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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 20**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it document A/L.394 and Add.1 containing a draft resolution sponsored by thirty-five Member States on the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to membership of the United Nations, and document A/5251, which is a letter from the President of the Security Council on the matter.

2. In the absence of any request for a vote, I shall consider that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to admit the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to membership of the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

3. The PRESIDENT: I now declare the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria admitted to membership of the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

4. The PRESIDENT: It is with great joy and deep satisfaction that I welcome the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to membership of the United Nations. If I were to give expression to a fraction of what we all feel on this occasion of deep emotion, of joy, of satisfaction, I would take up an undue portion of the Assembly's time and yet not have finished. I shall therefore content myself with these few words, more especially as I am sure that some of you are yourselves going to give expression to that very feeling in your own words.

5. Before calling upon the first speaker, I would wish to say, as I have said concerning myself, that if we let our feelings be expressed in detail we shall be occupied here for several sittings. I trust, therefore, that speakers will confine themselves to saying whatever they have in mind as briefly as they can.

6. M. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (translated from French): This is the third time since 1959, that is to say within three years, that I have had the honour of addressing the General Assembly of the United

Nations on behalf of France. On 30 September 1959 [814th meeting], I described the manner in which my Government intended to ensure the development and the future of the African territories for which in various ways it was still responsible. The countries concerned were, of course, on the one hand, those African and Malagasy countries situated south of the Sahara whose transformation into national States had just been organized and recognized by France, and, on the other hand, Algeria.

7. One year later, on 20 September 1960 [864th meeting], I came to this rostrum to express our joy and pride when, on a proposal by France and its friend Tunisia, the Malagasy Republic and ten African States—Cameroon, Togo, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville)—were admitted to membership of the United Nations, following Guinea, which had been welcomed some time earlier, and preceding Senegal and Mali and, lastly, Mauritania.

8. Today, 8 October 1962, the admission of the Republic of Algeria to our Organization has been unanimously acclaimed by your delegations. Once again I address this Assembly to voice our satisfaction and to express my good wishes to the new partner that will henceforth sit with us together with the two other States of the Maghreb, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Republic of Tunisia, with which we also have so many ties.

9. Algeria is the twentieth of the States in Asia and Africa which, after having lived under French sovereignty, protectorate or trusteeship, have achieved independence and been admitted to the United Nations. The event which we are celebrating is therefore one of intrinsic importance. It is the more important for us Frenchmen because it marks the final stage of the task of emancipation carried out by our country since the end of the Second World War and initiated with the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, held at a time when the world was still a prey to confusion and anxiety. France has now completed its task. It believes that in doing so it has provided the countries which it has led to independence, that is to say in particular to full responsibility in international life, with all the assistance that was in its power to give them in the fields of economy, of cultural and social development and of political and humanitarian training. It has thus made a contribution to the international community of which it is entitled to be proud. Today, its work done, it can merely express the wish that a twenty-first State which ought also to be included among the Members of the United Nations—I refer to Viet-Nam—may join us as soon as the present tragic divisions in the world have ceased to impede the realization of its national unity.

10. During this period of seventeen years which is ending today, France's actions have been consistently

\* Resumed from the 1123rd meeting.

based on a cardinal principle which is embodied in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, the right of peoples to self-determination. As far as Algeria is concerned, this principle was solemnly proclaimed on 16 September 1959 by General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, as constituting the basis for any possible settlement of the problem. I said at the time from this rostrum:

"The régime it [Algeria] is to have can only be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the Algerians themselves. Fighting, violence and terror are not the way to find a solution. Let them be brought to an end and let the men and women of Algeria, all of them, without distinction of race, religion or political conviction, be allowed to decide for themselves in peace and liberty." [814th meeting, para. 111.]

11. Unfortunately so much blood has been shed, so much emotion aroused and above all so much distrust entertained that the solemn appeal of the Head of the French State was not immediately heeded or its implied consequences carried to their logical conclusion. Two and a half years, from 16 September 1959 to 18 March 1962, were to elapse before, as the result of lengthy negotiations, the conclusion of the Evian Agreements was to lead to a cease-fire and to lay down the main lines of the political régime which the erstwhile adversaries proposed jointly to submit, for ratification, to the free decision of the Algerian people.<sup>1/</sup>

12. Succeeding events followed swiftly. On 8 April, the French people, in a solemn referendum, endorsed the agreements that had been reached and empowered their Government to take the necessary steps for putting them into effect. After that, on 1 July, the Algerian people in their turn gave their almost unanimous ratification. They accepted the future that was proposed to them, a future of independence in friendly co-operation with France. On the same day, France recognized the new State. The Republic of Algeria was born and was immediately recognized by the entire community of nations, this recognition having been merely confirmed by today's vote.

13. This was the happy outcome of a long tragedy and the solution of a problem whose exceptional difficulty had for years been admitted by all men of good faith.

14. France was far from regarding Algeria as a colony in the sense in which that word is generally used. Because of a long history experienced in common—132 years of joint existence—because of the geographical situation and because of an extraordinary interpenetration of peoples and economies, this came to be a question which, as I said here in 1959, was unique in the world. One million Europeans, very many of them French, had settled in successive waves on Algerian territory. They had introduced modern agriculture and developed craft, commercial and industrial enterprises which formed the basis of the country's economic activity. Above all, as the generations passed they had founded families in Algeria and had taken root there. They had become Algerians by the soil and by blood, even while remaining deeply attached to France and hence clinging desperately to the idea that their two countries could still be only one. The Moslem Algerians, during their struggle for

independence, never accepted that, and in fact could not accept it. Another way had therefore to be found, and that was done by the Evian Agreements.

15. They provided a series of guarantees for the European minority community, which alone could enable it to remain in the country and to co-operate with the Moslem community. The democratic principle is that the majority should rule. It also requires that a minority should not be oppressed and, in this particular case, that it should be able to preserve its language, its culture and its religion. That is what was promised by the General Declaration of Evian, particularly in the following proclamation:

"The Algerian State will subscribe unreservedly to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and will base its institutions on democratic principles and on equality of political rights between all citizens without discrimination of race, origin or religion. It will, in particular, apply guarantees recognized for citizens of French civil status."<sup>2/</sup>

16. The Evian Agreements thus brought a reasonable settlement to a problem which, humanly speaking, was essential for us and which in fact was also of crucial importance for the future of Algeria, since the inception of the new State and of its administration and economy was at stake.

17. The Agreements contained a number of other provisions, also essential since they laid the foundations for co-operation between France and Algeria and thus constituted a charter of the future relations between the two countries.

18. Following the statement made by General de Gaulle on 16 September 1959, which proclaimed the right of the Algerians to self-determination, or in other words recognized in advance their achievement of independence, two possible courses of action were proposed. We referred to the first as secession— independence accompanied by the breaking of all ties with our country. The other was co-operation, that is to say, independence accompanied by respect for our economic, cultural and human bonds and the active co-operation of France in the development of the new Algeria. We for our part had always declared that if Algeria wished to choose the second way, that of co-operation, we should welcome its decision with pleasure and would be ready to shoulder the burden of the resulting financial and technical assistance, however heavy that burden might be. The Evian Agreements embodied that undertaking and laid down the broad principles of such co-operation, which were subsequently submitted for the approval of the Algerian people.

19. The Algerians when choosing independence opted by an overwhelming majority for the way thus open to them, that of friendship and development. Hence today the representative of France can say that Algeria, which you have just decided to admit to the United Nations, takes its place here with the agreement and full support of my country, which, as I have said, intends to maintain close and confident relations with Algeria in the future for the greater advantage of both nations.

20. Undoubtedly the first steps of the new State will not be easy. Such first steps never are. You here know that better than anyone, for over half the States Mem-

<sup>1/</sup> Agreements concluded at Evian on 18 March 1962 between the representatives of France and those of the Front de libération nationale.

<sup>2/</sup> See Journal officiel de la République française of 20 March 1962.

bers of the United Nations have come to independence and international sovereignty since the signing of the Charter at San Francisco. Algeria's task in particular will undoubtedly be more arduous than has been that of any other country because it must at the same time repair the consequences of seven years of violence, restore confidence between the two communities, reinvigorate an economy which has been paralysed by what has happened, and construct a modern State able to cope with the strenuous conditions of the present-day world.

21. France has bequeathed to Algeria an economic and administrative infrastructure comparable to those of the most highly developed countries. The new Algeria will benefit from the assistance of French teachers and technicians and from economic and financial aid as arranged between the two Governments. Clearly, however, Algeria itself, its people and the Government they have just chosen to lead them, must shoulder the final responsibility and hence furnish the main effort. We have no doubt that the people and the Government will valiantly undertake the great task before them. To succeed they will need all their courage, their energy and their perseverance. They will need not only the assistance of France, which has already been pledged, but the friendship and support of all free countries, which will undoubtedly be forthcoming. Hence we look forward with confidence to the future of independent Algeria, which has today made its appearance on the international scene. The tragedy in which France and Algeria have been involved for seven years has now ended for all time. The memory of the dark days will fade away if we turn our eyes towards the future and together contemplate the great task of co-operation which lies before our two countries. May our hopes not be frustrated through the fault of men. The French Republic offers the Republic of Algeria its whole-hearted good wishes for stability and prosperity in independence, fraternity and freedom.

22. Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): In February 1957, very shortly after Tunisia became a Member of the United Nations, I had the privilege, at the General Assembly's eleventh regular session, of opening the "case" with regard to Algeria. I tried, with other delegations, to draw the attention of our Organization to the extent of the drama which was then unfolding in Algeria and to the importance, for peace and for stability throughout the Maghreb, of recommending a negotiated solution between the two parties in accordance with law and justice. At the end of the discussion, after the adoption of a compromise resolution, I made a statement. I said, in the course of it:

"I would also express the hope that the Algerian people, having regained its freedom and being the master of its fate, will soon rejoin the free world in maintaining and defending the international peace and security and the principles for which it has fought so long." [654th meeting, para. 93.]

23. You will therefore understand the emotion I experience, today, at seeing the fulfilment of the hope which I expressed from this rostrum nearly seven years ago. As soon as independence was proclaimed on 1 July 1962, following a freely organized plebiscite, Algeria elected a National Constituent Assembly and formed a regular Government, which lost no time in requesting the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations, undertaking,

in accordance with the Charter, to respect the obligations incumbent upon a Member State.

24. The Tunisian delegation is happy to note today that by a unanimous vote the General Assembly has now, at its seventeenth session, decided to admit the Republic of Algeria, a brother country linked to Tunisia by particularly close ties. I am therefore very happy to be able to present, on my own personal behalf and on behalf of the Tunisian Government and people, our fraternal congratulations to the Head of the Government of the Algerian Republic, His Excellency Admed Ben Bella, who is present here, as well as to the valiant Algerian people which, thanks to its tenacious faith and great courage, has been able to unite its efforts and sacrifices in order to carry on its fight for freedom and to recover its dignity and independence, so as to be able to assume in full, from now onwards, its responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations.

25. On this occasion, I should like to offer my warm congratulations to General de Gaulle, who has at last triumphed over hesitations, warlike tendencies, and the most outdated notions of supremacy and domination of one people over another.

26. For the Tunisian Government and people, this is a day of joy and satisfaction—the day when the seal has been set on the freedom and independence of the brother Algerian people and we have thus been enabled to catch a clearer glimpse of the outlines of the great Arab Maghreb which previously lay in the realm of dreams. I am happy to quote, in this connexion, the concluding lines of a telegram which the President of the Republic of Tunisia, Mr. Bourguiba, sent to President Ben Bella after the first Government of independent Algeria had been constituted:

"I am convinced that the consolidation of the Algerian State's foundations, of which the establishment of its first legitimate Government is a sign, will strengthen co-operation and solidarity between all the peoples of the great Arab Maghreb and will fulfil that region's aspirations to dignity and rehabilitation."

27. The sufferings which the Algerian people as well as the Europeans of Algeria have endured permit us to hope that they will succeed in overcoming the rancour and resentment which seven and a half years of war have undoubtedly engendered. I should also like to hope that the French of Algeria will succeed in ridding themselves of the old notions of supremacy and domination. Let them both bear in mind that they belong to one and the same country, that they share the same interests and have acquired the same habits and customs there; that their future is the same and that it would be easy to work together, in friendship regained and in mutual respect, for a free and independent Algeria.

28. I am convinced that the victory of the Algerian people lies essentially in the unity which it has displayed during seven and a half years of struggle, and in its attachment to its liberty and dignity. It will remember that the safeguarding of independence and sovereignty depends essentially, and particularly, upon national cohesion and concord, democratically built up within the frontiers. I am sure that, like us, the people and leaders of Algeria cannot forget that it was dissension and discord which lay at the root of our loss of sovereignty during the nineteenth century.

29. For six consecutive years the General Assembly has had to concern itself with the question of Algeria

and the absurd war going on in the heart of North Africa, with all the sufferings which the Algerian people has endured. I do not wish to revive, today, a discussion now fortunately closed. On the contrary, it is eminently desirable that those painful years should fall into oblivion and that reconciliation should reopen the paths of friendship. I am convinced, however, that the magnitude of the Algerian people's sacrifices will have enabled that people to assess the magnitude of the responsibilities which it must assume in order to build up a prosperous and flourishing Algeria, in stability and independence regained. History, it is perhaps worth emphasizing, has proved to us that it is those who have struggled hardest for their liberty who have the clearest idea of reality and what it demands. It is they who will be the greatest realists in international life, shunning all exaggerated extremism and instinctively steering clear of all sickly or masked moderation.

30. I know that the Algerian people's accession to independence cannot but have considerable repercussions in various fields, both in Africa and in the world as a whole.

31. In Africa, the independence of Algeria, gained after seven and a half years of struggle, with all that the struggle cost in the grief, tears, sacrifice and devotion, is of considerable importance for stability and peace in our continent. It proved beyond question the futility of the idea that effective opposition can be maintained against a people which aspires to freedom and is determined to recover its dignity and sovereignty. It demonstrates in striking fashion the absurdity of certain fictions which have no relation to facts and cannot be reconciled with modern ideas on the right of peoples to self-determination.

32. May the Algerian example help to bring wisdom to those who, in Africa, continue to avert their eyes from this evidence, disregarding law and the essential requirements of brotherhood between peoples and concord among nations. The independence of the Algerian people will have put an end to a nightmare which for six years has troubled the international conscience here, and also, let it be said, the conscience of all free men among the French people.

33. Therefore, in congratulating the Algerian people, I could not fail in my duty of also congratulating the French people on the victory which, despite grief, tears and suffering, both peoples have managed to win over war itself, by resorting to the only reasonable and possible course—that of negotiation, discussion and peaceful accommodation.

34. I shall end with the conclusion which I think I should draw for our Organization. The admission of free and independent Algeria to membership in the United Nations is a source of hope for us all. Having known war, the Republic of Algeria will certainly endeavour to give our Organization valuable assistance in the search for the most suitable means of rapidly bringing about general and peaceful decolonization and of consolidating international peace and security.

35. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): It is an honour and privilege for the delegation of India to join others in felicitating Algeria and welcoming it to its rightful place in the comity of nations. The Government and the people of India have all these years followed events in Algeria with deep concern and brotherly sympathy. In recent times Algeria has become a symbol of heroism, and the magnificent struggle, the untold sufferings and

sacrifices of the sons and daughters of Algeria have moved the hearts of millions of people the world over. The valour, the discipline and the tenacity of purpose displayed by the Algerian people will always inspire and encourage others who are still struggling for their freedom.

36. On this happy day my mind goes back to those early years when I recall what an uphill task it was to secure even the inscription of the item relating to Algeria in the agenda of this Assembly. The history of the post-war world is replete with instances of the re-emergence into freedom and independence of many peoples who, for a variety of reasons, had passed under alien rule. Happily, the majority of these peoples could achieve their independence without much bloodshed. But Algeria was not so fortunate and had to go through a bloodbath. In fact, Algeria had to carry on one of the most sanguinary wars of independence in history. The sacrifices of the Algerian people over a long period of eight years have been really astonishing. There are indeed hardly any parallels in history for a country carrying on such a war of independence year after year at enormous cost to life and property. Let us respectfully pay our tributes to the hundreds of thousands of Algerians who laid down their lives for the freedom of their country.

37. This is a momentous occasion and a day of rejoicing for all of us who cherish national independence. Today we rejoice that this epic story of Algeria's struggle for freedom has been brought to a happy end. Here I can do no better than to quote some extracts from the statement my Prime Minister made on the occasion of Algeria's attaining independence:

"Surely history gives us few examples of such a valiant struggle against great odds and involving tremendous suffering and sacrifice. In a world where almost every day brings some news which distresses us, news from Algeria has come as a blessing and a tonic.

"Everyone who believes in freedom will rejoice at this happy consummation of a long struggle. We in the Indian Government and the people of India are particularly happy and would like to convey our warm and fraternal greetings to the people of Algeria and their brave leaders, who have for so long guided and inspired its heroic struggle. We rejoice to find that the ideals which they have set before them of social justice, secularism and non-discrimination on the basis of race, religion or creed are ones which we have ourselves enshrined in our Constitution. We look upon them as partners in a common endeavour.

"We would also like to congratulate President de Gaulle and his Government for bringing to an end this long drawn-out struggle in a manner befitting the best traditions of France in the cause of human liberty, equality and fraternity."

38. A few days ago, Prime Minister Nehru also sent a message conveying the warm good wishes and congratulations of the people and Government of India to Prime Minister Ben Bella on the completion of the constitutional processes and the formation of a new Government under him.

39. Algeria has today again taken its rightful place in the United Nations. It is an occasion of great significance not only to Algeria but to us all. My delegation is convinced that Algeria, with all its experience, will bring fresh ideas to our deliberations and will play a vital role in the United Nations and the world outside.

40. We wish Algeria every success in its efforts to consolidate and strengthen its independence, both political and economic, and we look forward to having the friendliest and the most fruitful co-operation with it both in this Assembly and outside.

41. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): This roaring advent from the sacred hills and valleys of Algeria, through dusk, darkness and sacrifice, up to the summit of glory and to the seat of sovereignty, should indeed allow the records of this Assembly to include in their pages a verse of poetry. I have the honour to offer, on behalf of my delegation, such a verse. However, the reflections emanating from the horizons of Algeria did not leave me alone with my expressions. It was due to the profound responsiveness of my distinguished friends and colleagues, Ambassadors Omar Adeel of Sudan, Ahmed Benhima of Morocco, Platon Morozov of the Soviet Union, Ruben Ramirez Pane of Paraguay, and Liu Chieh of China, that my Arabic text has been embellished by translation into English, French, Russian, Spanish and Chinese, respectively, in what you shall now hear simultaneously in the five official languages.<sup>3/</sup>

*Oh that great desert, is there a spot on thy thirsty sands that has not been quenched by the tears and blood of generous sacrifice?*

*The offerings whose long shadows God has perpetuated have studded your wilderness and your valleys.*

*Whenever a warrior shook his weapons, the Earth shook open the gates of Heaven;*

*And in Heaven were the Free, felled in the battle of honour, so joyously acclaimed.*

*Elated was the East by the scent of the budding roses whose fragrance was enhanced by the enraptured rains.*

*Cry no more, ye sister of Glory: and dry thy tears with the healing palms of the Prophets,*

*For that fearful darkness of the grave has now given way to the eternal glow of thy triumphant resurrection.*

*Oh great homeland! It was for thee that Glory has carried the torch of eternity and waved the banners of immortality.*

*Listen: How thine advent is world wide applauded, and how thy determined march is greeted with the reasonance of heart-felt cheers;*

*And how thy roaring revolution has echoed so far, and how the banners of victory have flown all over—and for ever—so high.*

*The stars above have pierced the darkness of night to greet Africa tearing its victorious way into the realm of light.*

*Ye, Maiden of the desert, if it was because of thee that I have been so often wounded, it is because of thee that my wounds now repose in the comfort of thy healing.*

*This bouquet is a confession of my age-old thraldom and the love that has always run deep within my soul.*

*At the very mention of glory, thy unmistakable reflections adorn my horizons, and thine image submerges my very being.*

*How many a sleepless night have I counted, and how many cups have I drunk from the jugs of sorrow.*

*Has the time come, then, when, to redeem a dear desire, we are forced to lose our dearer one?*

*May this mad world of ours, battling through its own fury, soon emerge into that sunshine of hope, with no lingering doubts, but with peace and love for ever reigning supreme.*

42. Mr. BALAFREJ (Morocco) (translated from French): We have already, from this rostrum, had occasion to salute with pride the independence of Algeria because Morocco has always regarded Algeria's fight as its own and has shared all Algeria's anxieties and hopes.

43. Today we wish to express our joy at seeing the representatives of the new Algeria, including some of its outstanding sons, seated in this Assembly.

44. For more than 130 years the Algerian people suffered under a rigorous colonial régime which was entirely absorbed in exploiting the country's wealth and paid little attention to the human problems arising more dramatically with every day that passed. The Algerian people, more than any other, has shown its marked preference for peaceful solutions, since for years it hoped to find, in various legal formulae, a way of ensuring its dignity and freedom.

45. Unfortunately, its attitude did not always meet with the response which it had a right to expect. That was why Algeria in order to remove an intolerable régime and regain its sovereignty, had to resign itself to a merciless war with everything that such a war implied in misery and mourning.

46. The fight for freedom in Algeria has now been justified internationally in the effective participation of representatives of independent Algeria in the work of the United Nations, at a time when the struggle against colonialism, that régime of exploitation and enslavement of man, has entered its final phase. We all know that the Algerian people has accepted sacrifices beyond all imagining in order to achieve the recognition of its rights and prerogatives. At this moment, when we express our joy and pride at the rebirth of the Algerian State, we should bow our heads in tribute to the countless martyrs who fell in Algeria, and salute their memory with admiration and respect. Neither those sacrifices, nor the sufferings which the Algerian people has endured for more than seven years, have been able to quell that people's courage, faith and determination. Its determination was all the stronger in that Algeria's struggle for justice and freedom had the value of a symbol and an example for every other people. For that reason it was followed with exceptional interest by all countries fighting for their independence. The Algerian people knew that in its fight the destiny of a large number of countries was involved. Its courage and sacrifices measured up to the historic role which it had thus been called upon to play.

47. We are happy to say to the French leaders now pleased we are to see that peaceful solutions, recognizing the right of peoples to choose their own destiny, have finally prevailed, and we express the hope that fruitful and honest co-operation will be established in the future between their country and Algeria, between two equal and sovereign nations.

48. In conclusion, we would express to the Algerian representatives our conviction that their participation in the work of the United Nations will make a valuable and effective contribution to the introduction of the era of peace and broad co-operation which we all wish to bring about.

<sup>3/</sup> Mr. Rifa'i quoted in Arabic. The English version was supplied by his delegation.

49. Warmly congratulating them once again, we should like them to know the full measure of our faith and confidence in the new Algeria, whose destiny is so closely linked with our own and with that of the united, free and prosperous Maghreb that we all, together, hope to build.

50. Mr. MENSNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian). The delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic have entrusted me with the pleasant and honourable task of greeting the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria from this rostrum on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

51. Today is a happy and a festive day for the United Nations. The birth of a new State on the African continent, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, is an event which people all over the world are discussing with excitement, for it is in fact a major historical event. The United Nations is joined today by Algeria, a nation whose fate has troubled the hearts and occupied the thoughts of hundreds of millions of people in our countries through all these long years of its heroic struggle for national independence.

52. No freedom-loving people on our planet could remain indifferent to this struggle. Both inside and outside the United Nations the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries always and everywhere took the side of the Algerian people. In their struggle, we saw a symbol of the struggle of the entire African continent against enslavement and the yoke of colonialism, a symbol of the triumph of a just cause over the dark forces of reaction and imperialism.

53. The courageous Algerian people has triumphed, and indeed could not have failed, in its fight for national freedom and independence, but the victory was won at a heavy price. For more than 130 years, the colonizers tried to break and fetter the Algerian people so that it could not rise against its enslavers, who grew rich on the cruel exploitation of the Algerian people.

54. They tried to impose their will on Algeria by fire and the sword. For eight years the flames of war raged on Algerian soil and the Algerian people lost more than a million of its finest sons and daughters.

55. Against the Algerian people were arrayed all the forces of colonialism and the whole aggressive NATO bloc, which detached from its military machine a colonial army unprecedented in its size and level of equipment to wage war with the Algerian people. The war in Algeria was for all practical purposes a NATO war. Created as an organization against the socialist countries, the NATO bloc also became a bloc directed against colonial peoples fighting for their independence. The Algerian people held out heroically in this unequal struggle and emerged victorious.

56. It is impossible to measure the sacrifices and sufferings borne by the Algerian people. It is impossible fully to measure the losses inflicted on it by the bloody colonial war. The indigenous population of the country was driven from its lands. The natural resources of Algeria were ruthlessly exploited in the interests of foreign capital. The hardworking and proud Algerian people was compelled to live in poverty. The war further disorganized Algeria's national economy, many of its branches being destroyed.

57. The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria is confronted by many problems, but we are convinced that, having won the struggle for independence with weapons in its hands, the Algerian people will also triumph in the struggle to build a peaceful and happy life.

58. The instructive lesson of Algeria's struggle shows that when peoples fight resolutely for their liberation they achieve their aim. History cannot be turned back. Every year the great gathering of the United Nations is swelled by the admission of countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression.

59. What is the significance of the appearance in this hall of more and more new representatives of independent States? Their appearance signifies above all that history moves inexorably forward and cannot be halted by quick-firing cannons, rocket-firing aircraft, napalm bombs, or blockades.

60. Algeria's victory and the tenacity shown by its people in achieving its goal set an inspiring example for peoples still under the yoke of colonial domination today. The long-awaited day will soon dawn when the peoples of our entire planet will finally free themselves from the burden of the colonial yoke, which has brought them so much misery, humiliation and suffering.

61. The birth of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria is an event of great international significance. A young country has joined the ranks of the independent African States, a country tempered in fierce warfare and fired by the determination to build its life on new foundations.

62. The Soviet people and all the peoples of the socialist countries, which have consistently supported the people of Algeria in its long and heroic struggle, warmly welcomed the news of the triumph of the just cause for which the Algerian patriots fought.

63. On behalf of the people and Government of the Soviet Union, the Head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, warmly congratulated the heroic Algerian people and Mr. Ben Bella personally on the establishment of the first Government of the independent Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. In this message of 29 September 1962 to the Prime Minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, wrote:

"The Soviet people well knows at what price in sacrifices and sufferings the people of Algeria attained its national freedom. We also appreciate the serious difficulties which remain to be overcome by the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in order to maintain and strengthen the freedom it has won and fully to eliminate the dire consequences of the prolonged domination of the country by foreign enslavers. We know from our experience in setting up and forming our Soviet State in the early years after the Great October Socialist Revolution that the enemies of an independent and united Algeria, the imperialists and colonizers, will try in every possible way to hamper its advance along the path of political and economic independence. However, the Soviet people, like all true friends of independent Algeria, are firmly convinced that the Algerian people, displaying solidarity and watchfulness, will successfully overcome all difficulties and obstacles

in the way of strengthening the sovereignty of its State and settling the important social and economic problems confronting it.<sup>4/</sup>

64. I should like to express my conviction that the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, which has now taken its rightful place among sovereign States, will make a contribution worthy of its militant and heroic past to the cause of the preservation and strengthening of international peace and the final liquidation of the colonial system.

65. On behalf of the above-mentioned group of delegations of socialist States, the Soviet delegation takes great pleasure today in again extending heart-felt congratulations to the Algerian people on winning its independence and on becoming a Member of the United Nations.

66. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): Here comes Algeria. Here comes the Republic of Algeria—the African, the Maghrebian and the Arab State, fully independent and fully sovereign. Here comes Algeria with its proclaimed policy of neutrality and non-alignment. Here comes Ben Bella, national hero and first Prime Minister of Algeria. And here comes the delegation of the Government of Algeria presenting to this august body, to this General Assembly, its credentials enveloped with the heat and dust of the battlefield.

67. On behalf of my Government and my people I seize this solemn occasion to extend the warmest of our brotherly greetings to Algeria, to its Government and to its gallant people. We admire their victory, we hail their heroism and we glorify their glory.

68. At long last Algeria is now with us, a Member State of this Organization. Thus far, and for eight years past, the question of Algeria has been an item on our agenda. How often we have argued whether it should be included in or excluded from our agenda. How often we have elucidated the equities of the case, and how often we have argued and debated the merits of the facts of the case. The chapter now is closed for ever. The question of Algeria will no more be an item on our agenda. Algeria occupies its distinguished seat in this august body.

69. The ceremony at this moment is not, however, a routine affair; it is not a function of an ordinary character. Nor is it the performance of a mere act of courtesy. The significance of this most inspiring occasion is more—and much more. This is a day of prayers of thanksgiving for the triumph of liberty and freedom. We take it to be a thanksgiving day for the whole of the United Nations in gratitude for the time of liberty and freedom all over the world.

70. Let me assure you, gentlemen, that this is no rhetorical exercise on my part. This is a recognition of the whole truth, of the whole truism. We are not simply celebrating the admission of a new Member, with all its gravity and with all its solemnity. This occasion is something beyond the investiture of a new Member State. What has been admitted to this Organization is not simply a Member State but a concentration of vibrant ideas, a mass of living ideals, a collection of profound recollections, an accumulation of staggering trials and ordeals, a drama of racking suffering and, indeed, the most telling example in the history of mankind of the achievement of self-fulfilment in self-determination.

71. The Statue of Liberty stands on the shores of this continent. So does Algeria tower among us in this Organization as a statue of many valuable human things. Algeria, a promising land with a proud people, stands as the expression of heroism, the embodiment of bravery, the symbol of perseverance and the incarnation of the will of man to live as a free man in a free world—a free and real world but a world free from oppression.

72. At this historic moment our minds and hearts go to the heroic struggle of the people of Algeria. It was a battle too bitter to be recalled here and now. We shall not recall the martyrdom of thousands upon thousands of the flower and bud of the generations of Algeria in the course of 132 years of bloodshed, war, human conflict and human suffering. We shall not recall the loss—and I would say the sad loss—of thousands upon thousands of French soldiers who died in innocence but passed in vain. We shall not recall the untold sufferings and the inconceivable sorrows of a whole nation in its battle for liberation. Nor shall we recall the campaign of destruction carried out recently by the French ultras as testimony that imperialism, in the last analysis, is destroyed at the hands of the forces of imperialism themselves. We shall not recall these hair-raising events of this human drama.

73. This is a moment of joy and jubilation. While still thrilled by the tragedy of this long and bloody war, we are bound to rejoice. We are compelled to rejoice and to give ourselves up to joy and jubilation, and we assemble here today to rejoice. With offence to no one, and with discourtesy to none, let me say from this rostrum, loudly and without any reservation, that no other nation has endured so long, no other nation has paid so highly and no other nation has paid so dearly. I stand at this rostrum to salute the people of Algeria for their exemplary heroism and indomitable determination.

74. In the meantime, I feel that it is my duty to address myself to France, and to President de Gaulle in particular. In past sessions I referred to France in no kind words and in no gentle tones. At times my expressions, I admit, were harsh and brutal, although they were true and factual. That was an understandable act of necessity for the situation itself was indeed very harsh and indeed very brutal.

75. Now we are face to face with a different situation. Friendship with Algeria is friendship with all the Arab peoples. We are one with Algeria. The friends of Algeria are our friends, and the enemies of Algeria are our enemies. We are behind Algeria in war and in peace, in amity and in enmity, in easy times and in adversity. France may therefore rest assured that a new chapter of Arab-French relations can be inaugurated, in the best interests of the Arab people, on the one hand, and of France, on the other.

76. President de Gaulle's contribution in this field can be as great as President de Gaulle himself. On the issue of liberty, on the issue of freedom, I should place on record the fact that General de Gaulle has played a great role worthy of praise and admiration. Twice—and I stress twice—did General de Gaulle bring about the freedom of France. Emancipation from the Nazi occupation was one occasion, and the liberation of France from colonialism in Algeria was the second.

77. I submit that I would rank the second occasion as the first; for, to free oneself is great, but to free oneself from dominating others is more sublime. And it

<sup>4/</sup> Pravda, 30 September 1962.

is thus that President de Gaulle should be judged and his great stature measured.

78. Through sweat, through blood and through tears, Algeria has forced open the gates of the United Nations which had been closed to it. It has forced the gates wide open, and I trust that the gates of the United Nations will remain wide open so that all peoples may enter in freedom, sovereignty and independence. Then will our United Nations be a free and united Organization.

*Mr. Nussibeh (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

79. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): On behalf of my Government and the people of the United States, I want to express to His Excellency Ahmed Ben Bella, the Prime Minister of Algeria, to his distinguished fellow representatives and to the new Republic of Algeria which they represent, our congratulations and our best wishes at this historic moment.

80. We are happy that Algeria is taking its place at last as a Member of the United Nations and contributing its independent weight in the councils of the world. The sufferings of nearly eight years of civil conflict are ended at last. A new nation has emerged determined to reconcile with harmony and with justice the diverse cultures of that land and to achieve the greatness to which its resources and its talents enable it to aspire. This consummation is a cause for universal rejoicing, in which my country joins.

81. The leaders of Algeria who, through their fortitude and their statesmanship, have brought their country to this goal of independence, command our admiration. No less does France and, above all, its President, that brave soldier and even braver statesman, General de Gaulle, whose vision and leadership made it possible to cut the chains which held the people of Algeria, European and Moslem alike, in the frightful bondage of hatred and war.

82. The parties on both sides who achieved the Evian Agreements and thereby laid the foundations for Algeria's self-determination were working well and truly, we believe, for the Principles and Purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Theirs should be the glory today, for they have finally struck the question of Algeria from our agenda and added the Republic of Algeria to our rolls.

83. Algeria faces many difficulties. In dealing with some of them, especially the economic and technical ones, it can draw on the skills and the resources of the United Nations and its related agencies and on help from many nations, of which the United States is happy to be one. But far more decisive for Algeria's future will be the relationships between the new Republic and France and between the European and Moslem communities. How tragically easy it would be for those who have suffered so much to look back in anger and in hatred. But if Algeria is to fulfil its promise all concerned must work together in forbearance and brotherhood to bury the past and to build for the future a new community of peace in Algeria.

84. The sufferings of Algeria are now, mercifully, past. If we remember them at all, let it be in sorrow for the fallen and in determination that this mass tragedy shall not be re-enacted elsewhere. Remembering Algeria, let us resolve again, in all of our conflicts and disputes, to abandon extremism, to reject

fanatical counsel and to seek the honourable and compassionate peace which alone has a chance to endure.

85. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): In the history of mankind, few and far between are the days when the dreams, prayers and hopes of peoples come true and assume tangible form.

86. It therefore seems to us that this day of prayers finally answered will go down in history as a fateful and unforgettable occasion. The admission of independent and sovereign Algeria to membership in the United Nations fills us with such satisfaction and happiness beyond words that our emotion will, I am certain, be understood and our transports of joy, will, I hope, be excused.

87. On behalf of Libya, which from the outset espoused the Algerian people's cause and supported its determination to fulfil its national aspirations in freedom and independence, I have the great pleasure and signal honour of conveying to the Algerian delegation our warmest and most heart-felt congratulations on independent Algeria's entry into the family of free and sovereign nations.

88. The Algerian people's heroic struggle has thus reached its triumphant conclusion in the General Assembly's unanimous decision—a decision by acclamation—which enables Algeria to sit as an equal among the free nations.

89. At this solemn time it is our duty to pay a respectful, humble and admiring tribute to the memory of all the Algerians, men and women, who made the supreme sacrifice of laying down their lives for the just cause of their glorious country. We must, however, look beyond the tragic conflict in which the parties had been locked for so long, the peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem which is a signal victory for reason, common sense and wisdom; and Libya is particularly happy to see that, by an agreement reached between the two sides, the brave fight has been crowned with the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of a courageous people.

90. We are convinced that independent Algeria's contribution to the Organization's activities, and that country's policy in the world at large, will promote the cause of peace and co-operation which the United Nations serves. Our Organization can derive legitimate pride and gratification from the fact that, thanks to its understanding, support and moral influence, it has contributed to the triumph of a just cause based precisely on respect for the noble ideals and lofty principles of the Charter.

91. We are certain that the settlement of the conflict in which France and the Algerian nationalist revolution had so long been locked is an important milestone on the road to the permanent elimination of colonialism. We all know that, by its many and great sacrifices, the Algerian people has given a strong impetus to the movement for the peoples' liberation.

92. While we are paying anew our whole-hearted tribute to the courage and determination of the Algerian people, we shall not fail to convey our most sincere appreciation to the French people, which brought to General de Gaulle its massive and sustained support in his realistic and praiseworthy policy of decolonization and peace.

93. We are certain that the end of this painful act has cleared the stage for the fulfilment of the alluring



promises of an era of sincere and loyal co-operation based on sovereign equality and mutual respect.

94. In conclusion, may I assure Mr. Ben Bella, his Government and his people of our most fraternal feelings on this happy occasion, and wish independent Algeria every success in the task of building up the nation in which it is now engaged, as well as happiness, prosperity and progress.

95. Delivered at last from the scourge of war and no longer encumbered by the heavy burdens it imposes, the Arab countries of the Maghreb will now be able in friendship, brotherhood and collaboration to devote all their energies to the constructive tasks which lie ahead, in the interests of their respective peoples and in the service of world peace and co-operation.

96. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and all our people, I welcome the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations and sincerely congratulate the representatives of the Algerian Government, headed by its Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Bella, on this memorable event.

97. At the same time we warmly salute the heroic Algerian people, which has vindicated its right to self-determination and to independent development after many years of bitter fighting against colonialism. The Algerian people has thereby given further striking evidence of the fact that no force can break or weaken the peoples' desire for freedom and that a united and resolute people will inevitably be victorious in its just struggle. There is no doubt that the victory of the Algerian people is a particularly heavy blow against the decaying colonial system.

98. The Czechoslovak people, which in the past has often had to wage long struggles for its freedom, knows the value of that freedom and therefore sincerely rejoices at the coming into being of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

99. For many years we followed with deep sympathy the tenacious struggle of the Algerian people, a struggle which we consistently supported. Steadfastly observing the fundamental principles of Czechoslovak foreign policy during the discussion of the Algerian question in the United Nations throughout these years, we upheld a position fully in accordance with the vital interests of the Algerian people and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

100. Thus, in the course of Algeria's struggle for freedom, relations of sincere friendship and complete confidence have been built up between us. We wish the friendly Algerian people and its Government every success in the building of a new life, in the development of the national economy and culture, and the speedy elimination of the disastrous consequences of war and of blatant colonial oppression and exploitation.

101. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in full conformity with the wishes of our people, will expand and develop Czechoslovak-Algerian relations in every field and develop a fruitful co-operation in the interests of both countries, and of progress and peace throughout the world.

102. The admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations is an extremely significant event not only for Algeria but also for the United Nations. For our Organization has been

joined by a country whose people, by its long and heroic struggle, has done much to facilitate the execution of the task which the United Nations has made one of its first priorities—the liquidation of colonialism.

103. Algeria's membership in the United Nations will greatly assist efforts aimed at speedily completing this task, ensuring a durable peace and developing friendly co-operation among peoples. We wish the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria every success in this constructive work.

104. Mr. ZOPPI (Italy) (translated from French): The Italian delegation, which on this occasion has the honour to speak likewise for the delegations of the West European countries and of Australia, is delighted to see the delegation of the Republic of Algeria take its seat among the Members of the United Nations. The presence of the Algerian people's representatives in this Hall testifies to the happy outcome of the Algerian nation's march towards independence and to its desire to contribute, from the outset, to international friendship in the interests of peace and the progress of civilization.

105. The Algerian people's history in recent years has, unfortunately, been one of bloodshed; but we know that the path of history is never free of thorns, and that the creative process is always accompanied by birth pangs.

106. However, the very fact that after a long period of struggle the Algerian nation stands erect, active and confident alongside its national leaders and its Government furnishes the best proof of the Algerian people's deep-rooted qualities and provides what is perhaps the most reliable guarantee for its future. I would recall in this connexion that Italy itself achieved its unity a century ago after a very long and difficult struggle, and that it embarked upon its existence as an independent country amid difficulties which at the time seemed almost insuperable.

107. The happy consummation of Algeria's independence should also be viewed against the background of the clear-sighted policy of General de Gaulle, who, in circumstances of great difficulty, was able to cause his country to recognize the inevitable trend of history.

108. As a Mediterranean country, Italy is particularly happy to see the emergence, on Mediterranean shores, of an important State which will constitute an essential factor of stability and peace in North Africa. Relations between Algerians and Italians have always been excellent. I am certain that the friendship of the two countries, in all fields of activity, will be a factor of capital importance for the happiness of both of them and of all the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

109. It is therefore in a spirit of very warm friendship that, on behalf of my delegation, the delegations of Western Europe and the delegation of Australia, I welcome Algeria's admission to the United Nations and express the very best wishes for its future.

110. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): For my delegation and for myself it is a great honour and a historic privilege to welcome heartily the Government of Algeria, headed by its Prime Minister, His Excellency Ahmed Ben Bella, into membership of the United Nations. I congratulate Algeria, on behalf of the Liberian Government and people, on this milestone in its history. Over seven years of bitter strife have been happily ended with another victory in the hard and cruel struggle for

self-determination and independence. This struggle has been a courageous and a heroic one for the Algerians, who, in spite of heavy odds, kept their hopes firmly fixed on their ultimate aim and never faltered. This is a great lesson to all those who believe that by the stroke of a pen, a portion of another continent can become an integral part of their country; to all those who believe that the unquenchable urge for freedom can be blotted out by cruel and repressive measures; and to all those who believe that there can be any outcome save victory in man's desire for, and climb to, human dignity and equality.

111. I feel gratified by the united position which the African States have taken over the years on behalf of our Algerian brothers. To demonstrate our solidarity with Algeria, Liberia was host to the Conference of Independent African States which convened in Monrovia in 1959, the principal purpose of which was to study and recommend means of arriving at a peaceful solution to the Algerian question; and in 1960 we extended de facto recognition to the Provisional Government of Algeria. That Conference had a great impact upon all successive actions and created a spirit that characterized subsequent efforts.

112. Today we offer thanks to those men and nations which, in concert with us, worked for the success of the Algerian cause, and we also congratulate General de Gaulle and the present Government of France for their bold decision and action which consummated successful negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government.

113. We pay a special tribute to the gallant and brave Algerian people, who, after so much misery and suffering, after so much loss of precious lives, have now achieved their long-sought goal. All Africans are happy and proud of their valour and victory, which I believe will imbue all of us with a stronger determination to pursue the struggle until freedom has been won not only for the entire continent of Africa but for all the world.

114. In extending again, Mr. Prime Minister, a warm welcome to your Government and people into this world Organization, I wish to express the hope that a new day will dawn in the relations between the people of Algeria and the people of France. I feel certain that the experience you have gained will be used towards furthering the cause of African unity and the cause of international peace and security for which we are all working.

115. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): Mr. President, fellow-representatives, Mr. Prime Minister, and all our dear Algerian friends: This is the eighth time that Algeria has been mentioned in the agenda of the General Assembly. At the last seven sessions the Polish delegation, together with the delegations of so many other countries, spoke out for peace and for the Algerian people's independence. In doing so, we were putting into words the feelings of the Polish people which had had experience of bondage and had struggled for its freedom for over a century, the feelings of a people which had achieved final liberation at the cost of millions killed, assassinated or tortured to death in the war against nazism. That was why all news from Algeria stirred our people to such depths, and why remembrance of our own still recent struggle, sacrifice and liberation further reinforced our solidarity with the Algerian people and intensified our prayers for its victory.

116. Today we again speak about Algeria from this rostrum, but this time in order to welcome among us the representatives of heroic Algeria, at long last free. In them we see a living symbol of the Algerian people's moral strength, the great strength which has enabled that people to carry on so long and unequal a struggle against the army of a Power strong in resources and alliances, and finally to regain its independence.

117. This struggle was promoting not the cause of Algeria alone. While it may be said that several African peoples have gained their independence more or less peacefully, one must not lose sight of the fact that all Africa's fighters for freedom have contributed to that result. The Algerian people's struggle, a landmark in the history of the decline of colonialism, has played a particularly important role in that process. Because it was also a struggle in the interests of peace, of the independence of peoples and of progress, it was supported and upheld by fighters for these noble causes throughout the world.

118. Algeria's independence is in the true interest of the French people, too. No people which oppresses others can itself be truly free. This has been fully realized by those Frenchmen who, during this war, have courageously championed peace and freedom for Algeria.

119. Although this is the first appearance of a delegation of the Republic of Algeria in this Hall, their country, by reason of the fight it has carried on in defence of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, has always been present here. We realize that the people and Government of the Popular and Democratic Republic of Algeria face difficult problems in connexion with the country's reconstruction and development, the consolidation of its national independence, and its protection from all possible dangers. But we are firmly convinced that the Algerian people, which has paid so high a price for its freedom and has given such ample evidence of its courage and tenacity, will be able to deal with all of them. I am equally convinced that free Algeria's efforts will meet with the active sympathy and support of all those who expressed solidarity with it in its struggle and are today welcoming its representatives with heart-felt joy. I wish to assure the Algerian delegation that such will be the attitude of the Polish people and its Government.

120. Mr. SOULEYMANE (Mauritania) (translated from French): It is a signal honour for me, in my double capacity as acting chairman of the African-Asian group and chairman of the Mauritanian delegation, to extend our warmest and most sincere congratulations to the Algerian delegation on their country's admission to this august Assembly. Speaker after speaker has paid tribute, from this rostrum, to the revolutionary virtues displayed and the immense sacrifices made by the Algerian people in its struggle for liberation. It is beyond doubt that that struggle has called forth the admiration of the entire world. Many countries, especially in Africa, hope to see in Algeria a brother who will make an objective, constructive and calm contribution to the attainment of our joint objective—that of African unity.

121. As I said here a few days ago [1143rd meeting], we are convinced that Algeria, owing to the calibre of its men, its practical experience and the purity of its revolution, will help to give a new style to inter-African relations and will play the outstanding role which falls to it in bringing the nations north and south

of the Sahara closer together and securing co-operation between them.

122. After a night of bloodshed and tears, a new and promising day has dawned on the land of our Algerian brothers. For us and the whole world, this is a source of rejoicing and pride. We are convinced of the importance of Algeria's contribution to the solution of many problems, often minor ones, which are still pending and which hinder the efforts of those who have espoused the cause of peace, progress and friendship throughout the world and particularly in our beloved continent of Africa.

123. It would serve no useful purpose to try to put into words all our feelings for the Algerian people and its Government. On such an occasion, language is a poor vehicle and even the most sincere and impassioned words are inadequate to convey our emotion. We shall therefore merely express our real and extreme pleasure at the admission of Algeria, our sister country, to membership in the United Nations, and say that it is with impatience that we await the fruits of its genius and its co-operation, here and elsewhere.

124. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia): Today is a very happy day indeed, not only for the freedom-loving people of Algeria but for all those who cherish freedom and independence. Algeria, which has become a symbol of heroism in the struggle against colonial domination, is a new Member of the United Nations. The historical victory of the Algerian people, in the eight-year war which was forced upon it, could be won thanks to the unprecedented heroism, organization and unity of the Algerian people, as well as to the fact that the Algerian people were not alone but enjoyed the sympathy of all freedom-loving peoples in the world.

125. It is a matter of particular gratification for me to remind the Assembly on this occasion, so great for all of us, that the peoples and Government of Yugoslavia have from the beginning, together with many other countries, given their unselfish support and every assistance to the Algerian people in the struggle for freedom and independence, and that my Government was the first in Europe to recognize *de jure* the Government of the Republic of Algeria.

126. It is likewise a great pleasure for me to remind the Assembly that Belgrade, the capital of my country, was the meeting place of the heads of State or Governments of twenty-five non-aligned countries, the representatives of Algeria among them, who assembled at this historical Conference. They stated in their declaration that they considered the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom, self-determination, independence and territorial integrity to be just and necessary, and that they were ready to extend to the people of Algeria all possible support and aid.

127. On behalf of the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the heroism and endurance of the Algerian people and its leaders, manifested in the years of the national liberation struggle, and to pay tribute to the excellent discipline they have shown, which has won for them the admiration of the whole world in the months preceding the signature of the Evian Agreements.

128. The President of the Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, on the occasion of the agreement on

the independence of Algeria, expressed to the Provisional Algerian Government and to the President of the Republic of France, Charles de Gaulle, the great satisfaction of the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia, stating his belief that it would lead not only to a constructive and friendly co-operation between the peoples of Algeria and France, but that it would represent a powerful element of peace and peaceful development toward the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of Africa, and that it was a great contribution to peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes in the world in general.

129. The freedom and independence of Algeria represent a triumph for the Algerian people, who have realized their dearest aspirations. The freedom and independence of Algeria represent a success for France as well, despite all those who stubbornly endeavoured to turn back the wheel of history, because by recognizing the independence of the Algerian people, the French people protect its own independence.

130. The peoples of my country have, over a very long time, lived in friendship and co-operation with the French people. France was our ally in the First and Second World Wars. We are pleased that the independence of Algeria was eventually achieved with the positive participation of France as well.

131. The cause of the Algerian people was a matter of great concern to the entire international community. The freedom and independence of Algeria represent a success for the United Nations also, because it has contributed to the recognition of the fact that a refusal to grant independence to Algeria would be not only a flagrant violation of the undeniable right of a people to self-determination but also a serious threat to international peace and security. The United Nations thereby made its contribution, and we are here welcoming with enthusiasm the heroic Algerian people as a new Member of our Organization.

132. The Algerian struggle for freedom has come to a happy and successful end. The example of Algeria can serve as one more lesson that every attempt to deny the right of a people to freedom is doomed to failure and can only be a source of grave complications for those engaged in such actions and also for international peace and security. The recognition of this fact is an act of wisdom. It is in keeping with the historical trends and is in the interests of all peoples and of all States.

133. The Algerian example also proves that there is no international dispute today which, provided there is good will and statesmanship, cannot be solved by means of negotiations. For these reasons, the solution of the Algerian problem can serve as an example for the settlement of similar outstanding international disputes.

134. The independence won by Algeria and the formation of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria represent a new and significant step not only on the path of freedom of the Algerian people itself but also of all the peoples of Africa. The day is nearing when all the shameful vestiges of the colonial system will be eliminated. Through Algeria's taking of the road of independent development, the sphere of existing contradictions which divide the world is being limited, and those forces which unselfishly strive for the preservation of peace and for the promotion of fruitful international co-operation in keeping with the principles of active and peaceful co-existence are greatly strengthened.

135. The President of the Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, conveyed to the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, on behalf of the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia, warm good wishes on the occasion of the Algerian people's great victory. He noted that the peoples of our two countries have become closer and have become friends in the course of the struggle of the Algerian people, which was followed with feelings of great sympathy and was supported by the peoples of Yugoslavia, and he expressed the conviction that the friendly relations between the peoples of Yugoslavia and Algeria would continue to grow, to their mutual benefit and in the interests of the general progress and peace of the world.

136. The Algerian people, having won its independence, is now faced with the great and difficult tasks of consolidating the independence and the sovereignty of its national State, of reconstruction and of the development of its national economy. These tasks are difficult, but they are glorious, and the united Algerian people and its leaders will undoubtedly fulfil them with success.

137. The Government and the peoples of Yugoslavia warmly wish every success to the revolutionary Government headed by Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella and to the people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in the building of their national independent and sovereign State, in economic reconstruction, and in all fields of activity, and express their readiness to extend to the Algerian people and its Government every possible assistance.

138. The unity that has been manifested, the competence and the wisdom of the Algerian people and its leaders, strengthen all of us in our belief that the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria will make its active contribution to the implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the removal of the remnants of colonialism, the furthering of economic and social progress, and the maintenance of peace in the world.

139. Welcome, heroic and peace-loving nation, now a Member of the United Nations.

*Mr. Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.*

140. Mr. TAKLA (Lebanon) (translated from French): The particularly warm welcome extended to Algeria by many representatives who have spoken from this rostrum is an eloquent testimony to the admiration that the world feels for the great and noble Algerian nation.

141. Seven years of bloody conflict and approximately 800,000 victims: such is the glorious record of this Algerian war, which is indelibly inscribed in the annals of history. But all those sacrifices were not in vain since they led to the triumph of right and justice and to agreements dictated by reason and concluded in honour and dignity.

142. This struggle, it must be admitted, might have lasted much longer, leaving in its wake further suffering and misery, if France, faithful to its traditions of freedom, had not deliberately helped to hasten the conclusion of a final agreement, which in accordance with world evolution was an inevitable outcome. On this happy occasion, we must pay a tribute to France, too.

143. We are, moreover, convinced that the co-operation between Algeria and France provided for in the Evian agreements will be fruitful and that it will

be established in a genuine spirit of sincerity and mutual respect.

144. If all the nations of the world have applauded this final result, namely, the admission of Algeria into the community of free nations, what must be the joy of the Arab peoples of Africa and Asia at the dawn of this memorable day, which fills them with justified pride! The Arab States, independent and sovereign, which now stretch in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, are conscious of their responsibilities in that part of the world, as well as in the United Nations, and of the contribution that they must make to the maintenance of peace and the harmonious development of international relations. Strengthened by this latest addition to their ranks, they will continue together to strive for the achievement of the principles of the Charter, in particular the sacred right of peoples to self-determination and the sovereign equality of nations.

145. In addition to co-operation in international bodies and to inter-Arab co-operation in the League of Arab States, where we were also happy to welcome the admission of Algeria a few weeks ago, Lebanon wishes with all its heart to develop direct co-operation with this sister nation; we are convinced that the many features we have in common and our numerous affinities, especially in respect to our culture and civilization, will facilitate such co-operation and make it more fruitful.

146. On behalf of my country and my Government, I offer the Algerian Republic our warmest congratulations, together with our sincere and confident wishes for the greatness, prosperity and happiness of the Algerian people.

147. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): Throughout the ages man has aspired to lift himself from the abyss of suffering and bondage, of oppression and death, to the height of immortality. Such is the goal universally embodied in every major creed and acclaimed in every dignified concept of the human race. But down the vistas of time few are the men who have attained the glory of immortality, and far fewer the nations that have been able to do so. Among the chosen few, history will surely include the Algerian people who, by their indomitable will and their unflinching courage, fought against a mighty empire and won victory in the greatest liberation movement of our day. It took them eight years and cost them a million lives, but the memory of those dead heroes will be enshrined in the hearts of liberty-loving men to their eternal glory.

148. When in the last years of this epochal struggle that goal was imperilled by a foul terror, a secret army organization which stopped at nothing to gain its ends, this small but proud nation under its brave and far-sighted leaders earned undying fame by a unique display of discipline and self-control which had so far been associated in history only with a handful of martyrs and saints. Never before had an entire people in the face of the most blood-curdling threats and despite the gravest provocations shown such unmistakable faith in the ultimate triumph of right and principle.

149. But just as man cannot achieve immortality without associating himself with a universal power—call it by what name you will—so might the valiant Algerian people not have attained undying honour without their association with the higher moral force in the world which, in our time, is represented by the United Nations.

150. The United Nations was with the Algerian people from the very start of their fight. And when the General Assembly could move only haltingly, the African-Asian group took up that responsibility in round-the-year surveillance, continuing to keep the struggle in the forefront of world public opinion, exerting great moral pressure and keeping high the hopes of Algerian resistance in its darkest and most difficult days, when the Algerian people were facing what appeared to be almost overwhelming odds. It is altogether fitting to recall that the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Algeria was none other than U Thant, whose patient diplomacy and wisdom has been so justly recognized when we appointed him our Secretary-General.

151. So many thoughts and feelings spring from the mind and the heart when one speaks about the epoch of Algeria, but I shall end by stating only what must not be omitted because the Algerian struggle still continues under different names and in various guises in several parts not only of the African continent but also elsewhere.

152. There are many lessons, many great lessons, to be learned from the historic chapter which is now being brought to a close. Confronted as we are with problems of appalling magnitude when we encounter moments of doubt and hesitation, let us remember the lesson which Algeria taught us, the lesson of the courage and the invincibility of the great masses of the peoples of the world.

153. It is our privileged appointment with destiny to lead these people to freedom from oppression and bondage. But if we do not ourselves have the faith and the courage and the wisdom to lead them, let us at least have the gallantry and the wisdom to let them lead us.

154. There is one more lesson, and that is that we must resolve that there shall be no more Algerias anywhere on the face of the earth. The sacrifices and the sufferings involved are too great to bear repetition, too dangerous for world peace. The cause of colonialism is a hopeless cause; it is a dead cause which no colonial Power can ever hope to win.

155. Mention has been made here by many representatives of the courageous role played by President de Gaulle in the emergence of the independent State of Algeria. We should like to associate ourselves with the tributes made to President de Gaulle. It was a situation which he inherited. He dealt with it with great determination and far-seeing statesmanship, which were characteristic of the man. But it also demonstrated to us that with the best will in the world even a man as great as President de Gaulle encounters dangerous difficulties in dealing with a colonial problem when the solution of that problem is deferred too long. The lesson we must learn from this, therefore, is that the quicker the liquidation of colonialism, the better for everybody. Time, in this case, is no healer.

156. The United Nations has already decided by its resolution 1514 (XV) to end colonialism in all its manifold varieties. We are now, in this General Assembly, all the stronger for this task because the Algerian representatives and heroic leaders and statesmen, led by their Prime Minister, Ahmed Ben Bella, will be with us to carry on the struggle beyond the confines of their own dear homeland to all the unliberated peoples of the world.

157. The Government and the people of Ceylon salute independent Algeria and wish its Government and people every happiness, prosperity and success in the years and in the great tasks that lie ahead of them.

158. Mr. OKAZAKI (Japan): The reality of an independent Algeria as a sovereign, equal State and Member of the United Nations has now been achieved. We of the Japanese delegation share fully in the general rejoicing and I count it a privilege and honour, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, to offer our warmest congratulations and most sincere good wishes to the Prime Minister, Ahmed Ben Bella, to the representatives from Algeria, to the Government they represent here, and to the Algerian people.

159. In the end it was not strife, it was not war, that brought independence to Algeria. It was the sober realization at long last that war never really settles anything and that conflict must give way, sooner or later, to the processes of peaceful change, the methods of negotiation and compromise. Our highest tribute must be paid to all those on both sides of the long and terrible struggle in Algeria, in particular to President de Gaulle, who, with great wisdom and foresight, paved the way to self-determination for the people of Algeria and to the happy event we celebrate today.

160. The struggle for self-determination in Algeria was beset with many perils; the path towards independence was strewn with obstacles; the way was long and filled with sorrows. To all those, both of French and of indigenous origin, who lost their lives along the tortuous way, and to all those who have suffered so keenly in the loss of those they loved, we pause to offer our deepest sympathy.

161. It is our earnest hope that the wounds opened by the terrible ordeal of the past eight years will all soon be healed and that, as the new Algeria undertakes the arduous tasks of reconciliation and reconstruction, a spirit of true brotherhood will now and for ever after prevail between the two communities in the country, and between the two great Republics. Peace and continuing close, friendly relations between the Republic of France, a Charter Member of the United Nations, and the Republic of Algeria, the newest Member of our Organization, cannot but strengthen greatly the entire fabric of international peace and security and the efforts to which we all are committed to achieve that high ideal.

162. We welcome you among us with heart-felt sincerity and we look forward eagerly to working side by side with you in pursuit of the noble aims of the United Nations.

163. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): We welcome today in our midst a new Member to the United Nations, the Republic of Algeria, whose birth has been preceded by an heroic struggle without parallel in our history. For seven and a half years the walls of this Assembly have echoed with the impassioned cry of a brave people determined to be free. No alternative to independence was ever tolerated or envisaged, and the fair land of Algeria was witness to heroic achievements and sacrifices of such magnitude as to fill the whole world with awe and admiration.

164. The significance of this historic day must be seen in the context of the movement for national liberation which has now enveloped the entire globe. Algerian independence may be justly regarded as the turning point in that historic movement. For seven years the

world looked with admiration at the epic struggle of the Algerian people against the vastly superior strength and resources of a great Power with its network of alliances. Never before have a people fought against such odds in order to attain their freedom. Never before did a people fight with such determination and sacrifice. The Algerian struggle threatened to split a great country and cause irreconcilable strife, were it not for the sagacity and the determination of one great man, President de Gaulle, to whom we wish to pay a deserved tribute.

165. Out of tragedy and sacrifice a nation was born. It shall move forward and forge for itself a future worthy of the valour of its heroic fighters who died by the hundreds of thousands on the field of battle. The people of Algeria have with their suffering and their invincible courage translated into a living and vibrant reality the great ideals enshrined in the Charter. Can anyone deny the decisive influence of the Algerian revolution in accelerating the march of freedom in Africa and elsewhere in the world? By its example and by its sacrifices Algeria is truly the redeemer of Africa. For us, the Arab people, the Algerian epic shall for ever remain one of the most glorious pages in our history. We owe the valiant people of Algeria a debt of gratitude. Their struggle provided, and continues to provide, inspiration and hope for those of our people still fighting for liberty and independence.

166. Today we welcome in our midst the representatives of the Algerian people, led by Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella, whose renown as a dauntless fighter for liberty has spread throughout the world. The ravages of war have left a tragic legacy. The task of rebuilding will tax the patience and fortitude of the Algerian people as much as the armed struggle they had to wage to free themselves from foreign domination.

167. On this day, and from this rostrum, we salute the countless thousands who gave their lives so that Algeria may be free. Their great sacrifices have not been in vain. This is the day for which they fought and died. This is a day which shall for ever live in history, marking one of the greatest victories in man's eternal struggle for freedom and dignity.

168. Mr. ALI (Pakistan): It is difficult for me to give adequate expression to the emotions of joy and happiness we feel today as we see the delegation of Algeria, led by Prime Minister Ben Bella, take its rightful place in our midst.

169. For seven long years the people of Pakistan watched—often with anguish, on occasion with anger, but always with admiration and hope—the unflinching struggle of their brothers across the ocean to break the shackles of foreign bondage, become a free people and thus be enabled truly to mould and shape the course of their destiny. Their sorrows were our sorrows; their sufferings found an echo in our hearts.

170. Today, as that long struggle reaches its culmination, with hearts elated with joy we welcome the representatives of free Algeria here and acclaim and salute the leaders of a people that fought bravely, triumphed honourably and remained true to their cherished goal.

171. The victory the people of Algeria have won is not the victory of one people over another. In the bitter years of war and in the folly of its aftermath, the people of Algeria suffered terrible and tragic losses. They gave the flower of their manhood for

the triumph of a cause which was not theirs alone, but that of all people still subject to foreign domination—a cause that moves all men everywhere, whatever their race, colour, creed or belief; the cause of human dignity, the cause of freedom, the cause of justice, the cause of liberty, equality and fraternity.

172. Long after the din and the noise of the struggle have died down and the years of bitterness are forgotten, after the memory of this day of rejoicing has dimmed, the name of Algeria will remain a symbol of man's indomitable courage and spirit and a torch to light the way of all who struggle to be free.

173. France, too, emerges from a travail. Honour is due to its great leader and statesman, President de Gaulle, whose sagacity, clear-sightedness and determination brought France out of its time of trial.

174. We join other delegations in paying our tribute both to the people of Algeria and to the people of France for having enabled this Assembly to witness today the triumph of right and justice over might and misguidance. This is a victory over which all men of good will must rejoice and at which fighters for freedom must take heart.

175. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on behalf of the Pakistan delegation, I extend a warm welcome to the delegation of Algeria and, through it, convey to the people of Algeria our fraternal greetings and good wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

176. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): In 1955, when the General Assembly was considering whether the Algerian question should be placed on its agenda, Mr. Shukairy—who was then representative of Syria—stated from this rostrum [532nd meeting] that Algeria would one day be admitted to the United Nations. I am proud to recall his words, for they were imbued with resolute optimism and unshakable faith. I am happy to note that the first speaker to congratulate independent Algeria on its admission to the United Nations was Mr. Couve de Murville, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

177. The Algerian people waged a heroic struggle which is now enshrined for ever in the annals of the wars of liberation. They fought for the recognition of their Arab personality; they fought in order to be master on the soil of their ancestors; they fought for the complete destruction of the coalitions fostered by reactionary forces still living in the era of colonialism and nostalgic for an illusory and vain grandeur. The fight of the Algerian people has not been in vain. It has served not only Algeria but all mankind. The people and Government of the Syrian Arab Republic, who have followed with vigilant attention the various stages of the struggle of the Algerian people, are happy to congratulate Algeria as an independent nation and Member of the United Nations, as also Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, the Head of its first Government.

178. Algeria, made greater by its struggle tempered by experience, cannot fail to contribute to the success of our Organization. It is also with pleasure that I congratulate and thank all those Frenchmen who assessed the motives of what was called the Algerian war at their true value. There can be no doubt that distinguished personalities such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Louis Aragon, Claude Bourdet, the Bâtonnier William Thorpe and many others have done honour to the great traditions of freedom of revolutionary France. They have raised the world prestige

of the France which gave us Voltaire, the Encyclopedists, Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and so many others.

179. I am also happy to congratulate the French Government and its Head, General de Gaulle, the President of the Republic, on the work they did in paving the way for the Evian Agreements. We are confident that the relations between the Arab world and France are now entering a new phase; a France freed from the colonial concept is certainly stronger than a France which claimed to be powerful because it had dispatched soldiers to Asia and Africa. We are therefore firmly convinced that the relations between our countries and France will be based on mutual understanding and friendship.

180. In conclusion, I should like to express once again the congratulations and sincere wishes of the people and Government of Syria to the Government and people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

181. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): It is with great emotion that we welcome, on behalf of the Latin American group, the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations and that we see Mr. Ben Bella, the Head of its Government, take his seat among us amid the prolonged and enthusiastic applause of the Assembly.

182. Every birth is an event of considerable importance accompanied by disturbances in the natural order which, fortunately, almost invariably die down and are forgotten in the beauty and richness of the flower which comes to life and the new order of things which inspires great hopes, like some, a radiant sunrise under tropical skies.

183. In the life of man, too, as in the life of peoples, the great event of a birth follows a process whereby the great joys of this world and the ultimate satisfactions are bought at the price of sacrifices which make up the finest pages of history and which remain, for those who believe in human values, a subject for profound thought.

184. The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, which we are welcoming today, immortalizes one of those pages filled with lessons drawn from the memorable facts and great political events of our time, which do honour to the courage and patriotism of the Algerian people and to the sense of reality of that outstanding politician and statesman, General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic.

185. In addition to the sacrifices and the heroism of those who, arms in hand, fought and died in order to make Algeria a free, independent and respected State, we are happy to acknowledge that the Evian Agreement constitutes one of those acts which, while they confirm a victory won by force of arms, are also a symbol which reminds us that, for some, greatness is achieved through recognizing the right of others to freedom.

186. For all these reasons, the United Nations is today opening its doors to one of the new States which come to join us rich in experience acquired in one of those great epics that command admiration.

187. We would ask those who have the great honour of representing it in this Assembly, where the courage of its sons and their passion for freedom has so often been extolled, to be good enough to convey to the Government and the people of Algeria our feelings of sincere admiration and our wishes for their happiness

and prosperity, and we say to them: We are certain that your patriotism, courage and firm determination, which sustained you in the great combat you have waged victoriously in order to forge this free and independent State which is your pride and which excites our admiration, will now be devoted to the building of your country. This is a task of another kind and much more difficult than that of winning military victories, but it is in no way beyond men such as you who, thanks to the values you represent, have won this seat which you so rightly occupy in the United Nations.

188. You have come, we are sure, to join those whose voice will always be raised to defend and strengthen this Organization of which you are now a Member and, consequently, to support the great principles it champions and in whose name we are happy and proud to wish you a most cordial welcome.

189. Mr. KURAL (Turkey) (translated from French): I am especially happy today to express, on behalf of the Turkish delegation, our joy at seeing Algeria join us here in the United Nations.

190. May I also be permitted to say on this occasion how glad we all were in Turkey to see the Algerian problem, which was a source of great concern to us for many years, reach its natural solution, a solution preceded by so much suffering and so many sacrifices.

191. The Turkish people have always had brotherly feelings towards the Algerian people, and the traditional ties of friendship between my country and France go back for many centuries. That is why we joyfully welcomed this solution, which meets the legitimate and natural aspirations of the courageous Algerian people and which is in accordance with the liberal traditions of France.

192. We consider that a special tribute is due to the Algerian leaders and statesmen, as also to the French statesmen and in particular to General de Gaulle, for the wisdom, realism and clear-sightedness with which, in extremely difficult circumstances, they approached the solution of a problem that was poisoning relations between two peoples.

193. At this time when the Algerian delegation, headed by Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, is joining us here in the United Nations in order to make its valuable contribution to the work of the Assembly, and when Algeria is taking its rightful place among the nations of the world, I am especially proud that the honour falls to me to express to it, on behalf of my country, our warmest congratulations and to wish it all the happiness and prosperity it deserves.

194. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): The independence of Algeria is a symbol. Each one of us welcomes it, and perhaps for different reasons, but I, as an African, see in it, first and foremost, the triumph of freedom, the liberation of an African country, the independence of another part of African soil and hence the strengthening of that African unity which is taking shape.

195. Yet while my delegation rejoices it cannot, alas, help thinking of those who have fallen and those who may still fall because some ruling Powers, and even some of the more backward among those under their domination, have failed to understand that no formula, even a colonialist one, can withstand the force that is leading all the peoples of Africa to independence.

196. My Government knows from experience that a people whose freedom is threatened and which is

driven to despair has the duty and the right to defend itself by all possible means; indeed, Napoleon III did not begin to think seriously about Italy until he was the target of Orsini's bomb.

197. All nationalists who are not understood will employ the same method. But it behooves us to realize that all the force used against them will only result in useless destruction of human life, for nothing can withstand such ideas.

198. It was because he was convinced of that fact that President Houphouët-Boigny made more and more frequent contacts and increasingly urgent appeals for negotiations to be held as quickly as possible. On 3 January, in a speech to the National Assembly of the Ivory Coast, he made the following statement:

"France cannot be unaware of the mortal danger hanging over Africa as a result of the prolongation of the Algerian war. Nor can it be unaware of the tragic situation in which it would place us if unhappily our appeals for peace, for negotiations and for the democratic application of the principle of self-determination went unheeded."

President Houphouët went on to say:

"It cannot be that France does not understand."

199. The greatness of General de Gaulle, to which we pay a tribute, lies in the fact that he has always resolutely followed the course of history. We admire his faith, his fervour and his courage, which in certain circumstances have saved France and which have once again enabled him to save France, Africa and the world, at the risk of his own life, by giving independence to sixteen African and Malagasy countries, including Algeria.

200. President Houphouët-Boigny, his Government and the people of the Ivory Coast send greetings to Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, his Government and the Algerian people. They applaud the political maturity of the Algerian people, their pacifism in the face of the band of desperadoes who sought to destroy at the last minute the work that the Algerian people and General de Gaulle had accomplished at Evian. They rejoice that the integrity and unity of Algeria has been safeguarded and express their sincere wishes for Algeria's prosperity.

201. In conclusion, I should like to draw a lesson from the action we have just accomplished in admitting Algeria to the United Nations and setting the final seal on its independence. The fiction of Algeria as a province of France dates from before the time when Nice became French, but it has not been able to withstand the Algerians' desire for independence. The citizens of the reign of Louis-Philippe little thought when acclaiming Bugeaud's victories that they were acclaiming the victory of the grandsons of Abdel-Kader's warriors. Henceforth everyone must be convinced that no legal or constitutional fiction can withstand nationalism.

202. Colonial wars are useless; the forces of repression and tyranny are merely evidence of general insanity. Military force will never prevail over ideas and concepts; those who aspired to preserve the empire of Gallieni, Lyautey and Père de Foucault by force of arms have reaped their award.

203. History is a science; it even rises to the level of theology. The Roman Empire collapsed; the great em-

pire of Napoleon was unable to resist the rise of nationalities; nationalism is of all times, of all centuries; it has no colour.

204. On the occasion of Algeria's achievement of independence my country hopes that all the Members of the United Nations, which have undertaken to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, will be ever more vigilant to avoid wars, all wars, even colonial wars; that can be done only if every one of us realizes that colonialism has become a shirt of Nessus which we must get rid of at all costs.

205. Mr. DELISLE (Canada) (translated from French): I have the honour to pronounce these words of welcome not only on behalf of the delegation of Canada, but also on behalf of the delegation of New Zealand, which wishes to associate itself with the sentiments I am expressing.

206. It is with a feeling of great satisfaction that Canada today welcomes Algeria to the General Assembly of the United Nations. We can understand the pride felt by the Government and people of Algeria on this happy occasion of the confirmation of their achievement of independence and sovereignty, of which we are witnesses today. The fact that Algeria is able to take its place among us today is the result not only of the courage shown by the Algerian people, but also of the lofty vision and firm determination of General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic. I venture, after so many others, to pay him a tribute in the name of my country for the eminent role he has played in the historic events of the past few years.

207. I should also like to welcome Mr. Ben Bella, the Prime Minister of Algeria, and to offer him my best wishes. I want to congratulate both him and his Government on the success they have achieved in the implementation of measures concerning the protection of citizens of varied racial origins living in Algeria, in the reorganization of the administrative sector of the Government and in the restoration of the country's economy.

208. In addition to the difficult problems which any Government has to face on attaining power, the Algerian Republic will now have to try to efface the scars left by seven years of bitter fighting. Nevertheless the spirit in which the negotiations which eventually led to independence were carried out and the moderation shown by both parties during this difficult period are a good omen for the future. Canada earnestly hopes that this spirit of understanding will persist and that a fruitful association based on mutual esteem will continue to unite the two Republics.

209. Canada expects to maintain the same links of friendship with Algeria that bind it to the other countries of Africa and of the Arab world, particularly in view of the fact that our two countries share a common language.

210. My delegation and the New Zealand delegation look forward to close co-operation with the Algerian delegation in seeking solutions of the problems which the United Nations has to face now, and will have to face in the future.

211. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): May I add my voice to those of the preceding speakers to welcome Mr. Ben Bella, the Prime Minister of Algeria, and the delegation of the Algerian Republic, which has taken its place among us.



212. It is with profound joy that I act as spokesman for the Government and people of Iran in offering to Mr. Ben Bella, and through him to the valiant people of Algeria, the most sincere congratulations on the occasion of Algeria's admission to the United Nations.

213. Algeria's independence, achieved after seven years of heroic struggle which was the last phase of a long tragedy, has finally reconciled, in justice and freedom, two peoples, both of whom are dear to us. My delegation is proud to have been one of the first, in 1956, to draw the attention of the Security Council to the situation in Algeria<sup>5/</sup> and thus to have awakened world public opinion to the need to give satisfaction as soon as possible to the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people. For seven years Algeria has been one of the chief concerns of the United Nations; today, we rejoice to see its representative take his place among us. We are convinced that Algeria will occupy a prominent place in this Organization and will play an outstanding part in the great African-Asian family.

214. The Prime Minister of Iran, in a telegram which he recently sent to Mr. Ben Bella on the occasion of his taking office, said:

"I offer you my most sincere wishes for your success in the noble task entrusted to you and for the progress and prosperity of the valiant Algerian people; in a spirit of brotherhood, we shall work to strengthen the numerous links which already exist between our two countries."

215. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the French Government, and in particular to General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, whose political wisdom and constructive realism have been determining factors in the happy conclusion of the Algerian drama.

216. Finally, I wish independent Algeria prosperity, happiness and entire success in the gigantic work of reconstruction which lies before it.

217. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): In co-sponsoring the draft resolution [A/L.394 and Add.1] by which the Assembly has decided, unanimously and by acclamation, on the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, my delegation wished to perform a duty of fraternal solidarity and to pay a well-deserved tribute to the valiant people of Algeria for the sacrifices of every kind which they were willing to make in order to regain their national independence. The admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the great family of sovereign nations is an event whose historic importance and significance endow our decision with the solemnity and gravity that are the mark of the Assembly today.

218. The Republic of Mali, which for centuries has maintained good neighbourly relations with Algeria, never doubted the success of the revolution, which the Algerian people launched and conducted to a successful conclusion in circumstances and by means which call to mind the legends in which Africa abounds.

219. The people and the Republic of Mali have always been conscious of the decisive role played by the Algerian revolution in the African liberation movements. This objective appreciation of the justice and extent of the struggle of the Algerian people inevitably strengthened the traditional solidarity between

our two countries and gave it its dynamic character. It was against this background, on the morrow of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Mali, while the army of the former administering Power, which was fighting the people of Algeria, was still occupying important bases in our country, while our own independence was still undergoing severe trials, that my Government recognized the Republic of Algeria and decided to maintain diplomatic relations with it.

220. Mr. Modibo Keita, the President of the Republic of Mali, when explaining this decision to the Press, stated: "We have no choice. The Algerian people is a sister people; it is fighting against the colonial régime which we denounce; we are at its side whatever may happen."

221. We earnestly hope that the profound significance of the presence of Algeria henceforth in our Organization may finally be understood by those colonial Powers which are still lagging behind and by the settler Governments which they have installed in certain African territories. The example of the Algerian martyrs has proved that there are no limits to the sacrifices which a people determined to reconquer their national independence are willing to accept. The Algerian people have accepted sacrifices and suffering with courage and political awareness, cherishing the hope that their success would convince the colonial Powers of the absurdity of trying to continue to dominate other peoples by force.

222. The realism shown by General de Gaulle, the Head of the French State, in the solution of the Algerian problem is admirable, and it is only right to pay a tribute to his courage and political wisdom. May the Government of Portugal learn from the lesson and put an end to the tragedy for which it is responsible in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere. The Algerian people have our admiration and sympathy.

223. My delegation is therefore very glad to have joined in sponsoring the draft resolution calling for the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations. I am convinced that the Algerian people, who have proved their unity and their political maturity, will abide by the principles of the Charter and make a positive contribution to the work of our Organization.

224. On behalf of the Republic of Mali, I offer the Algerian delegation my fraternal congratulations and I am convinced that the similarity of the aims pursued by our two Governments will strengthen our co-operation within the United Nations.

225. Mr. WACHUKU (Nigeria): It is with the greatest of pleasure and with a certain emotion that I come to this rostrum to say a few words in welcoming a new African nation to the United Nations. Two years ago, the scene which we are witnessing today was also staged here in connexion with my own country.

226. This is not an occasion for a long speech, but it is an occasion for reflection because we are now remembering the difficult problem which was solved by the joint efforts of all the Members of the United Nations working together, and particularly of the members of the African-Asian group who, through thick and thin, stood by Algeria in its struggle to win independence. The new status that the Algerian nation has today acquired brings great responsibilities in its wake.

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1956, document S/3589 and Add.1.

227. I have before me a map of Africa. As I look at the northern fringe, running from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, I see that with the story that is being written today, with the exception of a little patch on the north-western portion of the continent, we should have written finis to the history of colonialism and imperialism on the northern fringe of our continent. It is the deeper and the central heart of Africa which today feels great joy and great emotion.

228. In congratulating Algeria on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, I want also to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the part played by Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, the United Arab Republic and the other northern neighbours of Algeria in the days of Algeria's tribulation, suffering and hardship. Without the support, moral, material and physical, that they gave to Algeria, it would have been impossible to have had for background the security of Algeria's backwoods to enable it to resist a great Power that kept it under subjugation for so long.

229. So in showing our gratitude to all those who had made it possible for this new African nation to be born and to be admitted to this Organization today, we shall not be fulfilling all our duties effectively if we do not remember all those who have contributed to this great success. For the success of Algeria is the success of Africa; Algeria's achievements will be the achievements of Africa, and if Algeria succeeds in making its independence a worth-while one, it will add to the glory and honour of our continent. As a country upon which great responsibilities have been placed by circumstances and historical events, I can see that Algeria, even though it is becoming a Member of the United Nations only today, has a mighty and a decisive role to play on the northern fringe of Africa. Therefore, consistent with the telegram which my Prime Minister has already sent to the Prime Minister of Algeria, and consistent with the goodwill and the gratitude that flow from the depths of our hearts in welcoming Algeria to this Assembly, I want to say that I am sure that, having accepted membership in this Assembly, Algeria will use all its talents and all the experience gained through these difficult times in endeavouring to contribute its part in the total redemption of our continent. I am sure also that, in the struggle for the complete liberation of the rest of the continent, all the African countries will work in harmony and brotherly fellowship, so that in the final analysis we can look back to this glorious day as another chapter in the annals of the future splendour of Africa.

230. As I said a few moments ago, this is not the time for long speeches. From the moment we were admitted to this Assembly we did not hesitate to associate ourselves with the struggle of Algeria. We have never fallen behind in our efforts to make it possible for Algeria to regain its soul, and it is our earnest hope that, with the advent of Algerian independence and with its membership in the United Nations, Algeria will be a great daughter of Africa.

231. Once more, on behalf of my country and my Government, I say to Algeria: welcome to the United Nations, welcome to the African family of nations, welcome to the world community of free and independent nations.

232. Mr. CHERMONT (Brazil) (translated from French): The delegation of Brazil wishes to be associated in the congratulations and good wishes which have been expressed on the occasion of the admission of the

Algerian Republic to our Organization. The United Nations—and Brazil in particular—is proud to count among its Members a new State whose struggle for independence has been a page of history characterized by tenacity and heroism.

233. In Algeria we have a striking demonstration of the principle of self-determination. We are convinced that because of the very way in which its liberation was achieved Algeria will make a contribution of inestimable value to the work of our Organization.

234. On behalf of the Government and people of Brazil I am happy to express to the Government presided over by Mr. Ben Bella and to the brave people of Algeria our profound satisfaction at the admission of the Algerian Republic to the United Nations and our warmest wishes for the future of the new State.

235. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): It is a great privilege for me to take this opportunity to welcome the admission of Algeria to the United Nations, on behalf of the Afghan Government and the people of Afghanistan, and to express our heart-felt joy in this historic moment for which we have waited for so long a time and to which we have so long looked forward.

236. I shall not allow sad thoughts to enter into this moment of rejoicing. We are joyful that at present we have a situation which we have always wanted to have, and our joy is intensified not only by the bonds of amity between the Afghan and Algerian peoples, but also, much more than by anything else, by the fact that the independence of Algeria is a further recognition of the inherent right of all peoples and nations to self-determination, to liberty and to equality.

237. This is a day of pride not only for the people of Algeria but also for the United Nations. The struggle of the Algerian people has culminated in the only way it could in any circumstances; but it is remarkable that the role played by the United Nations in bringing the Algerian struggle to this happy conclusion, the only one possible, has been historic and great.

238. While we recall the great co-operation of the Algerian leaders with the United Nations, we also wish to pay tribute to the great French people, many of whom from the beginning of the struggle supported Algerian independence and who finally constituted a majority supporting the policy of self-determination adopted by the great French leader President de Gaulle. While we happily note this decisive role, we have not forgotten how sad it was for us when we found ourselves having a great difference of opinion with France, with whom we have always enjoyed most friendly relations and to whom we are gratefully indebted for their great assistance and co-operation with Afghanistan in the most vital fields of our cultural and educational programmes, for many years, and in a spirit of traditional friendship.

239. Therefore, we appreciate the fact—and we do this with a special sense and feeling of joy—that the solution of the Algerian problem promises the restoration of friendly relations between Algeria and France, and that the admission of Algeria in the United Nations has taken place with the positive participation of France in accordance with the earnest desire of all other Member States of the United Nations.

240. The cost of Algerian independence has been tremendous indeed. As all students of history will agree, no other people can better appreciate the heroic fight of the Algerian people than the Afghans.

History has no better example than the one set by the Algerian people in recent years in regaining their independence, an example which matches the experiences of the Afghans in the defence and the maintenance of their own independence. Therefore, no one could have been more sure and confident than my people in the Algerian victory when that great nation was at war, and no one can rejoice now more than we do when we see their aims achieved. We are equally confident that Algeria will make a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations.

241. It is our hope that after so many years of turmoil, the Algerian nation will be able to devote its productive energies to building up their country and becoming a more living symbol of the power of the inherent right of self-determination and independence, and a source of greater hope for those peoples who are still struggling to achieve what has been achieved by Algeria.

242. I conclude with the words with which we salute our own national flag and the flags of independence and freedom everywhere:

"Thousands and thousands of men fall for a single flag to be hoisted and for a nation to rise."

We are happy to welcome the Algerian flag in the same words, among the flags of the independent nations with whom we are united, in this great gathering of nations, by principles which have resulted in Algeria's success in taking its rightful place among the community of nations.

243. To pay tribute to the heroic men and women of Algeria who have given their lives, we say only three words: long live Algeria.

244. Mr. MERIKOSKI (Finland) (translated from French): The delegations of Austria, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden have done the delegation of Finland the great honour of asking it to speak on their behalf on this happy occasion. Our six delegations join in offering the Algerian delegation their warmest welcome to this Organization. We have awaited this day for many long and painful years. In our consciences and in our hearts we have acutely felt the violence, the magnitude and the scope of the Algerian tragedy. Deeply conscious as we are of our responsibilities in the community of nations, sincere friends of both Algeria and France, we have done our utmost to contribute to the termination of that fratricidal struggle which for so long has drenched the soil of your country with blood. It is a great joy to us to be able at last to welcome in this hall the representatives of free, sovereign, independent Algeria. We know what efforts, what patience, what wisdom and what courage have been needed on both sides to achieve this end. At the same time that we congratulate you on your action we must

also acclaim the eminent qualities of the great statesman who presides over the destinies of France and who has done so much to bring about this happy result.

245. It is a source of satisfaction to us to be able to work with you here in building a peaceful and united world and inaugurating the reign of justice, security and mutual respect to which we all aspire. We have great hopes of your contribution. We realize its importance. We are convinced that, following the ordeal through which you have come and all your past experience, you will pursue with tenacity, patience and wisdom the common aims enumerated in the Charter, which constitute the reason why the nations of the world, ardently desiring a better life, decided to join together to form the United Nations.

246. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Though separated by thousands of miles from Algeria, the Government and people of the Union of Burma have from the very outset looked upon the struggle of the people of Algeria for independence as their own struggle. In this spirit, we have rendered all possible help to the gallant Algerian people in their epochal fight for freedom.

247. The humble role which Burma, in common with all other members of the African-Asian group, was privileged to play both within and outside the United Nations is a matter of record. It is therefore a matter of great joy and gratification to my delegation that we have admitted into our Organization today the representatives of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. We extend to them a most warm welcome and look forward to further developing and consolidating the friendship between our countries and peoples, a friendship which was born during their years of struggle.

248. In extending our congratulations to our Algerian brothers, we would also wish to pay a tribute to President de Gaulle of France, without whose great foresight and courage the Algerian tragedy—a tragedy for Algeria, for France and for the world—would today still be continuing.

249. The emergence of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and the presence here today of Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella, is a victory for freedom, a victory for justice, a victory for peace. It is also a victory and a gain for the United Nations, which today joyously opens wide its doors to this new State, born of supreme heroism and sacrifice, and eventually of that good sense and reason which are the heart and core of our Charter.

250. We request the delegation of Algeria to convey to its Government and people the warm fraternal greetings and the very best wishes of the Government and people of the Union of Burma.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*