halls and in the activities of the United Nations. All Members of the Organization must view with satisfaction the advent in their midst of a State with whose origins the United Nations was so closely concerned. For the United States, I should like to say that we hope to find ourselves using our vote in the United Nations with the votes of the small nations in the cause of justice and peace.

114. The United States is confident that the Republic of Indonesia will rapidly assume a prominent position within our Organization. We know it has much to contribute. We shall watch with sympathetic interest the developing national life of the Republic of Indonesia. We shall expect its influence to be felt in the community

of free peoples. We know that through its co-operation in and with the United Nations, the Republic will advance the welfare of its own inhabitants, of the region in which it is situated and of the community of States associated in the United Nations as a whole.

115. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): Belgium has always shown great interest in the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia. As a member of the Security Council, Belgium was a member of the Committee of Good Offices in 1947 and 1948. Together with Australia and the United States, it is still a member of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. We have always been confident that the Indonesian people would achieve its independence. Last year, we associated ourselves wholeheartedly with the satisfaction expressed by the General Assembly at the agreement reached by the Round Table Conference at The Hague, which set the final seal on the establishment of the new independent State. Today we were glad to applaud the admission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations. The Belgian delegation wholeheartedly associates itself with the welcome and congratulations that have been extended to the representative of Indonesia.

116. Mr. YOUNGER (United Kingdom): on behalf of the United Kingdom, I most warmly welcome the Republic of Indonesia as a fellow Member of the United Nations. I am sure that it must be a matter of great satisfaction to all of us here to feel that the United Nations has recently been able to play so helpful a part in the progress of Indonesia towards independence. But that, of course, in no way diminishes our regard and the strength of the tribute which we wish to pay to the statesmanship and the wisdom of the leaders of the Netherlands and of the Republic of Indonesia with respect to the process of transition.

117. There are, as several speakers have said, still many other countries awaiting admission to the United Nations. Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan today, and Mr. Bevin, in addressing the Assembly last week [283rd meeting], mentioned especially the case of Ceylon, another Asian country whose claim to membership of this Organization is as incontestable as that of the Republic of Indonesia. But as the Assembly is well aware, Ceylon is not the only instance. There are no less than eight other countries still debarred from membership of the Organization, although an overwhelming majority in the Security Council and in the General Assembly have on a number of occasions voted for their admission. I hope that the decision of the Security Council to recommend the admission of Indonesia in this instance means that the deadlock on this subject, which has so long paralysed the Council's action, has now been broken and that it will now be found possible to reach agreement on the admission of all those States which a majority of the General Assembly have considered qualified to become Members.

118. The United Kingdom delegation will do everything in its power to bring this about. In the meantime, my country is delighted that at least one of these admirably qualified candidates is to be admitted, and I am confident that Indonesia, now in the Assembly and in future years, will make a notable contribution to the work of our Organization.

119. Sheikh Asad AL-FAQUIH (Saudi Arabia): The Saudi Arabian delegation has been eagerly following the happy developments in the Republic of Indonesia—these developments which symbolize the new spirit of Asia and the struggle for freedom and independence in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

120. My delegation wishes to express its deepest gratification at the entrance of the Republic of Indonesia into this venerable world body. Aside from our deep interest in the Republic of Indonesia as a peace-loving nation, we are intimately tied to the people of Indonesia in such a community of interests—cultural, spiritual and otherwise—as has traditionally existed between the Arabs and the Indonesian people for so many generations.

121. We trust that this happy occasion will be followed by the admission of the other States, such as the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan, which aspire to join this venerable world body at the earliest possible moment.

122. I take great pleasure in extending to the Republic of Indonesia, in the name of my country, our sincere felicitations on this occasion.

123. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I deem it appropriate that the fifty-ninth Member of the United Nations should greet the sixtieth Member on its admission to our midst. It is an especially pleasant duty for Israel to welcome and congratulate Indonesia, one of the first and one of the many Asian States with which Israel has established relations of mutual recognition and friendship.

124. The swift rise of new and distinct political units to full independence and sovereignty has been one of the most significant events of recent history, and the United Nations, to its immortal credit, has invariably given full support to this trend of liberation.

125. My delegation therefore joins in congratulating the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands on the statesmanlike accords which have led to this happy result. This general congratulation should also extend to the organs and commissions of the United Nations, which have facilitated a settlement based on the independence of Indonesia.

126. I am certain that those new States which have managed to make their way to membership amidst the deadlocks and complexities of the general membership problem must be among the first to hope that the many States not represented here and seeking admission will similarly join us at an early date. We witness a hopeful and significant event as the Republic of Indonesia enters this great Organization, dedicated to the freedom and equality of all mankind.

127. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): In the name of my country and its delegation, I wish to express our feeling of deepest pleasure and satisfaction in welcoming the Republic of Indonesia among us. The people of Iraq have much in common with the people of Indonesia. In the first place, the people of Iraq are freedom-loving people, like the people of Indonesia, and they fought their way to independence. My country, with other members of the Arab League, watched with deep sympathy the fight of the people of Indonesia for their independence and for their freedom. We were among the earliest to recognize the Republic of Indonesia.

128. In this connexion, I wish to congratulate the statesmanship both of Indonesia and of the Netherlands

for the achievement which has culminated in the presence of our Indonesia colleague amongst us.

129. I do hope that other colonial Powers will emulate the great wisdom, prudence and far-sightedness of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands in dealing with their colonial territories, so that we may reach other such happy conclusions.

130. The people of Iraq, with the rest of the Arab world, have had cultural relations with the people of Indonesia for generations and centuries. I remember very well that before the war many Indonesian students were in our schools and colleges in Baghdad, and we looked upon them as brothers in culture and brothers in humanity.

131. We are especially glad that Indonesia, as a Moslem country and as an Asiatic country, is joining this great world body. For that will further improve the co-operation between Moslem and non-Moslem, between eastern and western worlds. That is what we are here for. We are here to see to it that the peoples of East and West meet and co-operate, that people of diverse religions and faiths meet here and understand each other and listen to each other.

132. I wish to join those representatives who have referred to their hope and their desire that many nations which are waiting to become Members of this Organization may join us as quickly as possible. We are very happy that Indonesia is here today, but we hope that very soon we shall witness the admission of the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan, Ceylon, Ireland, Italy, Spain and many other States that are waiting to be among us.

133. I sincerely hope that this great country of Indonesia, by joining this Organization, will add to the strength and co-operation that exist in the Organization for the welfare of mankind and for peace and stability in the world.

134. Mr. Abdul Hamid AZIZ (Afghanistan) (*translated from French*): I take the opportunity of this, my first appearance on this rostrum, to congratulate you on behalf of my Government, Mr. President, on your election to the high office of President of this august Assembly. My delegation is particularly gratified to salute in your person the representative of a sister nation to which we are bound not only by well-known bonds of history, language and religion, but also by a friendly and sincere spirit of neighbourliness. I must also congratulate the Assembly on its choice of an eminent diplomat and statesman, a man of both tact and intelligence. I pray that God may bless you with His wisdom and that your decisions may be guided by His divine light.

135. As representative of a country which has always shown its sympathy for national independence movements, and is itself passionately attached to its own national independence, I am happy to take this opportunity of bidding welcome to free and independent Indonesia. My delegation is particularly gratified at this accession to our ranks; for we in Afghanistan have followed the Indonesian liberation movement with keen interest and sincere sympathy. We took part in the proceedings of the New Delhi Conference which played so happy a part in the deliberations of the United Nations. We now enjoy very happy diplomatic relations with that great country. It is gratifying to us

to see so courageous a nation and government take its place among us. We wish the Indonesian nation prosperity and happiness, and pray that those other nations which are also struggling for their independence may achieve that independence by peaceful means under the aegis of our Charter and of justice and equity.

136. Mr. ANZE-MATIENZO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation considers that a day on which a new Member is admitted is a day of rejoicing for the United Nations because it represents a further step towards the universality of the Organization.

137. It is a very great privilege for me to congratulate this great new country which will work with us. I offer that country the co-operation of my delegation in dealing with the serious problem which we are required to solve.

138. Mr. HENRIQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The Dominican Republic is pleased to welcome the Republic of Indonesia into the legally constituted international community, whose highest expression is the United Nations.

139. I should merely like to say that the Government and people of my country appreciate and welcome this event with the same joy which we felt at the time of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Indonesia, which marked the rise of a new and brilliant star in the constellation of free peoples.

140. Mr. MICHELOWSKI (Poland): On behalf of the Polish delegation I should like to voice a hearty welcome to the Republic of Indonesia in the United Nations.

141. I am proud to recall that Poland supported Indonesia's just cause in the Security Council. Almost immediately following the creation of the new State, Poland extended it official recognition; in addition, Indonesia's first trade agreement with a European country was concluded with Poland.

142. At this time we welcome the introduction of this gallant nation into our Organization, because we know that although young in years this nation is mature in experience and rich in ancient culture.

143. Indonesia has travelled over a difficult road to independence, a road that was marked by a relentless struggle against a cruel foreign yoke, an insurrection against colonial exploitation. For many centuries the people of Indonesia, as those of other nations of Asia, have been subjected to armed oppression because of the policy of certain great Powers and big financial interests which have tried to hold these people down to the lowest level of economic, social and educational development. But history's logical course shows that wherever nations were waging a battle for their freedom, that fight was a relentless one and one that invariably resulted in the big colonial systems of imperialist exploitation tumbling down like a house of cards.

144. Yes, the State of Indonesia won its independence through sacrifice and bloodshed. The dangerous appetites of certain countries which are eager to enforce the system of colonization upon the peoples of Asia give us reason to think that there are still further difficulties ahead. We believe, however, that Indonesia's experience of the past will be a source of sufficient wisdom and

strength to enable it to avoid the pitfalls and overcome the dangers.

145. We hope that our Organization is acquiring today a truly peace-loving Member, and that Indonesia will contribute a fresh, strong determination for peaceful co-operation among nations and for international justice. Our duty, the duty of the United Nations, therefore, is to welcome our new Member by assistance, unselfish and sincere.

146. Mr. ARUTIUNIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the Soviet Union delegation, I have the honour to welcome the Indonesian Republic as a Member of the United Nations.

147. The USSR delegation wishes the Indonesian Republic every success in its activities within our Organization for the welfare of the world and co-operation among nations. It also wishes success and prosperity to the Indonesian people in building an independent, democratic State.

148. Mr. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation is especially glad to welcome the Republic of Indonesia as the sixtieth Member of the United Nations. We regard this election as a particularly important and fortunate event for several reasons. In the first place, it is the crowning point of negotiations that have been conducted by both parties in a spirit of understanding and political wisdom for which they are to be congratulated. It also marks the completion of a constructive task fulfilled by the United Nations. Finally, it represents a new stage in the awakening of Asia, that great continent which is being called upon to play an increasingly important part in world politics. It is also a step forward towards universality for our Organization. In this connexion, the French delegation wishes to emphasize that, by admitting the Republic of Indonesia today, we are merely establishing a precedent for a measure which should and could be generalized.

149. I should like once again to express my satisfaction at this election and to wish the Republic of Indonesia prosperity and greatness.

150. Mr. SIMIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): The Yugoslav delegation is glad to have this opportunity of extending a welcome to the representative of the Republic of Indonesia and to the free people of Indonesia, now a Member of the United Nations.

151. My Government and the peoples of Yugoslavia have always been the most fervent supporters of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. We therefore rejoice sincerely at the wholehearted and unanimous acceptance of the Republic of Indonesia and the free people of Indonesia into our Organization. Yugoslavia has always been in favour of the emancipation and liberation of peoples; it has therefore always supported the struggle of the people of Indonesia for its independence and freedom.

152. Mr. IZZADDIN (Yemen): On behalf of my country, Yemen, I take this opportunity to extend our heartiest congratulations to the Republic of Indonesia on its admission as a Member of this Organization. As the representative of Egypt has just mentioned, the member States of the Arab League were the first to

recognize the independence of this Republic, where 75,000 of our people enjoy the hospitality and respect of that great nation.

153. We earnestly hope that the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan, as well as several other States which aspire to membership in this Organization, will be admitted before long.

154. Mr. HAJDU (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the Indonesian Republic to the United Nations. We consider that it has merited this place not, as was said here by several orators, as a magnanimous gift but through a hard fight for independence by its people. As a result, they threw off the colonial yoke, gained their independence and so proved themselves to be a major nation which should be admitted into the United Nations.

155. The unanimous vote of the General Assembly showed that all the Member States for once, contrary to the case of the representation of the Chinese people, had taken the realities of the situation into account. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore welcomes this decision and greets the great people of Indonesia.

156. Mr. PALAR (Republic of Indonesia): On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, I wish to thank the President for his generous words and warm welcome and to express my deep appreciation for the valuable assistance which he, as the permanent representative of Iran, gave to us in the dark days of our struggle for freedom when the Indonesian question was brought up in the United Nations three years ago. I am also deeply appreciative of the kind and encouraging words of welcome and fellowship expressed by the representatives of the Netherlands, our own union partner, India, Australia, Turkey, Iran, Syria, Greece, Pakistan, Chile, the Philippines, Burma, Egypt, Thailand, the United States, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Iraq, Afghanistan, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, Yemen and Czechoslovakia.

157. In the name of my Government and my people in Indonesia, may I also express to all the members gathered in this august Assembly our very sincere thanks and deep appreciation for your decision to accept Indonesia as the sixtieth Member of the United Nations.

158. It was on 17 August 1945, following the surrender of Japan, that the Indonesian people proclaimed their irrevocable decision to be a free and independent nation. On that day they took their sacred oath to secure their freedom in word as well as in fact and to preserve it for all time. That day ushered in a new era in the destiny of my people. Many things have taken place since then in the history of our national struggle. Right from the very beginning of our struggle for the existence of Indonesia as a free nation, never for one moment did the people of Indonesia, men, women and children, waver in their determination to attain their cherished goal, whatever the cost in terms of suffering and sacrifice of life and treasure.

159. At long last our unrelenting struggle has been rewarded. Today, slightly over five years after our proclamation of independence, we, as a free nation but in deep humility, stand here before you to accept this

membership in the family of nations and to assume all the obligations and responsibilities that it entails.

160. On this memorable day of the admission of Indonesia to membership of the United Nations I wish to recall that my people has not forgotten and, indeed, cannot forget all the staunch friends, nations, individuals and organizations throughout the world which have consistently championed our cause and rendered invaluable assistance to our struggle—not to mention their promptitude in extending *de facto* and *de jure* recognition to us as a nation and a State. We are deeply grateful to the governments and peoples of India and Australia, supported by the Philippines, Pakistan and Burma, who have taken up our case in the United Nations by bringing it first before the Security Council and, later, before the General Assembly, and have carried it on through thick and thin until the ultimate goal was achieved.

161. We are indebted to the nations of Asia and the Middle East, whose leaders met at New Delhi to give us their wholehearted sympathy and inspiration, support and assistance, both moral and material. Equally, we are deeply appreciative of the goodwill of the great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, which, in considering our application for admission to membership of the United Nations, submerged their differences and gave us their support.

162. I wish to recall further that the people of Indonesia highly appreciated the wise counsels of the leaders and the people of the Netherlands who made possible the cessation of bloodshed and destruction and, instead, wisely sought a peaceful settlement of the dispute at the Round Table Conference last winter. This culminated in the transfer of sovereignty on 27 September 1949 by the Government of the Netherlands and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to the Government of the United States of Indonesia, now reconstituted as a united State under the name of Republic of Indonesia.

163. Last, but not least, Indonesia will indeed always recall with deep and warm gratitude the great debt owed to the United Nations. From the moment the Security Council took up the dispute, through successive critical phases, until the transfer of sovereignty, the United Nations, through its organs and subsidiary organs—the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Committee of Good Offices, which later became the United Nations Commission for Indonesia—has indefatigably and impartially endeavoured and, indeed, succeeded to a high degree in injecting the spirit of conciliation and reason into the discussions between the parties to the dispute, so that on more than one occasion the foul atmosphere, previously charged with resentment, distrust, suspicions and discord, was dissipated and replaced by one more conciliatory and paving the way towards reaching constructive agreements by stages. Indeed, the United Nations has made valuable contributions in very generous measure to the cause of Indonesian independence and to the establishment of Indonesia as a free nation.

164. The Indonesian people hates war and loves peace. It is convinced that peace can be maintained only if all nations are free and if democracy and justice reign among mankind. In assuming membership of the United

Nations, Indonesia pledges itself to work in close co-operation with its fellow Members of the Organization for the defence and preservation of world peace and security. Indonesia will always be prepared to contribute its share towards bringing about a proper understanding and co-operation among the nations.

165. In the economic and social field, it is needless to add, Indonesia will participate with enthusiasm and determination in helping to promote jointly the economic prosperity and social progress of the peoples of the world. My country has rich but hitherto only slightly developed natural resources. With our teeming millions of manpower and large territories spread over the seas of South-East Asia much could still be done to realize the economic development of Indonesia. We hope that in our desire to work out the economic and social development of Indonesia we may be benefited by the assistance of the United Nations and its Members.

166. We have to increase the productivity of Indonesia from the available sources of production and from new, additional sources to be tapped in the future as the process of development progresses. We are determined to raise the standard of living of the common man in Indonesia. We shall have regard to the equality of status of men and women, without discrimination as to religion or creed. In conjunction with other Members of the United Nations, we pledge ourselves to maintain the dignity of man and to protect the fundamental human rights of the individual while alleviating human suffering and poverty in our country.

167. We are anxious to make our contribution to the promotion of the common weal of Asia and of the world.

We shall see to it that liberty, democracy and tolerance continue to rule in our archipelagoes. These are mere sketches of the economic and social programme which the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, supported by its Parliament, will try to achieve.

168. Finally, I should like to assure our fellow Members of the United Nations that Indonesia, as a peace-loving and democratic nation, will contribute its share to the realization of the ideals of the United Nations as embodied in the Charter. Whatever its shortcomings and imperfections, the United Nations remains today the only collective instrument with which all nations hope to defend and maintain peace. It remains today the effective organ by which the nations of the world can jointly salvage humanity and set its path towards progress and prosperity. The United Nations, indeed, serves as an avenue along which mankind can escape from the catastrophes and disasters of total war.

169. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): This has been a memorable occasion, and I hope, therefore, that the members will agree with me that we should not now embark upon a new debate. If there is no objection, I propose to adjourn the meeting until tomorrow at 10.45 a.m., when we shall proceed to the election of members of the several Councils.

170. I would ask representatives to be punctual. We shall proceed with the voting immediately after the opening of the meeting and any members who are absent may lose the opportunity to exercise their voting rights.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.