

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records



**1714th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 12 November 1968,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 97

**Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary
of the United Nations (*continued*)***

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 1710 plenary meeting, on 7 November 1968, the General Assembly agreed to a proposal that the President establish a committee to consider measures to be taken for the appropriate celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in 1970. Several representatives have made certain suggestions to me regarding the composition of the committee, and after having had some consultations, I believe that it would be best to entrust the matter to the General Committee, since that Committee has been constituted on the basis of the principle of equitable geographical distribution according to a formula approved by the General Assembly itself.

2. If I hear no objection, I shall assume that the Assembly agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall convene the General Committee at an early date. Meanwhile, I should like to request delegations which are not members of the General Committee to submit in writing, and not later than 29 November 1968, any suggestions that they may have regarding the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 20

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

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now take up item 20 of its agenda in

* Resumed from the 1710th meeting.

** Resumed from the 1674th meeting.

connexion with which two documents have been submitted to it. The Security Council has unanimously recommended that the General Assembly admit Equatorial Guinea to membership in the United Nations [A/7310]. In connexion with this item a draft resolution [A/L.551 and Add.1] has been submitted to the Assembly for its consideration. It has been sponsored by 40 members.

5. I should like to ask the Assembly whether we can take it that the Security Council recommendation has been accepted and that we can consider the draft resolution A/L.551 and Add.1, admitting Equatorial Guinea to membership in the United Nations, as adopted by acclamation. If there is no objection, we shall so proceed.

The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation (resolution 2384 (XXIII)).

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare Equatorial Guinea admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Equatorial Guinea was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I am very pleased to welcome Equatorial Guinea as a Member of the United Nations, and I wish to extend to its Government and people the sincerest congratulations of this Assembly on this happy occasion, together with our best wishes for the future.

8. On my own behalf I should like to express my pleasure in welcoming the first Spanish-speaking African Member to the United Nations. I should also like to congratulate Spain on the speedy and effective manner in which it has implemented the principles of the Charter.

9. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to express to you my delegation's pleasure at seeing you conducting our deliberations once again. We are very pleased to see that you have fully recovered, and this is a source of great pleasure to us on this day when you are presiding over the deliberations of the General Assembly as we welcome a brother African country.

10. On this solemn occasion for the new State of Equatorial Guinea and for our Organization, it is a matter of great pride and unconcealed joy for me as I take the floor, first, to congratulate Equatorial Guinea upon its admission to membership in the United Nations.

11. A few days ago we heard all the members of the Security Council uttering words of welcome, encouragement and hope for the new State. We share those desires. In addition, Spain is particularly pleased at the present time and—immodest though it may sound—it is proud to have “lived up to its tradition as a founder of nations”, to use the words of the Foreign Minister of Spain in his recent statement to this Assembly [1697th meeting, para. 69].

12. Equatorial Guinea achieved independence after an orderly process of decolonization which had special features. First of all, Spain has acted in accordance with the standard principles of decolonization, respecting the principles of the Charter, abiding faithfully by the resolutions and providing the information requested of us. We have twice invited a United Nations Committee¹ to travel through Equatorial Guinea, with the maximum facilities for obtaining information, inviting it to participate directly in the supervision of the referendum relating to approval of the Constitution of the new State, and the elections which led to the constitution of the first parliament and the election of the first President of the Republic.

13. Spain has implemented the right of self-determination as set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We believe that indigenous peoples—and those peoples alone—have this right. For this reason only the indigenous inhabitants participated in the process of decolonization. Throughout the entire process Spain precluded participation of the Spanish settlers who had been in the Territory for generations, for it was our belief that only the indigenous inhabitants, and not those who had been imported over the years, had the right to decide their own future. Any other procedure, such as is claimed to exist in other territories, would have been tantamount to flouting resolution 1514 (XV).

14. Secondly, and rather unusually, the process of decolonization was carried out peacefully, with no violence, in perfect harmony between the people of Equatorial Guinea and the administering Power. When we know that there was bloodshed as many countries were in the process of attaining independence, and a cruel struggle on the part of the indigenous inhabitants, we cannot fail to say that on this occasion the Spanish Government and the people of Equatorial Guinea have walked hand in hand and set a splendid example of peaceful decolonization at this time.

15. Lastly, we believe that the emergence of an African Republic enjoying cultural, spiritual and linguistic ties with all Spanish-speaking nations of the New World is another special feature. In order to reaffirm this identity, Equatorial Guinea celebrated its independence on 12 October, commemorating the date of the discovery of America by Spain. Once again, the Atlantic Ocean does not separate us, but serves as a bridge between the peoples of the world.

16. I should like, from this rostrum, to express my appreciation of the words of praise by many delegations regarding Spain's record leading to the admission of Equatorial Guinea as the one hundred and twenty-sixth State Member of this Organization. I would express my best

wishes for the prosperity of the new State and my congratulations to the people of Equatorial Guinea and to His Excellency Francisco Macías Nguema, the President of the Republic.

17. Equatorial Guinea has demonstrated its maturity, and Spain is confident that the new State will continue to enjoy political stability, economic prosperity and social progress. In this way it will govern its life at the international level, guided by the slogan on its flag: “Unity, peace and justice”.

18. The warm relations which existed when Equatorial Guinea acquired independence ensure further close relations which exist and will continue to exist between this Republic and my country, Spain.

19. As a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.551 and Add.1, I am pleased indeed that this Assembly has adopted it unanimously.

20. Mr. NJINE (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes to join those which have already spoken in expressing our great pleasure in your return to us, Mr. President, after your sojourn in the hospital. We hope that your restoration to health is complete and that you will now be able to resume the arduous but noble responsibilities entrusted to you.

21. It was the pleasure and the agreeable duty of my delegation to welcome from this rostrum the accession of Equatorial Guinea to independence on 12 October this year. The admission today of this brother and neighbour country to membership of the United Nations is for us, as well as for the entire international community, a matter of particular importance. At a time when the crystallization of national egoisms is a serious obstacle in the search for solutions to the conflicts threatening international peace and security, at a time when the United Nations is standing by helpless in the face of these dangers, the happy outcome of our Organization's efforts concerning decolonization is for us a sign of encouragement.

22. While strengthening our firm belief in the irreversible nature of the process of the emancipation of peoples under colonial domination, the accession of a State to international sovereignty emphasizes the futility of those who claim to an outmoded outlook. The realistic and enlightened attitude and the spirit of co-operation displayed by Spain in the case of Equatorial Guinea are matters for our full satisfaction, and I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate the Government of Spain for its positive contribution to this chapter of decolonization. May a new wind blow in the Iberian Peninsula and cause the virtues of decolonization to be appreciated by the obdurate.

23. It is for me a special privilege to welcome on behalf of my Government the brother State of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations. Our good wishes are all the warmer and our satisfaction the greater since, despite the vicissitudes of history, age-old and brotherly ties have been forged between our peoples. To the political leaders of Equatorial Guinea, especially its Chief of State, H.E. Francisco Macías Nguema, whose perseverance, courage and political wisdom have contributed so greatly to the achievement in peace and

¹ United Nations Mission for the Supervision of the Referendum and the Elections in Equatorial Guinea.

harmony of the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen, to the people of Equatorial Guinea, the Government and people of Cameroon address their warmest congratulations and their best wishes for happiness and prosperity.

24. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran): Before I make my remarks on the happy occasion of the admission of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations, allow me, Mr. President, to express to you our profound pleasure at your full and complete recovery and your return to your seat as President of the General Assembly at its twenty-third session.

25. It gives me great pleasure, in the name of the Iranian delegation, to welcome the admission of Equatorial Guinea to membership in the United Nations. We rejoice in the birth of all new nations, especially since they add to the universal character of the United Nations. The Iranian delegation has not only followed Equatorial Guinea's pathway to independence with interest and actively sought that objective through various United Nations bodies but has also enjoyed the special privilege of attending the birth of that new nation. The presence of the United Nations during the evolution towards independence accorded me, as a member of the United Nations Mission to Equatorial Guinea, the opportunity and privilege of assisting in the process leading to the establishment of a sovereign and democratic State. In that process I was particularly struck by the mature and orderly manner in which the people of Equatorial Guinea took actual part in establishing their future status. The efforts of the people of Equatorial Guinea to achieve freedom and independence have in recent years been marked by toil and travail. Its pathway to independence has been punctuated with perilous pitfalls. Its hard-earned success therefore represents a real achievement.

26. The political leaders of Equatorial Guinea have played a vitally important role in this venture. His Excellency Francisco Macías Nguema who, in an unexpected electoral victory, emerged as the choice of the people for the presidency of the Republic has long been associated with his country's striving for independence. In various capacities of leadership he has consistently helped to bring his countrymen forward in unity to their ultimate destination. In this process he has won the admiration of those of us in the United Nations who deal with colonial matters.

27. I was struck throughout my visit to various parts of Equatorial Guinea—not only to the beautiful capital, Santa Isabel, but also to Bata, the capital of Río Muni, and the interior—by the harmonious relations which so happily exist between the local population and the nationals of the administering Power. I should like here to pay a tribute to Spain for its co-operation and for enabling the United Nations to supervise all the processes leading to the exercise of the right of the people of Equatorial Guinea to self-determination and independence.

28. In the wake of independence, in which the old colonial relationship has been replaced by one based on equality and mutual respect, it is not only fitting, but also auspicious, that harmony should characterize the new order. The new State has high potentials. Its rich soil, its forests and the diversity of its people will enable it, I am sure, to meet the challenges of independence with confidence. I have no doubt that the people of Equatorial

Guinea will continue to work together as one nation for prosperity and tranquillity throughout the country and that this sense of purpose will be reflected here as Equatorial Guinea takes her rightful place in the ranks of the independent nations of Africa and Asia and in the international community as a whole. In the name of the Iranian delegation, I should like to extend to the people and Government of Equatorial Guinea our warmest welcome and best wishes, and to offer them our full co-operation.

29. Mr. NZANZE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): It is with joyful enthusiasm that, in my capacity as spokesman for all the forty African delegations, I have the privilege of welcoming the admission of Equatorial Guinea to the world community. Thanks to the irresistible tide of the movements of the African peoples towards the reconquest of their respective national sovereignties, in the course of a single decade thirty-five African countries have been able to accede to independence. Today our continent has the happy experience of celebrating the birth of the forty-first member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. This event is without doubt such as to evoke certain present-day characteristics of Africa which must be given serious consideration.

30. Despite its intrinsic weaknesses, our Organization deserves a great deal of gratitude for its incontestable contribution to the wave of decolonization in Africa.

31. Moreover, an objective observer must admit that our highly respected Secretary-General, whose integrity in the face of every trial has compelled universal admiration, has breathed new life into an Organization threatened by premature old age and has played a key role in the progressive liberation of the young continent. We pay to him a lively tribute of eternal gratitude. Africa must keep a very special place in its heart for U Thant for having shown himself on many occasions a steadfast supporter of both its unity and its liberation.

32. Equatorial Guinea's accession to independence is a source of the most exemplary lessons in many respects for all minds that are inclined to go to the heart of things.

33. First, when the administering Power facilitates the progress of its colony towards independence, once that independence has been reconquered the relations between the former metropolitan country and the new-born State are in almost all cases characterized by co-operation which is as natural as it is spontaneous. On the other hand, if the colonial Government endeavours to obstruct that reconquest of sovereign freedom by the nationals who are entitled to it, the ward must necessarily revolt against his guardian and recover his dignity despite and in the face of the latter. In such circumstances, two countries which are compelled for historical reasons to co-operate closely find themselves condemned to subsequent mutual misunderstandings and the young nation, despite the difficulties of all kinds inherent in its infancy, will accept relations with the former metropolitan country only in the absence of any alternative. Without wishing to claim any special credit, I had an opportunity a year ago to express similar ideas to the present permanent representative of Spain in regard to Equatorial Guinea. In this connexion, the Spanish Govern-

ment would be entitled to propose itself as a model as regards the processes followed for the restitution of power to the Guinean people and also for what it has done to facilitate the task of the United Nations Mission to the Territory.

34. Secondly, the advent of young, vital countries to the ranks of the Organization of African Unity, as in the case of its new member, cannot fail to inspire fear mingled with bitterness among the beneficiaries of the fruits of colonization. For them, the independence regained by a single African State represents a two-edged sword. It represents on the one hand a reduction of their field of exploitation and on the other a mere moratorium which is only one stage on the way to the fatal moment when the definitive death-knell of the colonial empire will sound.

35. Thirdly, for the OAU the accession of Equatorial Guinea to the Organization of sovereign nations is a matter of particular moment. It reflects the irreversible nature of the era of world-wide decolonization and it is tantamount to a newly forged-weapon, which is consequently more effective in the hands of the OAU on its battle-field against colonial rule, wherever it may be.

36. The young nation is doubtless aware that it has emerged victorious from the battle, while at the same time preparing to enrol in a much vaster war, and a war which will perhaps last longer, the war of Africa as a whole against foreign domination.

37. This war must be won, for there is no alternative in the interests of the United Nations and the human race; and everything prompts us to hope that those who would perpetuate the enslavement of Africa, those who would delay if not finally frustrate the definitive reconciliation between the young continent and the former metropolitan countries, are now anticipating the certain failure of their attempts.

38. If, through its growing cohesion and harmony, the OAU has succeeded in frustrating all the attempts made to discredit it and to undermine its achievements, if the members of our regional organization have been able to transcend the various ethnic, cultural, religious and other labels which have been brought into play in order to nip the organization in the bud, it may be noted that Africa is searching for a true synthesis, which is an essential launching-point for the assault against the Portuguese bases in the colonies where colonial rule still exists: in Rhodesia, where the political subterfuges of the administering Power are making it possible to transfer power secretly while a simulated war is loudly declared against a fictitious rebellion, in Namibia and in South Africa, where nazism has been elevated into a legislative principle.

39. This is the dual ideal which the OAU has assumed: total unity and final liberation. The new mission of Equatorial Guinea is to contribute to these objectives to the full extent of its means.

40. Mr. SHAW (Australia): May I first of all convey to you personally, Sir, our best wishes for your recovery and our appreciation of the determination with which you are carrying on your duties in this Assembly.

41. Secondly, it is my privilege to extend on behalf of the group of Western European and other States a warm welcome to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea which, by unanimous vote, has just been admitted to Membership of the United Nations.

42. The new Member State acceded to independence on 12 October in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual regard with Spain, the former administering authority. Equatorial Guinea is a small country, though one with considerable resources, and, like other Member States, it has a definite role to play in its appropriate regional organization and in this wider world body. Like other small countries, and in common with those which have recently obtained independence, Equatorial Guinea faces considerable problems; and, like other Member States, it has the right to look to the United Nations for guidance and assistance in the solution of these problems.

43. All the Members of the group for whom I have the honour to speak extend their best wishes to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea on this happy occasion, to its people and to its President and to its other leaders. We assure them of our friendly willingness to co-operate with them in all aspects of the work involved in their Membership of this Organization.

44. Mr. NTOUTOUME OBAME (Gabon) (*Interpretation from French*): I should like first of all on behalf of my delegation to express the satisfaction that we feel at seeing you, Sir, resume the conduct of our proceedings after the illness which deprived us for a time of the pleasure of working under your enlightened Presidency. We hope that you have now been completely restored to health.

45. After the statement which has just been made by the representative of Burundi on behalf of the African and Malagasy countries on the occasion of the admission of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations, my delegation could have refrained from taking the floor, but because of the special bonds arising from geographical proximity and ethnic affiliation which unite Gabon to the newly-independent State, we could not let pass this opportunity to express once again from this rostrum the greeting of the President of the Republic of Gabon, and the Government and the people of Gabon, to a brother country which has recently joined the United Nations, and to express our joy and satisfaction at welcoming that country into the great family of the United Nations.

46. As our Minister of Foreign Affairs said in his statement on 2 October last, and I quote him:

“In a few days, Equatorial Guinea, another country formerly under colonial domination, will be acceding to independence. At least, that is the pledge the Spanish Government, which is responsible for that territory, has made before the world, and we regard everything it has done so far to further the speedy and regular development of the decolonization process in that country as an assurance that Spain will keep its word.” [1677th meeting, para. 111]

47. Scarcely 10 days elapsed after that statement when Spain—whose rights to a part of the land in the Gulf of

Guinea had been confirmed by the Berlin Act of 1885, which enshrined the division of enslaved Africa among the European Powers—in fact kept its word, and we are very glad to see this.

48. It is pleasant and reassuring to see Equatorial Guinea accede to full sovereignty and thus swell the ranks of the free African countries and the free countries of the world, thanks to the generous action of Spain. We can here and now congratulate ourselves for having once offered assistance and asylum to those Equatorial Guineans who had engaged in the struggle for their political emancipation, for contrary to what might have been thought, Gabon has never cherished the slightest expansionist intentions. It was simply a response to an impulse of generosity which was in no way divergent from the natural virtue of our people: namely, a smiling, disinterested and uncalculating hospitality.

49. It is pleasant and reassuring to see that once again the incessant efforts of our Organization in the matter of decolonization have been crowned with success, and all countries, organizations and individuals who have contributed to this happy outcome may congratulate themselves today.

50. It is pleasant and reassuring, lastly, to witness once again the transfer of authority from an administering Power to its former colony; in peace, friendship and dignity, without clashes, bitterness or bloodshed; a magnanimous example which should give pause to that other colonial Power, Portugal—its neighbour—which in the name of an outdated principle thinks it is its duty to perpetuate forever its dominion over other peoples and to maintain indefinitely under its colonial yoke large tracts of Africa which it purports to present—an ironic matter—as an integral part of its territory which it calls overseas provinces. It thus unnecessarily calls down upon itself the contempt and disapproval of all fair-minded and peace-loving countries, whereas it could spare itself this experience, as others have done, and as Spain has just done in the same continent of Africa, and could thus have secured friendship on the basis of frank and sincere co-operation, on the basis of common history, common language, common culture—and why not—common interests.

51. It is both surprising and depressing to see that that country which used to be so proud and always in the van of new ideas, is now falling behind the times and is unable to keep up with this century, whereas it gave birth to Magellan, to Vasco da Gama, and other distinguished Portuguese who, through their science, their discoveries, their universalist vision of things and of the world, helped to add considerably to the heritage of which mankind is so proud.

52. I hope the representative of Spain will convey to his Government and people the warm and sincere congratulations of the delegation of Gabon, and assure them of my country's friendship.

53. We welcome the young Republic of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations, a haven which, according to the Preamble of its Charter, is the foundation on which rests the maintenance of peace by saving mankind from the

scourge of war, by reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, by establishing conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and by promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

54. May I express the hope that Equatorial Guinea will make good use of its newly-won freedom.

55. My delegation would not claim here to remind the Assembly that political independence, which inspires us with legitimate sentiments of pride, should prompt any young nation to seek by all possible means to acquire the other independence which is no less essential, namely economic independence, without which the former, with its train of obligations and enslavements, would merely be a poor substitute.

56. It is my firm conviction that Equatorial Guinea will draw upon the experience of other nations that have preceded it, and in so doing, it will be delivered from some of the disappointments that have afflicted others.

57. In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's gratitude for the attention you have been so good as to give me, and to pay a deserved tribute to the United Nations and to Spain which have allowed us to experience this solemn moment.

58. Mr. DENNY (United States of America): Mr. President, may I first say that my delegation is delighted to welcome you back from your recent surgery and to know of your speedy recovery. The General Assembly will benefit greatly with the return to your strong and wise leadership. I wish you every success in the resumption and continuation of your work as our President.

59. One month ago today the Republic of Equatorial Guinea became the newest sovereign State. The United States is happy today to join in welcoming our 126th Member, Equatorial Guinea, to the United Nations. The passage of a people from colonial status to their full place in the family of nations is always a moment of special pride to the United States—the oldest of the ex-colonies. We warmly congratulate the people and Government of the newest State in the world on this important occasion.

60. Our action today carries great meaning—it is the formalization of the belief of the Members that Equatorial Guinea is indeed a free and sovereign State; that it is entitled to the rights that go with that status and, specifically, to the rights of United Nations membership; and that it is able and willing to carry out the corresponding responsibilities. Our decision is the culmination of a long and sometimes difficult process, but a process now consummated by all concerned with a minimum of acrimony and a maximum of statesmanship. We congratulate the Government of Spain for the wisdom and foresight it has displayed in helping to bring this new nation peacefully to the point of independence. As was noted in the Security Council, the United Nations also played a helpful role in this process.

61. But it is, of course, the achievements of the people of Equatorial Guinea that we celebrate today. They, in their wisdom, have elected a Government of capable men who have long sought full sovereignty for their country. They have decided to enter the world scene as a unified country of recognized potential. They have accomplished this through peaceful and democratic means. Equatorial Guinea's achievement of independence attests to the application of the high principles and purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter, particularly the principle of self-determination. These events underscore my Government's belief that Equatorial Guinea is prepared to play a constructive role in the United Nations and to use its best efforts to participate in the building of a just world order.

62. The United States of America shares Equatorial Guinea's hopes for peace and progress, because we believe in the future of the new Africa. I am delighted to have had this opportunity personally to welcome the representatives of Equatorial Guinea to their well-deserved seats in this chamber.

63. Mr. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to be allowed to welcome your return among us, to express our entire satisfaction at seeing you resume your functions as President of the General Assembly, and to wish you better health.

64. My delegation is all the more happy to see you here now because we are celebrating the admission of the first Spanish-speaking African State. This is a new and interesting event which should be duly noted.

65. The delegation of Dahomey expresses its warmest congratulations to this new African country which has come to swell the ranks of the independent States of Africa, Equatorial Guinea, a country whose great pride at this moment of its independence and of its admission to the United Nations we well understand. We understand the legitimate pride of the people of Equatorial Guinea in the struggle they have waged to secure their independence, and we warmly congratulate them on having broken the bonds of the colonial yoke and led their people to greater and greater freedom.

Mr. Aström (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

36. We would greet the President of Equatorial Guinea, H.E. Francisco Macías Nguema, whose success at the recent elections has made him the leader of his country, and to wish him well.

67. May my delegation also extend its warmest congratulations to Spain on the striking example of co-operation with the United Nations which that country has just set. Spain deserves the approval of the Assembly, the more so since some of its neighbour States wish to learn nothing and, equally, to forget nothing. This is a good opportunity to remind Portugal of the striking example which Spain has just given us in Equatorial Guinea, to remind Portugal that it is time that country co-operated with the United Nations, that it is time it understood that its own interest, the interest of its own people, lies in co-operating with the United Nations and giving to its African colonies the

freedom to which they are entitled. This is an opportunity to remind Portugal that it is time for that country to make the gesture that the international community expects of it, before it is too late.

68. As has been emphasized, in Equatorial Guinea the local population lives in full understanding with the representatives of the former colonial Power, the representatives of Spain, and it is useful to recall that Africa is the continent of peace, the continent of dialogue, and that Portugal is running a terrible risk, not only for itself but also for the West, which it claims to defend, if it continues completely outdated practices, practices which are fraught with danger for international peace and security. There are those who say that the Portuguese colonies do not yet constitute a threat to international peace, but things may change very rapidly, and we would hope that the friends of Portugal will bring their influence to bear on that country so that it may understand that Africa is indeed a continent of dialogue and peace and that it would be a good thing if we were not forced to resort to violence to restore dignity to the peoples of the Portuguese African colonies.

69. It is also opportune to remind the Government of South Africa that there is a game to be played in Africa and it is not the game which that country is now playing. We would say to South Africa that its alliance with obscurantist Powers like Portugal and Southern Rhodesia for the continued exploitation of our African brothers represents a grave danger. For the moment South Africa may be strong militarily, but, as I say, things may change very quickly and it would be a good thing for the friends of those Powers in Africa which seek to establish what a French writer has called "the African counter-revolution" to see things in their proper perspective again.

70. Africa is waiting to see how those gentlemen who do not understand the virtue of dialogue, the virtue of African understanding, are going to react.

71. Speaking of Portugal and of South Africa it is also fitting to express the hope that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will find again the tradition of decolonization which it has already applied elsewhere in the world, including in Africa—that that Government will honour that tradition and understand the urgency and the gravity of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, which is a problem of conscience that, unfortunately today makes the United Kingdom the "sick man" of the century.

72. The accession of Equatorial Guinea to independence is a victory for the United Nations, for all Members of the Organization. Many problems remain unsolved, but in relation to some we do, nevertheless, make progress step by step, and the accession of Equatorial Guinea to independence is a triumph for us all. Once again we express great satisfaction at the fruitful work done by the United Nations Mission which was sent to Equatorial Guinea to observe the elections, under the Ambassador of Niger, H.E. Adamov Mayaki. This is an opportunity to pay a tribute to the very fruitful work which the Mission performed in Equatorial Guinea.

73. Equatorial Guinea's accession to independence and its admission to the United Nations constitute, as we have said, new facts which are worthy of note. This is actually the first time that a Spanish-speaking African country will be sitting among us. We are accustomed in African forums to hearing representatives of African States speaking French, English, Arabic or our own, very limited local tongues, but this will be the first time that we shall be welcoming a Spanish-speaking African State among us. We hope that this will not only contribute to strengthening the bonds which should normally exist between the ex-colony and its former metropolitan country, for the greater good of both peoples—as has been seen in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa—but that this will also help to strengthen the fruitful bonds that should exist between the various communities on both sides.

74. The delegation of Dahomey hopes that this new event, the admission of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations and its accession to independence among the other African countries, will also help to strengthen the bonds that should unite the African countries with the great world of Latin America—countries speaking the Spanish or Portuguese language, Portuguese being easily assimilated to the former. My delegation believes that Equatorial Guinea's accession to independence will make it possible for it to tighten its bonds with the countries of Latin America.

75. We often speak of the "third world". Perhaps it is time that, slowly but surely, through concrete measures, we began to understand that we have common interests and that we should endeavour, in a much more comprehensive manner, to solve the various problems which affect the majority of the countries of the third world, be they in Asia, Africa or Latin America.

76. My delegation is happy to welcome this brother country of Equatorial Guinea, its Government, and its delegation to the United Nations. We are sure that bonds of deep friendship and brotherhood will bind my country, the Republic of Dahomey, and the new country of Equatorial Guinea, so that each in its own way will be able to work for its own development with a view to the full flourishing of mankind.

77. Mr. MAYAKI (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): May I express to Ambassador Arenales our deep satisfaction at his prompt recovery and at his return to the Presidency of the Assembly.

78. I am very happy, speaking on behalf of my Government and the people of Niger, to salute from this rostrum an historic and unprecedented event for the Guinean people: its accession to full sovereignty and its admission to the international community.

79. Equatorial Guinea's accession to independence has been acclaimed in the Special Committee as well as in the Fourth Committee and in the Security Council. Today it is the General Assembly's turn to welcome this new State among its Members and to pay a great tribute to the courage and civic maturity of the Guineans, to the political courage of their leaders, and to the spirit of co-operation displayed by the administering Power, Spain.

80. If I may say a few words about the importance of the spirit of co-operation as we see it, we would all agree, I think, that it has enabled our Organization to be associated in the process of decolonization and to be represented on the spot in order to give international public opinion the guarantee of impartiality and to inspire the necessary confidence among the parties concerned, thus making possible a transfer of powers in an atmosphere of complete harmony, which is an essential basis of what we hope will be a happy and prosperous future for the brother people of that country.

81. My country feels bound to this new brother nation by ties of friendship which we wish to reaffirm and strengthen, not only within the framework of our common membership in the United Nations and the OAU, but also within the framework of more direct and closer bilateral relations. We have no doubt that the leaders of Equatorial Guinea entertain similar feelings toward us. My country therefore feels highly honoured to have been appointed by the Secretary-General as a member of the important United Nations mission to Equatorial Guinea. We should like to take this opportunity of paying a well-deserved tribute to the mission for having honourably and faithfully discharged its responsibilities; and this, it should be emphasized, came about thanks to the spirit of co-operation displayed by all the parties concerned.

82. It is also a great honour and a source of satisfaction for my country to have been one of the countries which today have the signal privilege of co-sponsoring the admission to the United Nations of Equatorial Guinea—a country to which I feel a great personal attachment. In this respect we should like to join our voice to those preceding us from this rostrum to express in our turn the wishes of the Government and people of Niger for the success and prosperity of the Government and people of Equatorial Guinea, and to assure them of our deepest friendship and solidarity.

83. Situated west of Africa in the Gulf of Benin, with its 28,000 square kilometres and its 300,000 inhabitants, Equatorial Guinea is composed of a continental portion and many islands, the largest of which is Fernando Póo, where the capital of the country, Santa Isabel, is situated.

84. A country of industry and forestry, Guinea is among the world's largest producers of cocoa, a product which it exports and which is one of its major resources. It also produces wood, coffee, bananas and yams.

85. Its population, made up mainly of Fangs and Bubis, consists primarily of farmers; they carry on a peaceful existence and remain attached to work in the fields.

86. Of Hispanic culture, the intellectual élite, which constitutes the vanguard of the country, is progressive, and is ready to shoulder its responsibilities in our Organization, thus bringing to bear the experience of the rich culture, open-minded yet circumspect, severe yet liberal, to which it is proud to lay claim.

87. A profoundly Christian people, the Equatorial Guineans aspire to peace and freedom, and respect scrupulously the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of

the OAU, which explains the fact that scarcely a month after their accession to national sovereignty we see them on the road which leads to the United Nations.

88. We are sure that the young Republic of Equatorial Guinea, under the wise and enlightened guidance of its first President, H.E. Mr. Francisco Macías Nguema, will contribute to the extent of its means to the ever-growing success of our work.

89. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): I have come to this rostrum to fulfil a very pleasant duty. On behalf of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Mongolian People's Republic, I have the great honour and privilege of extending warm congratulations to Equatorial Guinea on its admission to the United Nations.

90. In welcoming that new Member State, we convey to its people the sincere feelings of goodwill and friendship of the peoples and Governments of our respective countries, who rigorously champion the sacred cause of national independence and social progress of all nations.

91. The small but militant people of Equatorial Guinea have fought hard for their freedom and their right to self-determination in the course of nearly two centuries of foreign domination. It is that struggle which, in unison with the powerful revolutionary national liberation movement of our time, has compelled the alien rulers to grant independence to that country.

92. On this auspicious occasion, we wholeheartedly wish the people of Equatorial Guinea every success in developing their country along the road of national reconstruction and prosperity and in making a worthy contribution to the cause of peace, friendship and co-operation among nations.

93. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The emergence of a new nation as a sovereign State following the independence of a people formerly subject to colonial control is a "red letter day" for the international community, and my country experiences great joy at seeing the pattern of our own history followed so closely. That is why my delegation has always expressed this sincere sentiment in the Security Council and the General Assembly whenever a new State has come to claim its rightful seat in this Organization.

94. As the draft resolution before us of which my delegation is a sponsor refers to a new State with which my country has many common ties, we should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to dwell somewhat further on these feelings. Spain has set an example worthy of being followed with its record in zealously abiding by the decisions of our Organization which accompanied the process of emancipation and established the guidelines to be followed for the independence of Equatorial Guinea.

95. My delegation finds it especially noteworthy that the United Nations has been joined by a new State situated in a

continent far from my country. But we both have a common language and tradition, which it has been our privilege to inherit from Spain. We are sure that this will serve not only to strengthen the ties already existing between Argentina and Equatorial Guinea, but also to bring closer together the two major regional groups of which both countries are members and which have found in this Organization a fertile field to make their common interests a reality.

96. Equatorial Guinea has achieved independence in a world that is growing even smaller. In recognition of that reality, the preamble and the ninth chapter of the Constitution of that new State contain provisions ensuring close ties with our world Organization. The Constitution of Equatorial Guinea, in establishing the supremacy of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter in its international relations, has taken a very important step and set an excellent example with regard to the establishment of the new international political order.

97. Finally, my delegation would like to touch on two special features of that new State. First of all, national and territorial integration were brought about before independent life was achieved, in accordance with the principles embodied in the resolutions of the General Assembly. Secondly, Equatorial Guinea will clearly take its first steps as a sovereign nation, with the dynamism characteristic of a political entity that is confident that it is functioning well. Both those features should serve as an example for colonial Powers, which have not always correctly put into practice the principles of our Organization.

98. The reasons that I have set forth here very briefly account for the joy of my Government and people as they enthusiastically welcome Equatorial Guinea to membership in the United Nations.

99. Mr. FEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me to associate myself with those delegations that have expressed pleasure at noting the recovery of Mr. Arenales and seeing him resume his functions as President of the General Assembly.

100. On behalf of the Government of Mexico, my delegation wishes to offer warm congratulations to the Government of Equatorial Guinea and to its delegation on the occasion of the entry into the United Nations of this new Republic and its vigorous people.

101. For us this is a particularly happy event. Equatorial Guinea and Mexico have close social ties, we have a common language, and we are sure that both of us support respect for human dignity, which was at the very origin of our independence and freedom.

102. The United Nations is enriched and further strengthened in welcoming this new nation to membership. We can expect from Equatorial Guinea a valuable contribution in furthering the principles of our Organization, as a result of its own experience, and especially in the arduous and difficult process of general decolonization, but we are convinced that it will not be only in this field that the Organization will be assisted and strengthened by the contribution of Equatorial Guinea.

103. Mexico has constantly advocated respect for universality in the purest sense in the United Nations and did so even before the San Francisco Conference, at which our Foreign Minister submitted his views on the Dumbarton Oaks draft, and we have always felt that this ideal of universality would signify an Organization made up of sovereign States, based on the right of self-determination of peoples, which should enjoy the guarantees provided for by our Charter and should also make their opinions heard in a community of independent nations.

104. After acquiring independence, Equatorial Guinea has set an example of what an independent nation can do, which we feel is the basis for proper international civic responsibility, and we bid this new nation welcome.

105. Mr. LOURIE (Israel): Mr. President, first allow me to convey through you to the President of the General Assembly an expression of the great joy with which we saw him resume his duties in the Assembly. In the Jewish liturgy there is a special prayer for those who have happily emerged from grave danger. It is in that spirit that we record with thankfulness and relief the return of Mr. Arenales to health and to the leadership of the Assembly.

106. It is with a sense of profound satisfaction that we add our voice to those of the representatives who have welcomed Equatorial Guinea as a new sovereign and equal Member of our Organization. Ever since the forward march of Africa towards freedom and dignity began a decade ago, Israel, true to the philosophy underlying its own re-emergence into sovereignty after centuries of dispersion and persecution, has taken an active interest in the process of self-emancipation of the peoples of Africa. The presence among us of a new Member State of Africa, added to the two other African countries, Mauritius and Swaziland, which have happily joined us recently, constitutes an encouraging sign that this process, yet to be completed, has not come to a standstill. The independence of Equatorial Guinea has instilled in us the hope that a correct understanding of historic trends will cause the boon of freedom to be enjoyed by all.

107. I take great pleasure in extending, on behalf of my delegation, a fraternal welcome to the delegation of Equatorial Guinea and giving expression from this tribune to our sincere wishes for the progress, in peace and prosperity, of the people and Government of Equatorial Guinea.

108. Mr. VELA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala has already stated that it wishes to sponsor draft resolution A/L.551 and Add.1, containing the recommendations of the Security Council [A/7310] regarding the request for admission to membership submitted by Equatorial Guinea [A/7306]. The involuntary omission of our name from the list of sponsors has fortunately been corrected, and now we are pleased to reaffirm our complete support for the admission of a State which forms part of the African community and also of the Spanish-speaking community.

109. It has been said that speaking in a mother tongue means thinking within a cultural tradition. This prompts us

to say that there are strong ties between Central America, Latin America and Equatorial Guinea, a nation which, as our Secretary-General correctly pointed out, achieved independence as a single entity in peace and harmony.

110. It is with great pleasure that Guatemala welcomes this new Member of our democratic system and we look forward to its co-operation in the work of the United Nations. We trust that internal peace and friendly international relations will preside over the prosperity which should come from its natural resources and particularly its human resources.

111. Mr. REYES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all we would like to say how pleased we are to see Dr. Emilio Arenales Catalán presiding over the first part of this session.

112. Just one month ago it was our pleasure to celebrate Equatorial Guinea's day of independence—12 October. This territory made up of the islands of Fernando Póo, Corisco, Elobey and Annobón and Río Muni on the mainland, is, to be sure, a small nation, but we are convinced that because of its moral significance it will bring its influence to bear in this Assembly just as we all do.

113. These people have come together to create a nation and in that process Spain, the mother of many peoples, acting in accordance with the principles of decolonization contained in the Charter, has facilitated the self-determination of Equatorial Guinea.

114. This is a particularly significant occasion for us in Chile. In 1966 we took part in the delegation of the Committee of Twenty-Four which initiated the talks leading to today, and in 1968, this year, together with Syria, Iran, Niger and Tanzania, we witnessed the success of the referendum and the elections which were recently held. By the free decision of the people H.E. Francisco Macías Nguema is now President of the Republic and a legislative assembly is now guiding this new nation. Chile, which has always maintained the best of relations with African nations and shares the concerns of all developing nations, feels that these bonds will be strengthened by the independence of this new Spanish-speaking nation in that vast continent.

115. Our best wishes for prosperity and happiness in justice and peace go to the people of Equatorial Guinea.

116. Mr. HAMID (Pakistan): As this is the first time my delegation has taken the floor since the recovery of the President of the General Assembly we take this opportunity of expressing our great pleasure at seeing him back at the helm of affairs of this Assembly. We congratulate the President for the courage and devotion to duty he has shown in assuming the heavy burden of the office of President so soon after a major operation. We extend to him our warmest wishes for a long and fruitful life.

117. It is with a great deal of pride that my delegation welcomes the admission of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to membership of this august assembly of nations. The fact that the Security Council unanimously endorsed the resolution on the question of the admission of

Equatorial Guinea, a resolution of which Pakistan was a co-sponsor, is a matter of deep satisfaction to our delegation. The admission of this new State to the United Nations not only is a positive step forward and a vindication of the principle of universality—which is perhaps one of the most fundamental ideals of this Organization—but it underscores the reality that colonialism is irrevocably dead.

118. In this regard we would also like to take this opportunity of expressing our sincere appreciation to the former administering Power in its efforts to bring about the accession to independence of Equatorial Guinea in a spirit of co-operation and justice. In making it possible for the United Nations presence to be established in the Territory in accordance with the wishes of the General Assembly, Spain has set an important precedent which will serve as a valuable model in the decolonization process. We thank Spain for this perception in understanding the realities and wishes of the century.

119. The admission of the people of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations is a step which my delegation wholeheartedly supports. We extend our warmest congratulations to the President and the Government and the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea on this occasion. We reiterate our firm conviction that the participation of this independent republic in the work of the United Nations will make a significant contribution to the promotion of world peace and respect for human rights. The admirable role that the United Nations has played in accelerating its progress to independence has now culminated in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea being a sovereign and equal Member of this great Organization.

120. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): I wish first to congratulate His Excellency the President of the Assembly on the recovery of his precious health and to express the wish that his high office will not place too heavy a burden on him.

121. Equatorial Guinea is an African country small in size but right in the qualities of its people, the potential of its land and the maturity of its leaders. Thus its entry into the United Nations acquires special significance and its experience and contribution will not be minor. What must add to the satisfaction of the international community is the fact that its accession to independence has been achieved in splendid conditions of unity, peace, freedom and harmony. Both the maturity of its people and the warm and unreserved co-operation of Spain have contributed to the creation of such an excellent atmosphere.

122. From the very beginning the goal was set on independence and unity and both were achieved. The United Nations, in whose missions to Equatorial Guinea my country had the honour to participate, played a constructive role in this process of independence. Not only did Spain, by fully co-operating with the United Nations, admirably fulfil its obligations as the then administering Power, but it also set an example of how this process of decolonization need not be controversial, violent, or entail blood and suffering and, in the last analysis, need not deny the fundamental bases of right and justice.

123. The happy result, as expected, is evident in the excellent relations now prevailing between Spain and

Equatorial Guinea as equal and sovereign partners, and indeed in the warm welcome reserved for Equatorial Guinea in the United Nations and the universal appreciation of the conduct of Spain.

124. On behalf of the Arab States, we wish to express to the people and Government of Equatorial Guinea, and especially to its valiant President, Mr. Francisco Macías Nguema, our best wishes for a prosperous future. To the people and Government of Spain, its great leader and its active delegation in the United Nations, we wish to reiterate our high appreciation. To our Secretary-General we wish to express our appreciation for the vigilant and constructive role he played so successfully all through the various phases leading to this historic event.

125. Finally, to the delegation of Equatorial Guinea, all the Arab delegations wish to extend their welcome, the guarantee of their sincere brotherhood and the pledge of their full co-operation.

126. Mr. PEREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Like other delegations the delegation of Venezuela is indeed genuinely pleased at the speedy recovery of President Arenales and his return to his post of leadership in the General Assembly.

127. On behalf of the delegation of Venezuela and on behalf of its people and Government, we wish to congratulate very warmly the people of Equatorial Guinea on having achieved independence with the effective support of Spain in compliance with the rules governing our conduct in this Organization.

128. We warmly welcome the delegation of Equatorial Guinea to the General Assembly. We wish to express our sincerest best wishes for Equatorial Guinea's prosperity as the first Iberian colony to achieve independence in this century. This is a source of pride for countries of Iberian origin which achieved independence in the last century. This is a new bond between Latin America and the African continent. It is an example for those colonial Powers which do not yet realize that the status of a colony is transitory, and that only independence is genuinely lasting.

129. Mr. KANO (Nigeria): My delegation would like to join all other delegations in showing its pleasure at seeing the President of the General Assembly back in his office, presiding over its deliberations.

130. I have asked to speak particularly because of the special ties that have existed between Nigeria and the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. It is with a deep sense of pride and honour that, on behalf of my Government, I congratulate Equatorial Guinea on its admission to full membership of the United Nations. Nigeria was also highly delighted to co-sponsor its application for admission. The birth of a new nation naturally gives us tremendous satisfaction and joy not only because it is a fulfilment of the high purposes and principles of our Charter, but also because every time a new nation is born in Africa, it is a signal that colonialism is on the way out. Its admission to membership of this Organization is further proof that all nations of the world can and should contribute towards the attainment of the principles and purposes of its Charter

which are international peace and security, respect for the dignity and worth of the human person and a decent regard for the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. In the case of Equatorial Guinea, the Government and people of Nigeria take special satisfaction that it has today joined the world Organization as a sovereign and independent country.

131. In his message of congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Francisco Macías Nguema, President of Equatorial Guinea, Major General Yakubu Gowon, Commander-in-Chief and Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, expressed the sincere hope of the Government and people of Nigeria that Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea would find increased strength in the charter of the Organization of African Unity which would bring both countries to the goal of African unity.

132. For generations Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea have maintained very cordial and fraternal relations. Many nationals of Nigeria live and work in the beautiful island of Fernando Póo and in the other integral territories of Equatorial Guinea. Their presence, happiness and contributions have enriched and will continue to enrich the ties which bind the two sister States.

133. I cannot conclude my statement without paying a tribute to Spain whose enlightened policy has led to the birth of another African State and its subsequent admission to membership of the United Nations. In the days ahead my delegation hopes that Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria will continue to enjoy the very cordial and fraternal relations which historically exist between our countries.

134. Mr. CUHRUK (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my delegation and of the members of the Asian group, it is my pleasure to welcome the delegation of Equatorial Guinea to the General Assembly. In full unanimity we congratulate Equatorial Guinea on its accession to independence and its admission to the international community as a sovereign and independent State. The members of the Asian group are also happy to see that Equatorial Guinea's accession to independence and the process of the peaceful transfer of powers by Spain took place in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

135. It is my pleasant duty on this historic occasion to extend to this new State Member of the United Nations the congratulations of the members of the Asian group and, on their behalf, to extend our best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the noble people of Equatorial Guinea.

136. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since the representative of the Republic of Burundi has already spoken on behalf of 40 independent African nations, it is not really necessary for my delegation to speak on this occasion. However, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, I wish, in the language of Cervantes, to convey to the people of Equatorial Guinea our most sincere congratulations on its entry into the international community.

137. As a sovereign independent State, we are confident that Equatorial Guinea will make an effective contribution

not only to the United Nations, but also to the OAU in its constant struggle against imperialism, Portuguese colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world.

138. In conclusion, I should like to convey to the delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea the fact that the people, the Government and the chief of State of Guinea, Mr. Sekou Touré, will always stand by it in the future.

139. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting His Excellency Mr. Ibongo, special representative of the President of Equatorial Guinea, to address the General Assembly.

140. Mr. IBONGO (Equatorial Guinea, Special representative of the President of Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, on behalf of my delegation and Equatorial Guinea, I should like to say how pleased we are at the return to health of President Arenales. I have had an opportunity to know him, and have enjoyed fine personal relations with him, in addition to our more official relations.

141. To my brother from Guinea—the Guinea which is above the equator—I should like to say that in my country *on parle français* as well, but at present I should like to speak our official language, Spanish.

142. On behalf of the sovereign and independent people of Equatorial Guinea and of the first President of the Republic, H.E. Francisco Macías Nguema, and his Government, it is my great honour to preside over the Equatorial Guinean delegation on this occasion which will go down in the history of our country: the admission of the independent, free and sovereign nation of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations.

143. A few moments ago, after the vote, the community of sovereign nations welcomed Equatorial Guinea as a full-fledged Member, not only within the limits of international law—an objective attained on 12 October last—but also under the tenets of the Charter of the United Nations. For us, and for the Organization, the presence of the one hundred and twenty-sixth State is significant in the trend towards universality which has asserted itself in the United Nations in the last decade. This trend has exceeded the fondest expectations of any who attended the San Francisco Conference.

144. Prompted by this universalist spirit and believing that genuine independence entails full acceptance of the great and small obligations of the modern world, the leaders of Equatorial Guinea, in a letter signed by our President on 25 October last, requested admission to membership in this Organization [A/7306] and accepted the obligations imposed by the Charter, pledging themselves to abide by the Charter's principles.

145. Our international vocation should astonish no one. It was through this Organization and its Committee on decolonization that the slow but decisive process which led to the independence of Equatorial Guinea took place. For this reason, on this occasion when the voice of independent Equatorial Guinea is heard for the first time in this

gathering representing most of the sovereign nations of the world, we wish to express our gratitude to the United Nations. We would pay a tribute to what it represents and to what is being achieved here to make a reality of the principles contained in Article 73, Chapter XI, of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which deal with the liberation of colonial peoples.

146. We have come to the United Nations at a time when decolonization is considered by some to be a kind of conspiracy promoting disorder and by others to be a topic which should be abandoned, given the vicious opposition of some countries to the idea of freeing their oppressed colonies. Those who, like us, have thrown aside the psychic and physical traces of colonization know that this process is not one concerning which it is appropriate to speculate whether it is right or wrong for some peoples to acquire independence. The indivisibility of independence and justice requires the setting in motion of all human and political resources to free the oppressed peoples. There can be no room for silence, or for the principle of compromise. Independence cannot be replaced.

147. The action of an international organization in a given field is the result of the common efforts of its members in that field. The independence of Equatorial Guinea has been the result of the work of many and on this happy occasion, as we assume our future responsibilities, we cannot fail to pay a tribute to those efforts.

148. On behalf of my country and my Government, I wish to pay a special tribute to our brothers in Africa and Asia. The struggle of those who were the first to free themselves was our struggle. Their triumph, leading to the independence of their countries, we praised in silence. Today we offer the fruit of our efforts to them since we have benefited from their support in the Fourth Committee, in particular since 1962, when for the first time our present Foreign Minister, Atanasio Ndong Miyone, brought our claim to independence before this Organization.

149. Only a few days ago Equatorial Guinea was admitted to membership in the OAU. Thus we achieved the first of our goals—to join our brothers in Africa in a common continental effort to pursue the political, economic and social unity of our respective peoples. For reasons beyond our control we have been kept aside from the spiritual mainstream of that great continent, which is still exploited by racism and colonialism. On achieving full sovereignty we have wished to join other nations with whom we have the same human roots and common experience as well as the same approach to the future. We shall continue to work for African unity in a forward-looking way, through regionalism or gradual integration. Everything that is designed to harmonize the human, economic and social resources of our continent will find our country and people ready to co-operate.

150. In this spirit of co-operation our country has offered humanitarian assistance to provide some relief from the horrors of the conflict the sound of whose guns, forty miles away, reaches our ears.

151. Our Government co-operates closely with all peace-loving African nations which seek the independence of

peoples. To those our brothers we pledge this co-operation. We shall not sacrifice the sovereignty of our country for the sake of military bases which upset the political and strategic balance of the region. We trust that our territorial integrity and our independence will be respected, and our Government, supported by the Charter, will take the necessary preventive action to safeguard our sovereignty and ensure the continuity of our State and our institutions.

152. There is a group of countries, to which the President belongs as a son of that hemisphere, to which I would give a special message. We desire close economic and cultural co-operation with the Latin American peoples. They understand our cause, the cause of independence. Speaking the same language and having had the same administering Power, we have very powerful spiritual ties although our colonial experience is different. Four centuries ago our forefathers left our shores, and their influence can now be felt in the history, literature and arts of most of the countries of Latin America. In America, our former administering Power created a cosmic race which enabled us, without losing our African personality, to enrich that race and make it one of the most universal human and cultural forces in the world, where influence is felt throughout four continents. This is not mere wishful thinking; it is not nostalgia for the past; it is a real hope for the future. We wish to be a bridge between Latin America and Africa.

153. Our appreciation goes to all nations which love peace, progress and the freedom of peoples. We pay a tribute to all those Powers which supported decolonization in our country and we promise them our forthright co-operation within and outside this Organization.

154. Our decolonization has one special feature: the final stage witnessed full co-operation between the United Nations and the administering Power. At this sombre moment in the colonial process, when intransigence and lack of understanding have taken a more concrete form in some states which have colonized Africa, we must express our appreciation to Spain for having guided us towards independence. It was an arduous and difficult process. As in all human undertakings, the important thing is the final result, regardless of shortcomings along the way.

155. There was an open dialogue, which has been referred to by one African representative, between our leaders and officials in Spain, and this we welcomed because our leaders have always believed that the important thing is not to reject colonization but to surpass it.

156. Our independence from Spain has broad human significance over and above its political benefits which, in the short term, may be a subject for speculation. Our independence is the result of a genuine humanistic revolution: action to liberate the people politically, economically and socially. If a nation is to be liberated, it must liberate itself. This is one aspect of decolonization which has been overshadowed by other aspects to the detriment of true human values. The wind which has blown across Spain towards Guinea is not a strong wind: it can also blow towards the Atlantic and not become a tornado.

157. A decolonizing nation has the right to demand decolonization. The people of Guinea extend their sympathy to all those who are the victims of colonization, or anachronistic situations which prevent them from exercising their territorial supremacy in areas where their historical sovereignty entitles them to do so. Our relations with Spain will be based upon the kind of friendship that exists between two peoples both of which respect each other's independence.

158. A Latin American Foreign Minister, speaking in this Assembly, from this very rostrum, said that the United Nations was the Organization of last resort. Perhaps because of our enthusiasm, due to recent independence, we should like to say that it is the Organization of great expectations.

159. We are conscious that we have entered international life at a time of serious political crises, when there is a serious imbalance in the distribution of power and economic forces, as a result of which the international community must search for new ways and means of settling the conflicts which become more acute every day because of irrationality and passion. We are living at a time when more than ever before egoistic efforts to expand areas of influence and a narrow view of national interests, identified with a unilateral interpretation of national sovereignty and independence, are increasing the imbalance which exists in the world. We are aware that in the future we must face serious problems, many of which we hardly suspected in the many years during which we were fighting for our independence. We are also aware that, perhaps because of the apparently apocalyptic situation of the world, the entry into the community of nations of a country of our dimensions might give rise to some scepticism in certain quarters. I am pleased, however, that neither in the Security Council nor in the General Assembly have we found any scepticism. In spite of everything, some doubt the ability of the so-called small nations to take part in solving problems relating to international peace and security.

160. The irony is that the only cases of peace in this turbulent world so lacking in tolerance are the countries of our physical and political dimensions. It is they who, because of their love of peace, are called upon to comply unhesitatingly with the principles of the Charter. They can maintain international peace and security. They are prepared to encourage friendly relations based on respect for the equality of rights and the free determination of peoples. They advocate international co-operation in economic and social fields and can harmonize common efforts to attain such goals. Provided that the requirement that the entity concerned be a State, a subject of international law, has been met, there should be no conditions for entry into the United Nations other than those set forth in Article 4, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Charter. On a few occasions world peace has been threatened by the arrogance of small nations. We believe that although, in the last resort, power and force may be the monopoly of a few, participation in peace should be the privilege of all.

161. In that connexion, I should like to bring before you the following words uttered by a distinguished African diplomat not so very long ago in the Security Council. The statesman said:

"When there is a conflict between two small States, the conflict disappears. When the conflict is between a major Power and a small country, the small country disappears. When there is a dispute between two major Powers, then the United Nations disappears."

162. We have said that this Organization is an Organization of great expectations because even the narrowest interpretation of its Charter leaves the way open to search for means of enduring international peace and security, take collective action to protect peace and do away with acts of aggression and other threats to the international order.

163. A careful consideration of the Charter shows that there are four cardinal points which guided its drafting in San Francisco. First, the question of peace and collective security and peaceful means of settling disputes arising as a result of conflicts of national interests; secondly, promotion of economic, social, cultural and educational activities as a means of promoting world peace; thirdly, faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the rights of men and women and of nations large and small. Finally, respect for the concepts arising from customary and conventional international law and the general principles of law. Each of these principles is expressed in various articles of the Charter of the Organization. The first principle concerns the Security Council, which reflects the influence of each of the Powers concerned with the matters falling within the competence of the Council: peace and security, when they are threatened by a dispute or situation which might lead to a violent conflict. The sanctions which are provided there are justified by the fact that some nations bear major responsibility for a violent breach of international peace.

164. The equilibrium I mentioned earlier can be achieved, on the one hand, by granting special treatment to the nations which assume the main responsibility in the case of a violent breach of the international order, and on the other, by ensuring participation on the basis of a system of representation which respects the geographical and cultural composition of the world.

165. Trying to judge the United Nations solely by Chapters VI and VII of the Charter would be to minimize the great undertakings of this Organization, which is one of the great achievements of history: the establishment of a world forum where countries large and small and human beings of all creeds, races and origins discuss the whole range of problems presented by life.

166. The Charter is also an instrument for economic and social development, for it assigns the Organization an important role, namely that of creating conditions of stability and well-being and promoting human rights, parallel to its obligations to maintain international peace and security. Perhaps this is one of the most important points relating to the presence of so-called small countries in this Organization.

167. My delegation, on entering the United Nations, believes that this part of the Charter is of major importance. Ten years ago the world picture showed a longitudinal confrontation along the line of the meridians between different economic systems with well-defined

ideological concepts. Today, the confrontation follows the line of the parallels, and is a confrontation between north and south. There is no longer an ideological struggle *per se*, and there is no longer a conflict between the “haves” and the “have nots”. Today the movement is more dramatic. There is a conflict between those who have more and more, on the one hand, and those who have less and less, on the other.

168. These lines diverge with regard to growth and productivity but converge when the tensions generated by opposing interests intensify.

169. Many speakers, not necessarily from our hemisphere, have described the economic and commercial imbalance in the world of today; the results of New Delhi left a bad taste in the mouths of many, including those who were not even present there. Those speakers have spoken in favour of a better and fairer distribution of the commodities produced by developing countries and of a liberalization of customs and protectionist policies of a monopolistic nature on an international scale. Many have said they were in favour of legislating questions relating to freight charges and other invisible income. This is one of the problems which will be of direct concern to my Government as a natural consequence of our economic infrastructure. The weakness of the position of the countries in our area vis-à-vis the large economic units involved in international trade can be as great a threat to international peace and co-operation in the long term as can a militaristic or aggressive policy in the short term.

170. It is therefore necessary to develop new methods of trade and trade regulations aimed at redressing the present balance, which is unfavourable to our countries.

171. In the face of an exclusively bilateral approach imposed in the light of interests alien to our own national interest the Government of Guinea will go along with these bilateral agreements when its interests are protected, and will promote multilateral relations through international organizations. We know that the development of our country cannot depend on passive hopes of foreign assistance. We wish to be the first to help ourselves by developing our human and natural resources to the maximum.

172. The United Nations Charter was drafted in the shadow of two spectres, that of the Second World War and that of the horrible memories of the violation of human rights during and after the war.

173. Decolonization for Equatorial Guinea will be incomplete if it does not go hand in hand with a more open-minded, more dynamic and more humane society.

174. Joining the United Nations in this International Year for Human Rights, designated by General Assembly resolution 2339 (XXII), places upon us obligations which go beyond the stipulations of our Constitution. Our Constitution clearly reflects that. In Article 3 we read: “The Republic of Equatorial Guinea shall promote the political, economic and social development of its people and ensure equality before the law for all its people, regardless of origin, race, sex or religion. The State shall recognize and

guarantee the rights and freedoms of the individual recognized in “the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and proclaim respect for freedom of conscience and religion, association, meeting, expression, residence and domicile, the right to property, education and proper conditions of work . . .”. The State also promotes the development of unions and co-operatives and ensures the rights of the workers.

175. Article 4 of our Constitution states that any act of racial, ethnic or religious discrimination or any act which is in violation of the internal or external security of the State or which infringes the territorial integrity of the State will be punishable by law.

176. On our continent, 23 years after the United Nations was founded, 20 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the southern part of Africa more than 20 million Africans live under the yoke of the vilest form of exploitation: the colonialist system, imposed with impunity on our brothers in Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and Portuguese Guinea (Bissau) and the inhuman situation of the Africans in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

177. Very little can be said here at the present time by my delegation which has not been said by others regarding those areas of human and political conflict in the southern part of our continent. We can only say that we, too, are indignant and endorse the criticism which other peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples have expressed. Together with the joy which we feel on becoming a Member of the United Nations we have a feeling of gloom, caused by the agony of our brothers in that area of South Africa, to whom we convey an expression of our support, encouraging them to continue the struggle until they have completely freed themselves of exploitation and the cancer of racism. It has been said that some may be incapable of abiding by the principles of the Charter. In that region the Charter has been flouted. World opinion has been silent. The advocates of that situation, more than anyone else, are the real mini-States.

178. We in Equatorial Guinea are prepared to make of our small country a great nation. We have assumed the responsibility of participating in international affairs. We have agreed to abide by the norms of international co-existence. In Article 9 our Constitution contains some of the most advanced legal tenets of the twentieth century. In Article 55 it provides that the juridical order in Guinea will be in accordance with the generally recognized norms of international law. Article 57 refers to international treaties and states that the provisions cannot be modified, derogated from or suspended except as provided therein or in accordance with general international law.

179. To many who take a selfish view of international relations, this advanced step towards the rule of the principles of international law over internal law, or so-called municipal law, may seem to be a kind of act of suicide. It is not. It is an expression of our desire to participate in everything that is happening in the world today; in history, which cannot allow anyone to move backwards. On the other hand, we are concerned at the fact that small nations, on joining international society, have found principles and

practices which are not widespread but which have become customary among certain Powers and in certain cultural areas. International society is decentralized. Principles must be accepted by way of a consensus and must not be imposed by one cultural area on others. The elementary principle of the voluntary acceptance of the general principles of international law is not valid when one Power, because of its economic or physical force, endeavours to impose a unilateral view on others under the guise of a principle generally accepted in international practice. One of those principles concerns the succession of sovereignty and all that that entails.

180. The succession of sovereignty, applied to decolonization, is perhaps the final expression of legal colonialism. We believe that with independence there emerges a new kind of sovereignty, fitting the new circumstances. The principle of *rebus sic stantibus* becomes even more important when not only the circumstances but also the subject itself change. A new State is different from the predecessor State and the emergence of a new subject of international law is in and of itself a new circumstance.

181. On joining the United Nations we believe that in the spirit of the Charter there are three ways in which Equatorial Guinea can participate with full rights and the same capacity for action as any other Power. I am referring to economic, social and cultural development, the promotion of human rights and the creation of furtherance of common values in the acceptance of the legal principles that are to govern international relations. The people of Equatorial Guinea do not have expansionist desires and its Government does not pursue adventurist policies.

182. We have requested membership in this Organization convinced that our needs can be met in the many and varied operations of the United Nations. Our contribution to peace will be a contribution to economic, social and cultural development: we shall extend means of communication, implement a progressive labour policy and do away with the inheritance of colonialism.

183. Our Government's programme reflects the aspirations of its people: to free man from exploitation by other men or by State machinery. We are a people in motion. Freedom and justice are the programme of our executive branch. As our President said, our Government will be a Government of law and justice, but it will be a Government essentially of freedom. We shall not sacrifice freedom for order. Our régime cannot be described in terms of "isms" or in pompous phrases. This is Equatorial Guinea. Our slogan is "Unity, peace and justice". We are the one hundred and twenty-sixth Member of the United Nations; on this great occasion for many and for Africa, this is one more day of hope in the great hope which is the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 93

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (*continued*)

184. Mr. SHAW (Australia): Before commencing my remarks on the item under discussion, I would join in the objections raised by the representative of the Philippines yesterday [1711th meeting] to the wording under which

the General Assembly is asked to discuss the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. The supporters of Communist China have chosen, as is their custom on such issues, to put forward a highly tendentious title to their item which in itself purports to prejudge the issue.

185. The title of this item was accepted by the General Committee in the terms presented to it by its sponsors because the disposition of the Committee is not to interfere with the wording which co-sponsors choose to use. But the result is that once again we have an agenda item which reflects the abuse by a certain group of delegations of the tolerance of the General Committee and of the Assembly.

186. We are not today debating "the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". We are discussing the question of the representation of China in the United Nations and that is how the item should be presented to us. As Confucius said:

"If language is not used rightly, if what is said is not what is meant, then what ought to be done will be left undone. Morals and art will be corrupted, justice will go awry and the peoples will stand about in helpless confusion."

187. Having registered this objection, I would go on to say that the Australian delegation welcomes the opportunity to speak about China in the General Assembly. Although for some delegations this question has become a sort of hardy perennial and therefore to an extent stale and uninteresting, yet for Australia and the countries of the Asian and Pacific region which live in proximity to China, the questions raised in the item under consideration are amongst the most important matters facing the world of today. In the General Assembly we tend to be preoccupied with questions of deep and indeed emotional concern to certain groups of members elsewhere. We understand the concern of any group about regional issues close to their hearts and homes. But we think that we speak from a world perspective when we put this question of China in the forefront of the matters which require consideration by the international community.

188. Indeed, in each of the interventions made so far in this debate, there has been one common denominator. All speakers have emphasized the importance of the matter under debate, no matter what solution they themselves advocated. Over a number of years this debate has gone on in varying degrees of intensity and no one has ever regarded it as a trivial or procedural matter. It is self-evident therefore that, whatever views one may have about the representation of China, it is certainly an important question and one which falls under Article 18 of the Charter.

189. A number of those who, in this Assembly, advocate the summary expulsion from the United Nations of representatives of the Republic of China and the extension of an invitation to the Peking régime, make the charge that those opposing such action are blind to the realities of life. I would deny that. None of the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, or of those who we hope will vote for that resolution, are ignorant of realities.

190. I, myself, lived two years in the heart of the Chinese mainland at a critical time in its history and I know something of the people and the country of China. Australia does not pretend that the mainland of China does not exist, nor have we sought to isolate ourselves from it. Where it has been possible to develop relations, principally through trade but also in other ways, the Australian Government has not sought to prevent this. Indeed, in recent years there has been a significant extension in Australia's peaceful trade with the mainland of China. We will continue to be alive to the possibilities of exploiting such other avenues towards peaceful accommodation as may present themselves from time to time.

191. To us the question is not simply one of realizing that the people of mainland China exist. It is a more difficult and complex question. Let us examine some of the wider complexes of the problems which have to be disposed of before we come to any simple decisions about changing the representation of China in the United Nations.

192. First of all, we cannot ignore, as do so many of the protagonists of Peking, the words and deeds of the Chinese Communist régime itself. Their first demand is for the expulsion from the General Assembly and Security Council and all other organs of the United Nations of the Republic of China. This is a condition which is unacceptable to those of us who recognize the Republic of China as a founder member of the United Nations and a member in good standing. More people live in Taiwan than in two-thirds of the States represented in the United Nations, including Australia. Both the standard of living of those people and their example of help to others are enviable in terms of what other countries have achieved. We are not impressed at all by arguments sometimes advanced on the lines that thirteen million people living in the island of Taiwan should be sacrificed to the over-riding objective of reaching some accommodation with the 700 million people living on the mainland. Such a proposition is objectionable both in principle and as a practical means of ensuring peaceful evolution in East Asia.

193. The second requirement of Peking has been formulated quite simply by Marshal Chen Yi on 29 September 1965. I quote:

“The United Nations must rectify its mistakes and undergo a thorough reorganization and reform. It must admit and correct all its past mistakes. Among other things, it should cancel its resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as aggressors and adopt a resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor; the United Nations Charter must be reviewed and revised jointly by all countries, big and small; all independent States should be included in the United Nations; and all imperialist puppets should be expelled.”²

194. These hectoring demands by Peking are not going to be met. Indeed, we are unable to find anything in the utterances of Peking to indicate that the communist régime at this time seriously seeks membership of the Organization. Furthermore, not even those countries which have

diplomatic representatives in Peking are able to give us any clear account of what is going on there. If the Assembly were to decide to invite the Chinese communist régime to send representatives to the United Nations do we know in fact whom we would be inviting? It is difficult for any of us to see wherein lies the unified and effective leadership in Peking today. This is important because those who demand that China should be represented by Peking must have in mind certain authorities who would be able and willing to assume the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter.

195. Some Members tend at times to overlook what the Charter says, and does not say, about membership. I find no reference to any principle of universality in the United Nations Charter. This may be the proper aim of our Organization, a “consummation devoutly to be wished”. But, considering the Charter as an international treaty with binding obligations, this concept is not incorporated in it. Universal membership of the United Nations, if and when it is achieved, will imply universal willingness to accept and carry out the obligations of the Charter.

196. This may be a theoretical point, but we do have in Article 4 a description of the sort of States to which membership in the United Nations is open.

“Membership . . . is open to all . . . peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.”

197. Now, how does the régime in Peking measure up to this description? Its record since 1949 must be our main guide, and this gives us grounds for concern. In the Korean war, and in India in 1962, we witnessed examples of Peking's readiness to use its armed forces against its neighbours. In Tibet we have seen the tragic fate of a people, which despite its historical ties with China, was brave enough to resist conformity with all the dictatorial dogmas of Maoism. In many other countries of Asia we have been given demonstrations of Peking's encouragement of and participation in a number of terrorist campaigns, acts of infiltration and subversion, and so-called wars of national liberation which, in fact, are not genuine wars of liberation at all but the activities of militant minorities, supported from outside.

198. Indeed, we would be blinding ourselves to the most relevant consideration in this debate were we to overlook the backing given by communist China to the indirect aggression which has plagued Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, Laos, the Philippines, Thailand and Viet-Nam for the past twenty years. Such a record is not the result of accident, but of deliberate policy, as the following quotation from Mao Tse-tung, reported in the Peking publication “Red Flag” of March 1964, indicates:

“Revolution and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society . . .”. “The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.”³

³ Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), pp. 60-62.

199. And these other countries to which this revolutionary process is to be applied in particular include, according to current Chinese communist official statements, the countries on China's periphery: Burma, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand.

200. A further opinion bearing on this question of the Peking régime's willingness to carry out international obligations was contained in an article circulated as a press release on 12 June this year in New York by the permanent mission of another country on China's periphery, the Soviet Union. It reproduces views expressed in a Russian magazine, and the following is a quotation:

"There is no support in Peking for the idea of inviolability of State borders and settlement of territorial issues only by negotiations. The Mao group makes use of territorial issues to exacerbate relations between countries and to fan nationalistic moods in the Chinese people. Peking propaganda and the Chinese leaders have been giving the Chinese and other peoples constant reminders of China's old frontiers, which used to run over the territory of many neighbouring States."⁴

201. I quote again from the views expressed in that Russian magazine:

"Another cover for the great power aims of the Mao group is the theory of 'people's war', which is being widely advertised by the Chinese leaders as the 'cure-all', as a 'universal truth which is applicable everywhere and at all times'. Peking's reckless calls to, and acts against, a number of Afro-Asian countries in the summer of 1967 showed that this theory ignores the real tasks confronting the peoples and is designed to impel them to overthrow Governments which for various reasons do not suit the Maoists."⁵

202. In the light of the foregoing analysis of the foreign policy now being pursued by the leaders in Peking, it is difficult to see how that régime can be described as qualifying under Article 4 of the Charter or how it could be said to be likely to be willing to accept the obligation of the peaceful settlement of disputes as contained in the Charter.

203. More important, any action by this Assembly which could be interpreted as endorsing or sanctioning the policies and practices of Peking would be directly contrary to the interests of the very numerous and diverse peoples of the Asian and Pacific region.

204. In this great area there have been developments the significance of which is not perhaps sufficiently understood within this Assembly. Efforts have been made to develop a community of nations each of which in its own way is making great strides in applying technical innovation and economic development as a means of bringing about peaceful social change and progress. These efforts to build up the independent, diverse and peace-loving nations of Asia and the Pacific are threatened by the aggressive claims and acts of Peking. The peoples of that vast and significant

region are well aware of the facts of their environment and they would find it hard to understand declarations by this Assembly which would hamper them in the attainment of their objectives.

205. An immense task confronts the peoples and nations of the Asian and Pacific region who wish to live in peace with one another and with all the people of China. I repeat: no one in that area ignores China. The problem for those countries—and amongst them I include Australia—is how to come to terms with mainland China in a relationship which will be one of respect, freedom from fear and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. That is the major task of our diplomacy, perhaps for the next few decades, and it is a task which requires firmness and patience.

206. We cannot abandon the search for accommodation in Asia, on which the peace of the region and indeed ultimately of the world may depend; but the difficulties which lie in the path of progress are largely of Peking's making. Too many of those who intervene on behalf of the communist régime call for concessions to be made and risks to be run by others rather than by Peking. Accommodation cannot be a one-sided affair. Peking must also indicate a readiness to live in harmony with its neighbours, to accept international obligations and to enter into arrangements for their effective performance. Those are some of the considerations which the Australian delegation keeps in mind in considering the three draft resolutions now before the Assembly.

207. The first proposition on which this Assembly will be called to express itself is that contained in draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, which is co-sponsored by the delegation of Australia. This asks the Assembly to confirm what it most recently reaffirmed last year, namely, that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question requiring a two-thirds majority in accordance with the provisions of Article 18. We consider this proposition to be self-evident and we urge that members of the Assembly support it.

208. The second draft resolution, which was introduced by Albania and a number of other sponsors, is contained in document A/L.549 and Add.1. This calls for the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China from the United Nations and their replacement with representatives from Peking. For reasons which I have given, we cannot support, and we shall vote against, that draft resolution.

209. The delegation of Italy and some other delegations have put forward a third draft resolution, contained in document A/L.550. We understand and respect the reasons which prompted those delegations to present that draft resolution. In opposing a similar draft resolution last year the Australian delegation stated that the time was not then opportune for the sort of action that the draft proposed. We know of no developments over the past year in the policies or practices of Peking which alter that judgement. We do not believe that the passage of such a resolution at this stage would help us to arrive at the goal we are seeking, that is, a situation in which all countries of Asia and the Pacific accept a relationship of mutual respect and understanding, free from threats and deeds of interference in one another's internal affairs. We consider that the views of the

⁴ G. Apapin, "Ideological Bases of Maoist Foreign Policy", *International Affairs*, No. 6, June 1968, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

parties concerned are well enough known and we doubt that any formal proceeding of the kind proposed would add to Members' knowledge of the situation or that it would of itself, at this stage, make it more likely that we should have favourable developments in that situation.

210. In conclusion, permit me to quote from the statement made by the Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Hasluck, in the general debate on 9 October. He was referring to that part of the world with which we in Australia are intimately concerned and of which we have direct knowledge, and where we are making a contribution, namely, Asia and the Western Pacific, and he spoke as follows:

“... developments in Asia are of vital importance to the whole world. Enormous populations live there, growing in numbers as the problems of disease are overcome. . . . In Asia are ancient civilizations, the source of much that is prized in the civilization of the rest of the world, and the human talent in Asia could be a precious asset to all mankind.

“... this region is important to the rest of the world. . . . If the countries in it cannot solve their social and economic problems and work out stable and peaceful relationships with one another, then the peace and prosperity of the rest of the world will be in jeopardy. But if they do solve those problems, then the rest of the world will find that its other problems have also been eased.

“Those Asians who have become free and independent are making a valiant and hopeful attempt to share the life of their own peoples in their own countries according to their will. Throughout the face of Asia today the positive and constructive element is nationalism. These free and independent newly-emerged nations want to keep their freedom and independence. They want an Asia that is not under the domination of any Power, and not under the threat of the domination of any Power, an Asia where free and independent countries can make their own decisions and carry out their own decisions. We in Australia . . . also want to see that. That requires an Asia where there is security and political stability and, with political stability, some real opportunity for the Governments to get on with the main job of making life better for their own peoples. It will be an Asia of change—of great economic and social changes, where the standards of living can rise, and where the economies will be economies of progress and growth, both in the way in which they affect the people who live there and the way in which they affect the outside world.

“... ”

“What does disturb the free countries of the region is the possibility that they will not be allowed time and opportunity to build their independent national institutions, to carry out economic development, and to weld their regional relationships and their harmonious dealings among themselves. What they fear are outside threats, or armed attack, or, more likely, subversion from outside. The principle source of threat today is seen as communist China; the current area of active conflict is Viet-Nam.

“I have said many times, and I repeat again today, that I see as the greatest task for us in Australia—and I suggest for other countries too—the task of seeing the mainland of China fitted into the family of nations. But that is not a task to be attempted from one side only. The mainland Chinese too have to make moves of conciliation and peace. Hitherto, unfortunately, they have threatened their neighbours, whether to the south or east or to their west and north. Along their borders are unease and apprehension and even, on occasion, armed clashes. Their neighbours have found within their borders interference in internal affairs and an overflow of the ‘cultural revolution’. Communist China has not been willing to make any reciprocal move to overcome its separation from much of the diplomatic life of the world, and those nations which are in diplomatic relations with Peking have had their representatives in very many cases subject to humiliation, harassment and isolation. . . . the problems of relations with the mainland have to be seen in a wider context than simple recognition of Peking or the seating of Peking in the United Nations.” [1687th meeting, paras. 116-121.]

211. Mr. KJARTANSSON (Iceland): First of all I wish, with your permission, Mr. President, to start my brief declaration by thanking the Ambassador of Italy for his excellent statement of yesterday when he introduced draft resolution [A/L.550] sponsored by Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg [1711th meeting]. Because of his very clear and concise presentation I can be very brief.

212. This is the eighteenth year that the General Assembly is discussing the important question of the membership of China in this Organization. It is indeed most regrettable that we should now find ourselves practically at the same stage as when we started tackling this problem without finding the slightest constructive or positive direction out of our dilemma. In other words we have made hardly any progress whatsoever in this important matter in the past seventeen years.

213. However, some time ago at the General Assembly a new element was introduced through the tabling of the aforementioned draft resolution. That draft resolution proposed the setting up of a committee appointed by the President of the Assembly to study:

“... the situation in all its aspects in order to make the appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session for an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

214. That simple resolution asking for the setting up of a committee to study the matter does in no way prejudice the case in question. It does not visualize either the present situation or the expulsion of a present Member but the committee should have a completely open mind on the whole matter. We cannot possibly see what harm such a resolution can do. On the contrary it may bring out some new ideas acceptable to all and, above all, it attempts to move the matter off dead centre where it has been all too long.

215. People might ask what possible way a small committee might find that the whole membership of the Assembly has not seen. We think it is very obvious that a small group talking to all parties concerned is more apt to obtain every possible idea and thought, much more so than the parties involved could directly or indirectly bring out in a large meeting such as at the plenary of the General Assembly.

216. Those then are the main reasons why Iceland is a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/L.550. We do hope that the Members of this body will realize that we are at a completely dead end and that we must make some move now. There may be other ways than that envisaged in our draft resolution but if there are we have not heard of them. Therefore, we urge all Members to consider this modest step very carefully and we hope that they will come to the conclusion that one of the ways to break the present deadlock is to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.550.

217. Carrying this matter slightly further, we can imagine that if matters proceed as they have in the past, some member or members will table a resolution asking that draft resolution A/L.550 be considered an important matter and consequently requires a two-thirds majority to be carried. We must say that we fail to comprehend the logic in this and cannot see that the setting up of a committee can be considered an important matter. If such a resolution is tabled we shall vote against it.

218. Now allow me to turn shortly to draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1 tabled by Albania, and fifteen other States regarding the seating of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. Previously, in my statement when talking about the resolution of which we are co-sponsors I mentioned the importance of a committee envisaged therein as having a completely open mind on all ideas and propositions. Therefore, we shall not go into this matter in substance but only declare that in order to be completely consequential we shall abstain on the draft resolution in A/L.549 and Add.1.

219. Mr. SANI (Indonesia): Before beginning my remarks on the subject on our agenda, allow me to take this opportunity to welcome the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations on behalf of my Government and to wish it well on its accession to statehood as an independent and sovereign Member of the world community. My delegation has every confidence that Equatorial Guinea will play a constructive role in this international body.

220. Once again this Assembly has before it the issue of the representation of the People's Republic of China with which it has been burdened for so many years. My remarks on the subject are going to be very brief. The Indonesian delegation has found no reason to change its position as set forth in its statement of last year [*1609th meeting*]. Nothing has changed as far as Indonesia's basic position is concerned, neither has there been any change in the situation of Indonesia's relations with the People's Republic of China in so far as that country has continued its hostile and aggressive attitude towards Indonesia. Its sustained abusive attacks against the people and the Government of Indonesia and the subversive activities it continues to sponsor and promote in Indonesia continue to demonstrate this attitude.

221. Last year I outlined my Government's position on the question of the representation of China before this Assembly. In brief, the position was that the People's Republic of China should be seated in this world body. That position has not changed. The basis of our position then, as now, is a firm dedication to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. We remain convinced that the ideal of universality of membership is essential to the fulfilment of our goal of mutual co-operation in pursuit of the cause of peace and security in the world and especially in South-East Asia.

222. My delegation remains equally firm in its conviction that the question of the representation of China is a matter of great importance to the General Assembly. The representation of the most populous nation on earth and the largest in Asia is clearly a subject of grave concern. Of even greater consequence is the fact that China has in recent years become the fifth world Power to have harnessed the power of the atom for military purposes. That fact carries with it great responsibilities and obligations and makes the subject of the representation of a nuclear Power one of the most serious we have to face.

223. My delegation therefore is of the opinion that the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be considered an important question. Those are the remarks which my delegation wishes to make at this stage.

224. The PRESIDENT: May I remind the Members that, as decided this morning [*1713th meeting*], the list of speakers in the debate on item 93 will be closed at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, 13 November.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.