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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Sevilla Sacasa (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 93

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

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I have the honour of presiding over this meeting at the kind invitation of Mr. Cornelius Manescu, the President of the General Assembly. I offer warm greetings to all representatives, and expressions of my esteem to all delegations and each of their members.

2. In accordance with yesterday's agreement, this morning the Assembly will first hear the remaining speakers who wish to explain their vote before voting, and then proceed to vote on the draft resolutions submitted on this item.

3. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (translated from French): Since the opening of the debate on the question of China, the delegation of Haiti has listened with the greatest attention to the arguments of those representatives who have preceded us here in the General Assembly.

4. The delegation of Haiti, well aware of all that has been said concerning the admission of People's China to the United Nations and subsequently on the exclusion of Nationalist China, deems it advisable to explain its vote. We do so completely independently, and in light of the facts. Nevertheless, in our statement we should like to deal more closely with a few points.

5. We all know that China, with its thousands of years of culture, has an ancient civilization that predates the Christian era by 7,000 years. The oldest homo sapiens is the Peking Man, and over the centuries, the culture of China has been one of the most advanced in the world.

6. Yet China is not an entirely homogeneous conglomerate as in the case of the countries of Europe, whose peoples have been modified or brought together as the result of centuries of invasions and migrations. China, isolated as it was by the Pacific Ocean and the Gobi Desert, was able to attain its immutability and its racial and cultural formula, as Voltaire would

have put it. For 4,000 years, the Chinese empire underwent no appreciable change in its laws, its customs, its language, or—we might also say—in its means of existence. It is a fact that China was already a civilized country when Greece was slumbering in darkness.

7. Around 1940, however, despite its ancient civilization, China's situation was more hopeless than it had every been. When China was invaded, it fell prey to widespread anarchy. That was when its unhappy experience with Japan occurred. In August 1945, after Japan's defeat, it was freed almost without a struggle from Japanese occupation at a decisive time in its existence as a national entity. It was then that the opposing groups led by Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek arose. There had been armed struggles after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. Stalin took no further interest in what happened to Mao and his faction.

8. In June 1944, Averell Harriman, the envoy of the late President Roosevelt, declared that the Chinese communists were not true communists, and on 15 April 1945, Stalin and Molotov expressed the same opinion to the American General Hurley.

9. Stalin later declared to the late President Roosevelt's aide Mr. Harry Hopkins, that "... Chiang Kai-shek was the only Chinese leader qualified to undertake the unification of China; that the Chinese Communist leaders were not as good or as well qualified to undertake the task."^{1/}

10. How can we speak of China as being divided into two distinct territories, when one of them represents the legal authority of a constitutional government through the principle of self-determination and by virtue of the people's right to choose the form of government they wish?

11. Nationalist China, separated from mainland China, has always been considered a sovereign State by this international organization, with all its prerogatives as a founding Member of the United Nations and as a permanent member of the Security Council, because it represents the legal government of China. To call for its exclusion, as does draft resolution A/L.531, and Add.1, is illogical. The delegation of Haiti will not vote in favour of that draft resolution, which it sees as a gross injustice against a sovereign State that is duly recognized by the international community.

12. Similarly, the delegation of Haiti cannot accept draft resolution A/L.533, which seems to cast doubts on the inalienable rights of Nationalist China as an

^{1/} United States Relations with China, Washington, 1949, Department of State Publication No. 3573, p. 115.

alternative solution, and it will thus abstain from the vote.

13. The delegation of Haiti will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, recalling the recommendation made in resolution 396 (V) of 14 December 1950, according to which:

"whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations and this question becomes a subject of controversy in the United Nations, the question should be considered in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the circumstances of each case,"

and which further recalls the decision taken in resolution 1668 (XVI) of 15 December 1961, according to which:

"in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, ... any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question."

14. For that reason, the delegation of Haiti will vote in favour of that draft resolution, in accordance with its Government's instructions.

15. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In his statement in the general debate on 26 September last [1567th meeting], my Foreign Secretary spoke of the serious effect which recent events had had on Anglo-Chinese relations. We believe that there is an overwhelming opinion in this Assembly which joins with us in deploring attacks upon foreign missions and ill-treatment and detention of diplomatic representatives. My Government fully shares the condemnation of such acts, which represent so serious a deterioration in standards of international conduct. But, despite those deplorable actions, it is still our intention to do everything we can to achieve a return to normal relations.

16. We continue to believe that it is right and necessary that the People's Republic of China should be seated in this Assembly. The United Nations was created to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of all nations in the attainment of the purposes set out in the Charter. We should all be dedicated to that purpose. It can benefit neither the United Nations nor the people of China to perpetuate the exclusion of representatives of the Government of that immense country from our international community.

17. Surely all our efforts should be directed not to keeping them out but to persuading them to come in—to come in to share in the search for international understanding and international co-operation and international authority.

18. It is well known to the Assembly that my delegation has always taken the view that this question of the representation of China is an important question in terms of Article 18 of the Charter. Indeed, we believe that it is one of the most fundamental questions that confront the Assembly. At the same time, for the reasons I have given, we believe that it is important that the question should be resolved. It is our hope, therefore, that without further delay, and by the necessary majority required by the Charter, the Assembly will finally decide in favour of the

seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this world Assembly.

19. With regard to draft resolution A/L.533, my delegation understands and respects the intentions of the sponsors of that draft; but, as we have said before, we do not consider those proposals would advance what we believe should be the purpose of the United Nations in this matter. We cannot, therefore, vote for that draft resolution.

20. For the reasons I have given, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1 and in favour of draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1.

21. Mr. Huot SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): When I spoke on 20 November last [1600th meeting] on the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, I had not yet had the opportunity to examine the draft [resolution A/L.533] submitted by Belgium, Chile, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The Cambodian delegation would therefore like to make some comments on that draft resolution.

22. The Cambodian delegation has listened with great attention to the explanations given by the Italian delegation when it introduced the draft resolution in question [1602nd meeting] on behalf of the sponsors. The Italian delegation stressed that the Special Committee's mandate would be to explore and to study the situation in all its aspects, but at the same time, it recognized that we had had the question of China's representation before us for far too many years.

23. As I have already had occasion to stress, the Chinese question has been examined by the United Nations over a period of nearly twenty-one years. If the Organization has been unable to find an equitable solution, it is because of the imperialists in America and the countries that depend on Washington, and not because of any failure to examine or explore the situation in all its aspects.

24. In our opinion, the objective of the draft resolution [A/L.533] would finally be the setting-up of "two Chinas", a solution that is emphatically rejected by Cambodia and by every other sovereign country that has respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, since that solution constitutes not only a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter, and a dangerous precedent for all countries, but also a pure and simple commendation of the imperialist policy of the Government of the United States of America, which, in flagrant violation of all the principles of the Charter and of international law, has taken upon itself the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of China by occupying the Chinese province of Taiwan by force.

25. If the authors of the draft resolution [A/L.533] really desire to see the authority, prestige and effectiveness of our Organization strengthened, they should unreservedly support the draft resolution [A/L.531 and Add.1] submitted by the non-aligned countries, including Cambodia, and reject the draft resolution supported by the United States of America [A/L.532 and Add.1], which is nothing but a dilatory and dishonest manoeuvre on the part of the American imperialists. In the light of the foregoing, the Cambodian delegation will vote

against the draft resolution [A/L.533] submitted by Italy.

26. Before concluding, may I reply briefly to certain remarks made in this Assembly against the delegation of Cambodia. One person, repudiated and driven out of his country by a people's revolution, seems bent on lavishing advice on the Cambodian representative in this Assembly. That is very touching, but it seems to us somewhat out of place on the part of that person who represents a group of individuals rejected and driven out by the Chinese people, and who would be unable to survive without the armed forces and assistance of the American imperialists, to try to give advice to the Cambodian representative who is in any case quite able to uphold his country's interests.

27. As for the statement made by the representative of Thailand, who maintained that the Cambodian delegation had made a slanderous statement about Thailand, I should simply like to tell him that everyone has long been aware—and an independent third party could confirm this—that Thailand is bristling with military bases being used by the American imperialists in the furthering of their aggressive acts against the peoples of Indo-China. Even the American press provides eloquent information on these air bases set up in Thailand and on the number of aircraft taking off from them every day to murder the Viet-Nameese population.

28. Serving as a base for the American imperialist aggressors in South-East Asia, Thailand, after being associated with the Japanese militarists and even declaring war against the United States of America during the Second World War, is now letting itself be held so closely in tow by the American imperialists that it can no longer pursue an independent policy. Its representatives now do nothing but repeat the statements of their lord and master from Washington.

29. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The General Assembly will soon be taking a decision on the draft resolutions concerning the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. The Albanian delegation, which is a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.531 and Add.1] calling for the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, has already indicated very briefly on 21 November [1602nd meeting], in its statement made during the general debate on the matter, its attitude to the United States draft resolution [A/L.532 and Add.1] and to the Italian delegation's intention to resubmit its proposal of last year,^{2/} which is now set forth in the draft resolution [A/L.533]. We emphasized that those two proposals were both aimed in different ways at once again preventing the restoration of China's rights in this Organization.

30. Today, after listening once again to the reiteration of the old, fallacious claims of the authors of those draft resolutions and of those supporting them, we can say without hesitation that their wily arguments, contrary to the Charter and to United Nations practice, have been the best demonstration of the complete

groundlessness of their proposals and of the real and ignoble aims that are concealed behind those proposals.

31. We do not intend here to analyse the procedural quibblings in which the opponents of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have once again indulged. We think that unnecessary. On many occasions in the past, we, along with delegations from many countries, have fully demonstrated the completely unfounded character of the proposals submitted by the United States and its partners, as well as the real aims of such stratagems. The present statements of the authors of the draft resolutions [A/L.532 and Add.1 and A/L.533], and of those who support them, contain nothing new. Their repetition of their former allegations and their fallacious pretexts, their far-fetched reasoning and the obvious difficulty they have in supporting their arbitrary stands, which are contrary to the Charter as well as absurd, have revealed once again to Member States the deceit of the authors of those proposals. Everyone is in fact fully aware that those proposals are nothing but subterfuges and delaying tactics aimed at helping the United States of America to prevent once more in devious ways China from regaining its legitimate rights in the United Nations, and at concealing in so far as possible their brutal, obstructionist positions, so severely condemned by world public opinion, with regard to that question. In other words, it is clear to everyone that draft resolutions A/L.532 and Add.1 and A/L.533 serve nothing but the aggressive policy of the United States and its plan for "two Chinas", aimed at perpetuating its occupation of the Chinese island of Taiwan as well as the furthering of its war plans against the People's Republic of China.

32. As we have demonstrated many times, the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations is neither a question of the admission of a new Member, nor a question of excluding a Member State. China is one and indivisible, and Taiwan is a Chinese province forming an integral part of Chinese territory that is inevitably going to be liberated by the Chinese people.

33. China was and remains a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. For eighteen years, the only question before the General Assembly—that is, since the victory of the people's revolution in China in 1949, which overthrew for all time the former, corrupt régime of a renegade clique and proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China—is that of recognizing the true representatives of that great country of 700 million inhabitants. Thus it is purely and simply a question of the representation within the United Nations of a single and integral State, already a Member, the People's Republic of China, and of the recognition of the credentials of that State's representatives, that is, of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China. That Government, and it alone, has the authority and all the qualifications required to represent China within our Organization and in all international relations. The question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations thus comes down to a simple matter of representation and of examining credentials. It is a very simple and

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, twenty-first session, Annexes, agenda item 90, document A/L.500.

a very clear matter that requires no study, especially since it has been studied and debated here for many a long year. This is not an important question under the terms of paragraph 2, Article 18 of the Charter, and thus its solution requires nothing but a simple majority of Members of the General Assembly. Taking into account all those facts, the Albanian delegation is obviously strongly opposed to the motion for priority made by Australia [1603rd meeting, para. 50] on behalf of the draft resolution [A/L.532 and Add.1], which is aimed at violating in the most ruthless way the clear and precise provisions of the Charter.

34. Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China has been in existence for eighteen years, that it has continued to prosper and that it has achieved outstanding successes in every area of the country's socialist construction, that it has become a powerful socialist State with great authority and prestige and a decisive factor in the protection of the vital interests of freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and countries.

35. Everyone knows that there is but one China on the globe, and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory.

36. Everyone knows that the Government of the People's Republic of China, and it alone, is entitled to represent that country and all the Chinese people in international relations. That is so evident that no one is able to dispute it.

37. Everyone knows that the question of the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its rights in the United Nations is very simple and crystal clear, that it requires no study and that it should be settled by a simple majority of the members of the General Assembly.

38. Everyone knows that it is not the People's Republic of China that needs the United Nations, but that on the contrary it is the United Nations that is in urgent need of seeing the great country of China, that powerful socialist State, play its part and lend its invaluable assistance in the rehabilitation of this Organization and in promoting its smooth functioning and its effectiveness in the discharge of its task, in accordance with its basic purposes and principles.

39. All those facts are only too well-known to everyone, and to all of you. The question before us is whether the majority of Member States is going to continue to support the arbitrary position of the United States of America, contrary to the Charter, whether the majority will continue to abet the aggressive policy of that imperialist Power, or whether, on the contrary, mindful of the seriousness of the present international situation, and of the deplorable state of affairs within this Organization, mindful of its responsibilities in the face of those undisputed facts, it will have the courage to take a just stand commensurate with the respect and dignity of sovereign Member States, a stand that is in conformity with the Charter, in order to safeguard and rehabilitate this Organization and to guide it along the true path, the path of its basic principles and of the legitimate aspirations of peoples struggling for freedom, independence and peace.

40. The Albanian delegation expresses the hope that the majority of Member States will decide in favour of this latter position and vote unreservedly for the draft resolution [A/L.531 and Add.1] submitted by twelve States, including Albania, which provides the only just solution in accordance with the Charter and with the practice followed in similar cases: the immediate restoration to the People's Republic of China of the rightful place due to it in the United Nations and in all United Nations bodies. That, without any doubt, will be an important step that will become a landmark in the history of the efforts made by peaceful Member States to steer the United Nations decisively onto a new course, so that it may follow the path set forth in the Charter, corresponding to the vital interests of mankind for freedom, peace and progress.

41. Mr. PARDO (Malta): I should like to explain in a few words the position of my delegation on draft resolutions A/L.531 and Add.1, A/L.532 and Add.1, and A/L.533. China has been unhappily embroiled in a civil war for many years. During the course of the conflict, one side succeeded in obtaining *de facto* power over mainland China, while the other side, the Government of the Republic of China, retained control over insular China without relinquishing its hopes of reversing the course of fortune and recovering power in mainland China. At this point large-scale hostilities were interrupted, but an agreement terminating the hostilities has not been reached. Thus a civil war is still in being. When a civil war is in being, it would be directly contrary to Article 21, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter to take a position in favour of one of the parties to such a war without the gravest reasons.

42. The proposal contained in draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1 is, undeniably, a direct intervention in favour of one of the parties and prejudicial to the other in an internal conflict. As far as the United Nations is concerned, there are no sufficient reasons for such a proposal, since the Republic of China, a Government which was one of the original signatories of the United Nations Charter, has sought scrupulously to observe the Charter of the United Nations in letter and in spirit, and continues to be in control of part of the territory of China. Hence, we cannot support the draft resolution sponsored by Albania and other countries, and we shall support draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1.

43. At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the fact that the territorial positions of the contending parties in the civil war in China have remained substantially unchanged for a number of years and are likely to remain unchanged for some time to come. In these circumstances, the draft resolution sponsored by Italy and four other countries [A/L.533] would appear to be a constructive step, since it would permit mature consideration of a very complex situation in an atmosphere free from the tensions of a General Assembly debate. We are under no illusion about the difficulties of finding an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations at the present international moment,

44. We note in particular the objections both of the Government of the Republic of China and the authorities in mainland China to proceeding as suggested in draft resolution A/L.533. Nevertheless, we shall support that draft resolution, since we appreciate the sincerity of the intentions of the sponsors, which we feel deserve encouragement and support.

45. Mr. AZNAM (Malaysia): If my delegation did not participate in the general debate on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations earlier on, it was not due to lack of interest in the subject, but rather, due to the fact that the conviction of my delegation on this item remains the same as it was at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

46. We have before us today three draft resolutions dealing with the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The delegation of Malaysia, as in the past, subscribes to the idea that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations if it so desires. We base our belief on the understanding that no meaningful efforts could be achieved in negotiating *inter alia* international agreements on the question of peace and security, or peace and war, without the participation of and, therefore, the acceptance of a country containing 700 million of the human race.

47. While subscribing to this belief the Malaysian delegation, however, feels equally strongly that in upholding the admission of the People's Republic of China to this world Organization we could not support that part of the paragraph in draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1, sponsored by Albania and eleven other countries which seeks "to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it". My delegation will not be able, therefore, to support this draft resolution, but will cast its negative vote on it.

48. The Malaysian delegation also wonders whether a change in the representation of China's seat in the United Nations requires an amendment to the Charter. If it does, it certainly will require a two-thirds majority. We believe that this is an important question as affirmed in General Assembly resolution 2159 (XXI). We shall consequently vote for draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, sponsored by Australia and fourteen other Members.

49. While my delegation is appreciative of the good intentions of the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.533, sponsored by Italy and four other States, we again find it difficult to share the conclusions it implies. My delegation will therefore abstain on that draft resolution.

50. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): My delegation said the following in its intervention of 23 November 1967 as regards the Italian draft resolution:

"... we cannot see any ground for establishing a United Nations study committee on this question, as proposed by the delegation of Italy and others [A/L.533]. Neither can we see that, if established,

such a committee could serve any really useful and practical purpose." [1606th meeting, para. 84.]

51. Having listened very carefully to the interventions of the representatives who spoke after I made my statement that day, we are more convinced than ever that the proposed establishment of the study committee is untimely and will not bring beneficial and positive results as envisaged by the co-sponsors. For these reasons my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.533.

52. In view of the statement made by the Cambodian representative just a few minutes ago, my delegation deeply regrets its having been impelled to take the floor to exercise its right of reply. In the course of my intervention on 23 November [1606th meeting], I took the opportunity of exercising the right of reply of the delegation of Thailand to the statement of the Cambodian representative that was made a few days earlier. I said the following:

"The Cambodian representative's habitual indulgence in polemics is well known to us all and it came as no surprise to us when, in his wisdom, he chose to resort again to this tactic. The conclusion which we can draw from his statement is that he, unlike others, has been neither able nor willing to cast aside the vestiges of his colonial upbringing and emerge as a free and independent agent. Indeed the Cambodian representative has tried his level best to emulate the methods of his new lord and master, the Peking régime, in engaging in malicious verbal warfare, as well as in conducting hostile activities against all its neighbours." [Ibid., para. 86.]

53. Having just witnessed his performance today, I must admit that the words uttered by the Cambodian representative with regard to Thailand have further reinforced our assessment and strengthened our belief that the Cambodian representative has indeed become a willing tool of a hostile and expansionist neighbour.

54. The Cambodian representative has referred inaccurately to the role of Thailand in the stand that many like-minded nations take with regard to the North Viet-Nameese savage attempt to control the Republic of Viet-Nam by force. The Cambodian representative, toeing the line of the Chinese communists, naturally had to echo the false and malicious statements made by his mentor.

55. The policy of the Thai Government on the question of Viet-Nam is no secret to anybody. The part that Thailand plays at the request of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam is also public knowledge. When my Government decided to send troops to assist in the defence of the Republic of Viet-Nam against North Viet-Nameese aggression, the Thai Government took steps to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations accordingly.

56. In sharp contrast to this openness of our position, Cambodia on the other hand has for several years been making desperate and futile attempts to cover up its nefarious activities in giving direct and active support to the North Viet-Nameese aggressors. But truth cannot be hidden for long and truth speaks loudly.

57. As far back as 1964 an Associated Press dispatch dated 23 May said the following:

"South Viet-Nam produced a Communist Viet-Cong prisoner Saturday who said his unit had fled into Cambodia twice in the past six months, and had received political and military training inside the Cambodian border.

"Two other prisoners told a news conference they had frequently traded with 'friendly Cambodian soldiers' for supplies.

"The three said that Viet-Cong units were under standing instructions to flee into Cambodia whenever a superior Viet-Nameese government force approached their area."

58. In 1965, the leading article of the New York Herald Tribune of 11 December said the following:

"A spokesman for the Cambodian government, in a letter published elsewhere on this page, denies that its territory is being used for supplying Chinese Communist arms to the Viet-Cong in South Viet-Nam. He insists that Cambodia is 'neutral'.

"We would like to believe that it is, but the evidence points to the contrary. Lt. Lai Van Cu, who recently deserted from the North Viet-Nameese army, disclosed that the 121st Regiment to which he belonged reached South Viet-Nam by marching through Laos and Cambodia. It is common knowledge that the Ho Chi Minh trail crosses Cambodia. Unless the Cambodian government can uphold its sovereignty and its declared neutrality, its territory unfortunately becomes a legitimate military target.

"The Cambodian spokesman clearly is aware of this danger, but it will take more than a letter to the editor to remove it."

59. The noted columnist C. L. Sulzberger said the following in The New York Times of Sunday, 1 May 1966:

"On the basis of this investigation I have reversed my previous impression and concluded that Cambodia is indeed a sanctuary and supply source for the Viet-Cong on such a scale that the Pnom Penh Government must know it. From the extreme south to Laos in the north, Cambodia is violating its proclaimed neutrality."

He then went on to say:

"Cambodia isn't acting in the least bit neutral, no matter what it pretends."

60. In the last few days we have all seen newspaper reports which give accounts of the same fact. I should like to quote a few excerpts from those reports. On 20 November 1967 there was this dispatch from Pnom Penh by William Tuohy published in the New York Post as follows:

"They say they have discovered what appears to be hard evidence of a Viet-Cong base camp well inside the Cambodian border, about 100 miles northeast of here.

"...

"The discovery was made by Ray Herndon... of United Press International, and Horst Fass... and George McArthur... of the Associated Press."

61. On the following day, 21 November 1967, The New York Times had this report in a dispatch by George McArthur and Horst Faas of The Associated Press:

"We found the Viet-Cong camp, recently used, on the border opposite War Zone C, about 70 miles northwest of Saigon. It had been used for several months and was probably a staging area for the Locninh battle, only nine miles away, earlier this month."

It went on to say:

"Evidence of Viet-Cong occupancy in the camp included military records written in Viet-Nameese and North Viet-Nameese medical supplies."

62. All these reports, which were again confirmed this morning in The New York Times, testify to the fact that Cambodia has been actively engaged in helping the Viet-Cong, in helping the North Viet-Nam régime in committing their aggression against their brothers in South Viet-Nam.

Mr. Manescu (Romania) took the Chair.

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has now concluded the debate on agenda item 93 and has heard representatives who wished to explain their vote before the voting.

64. The Assembly has before it three draft resolutions: the draft resolution submitted by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, Sudan and Syria [A/L.531 and Add.1]; the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, Nicaragua, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Togo and the United States of America [A/L.532 and Add.1]; and the draft resolution submitted by Belgium, Chile, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands [A/L.533].

65. The representative of Australia has formally moved [1603rd meeting, para. 50] that priority in the vote be given to draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1. The Assembly will first vote on that proposal. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua.

Against: Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian

Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal.

Abstaining: Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Tunisia, Austria, Barbados, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, Lebanon, Morocco.

The proposal was adopted by 67 votes to 41, with 12 abstentions.

66. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly having decided to grant priority to draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, I shall now put that draft resolution to the vote. A roll call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast.

Against: Kenya, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq.

Abstaining: Portugal, Austria, Barbados, Ecuador.

The draft resolution was adopted by 69 votes to 48, with 4 abstentions [resolution 2271 (XXII)]

67. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1. A roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria,

Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France.

Against: Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala.

Abstaining: Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldives Islands, Morocco, Netherlands, Portugal, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Austria, Canada, Cyprus, Ecuador,^{3/} Ghana.

The draft resolution was rejected by 58 votes to 45, with 17 abstentions.

68. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Syria, who wishes to raise a point of order.

69. Mr. DAOUDY (Syria): I should like to speak on a point of order. The General Assembly has just adopted draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, despite the opposition of all countries who are asking, and rightly so, for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. If the General Assembly, on the other hand, unfortunately has not accepted our draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1, this fact is due to very obvious reasons. We still believe, however, that elementary common sense would call for the acceptance of the right course which we proposed in our draft resolution, but in view of the fact that the General Assembly has accepted the United States proposal asking for a two-thirds majority vote on this question, I wish formally to ask that the same procedure be applied to draft resolution A/L.533 submitted by Italy and four other delegations.

70. In doing so, we do not depart from our position that the restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations does not fall under Article 18 of the Charter and therefore does not require a two-thirds majority vote.

71. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The last draft resolution on which the Assembly is to vote is contained in document A/L.533. The representative of Syria has requested that that draft resolution be considered as an important question requiring a two-thirds majority. The Assembly must take a decision on that proposal.

^{3/} Subsequently, the delegation of Ecuador informed the Secretariat that it wished its country to be included among those which had voted against the draft resolution.

72. I call on the representative of Italy, who wishes to raise a point of order.

73. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I have asked to be permitted to speak in order to oppose, on behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Chile, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Italy, the motion which has just been put forward by the representative of Syria for the second time, since he put the same motion forward last year [1481st meeting]. This motion, if I understand it correctly, aims at defining draft resolution A/L.533 as an important resolution in the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2 of the Charter and therefore requiring the application of the two-thirds majority rule.

74. May I, in this respect, draw the attention of the General Assembly to what I said on 21 November [1602nd meeting] in introducing draft resolution A/L.533. I pointed out on that occasion that the five Powers' draft resolution was clearly of a procedural nature in so far as a vote cast in its favour should not in any way prejudice the attitude of any Member on the substance of the problem. May I reaffirm, therefore, that the objectives of our draft resolution do not come under any of the points listed in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter. It is not, in fact, the purpose of this draft resolution to put forward any proposal to change the representation of China. The purpose of our draft resolution, and I emphasize this, is to establish a committee with the mandate of exploring and studying in all its aspects the question of the representation of China and then to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-third regular session.

75. This is a decision that in our opinion clearly falls under Article 22 of the Charter, which states that: "The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions". Personally, I have not the slightest doubt that my learned colleagues are fully aware of the General Assembly practice, as reported in the United Nations Repertory, which indicates clearly that all decisions under Article 22 of the Charter consistently have been taken by a simple majority of the Members present and voting. The reasons for this rule are obvious.

76. Establishing a committee, whatever the implications, is not a major or an irrevocable decision. Hence it is only fair that, if a simple majority of Members is in favour of establishing a committee, they should be allowed to get a decision of the Assembly to that effect. The rights of the minority, which the delegation of Italy has always firmly defended, will be fully guaranteed when, at the twenty-third session, the Assembly is called upon to act upon the report of the ad hoc committee should that report contain recommendations of a substantive nature. Therefore, in opposing the motion submitted by the representative of Syria, I appeal earnestly to my colleagues to vote against it in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

77. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to raise a point of order.

78. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation supports the motion of the representative of Syria.

Our reason for doing so is simple. If the Assembly had not adopted draft resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, which my delegation voted against, there would have been no question but that a simple majority would have been sufficient for the adoption of draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1 and also of draft resolution A/L.533. However, the Assembly has resolved that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question which should be decided by a qualified majority. Consequently that applies as much to the Italian draft resolution as to that sponsored by Pakistan.

79. As my delegation submitted last year [1474th meeting], a proposal for the solution of a problem is not of a different character from a proposal concerning the modalities of arriving at a solution. That is a simple principle which has never been disregarded either in this Assembly or in the Security Council. Were it to be rejected we should find ourselves in the illogical position of arguing that the appointment of subsidiary organs under Article 22 for the settlement of questions which are important and substantive is merely a procedural matter. That would be contrary to the established practice of the General Assembly and to the precedent it set last year on this very question.

80. I hope that the Assembly will apply the same standard to the two draft resolutions now before it. According to the decision already taken by the Assembly, both would require a two-thirds majority for their adoption.

81. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put to the vote the motion of the representative of Syria, which would provide that the Assembly consider draft resolution A/L.533 as an important question, thus requiring a two-thirds majority for its adoption. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iraq, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania.

Against: Niger, Sierra Leone, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands.

Abstaining: Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Somalia, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Austria, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,

Cameroon, Central African Republic,^{4/} Chad, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal.

The proposal was adopted by 36 votes to 31, with 53 abstentions.

82. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.533. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Tunisia, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Gambia, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Spain.

Against: Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, South Africa.

Abstaining: Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, Portugal.

The draft resolution was rejected by 57 votes to 32, with 30 abstentions.

83. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now call in succession on representatives who wish to explain their vote.

84. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): We owe it to ourselves, as well as to the world, to explain to this Assembly why the delegation of Ghana voted as it did on the question of China's representation in the United Nations.

85. As was stated by the Chairman of the delegation of Ghana, Mr. Harlley, in his address from this rostrum during the general debate:

"The fundamental basis of the foreign policy of the Republic of Ghana is non-alignment and balanced neutrality ... [this implies that we] ... examine every international issue on its merits and ... take what in [our] view constitutes a just and equitable stand." [1565th meeting, para. 41.]

86. It is within the context of that principle of objectivity and realism that we have again this year formulated our position with regard to the question of China's representation.

Mr. Sevilla Sacasa (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

87. Concerning the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Australia and others, just adopted by the Assembly, asserting that the question is an important one requiring, therefore, the two-thirds majority voting principle, the delegation of Ghana voted against, as it has always done, in the firm and honest belief that there is nothing in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, nor in its practice, to support the view of the co-sponsors of that draft resolution. To us the matter is a simple, straightforward question of the credentials of the delegation of the successor Government of a founding Member State, the Republic of China. On the question of whether China's representation is important or simple our position is similar to that of the delegation of Pakistan.

88. Article 18, paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Charter is specific and exclusive on the matter. We are not dealing here with the admission of a new Member State—paragraph 2—nor with an additional category of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority—paragraph 3—of which this is a specific example, for the simple reason that the General Assembly has not determined such categories in terms of paragraph 3 of Article 18.

89. We are dealing here not with a Government but with a State which was a founding Member of the United Nations. Logic, law and the Charter would therefore seem to indicate only one answer to the question of the procedure which should govern the consideration of the Chinese question. It is a simple matter requiring only a simple majority vote. We therefore voted against the Australian draft resolution.

90. It is when we come to the substantive resolution, the Albanian draft resolution, that the difficulties begin. We have consistently held the view ever since the question of Chinese representation came before the General Assembly, and we still do in spite of provocations we have suffered from that Government, that the legitimate, effective successor Government of the Republic of China which joined the United Nations in 1945, at least as far as the mainland is concerned, is the Government of the People's Republic of China. Whether that Government is communist or capitalist, whether it is plagued by red guards or pink ones, whether it is aggressive or not, whether it will be a good United Nations Member or not, these are irrelevant to the issue. By whose definition of aggression anyway are we invited to judge Peking? There are a few Member States of this Organization which on the basis of such an argument would not qualify to be here one

^{4/} Subsequently, the delegation of the Central African Republic informed the Secretariat that it wished its country to be included among those which had voted in favour of the motion.

minute. The issue is: this Organization has no right to deny the seating of any successor Government of a Member State; indeed it has the duty to facilitate such a process in the interests of world peace, security and co-operation. Reason and realism demand the application of the principle of universal admissibility. The problems of the world today demand the presence here of the representatives of the 700 million people of China.

91. It is precisely for this and other reasons that we feel unable to vote for the Albanian draft resolution because it seeks in addition to the seating of Peking—the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China based on Taiwan. We do not think it wise that the seating of the People's Republic of China should preclude us from any other options with respect to Taiwan. Some of us may have very strong objections to the circumstances which have led to the establishment of the Chiang Kai-shek Government on Taiwan, but we cannot be blind to the objective fact of the existence of that State, just as we cannot ignore the existence of Peking. It is an objective fact that the Government of Taiwan exists and has participated and still participates in this Organization even if under contested constitutional premises. That is why the Vice-Chairman of the National Liberation Council of Ghana, Mr. Harlley, in his address to this Assembly said:

"...the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should [not] prejudice the claim of Taiwan as a member of the international community." [1565th meeting, para. 73.]

92. Our understanding of the law of State succession convinces us that Peking is the successor State in this dispute. Of course, the law of State succession may not preclude the emergence of more than one State from the parent State but in the present confrontation of claims and counter-claims by both Peking and Taiwan this may not be a fruitful field for guidance. That is why we are at present unimpressed by the so-called two-Chinas policy. But we do not rule out the possibility of an eventual political solution outside the framework of the so-called two-Chinas policy. Unfortunately we have found nothing new in the debates here to indicate that such a political solution is possible now. We have therefore abstained on the Albanian draft resolution.

93. In the light of our position on the Albanian draft resolution we felt bound to abstain on the Italian draft resolution. That draft resolution has some merit but we believe that it suffers from the contingencies of the present international situation.

94. Mr. P. V. J. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): Every year this Assembly has been asked to decide on the very important matter of the representation of the people of China in this Assembly and in its concomitant organizations. Every year there has been a certain amount of heat generated on this issue, but my delegation feels that a matter as important as this should not be decided by invective or by name-calling or by accusations of bad faith which can after all only aggravate existing tensions and do not allow people to form their opinions and arrive at conclusions on the basis of calm and rational

thinking. We do regard it as a very important question indeed, and we have voted to have it so regarded by the Assembly.

95. Whatever may be the legal aspects of the situation it must be clear to all of us that the international fate of about one-quarter of the world's population must be important, if not to us, at least to them. It is not a simple issue. It is not, as the Albanian draft resolution would have us believe, the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. It is more than that. It is in fact a decision on which of two rival claimants represents the Chinese people: and having decided which one represents the Chinese people, what is to be our attitude towards the other one?

96. The principle of universality in the Charter requires that we make possible—or at least that we do not close the door to—the admission to this Organization of upwards of 700 million people. Therefore, this Organization should take no decision which effectively bans from the Organization the people of mainland China. But this very principle of universality requires that we do not summarily dismiss from our counsels the 12 million people who reside on the island of Taiwan and who have an effective Government which is able to represent them.

97. Now we come to the third alternative proposed by Italy and some other delegations. Last year, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago not only supported but co-sponsored a similar draft resolution. We did so in the hope that it would receive wide-based support which would make its implementation possible. Unfortunately, it was ignominiously defeated. There were nearly twice as many votes against it as there were in favour of it. And we saw no indication this year that it would receive support of a more substantial nature. We considered the time inopportune to revive this approach to the Chinese question. Accordingly, my delegation abstained on the vote, while recognizing the merits of the Italian proposal.

98. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I wish to state very briefly the reasons why the Italian delegation voted against draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1, containing the proposal which the General Assembly has once again rejected. As I stated in my intervention before this Assembly at its 1602nd meeting, a vote against the draft resolution co-sponsored by Albania and ten other countries implies, rather than a judgement on its merits, the refusal of the method which, year after year, has been proposed to us with a view to solving the problem of the representation of China at the United Nations.

99. The question of securing the representation in the world Organization of the people of China, the largest national entity in the world, cannot be solved by a mere vote. It is like hiding from ourselves the real hard facts of international life, hiding from ourselves the complex situation which has developed all these years.

100. For these reasons, we voted against draft resolution A/L.531 and Add.1, and we are more convinced than ever that a new approach is needed. May I, as a point of clarification, add that this assessment is based on the results of the two votes which

have taken place on the proposal put forward by five delegations, including my own. Seen all together, these votes show a more favourable response, and may I say that we could also detect this better response in the statements even of those delegations which voted against it or were not prepared to accept it.

101. It may well be, as the representatives of Ghana and Trinidad and Tobago have just pointed out, that the present juncture has not favoured our proposal. If, therefore, we have some regrets, they are tempered by the indication of an increasing awareness in this Assembly of the need for a new approach to this serious problem.

102. New ideas necessarily need a slow ripening, especially when they are meant to change a long-hardened pattern of thinking. We were nevertheless encouraged and gratified by the better understanding shown towards our ideas and we are confident that what has not proved mature at this session may become so at the next.

103. We are grateful to our co-sponsors and to those who voted in favour of our draft resolution. We express our appreciation also to those who wanted to discuss with us this idea even if they were not in a position to agree with it.

104. We are, finally, confident that the next twelve months—which, I must admit with a tinge of regret, might have seen an ad hoc committee studying this problem in depth—will be fruitfully used in further discussions and consultations, although of an informal

nature, so that a basis of agreement might be reached before we meet again to consider this problem.

105. In the meantime, we shall keep on with one single inspiration which comes from a great figure, well known to our friends of Belgium and the Netherlands. We are sure they will not mind if we say, with William the Silent: "It is not necessary to hope in order to undertake, or to succeed in order to persevere".

106. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of Albania wishes to make it clear that it voted in favour of the motion submitted by the Syrian delegation requiring the application of the provisions of the draft resolution [A/L.532 and Add.1], adopted today, to the Italian proposal [A/L.533] because it considers that once a procedural motion is adopted at a given session on a given matter, that procedure must during the same session be applied to any proposal dealing with the substance of that matter.

107. We also wish to emphasize that our position with regard to the content of the draft resolution [A/L.532 and Add.1] remains unchanged. We continue to believe that the application of the two-thirds majority to the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is contrary to the Charter and inadmissible.

108. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): As there are no further explanations of vote, we have concluded our consideration of agenda item 93.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.