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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 97

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

1. Mr. KHIM TIT (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation recognizes the importance of the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China and would like to specify its position in the forthcoming votes. This position will be determined by the following statement.
2. Cambodia follows a constant policy of reciprocity and peaceful coexistence in its foreign relations. The People's Republic of China has violated the principles of this policy by supporting foreign aggression against our country which is a Member of the United Nations.
3. We again declare that we are in favour of the principle of the universality of the United Nations, but we oppose the admission to this Organization of any country which does not respect the elementary principles set forth in the Charter.
4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the next speaker I once again wish to remind the representatives of rule 90 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly which states:

"The President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment".
5. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): For several years my delegation has clearly stated its views relating to the question of the representation of China. That position has not changed because, in our view, despite the arguments presented from this rostrum, we are unable to consider, with objectivity and precision, that mainland China has renounced an ideology whose specific nature and agg-

ressiveness can only be a source of real concern to a freedom and peace-loving country such as mine.

6. Far be it from us to advance the idea that China must forever be barred from international life. But it is just as obvious that any participation in international life must be accompanied by a formal undertaking to ensure that the society to which we wish to belong should not be unduly perturbed and troubled or even disintegrated. By subscribing to the principles and objectives of the Charter, we subscribed to a precise form of co-operation and peaceful and friendly relations among States. It is therefore normal that we could not accept that this co-operation and these peaceful relations among States, as we understand them, and as advocated by the Charter, be assessed, interpreted and defined in a way which would ignore the principles of the United Nations by basing itself on ideological concepts which are far from being shared by the majority of States.

7. In representing and defending the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605, several delegations have come forward with arguments that we are familiar with and on which I should like to comment very briefly in order to explain the vote of my delegation.

8. First, on the question of universality, we willingly supported that principle, but this must not be considered as an essential condition for our Organization to achieve the objectives which it has set for itself. Further, my delegation thinks that it is much more necessary to see to it that there be universality of acceptance of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the obligations flowing therefrom, rather than advocating a universality which, no matter how attractive would remain merely formal as long as those to whom it would be applied seem to want to make use of it for their own political and ideological benefit.

9. Moreover, is there not a contradiction in draft resolution A/L.605, presented in the name of universality and which at the same time would like to deprive 15 million human beings of any representation in our Organization? In the name of universality, are we going to sacrifice the legitimate aspirations and fundamental rights of a people, whatever its numerical size? Can universality be conceived only through substitution or subtraction? If that were so, we would be entitled to ask what would be the place of small peoples such as ours in an international society where the notion of universality would be accompanied by flagrant injustice.

10. It has also been said that mainland China is a great country with 700 million inhabitants, a great nuc-

* Resumed from the 1911th meeting.

lear Power, and a first-class economic and industrial power. These are realities which are irrefutable and we do not intend to refute them. But the positive contribution of a State to the achievement of our objectives cannot be measured by its scope or power.

11. We are also inclined to believe that in many cases and according to the principles of our Organization, the greatness and the power of a State, since under the Charter we are all sovereign and equal States, should be evaluated according to its loyalty and dedication to the principles of the Charter and its ability to fulfil the obligations of the Charter in respect of the maintenance of peace, of international security, mutual respect among States and among peoples and its determination to adhere strictly to these principles.

12. I now come to the part of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605 which deals more specifically with the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China. It would be unavailing to try to consider this aspect of the problem from the standpoint of the validity of the credentials of the representatives of China. The draft resolution contained in document A/L.605 is sufficiently explicit: it requests that the representatives of the Republic of China, a State Member of this Organization, be expelled forthwith from the United Nations and all its subsidiary bodies.

13. In this connexion I should like briefly to repeat the arguments I adduced from this same rostrum last year [1802nd meeting]. The exclusion of a Member State, a particularly important matter under paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the Charter, is governed by Article 6.

14. As far as we know, the Republic of China has not persistently violated the principles of the Charter. On the contrary, we have always found that its intentions are in keeping with Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. What is more, it is not merely a matter of its intentions, since in its relations with the great majority of the States of this Organization it has always seen to it that they are based on friendship, equality, mutual respect, justice and the promotion of peace. Therefore, we cannot admit that Article 6 can be applied to the Republic of China.

15. In the very unlikely event that we should decide to apply Article 6, there remains the fact that it is not up to the General Assembly to take the initial decision in this matter. The Security Council must make a prior recommendation, and only then can the General Assembly act.

16. These are the arguments which will cause my delegation to vote against draft resolution A/L.605. They are inspired by our dedication to the fundamental principles governing relations among States and peoples in an international society which must be orderly and peaceful, and by our determination to adhere to them strictly whenever the nature of a Member State and the normal exercise of its rights and privileges under the Charter are questioned.

17. Mr. BOHIADI (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like, before the vote, to clarify its position on the two draft resolutions relating to the restoration of the lawful rights of People's China. In his statement from this rostrum on 23 October, during the commemorative session celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, Mr. Tombalbaye, President of the Republic of Chad, declared, when speaking of the People's Republic of China:

“Another black spot on the human picture which is of concern to the people of Chad is the absence of People's China from this world parliament. Seven hundred million human beings constitute an important community. They have their civilization which they are each day consolidating more and more. They are progressing in technology and are endeavouring to harness nuclear power. That vast country is therefore an interlocutor that no one has the right to spurn or to exclude from the world system of co-operation and of peaceful coexistence, because so long as it is shut out no equilibrium can be anything but precarious and transient. But we do not think that two wrongs make a right, and that is what the exclusion of Formosa, itself a founding member of our Organization, would constitute.” [1882nd meeting, para. 105.]

18. My delegation is in no way opposed to the admission of People's China to the United Nations. People's China is a Power of 700 million inhabitants, a nuclear Power and a super-Power as much as the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Chad has no axe to grind. My delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/L.605 if that draft resolution did not at the same time call for the expulsion of Nationalist China. It is that Nationalist China which my country found here in the United Nations when it was admitted to membership in September 1960. It is with that Nationalist China that we established diplomatic relations and signed agreements for economic and technical co-operation. There is, therefore, no question of my delegation voting in favour of a resolution which would advocate its expulsion. As far as the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1 is concerned, my delegation intends to abstain.

19. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): In its statement of 13 November [1904th meeting] the delegation of Albania briefly made known its views on the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1 submitted by the United States, Japan and some other countries. We wish to revert to that question, at this stage of the discussion, because this involves the argument which the Government of the United States has advanced as a last resort in the last few years in order to maintain its obstructionist policy regarding the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The rejection of that illegal subterfuge is now of particular importance because of the constant evolution that has taken place in the position of Member States regarding the question and, therefore, the possibility that the draft resolution submitted by eighteen States [A/L.605] calling for the

restoration to the People's Republic of China of the seat which rightfully belongs to it in this Organization, will be adopted by a majority vote of the General Assembly at the present session.

20. The essence of the hackneyed procedural manoeuvre of the United States lies in the fallacious attempt to present the question of the representation of China in the United Nations as if it was a question of the admission of a new Member to replace another Member that is to be expelled. This is all based on the absurd "two Chinas" theory, the acceptance of which the United States imperialists have long sought in the vain hope of detaching Taiwan from China.

21. But it is obvious that, in this case, it is neither a question of the admission of a new Member nor of the expulsion of a Member. China has been and has remained a Member of the United Nations since its founding. Thus, it is one of its founding Members and, at the same time, it is a permanent member of the Security Council. There is only one China on this planet and only one Chinese Member State in this Organization. The only question that confronts us is simply to seat the true representatives of that Member State in this Organization. Now, no one can doubt that China is that great Chinese people of over 700 million, it is that great socialist country called the People's Republic of China, which has full sovereignty over all of the territory of China, including the Chinese province of Taiwan, which is temporarily under the military occupation of the American imperialist aggressors. If the riff-raff of the rotten Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was rejected by the Chinese people since the triumph of the people's revolution in 1949 and which sought refuge on the island of Taiwan under the protection of the United States armed forces, was able to usurp the seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, this, as we know full well is to be explained both by the United States policy of aggression against the great socialist China and by their nefarious hold over the United Nations.

22. And it is precisely this shameful and unprecedented situation which they themselves have created in the United Nations, that the United States is seeking to exploit in order once again to impose this fraudulent manoeuvre of the two-thirds majority, this artificial obstacle which is contrary to the Charter, on the absurd pretext that to expel those miserable puppets of the United States imperialists, would be to exclude a Member of this Organization. This is truly the height of insolence. Peace-loving Member States must no longer tolerate that barefaced pretense which flouts the express provisions of the Charter, the rules of procedure and the practice that has been established in the United Nations for many years and which thus strikes a blow at the very dignity of Member States.

23. Important questions within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, on which the General Assembly can take a decision only by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, are clearly and expressly indicated in paragraph 2 of that Article. That is a restrictive listing. Particularly as far as Member

States are directly concerned, only three questions in that category require for their solution a decision of the General Assembly taken by a two-thirds majority. To quote the Article they are: the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, and the expulsion of Members. The recognition of the true representatives of a State already a Member, namely China, has nothing to do with these questions. Therefore, to apply the two-thirds majority rule to the question of deciding upon the true representatives of a Member State—which is the only question which concerns us here—would be openly to violate an express provision of the Charter which is reproduced in the rules of procedure.

24. With regard to Article 18, paragraph 3, of the Charter, in the past we have proved that that paragraph refers to the "determination of additional categories of questions" and not to new cases. Therefore it cannot be invoked in regard to the question we are now discussing.

25. Member States that sincerely wish the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to be restored in the United Nations, those that recognize that there is only one China in the world and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is its sole government, cannot accept the crafty manoeuvre of the United States designed through a false procedural pretext based upon the absurd theory of "two Chinas", once again, at this session, to prevent the General Assembly from deciding to restore the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations, as is proposed in draft resolution A/L.605 sponsored by eighteen countries, including Albania.

26. Those Member States are in duty bound to reject draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 submitted by the United States, which is incompatible with their position, for, as I have just emphasized, it is based upon the false American theory of "two Chinas", designed to detach Taiwan from China. Otherwise those States would find themselves in a contradictory position which, willy-nilly, would lead among other things to interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China.

27. Indeed the Chinese province of Taiwan, as an integral part of the territory of China, is exclusively within the internal affairs of that country, and no one has the right to interfere in the matter. The Chinese people has committed itself to carry through to the end its just struggle to rid that part of its national territory of the imperialist American aggressor, and it will surely liberate Taiwan.

28. Many representatives who have participated in the debate on the question of the representation of China have forcefully stressed the intolerable and ignominious international injustice so far committed in this Organization against the great Chinese people, which represents a quarter of mankind. They have in particular stressed the importance to the Organization itself, from every standpoint, of the restoration of the

lawful rights of the great socialist China, in the Organization, especially since without this great world Power, this atomic Power, this Power in space with its immense and ever-growing role and authority in the world, no just and valid solutions to any of the major problems of our time can be found.

29. The deplorable situation that exists in the United Nations because of the harmful influence exerted by the United States and its collusion with the revisionist Soviet Union, as well as the present international situation, makes the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations a necessity that is so imperative that the peaceful Member States that are devoted to the principles of the Charter and the cause that this Organization should serve cannot allow any further delay in the adoption of the only just decision on this matter, as presented in draft resolution A/L.605.

30. The adoption of that draft resolution by the General Assembly will not only redress a scandalous and unprecedented situation that has existed for twenty-one years in this Organization, but will also be a joint victory for all those who support the draft against the overt or covert enemies of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the strengthening of the Organization in conformity with the role entrusted to it by the Charter and with the aspirations of peoples that are struggling for freedom, independence, peace and progress. Its adoption will without any doubt mark a turning point of immense importance for the future of the United Nations.

31. The PRESIDENT: I should like to point out that it has already been stated that the debate on this item has been concluded and that we are now hearing explanations of vote. Strictly speaking, that means that statements should be limited to explanations of vote and that the debate should not be reopened.

32. Mr. CASTILLO VALDÉS (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Republic of Guatemala wishes to explain its vote on item 97 of the agenda.

33. Since there are two draft resolutions submitted to this Assembly, I should like to say that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, as we have traditionally voted, since, taking into account the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the special circumstances of the present case and recalling the terms of resolution 396 (V) of 14 December 1950, my delegation has not the slightest doubt that the question of the changing of the representation of the Republic of China is, in keeping with the terms of Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, an important question.

34. With regard to draft resolution A/L.605 submitted by Albania, Algeria and other nations, my delegation would like to make the following explanation of its vote. If this draft resolution were adopted, the General Assembly, according to its terms, would decide to restore all its lawful rights to the People's Republic of China. However, in the view of my delegation, the

Republic of China is duly represented in the United Nations.

35. Then, if that draft resolution were to be approved, the General Assembly would decide to expel the representatives of the Government of China. In this connexion I wish to say that my delegation will vote against that draft resolution since we do not believe it is just to expel the representatives of a Government of a country which, as is the case with China, has particularly earned a place in the United Nations. Its contribution to the cause of freedom and democracy is beyond reproach, as is its titanic struggle to preserve and defend the principles of law and justice. My delegation is not unaware of, nor do we ignore, the presence of another Government on the territory of China, but in the United Nations the Government that is at present represented is the sole constituted Government. It is the Government which has represented the people of China without interruption and has always been, and shows that it continues to be, a Government which respects and observes the will of the people it represents. The Ambassador of the Republic of China, Mr. Liu Chieh, in the statement he made in the General Assembly on 19 November 1970 [*1911th meeting*], confirmed the statement made at the meeting on 15 November 1956 [*578th meeting*], during the eleventh session of the General Assembly, by the Government of China at present represented in this Organization that if free elections, under the auspices of the United Nations, were to be held in the entire territory for all one people of China, during which the people would decide which Government should represent them in this Organization, the representatives of the Republic of China at present in the Organization would abide by the result of such free elections.

36. Finally, my delegation is of the opinion that it is most improper to consider the expulsion of the representatives of a Government which has been exemplary in the fulfilment of its obligations towards the United Nations.

37. Mr. ZEGERS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chilean delegation wishes to explain its vote on item 97.

38. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605. We are prompted to do that by views which we consider of the greatest weight and significance, views shared by countries from all geographical areas, representing different political and economic systems.

39. First of all, there is the recognition of reality. Some days ago, in this same hall we listened to and were impressed as always by the depth and wisdom of the words of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who stated quite rightly that she spoke on behalf of one-seventh of mankind [*1881st meeting*]. That one-seventh of mankind is of great importance today, as it was in the development of civilization and as it will be and even more justifiably so in that future which belongs to the forgotten peoples of the world. There has very often been an unjust and mistaken ten-

dency to confuse or to accent the meaning of the eras which Toynbee has quite correctly referred to as a mere moment in history, namely the period of European hegemony.

40. One of the great civilizations and one of the great realities of all times greeted us in the person of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Today, as we meet here, we are aware of another great civilization, one that stands among the most ancient and lasting known to man, which is embodied in that reality, which is the People's Republic of China.

41. Can we continue to ignore the existence of a quarter of mankind? Can we continue to pretend that a Government which has authority over almost 800 million human beings, and which exercises sovereignty over a vast territory, does not exist?

42. Our second comment relates to the principle of universality. On the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, the United Nations should engage in self-criticism and an analysis of the years of its existence. One of the best founded, most profound and most generally shared theses in this analyses was that of universality as a necessity vital to the United Nations as an elementary condition for effectiveness. Does this Organization wish to be the expression of the entire politically organized international community?

43. The world is one. States are equal, and this is their common meeting ground, their forum for expression, the place where their ideals converge, where their disputes can be overcome. The United Nations must transform itself into a universal Organization.

44. Our third reason is the cause of peace. There can be no peace if one of today's great Powers is disregarded. Conflicts cannot be solved if there is no negotiation. One of the unquestioned virtues of this Organization is that it is an effective forum for multilateral negotiations. It provides the place and the opportunity for ideas and leaders to meet. There can be no doubt that the presence of China among us would open up new possibilities for dialogue and understanding.

45. Finally, there is one further reason related to political realism. The People's Republic of China is not only a great country: it is one of the great contemporary Powers. It is a nuclear Power which should be present at the debates of the Security Council if we want those debates to acquire greater significance, if we hope that the great international problems can be solved within the framework of the Organization and not outside it.

46. Chile regards the Government in Peking as the only one that can be considered the legitimate representative of the Chinese people. It therefore contends that the People's Republic of China should occupy its proper seat in the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in the rest of the United Nations organs.

47. Our vote, however, must not be considered as an expression of our position on the rights of the People's Republic of China over territories in which

it does not at present exercise effective sovereignty as this is a subject that will have to be taken up in the course of the conversation Chile wishes to hold with the People's Republic of China concerning future relations between our two Governments.

48. For these reasons, Chile will vote in favour of the draft resolution which restores the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and will vote against the draft resolution appearing in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

49. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): We are now about to vote on the draft resolutions appearing in documents A/L.599 and Add.1 and A/L.605, concerning the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

50. During the long debate that has just taken place, the Tunisian delegation sought to clarify its views and to suggest various and positive solutions to the problem before us. We listened most carefully to the various speakers who came to this rostrum. During the debate, we tried to find some sign, some indication that might influence our judgement. The suggestions that we objectively submitted were, if not disregarded, at least evaded, and the debate reflected neither the interest that those suggestions aroused among numerous delegations nor the necessity of taking them into account for the purpose of finding a satisfactory solution to this problem.

51. May I succinctly remind the Assembly that those suggestions concerned either a simple statement of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, or else an operative part in a resolution which would include: (a), the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, and, (b) the expulsion of the present representatives of China—those two paragraphs would be put to the vote separately—or else a decision that would, on the one hand, restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and, on the other, provisionally keep the present representation of China pending the definition of its new status.

52. In any case, the draft resolution should, in our view, request the Secretary-General to contact the parties concerned in the implementation of the resolution and the consideration of measures to be taken in facing the implications of whatever decision may be taken.

53. We regret to see that the positions of both sides remain inflexible; and we run the risk, in adopting one or the other position, of taking sides in quarrels which the United Nations, by a reasoned attitude, should help to resolve. For it is our duty to act in such a way that the United Nations will come out of this debate with added strength.

54. We thus have tried to encourage some progress in this problem which has remained unresolved for twenty years. While affirming that for us there is only

one China, the one with its capital in Peking, we still cannot disregard the fact that the Chinese revolution has its sequels just as the Second World War had its sequels. We shall some day, perhaps, have to adapt ourselves to that situation in this Organization. Out of a sense of realism and a concern for international peace, it would then not be a crime to see the representatives of Formosa sitting in the United Nations together with the representatives of the other countries of the world, each of which has its own history; and this will be true whether it all takes place some day with the consent of the Peking Republic, following a plebiscite, if necessary, in accordance with the suggestion of our dear colleague, Mr. Baroody. But that is not our problem today. Our concern, on this twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, is to guarantee to China its lawful representation, while at the same time accepting a provisional situation that cannot be ignored and that the People's Republic of China itself cannot ignore.

55. The adoption of one of the proposals we made could have helped us to achieve that objective. To facilitate the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, we shall vote against draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1. Thus the cause of China will have a greater chance of succeeding. As to our vote on draft resolution A/L.605, it will be influenced by the passive attitude which greeted the constructive proposals that we offered.

56. The Tunisian delegation reserves its right to intervene after the vote for the purpose of drawing conclusions from the results of that vote and, possibly, presenting a procedural motion. Tunisia is doing its duty as a non-aligned nation in the service of the United Nations. It wishes to see China take part in our work for international peace and co-operation.

57. Mr. BONNICK (Jamaica): During the Commemorative session marking the twenty-fifth anniversary, my Prime Minister outlined Jamaica's position on the question of China [1875th meeting]. Those views remain unchanged. Jamaica, supporting the principle of universality, is in favour of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We are also in favour of the seating of Taiwan in the United Nations. We recognize that Taiwan stands, *de facto*, outside the political authority of Peking. Simple realism dictates that we cannot ignore the existence of the 14 million people of Taiwan.

58. The formula contained in the resolution in document A/L.605 is acceptable to Jamaica so far as it seeks to seat the People's Republic of China. The formula does not, however, meet with the approval of my delegation so far as it seeks, or implies, the expulsion of Nationalist China from the Organization. My delegation will therefore abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/L.605.

59. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The Government of Senegal has always been in favour of the universality of our Organization. I

explained this matter at length in the First Committee and, therefore, if the draft resolution in document A/L.605 had merely requested the admission of the People's Republic of China there would be no ambiguity regarding the position of my Government which, however, would have liked to hear the representatives of these countries speak of the international situation in more moderate and peaceful terms.

60. But draft resolution A/L.605 being what it is, I must clearly state that my Government is not ready to correct one anomaly by accepting another. With the Republic of China, which is a peace-loving nation, we have relations of fruitful co-operation and friendship which we hope to develop. If in this hall there is any delegation which should be expelled it would be that of South Africa whose credentials have been invalidated at this session.

61. It is in the light of these comments that my delegation will vote on draft resolution A/L.605 and A/L.599 and Add.1.

62. Mr. SEN (India): Following your injunctions, Mr. President, I shall restrict my comments to explaining how India will vote on the draft resolutions before us. The delegation of India declares its renewed support for the draft resolution in document A/L.605 which follows the purpose and phraseology of similar draft resolutions in the past. Our support for the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China is based on the principles of the universality of our Organization as also on the provisions of the Charter. India is among those countries which have voted consistently on this matter for the last twenty-one years and which have taken a logical view of the question. As recently as 2 October this year the Foreign Minister of India stated before this Assembly:

“We regret that the universality of membership of the United Nations has not been achieved. In particular, there is a general realization that without the rightful participation of the People's Republic of China this Organization will continue to face difficulties in solving several basic problems” [1858th meeting, para. 53]. Similar views have been expressed by several speakers during the general debate, as well as in the commemorative session of the Assembly.

63. The principle of universality has already been reflected in the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations which was adopted unanimously on 24 October [resolution 2627 (XXV)]. Besides, the proper representation of China by the People's Republic of China is a right fully established in law, facts and justice and on considerations of further international co-operation in and through the United Nations.

64. For more than twenty-one years the great Chinese people have been denied their rightful place in our Organization. We have always felt that there was no justification for the continuation of that state of affairs. My delegation notes with satisfaction that, with a new

awareness of the need to renew contacts with the People's Republic of China, two important countries have successfully negotiated the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and others are in the process of doing so. We welcome that trend and we hope that this will also be reflected in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

65. My delegation has always maintained that the proper representation of China by the People's Republic of China is a simple matter and therefore should not be subject to the rule of a two-thirds majority. My delegation will, therefore, vote against the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1 and, as already indicated, will support the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605.

66. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): In the light of what I said in my statement on the Chinese issue, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1 because we consider the question to be of great importance and one which requires a two-thirds majority.

67. I would have been able to vote judiciously—and I repeat judiciously—on the draft resolution in document A/L.605 if I knew that my vote would be on the side of justice and equity. But, since the substance of that draft resolution is in contradiction with the plan I put forward in my statement a few days ago [*1906th meeting*], it is not possible for me to participate in the expulsion of a political entity, namely Taiwan, regardless of whether it opts for a plan of self-determination, or whether the People's Republic of China insists that it has no right to determine its future, taking into account that my plan made it clear that when the two giants—Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek—fade out of the picture another plebiscite should be taken to determine the wishes of the people, whether of the People's Republic of China or of Taiwan, and noting that my plan did not provide for the People's Republic of China to be subjected to a plebiscite. It is its own domestic affair and as the United Nations we have no right, while it is not a Member, to tell it what would be best for it to do.

68. However, as Taiwan is a Member of this Organization and for the sake of the survival of the people of Taiwan—I am not talking of their physical survival but of their political survival—I think they should see the writing on the wall and they should have come forth and told us—perhaps it may not be too late if they would do that at a future date—that they would carry out a plebiscite, not under the aegis of the United Nations but of neutrals—who may be Members, such as Austria or Sweden—to see whether they wish to keep their political entity for the time being.

69. The writing is on the wall because it will not be long before a great Power will shift its position and they will be victims. Here we must state that we should uphold not only the right of the individual—and we have elaborated those fundamental human rights in declarations and international covenants—but we

should also stand for the right of collectivities, which are nothing but a conglomeration of individuals, to ascertain their wishes and to act thereon.

70. One last word in explanation of my vote. What I shall now say will be read next year in the record, whether I am here or elsewhere. In order that we may not be occupied with draft resolutions which have become broken reeds, I am going to suggest something drastic—and I am sure it will not be accepted because everybody has a rigid position. The suggestion is as follows: that both draft resolutions be withdrawn forthwith and that a caucus of the proponents of both of them be held, to see whether a solution can be worked out under which the People's Republic of China can be admitted to this Organization and Taiwan can stand on its own right of temporary secession until such time—five years or so from now—as they can determine whether they wish to be a separate State or merge with the People's Republic of China.

71. The PRESIDENT: We have now heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the vote.

72. The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions before it, documents A/L.599 and Add.1 and A/L.605. After all the votes have been taken I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes on any of the proposals.

73. In accordance with rule 93 of the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the vote draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

Against: 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, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary,

India, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria.

Abstaining: Barbados, Cameroon, Chad, Guyana, Mauritius, Portugal, Trinidad and Tobago.

Draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 was adopted by 66 votes to 52, with 7 abstentions [resolution 2642 (XXV)].

74. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.605. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Southern Yemen, 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, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Somalia.

Against: South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Brazil, Cambodia, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone.

Abstaining: Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Ecuador, Fiji, Guyana, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Senegal, Singapore.

The result of the vote was 51 votes in favour and 49 against with 25 abstentions.

Draft resolution A/L.605 was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

75. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Tunisia on a point of order.

76. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The vote on draft resolutions A/L.599 and

Add.1 and A/L.605 has now taken place. We are therefore back to the *status quo ante*. During my explanation of vote, I reserved my right to draw conclusions from the vote which has just been held and to make a procedural proposal. I do not wish to reopen the debate. I wish only to note that, by our vote, we have proved the powerlessness of our Organization to solve a problem which has been of concern to it for twenty years. Unfortunately, the United Nations once again, by reflecting its political difficulties, has lost an opportunity to act. Is all hope lost? Is it still possible to move forward in the direction of history in this twenty-fifth anniversary year?

77. I should like, faithful to the United Nations and its spirit and on the basis of rule 80 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to make, on behalf of the delegation of Tunisia, a procedural motion which I would ask you, Mr. President, to put to the Assembly. This proposal would enable us to conclude the examination of item 97 of the agenda on a positive note. We propose a draft resolution consisting of two paragraphs, the first keeping item 97 of the agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the second entrusting the Secretary-General with an exploratory task on the problem. Thus the United Nations would demonstrate the interest of all its Members in the problem of China. The text of the draft resolution [A/L.614] is as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having discussed item 97 of its agenda,

"1. Decides:

"(a) To include in the provisional agenda for its twenty-sixth session an item entitled 'Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations';

"(b) To entrust the Secretary-General with the task of exploring the possibility of solving this problem;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to report on this matter, if necessary, to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session."

78. The PRESIDENT: While the text of the draft resolution proposed by the representative of Tunisia is being circulated we shall proceed with the explanations of vote after the voting.

79. Mr. ESPINOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The principle of universality is one of the basic elements of the general criteria underlying Colombia's international policy in the United Nations. That is why my delegation voted against a draft resolution, the approval of which would imply the expulsion from the Organization of a Member which has fully complied with the obligations incumbent upon it under the Charter and with which my country enjoys cordial diplomatic relations. But I wish expressly to state that in accordance with our belief that the principle of univer-

sality must prevail in the United Nations the Colombian delegation feels it is illogical that the People's Republic of China, which has a population of more than 700 million, should not already be a Member of the United Nations. My delegation expresses the hope that at some future date a draft resolution that can be prepared which will open the way for the People's Republic of China to enter the United Nations without thus implying the expulsion of another State which—as in the case of the Republic of China—has complied with the rules and spirit of the Charter for twenty-five years.

80. For the same reasons my delegation voted in favour of the resolution which provides that the matter being discussed is an important question, because intrinsically it is important and also because only by so stating could we be sure of avoiding an injustice being committed against the Republic of China.

81. Of course, it is to be hoped that the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations will not be delayed. My delegation would be ready to co-operate with the delegations of other countries to agree on the admission of the People's Republic of China to our Organization and to maintain the status of member which the Republic of China has enjoyed since the adoption of the Charter in San Francisco. In so doing, the United Nations would unequivocally demonstrate its universalist mission and take an important step towards the preservation of peace and the achievement of international harmony.

82. Mr. THOMPSON (Guyana): As the General Assembly will have noted, my delegation abstained on both draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, sponsored by Australia and a number of other delegations, and draft resolution A/L.605, sponsored by Albania and a number of other delegations. The delegation of Guyana is well aware that the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations is one that has continued to preoccupy the Assembly for many years. My delegation is unhappy at the way in which the whole issue has become set in a ritualistic mould of two traditional resolutions neither of which, in our view, is completely satisfactory.

83. The delegation of Guyana recognizes the principle of universality as a fundamental cornerstone on which United Nations membership should be built. In that connexion my Prime Minister, the Honourable L. F. S. Burnham, at the recent meeting of non-aligned countries in Lusaka¹ spoke clearly in support of the right of the People's Republic of China to a seat in the United Nations and to a seat therein on the Security Council. Guyana is in favour of seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

84. My delegation recognizes, however, that there are a number of obstacles in the way of achieving that aim. A principal obstacle is reflected in the procedural argument of the resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1, which seeks to make the issue an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the

Charter. That argument really turns on whether what is involved is the admission of a new Member and the expulsion from the United Nations of an existing one or merely the very different problem of clarifying the question of the representation of a State already duly admitted to membership.

85. In assessing the arguments for and against those two respective points of view my delegation has been struck by the quality of the arguments adduced in this hall on Monday last [*1906th meeting*] by the representative of Tunisia. Instead of addressing ourselves to an apparently endless restatement of the high political principles involved, could we not spare some time to look at the practical possibilities? If, as has been stated, the present delegation representing the Republic of China maintains that there is only one China, of which it is the legitimate representative, and that it would not accept the presence of a delegation of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations, that leads logically to a position that posits the withdrawal of the present delegation once a delegation from Peking has been seated. In such circumstances would it not be the best way of advancing the cause of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations for the main advocates of that cause simply to present a draft resolution asking for that to be done and omitting any reference to the necessity of expelling the present delegation? My own delegation would vote affirmatively for a draft resolution cast in those terms. It believes that such a resolution would profoundly influence the vote on the procedural question if, in the light of a substantive resolution so worded, the sponsors of the present procedural resolution would insist upon putting it to the vote.

86. Alternatively, and as the representative of Tunisia has also proposed, it might be possible, consequent upon the decision to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate representative of China at the United Nations and to secure for that Government's delegation the permanent seat of China on the Security Council, to provide for the present delegation a provisional status as the Government of Formosa that would enable it to continue to participate in the various organs of the United Nations until, with the agreement of the People's Republic of China, the question of possible Formosan representation could be finally determined.

87. It is along lines such as these that my own delegation, like that of Tunisia, sees a practical and constructive solution developing to the long outstanding question of the proper representation of China at the United Nations. The delegation of Guyana very much hopes that a substantive draft resolution along the lines we and others have suggested will be forthcoming next year. We would be prepared to support such a draft resolution and we believe that it would profoundly influence the existence of, or alternatively the fate of, the customary procedural resolution on this subject. In short, we feel that by means of a substantive draft resolution cast along lines indicated earlier in this explanation of vote the objective of the seating of the delegation of the People's Republic of

¹ Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

China in the United Nations and at the Security Council table—an objective which we support—would at last be attained. My delegation looks forward to being able to support such a draft resolution in the plenary next year.

88. Mr. LUPIS (Italy):² The Italian Government has recently recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China. As such, we consider it the Government which is entitled to represent China in the United Nations. We have therefore voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.605, aimed at ensuring to the People's Republic of China its rights in the Assembly and in the Security Council, as well as in all other United Nations organs.

89. Yet, we have again cast our vote in favour of the procedural draft resolution because we believed—and we still believe—that the issue of determining the legitimate and qualified Government to represent a State in the United Nations is of such importance as to justify recourse to the procedure provided for important questions so that the decision may express the carefully weighed conviction of a significant number of Member States.

90. The swift evolution taking place in international life, however, shows a growing will on the part of Member States to recognize that only the Government of the People's Republic of China can effectively meet the responsibilities devolving upon China in the international community. That increasing consensus shows how much the conviction is spreading that the United Nations must call upon the Government of a great country to enlist its co-operation in order to guarantee the harmonization of the activities of all peoples by directing them towards the goals of peace and security. While we hope that as a result of the spreading of this conviction the largest consensus of States will work for a solution of the problem, it is rather difficult to imagine that the will of the majority of this Assembly should not effectively express itself.

91. Italy will favour a positive evolution of this situation when the issue is discussed again, even through a revision of the procedural criteria followed up to now.

92. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): Austria has in past years abstained in the vote on draft resolutions on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This year the Austrian Government has decided to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.605. In arriving at that decision it has been guided by the conviction that the time has come to take a further step in making this Organization still more representative, thus enabling it to pursue its objectives and purposes more effectively. Guided by the same considerations, the Austrian Government holds the view that the seat of China in this Organization should be occupied by the State which actually rules that vast country; while the island of Taiwan, which in actual fact is not ruled from Peking, should

² Mr. Lupis spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

continue to be represented in this Organization—subject to the appropriate adjustments.

93. In voting for draft resolution A/L.605, therefore, we reserve our position with regard to the second part of its operative paragraph.

94. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe which, together with Algeria, submitted draft resolution A/L.605 to the Assembly for a vote are particularly gratified to stress the positive nature of the vote that the Assembly has just taken. Our position is logical and, so far as we are concerned, today's vote has certain consequences, namely that in our view, the General Assembly of the United Nations, has by a statutory majority declared itself in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization and for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. After today's vote it is clear that the only obstacle to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is that fraudulent barrier which is contrary to the Charter and the rules of procedure, erected by a group headed by the United States.

95. The delegations in whose behalf I speak wish to stress the political importance to be attached to the votes on certain so-called procedural questions, and I refer particularly to the votes cast for the United States draft resolution. International imperialism may have its plans, but it is always historical realities that decide the future

96. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am sorry to interrupt the representative of Algeria, but I should like once again to call his attention to the fact that statements at this time should actually constitute an explanation of vote, and not a new debate on the question of China.

97. Mr. AZID (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am speaking in the debate after a formal motion has been put to the Assembly and it is only so as not to have to ask on behalf of eighteen countries for a postponement of this discussion until next week, and in order not to delay the Assembly and involve it in a lengthy discussion on the proposal that was submitted to us that I put my name on the speakers' list. With all due respect to you, Mr. President, may I point out that Algeria and the other seventeen nations on whose behalf I speak co-operated with our President, as I promised you at the beginning of the debate, and voluntarily shortened their statements and the Algerian delegation has never made a statement exceeding four pages.

98. The countries on whose behalf I speak, in order to co-operate and to improve the atmosphere surrounding the debate on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China during this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly—an atmosphere that this year was very positive—take note of the comments made by a number

of delegations on the contents of our resolution and do not forget that we have had occasion to hear delegations whose motives were the most fraternal and respectable and who are anxious to attain the same objectives as ourselves, make certain proposals or enter certain reservations.

99. I appeal to the delegation of Tunisia, requesting it either to withdraw its proposal or not to press it for a discussion at this session because we fear that it might reopen a substantive debate, a debate which has already gone on for over a week here, and while we certainly admit that it merits continuation, it could be continued in more favourable circumstances at some future session. We give a most fraternal hearing to statements from all delegations which have the same aims in view as we do but which, in their analysis of the situation concerning the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, do not come to the same conclusions as we do.

100. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): My Government has long believed that the People's Republic of China should be represented at the United Nations. The Irish delegation has in the past stated that the effectiveness of this Organization must depend in large measure on its universality. Our Secretary-General has repeatedly stressed that the full potential of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security can be realized only when the principle of universality of membership is more fully applied. To continue to exclude the representatives of a Government of some 800 million people, and a State which is a nuclear Power, is to counter this principle on which the world Organization, if it is to be truly effective, must be based.

101. In the four years prior to 1961 the Irish delegation maintained that the question of the representation of China was one of great importance which should be discussed in the General Assembly. Accordingly, in those years we voted for discussion, while making it clear that we had taken no decision on the substantive issue and that there were aspects of the policies and practices of the Government at Peking about which we had misgivings.

102. In the years since 1961, when the substantive issue came to be debated, two draft resolutions have been introduced.

103. One of these stated that a proposal to change the representation of China was an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. Ireland always voted for this draft, consistently with the view we had taken in the four years prior to 1961 about the importance of the issue.

104. The second draft in those years dealt with the substance of the matter and contained in effect two proposals: to seat the representatives of the Government at Peking, and to expel the representatives of the Government at Taipei.

105. From 1961 to 1969 the Irish delegation voted against this draft resolution. We did so, not because we were opposed to seeing the Government of the People's Republic of China represented here; indeed quite the contrary. For, as already stated, we had long favoured its presence at the United Nations. Our opposition was due to the fact that support for the draft resolution would mean support for the expulsion of the representatives of the Government at Taipei.

106. My delegation is fully aware of the complexity of this whole question. In particular we feel that we must have regard to the right of the People of Taiwan to self-determination and representation in the United Nations, and to their relationship with mainland China. In the long term also we must bear in mind the need to look towards the promotion of peaceful relations between the peoples of the Far East as a whole.

107. In addition to the two draft resolutions already mentioned, which have been submitted since 1961, a third draft resolution was submitted in the years 1966 to 1968. This draft, which called for a committee to study the whole issue and to make recommendations to the Assembly, reflected the growing feeling of dissatisfaction among many delegations at the impasse reached. The Irish delegation voted on each occasion for that draft in the belief that a study committee might help to break the impasse and bring about a solution to this important question.

108. We have been considering what further action we should take this year in pursuance of our strong desire to achieve some progress towards the solution of this problem, which has been stalemated for twenty years. At this session the Assembly has been presented with the same two draft resolutions as in the years 1961 to 1969. We have again voted for the draft—that contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1—which defines the question as important, within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. We have, however, now taken the further step, in pursuance of our desire for some progress, of moving on this occasion, from a negative vote to abstention, on the substantive draft—that contained in document A/L.605.

109. In addition to marking our strong desire to achieve some progress towards a solution, this action registers also our firm attachment to the promotion of *détente* and co-operation in international relations in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We are convinced that, if the Organization is to bring about a better and more hopeful world without nuclear war, we must, in the words of the Prime Minister of Ireland at the commemorative session on 22 October last "ensure that the United Nations is representative of all the Powers which have a special role in this respect and we should not enshrine in our practice policies which lack realism" [1879th meeting, para. 40].

110. Mr. SAVAGE (Sierra Leone): The views of my Government on this important question of the representation of China in the United Nations are well known and have on a number of occasions been stated in

this forum. For a number of years now, my Minister for External Affairs, in his capacity as Head of the Sierre Leone delegation, has drawn the attention of this Assembly to the fact that the People's Republic of China cannot continue indefinitely to be unrepresented in this world body. With 800 million people or about one-quarter of the world's population, Peking cannot or should not be ignored.

111. The draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1, in the view of my delegation, is within the province of this Assembly to decide on the importance of the question, because by any definition, legal or otherwise, it is important. It should not, however, be used as a weapon or device to keep any country outside the United Nations. We have therefore supported it.

112. As far as the other draft resolution, contained in document A/L.605 is concerned, we have diplomatic relations with the Republic of China and it would be odd indeed if we were to vote for a motion to expel it from the United Nations. We have exchanged visits of leading members of our country with those of the People's Republic of China in Peking and we are certainly not opposed to the consideration of its membership.

113. It has been said that the question is one of representation and not of membership. But after a delay of twenty-one years, when the Republic of China has established itself, has been accepted and has participated wisely in our deliberations, it would now seem quite unfair if it were suddenly expelled.

114. We shall be willing to support the membership of the People's Republic of China as a separate motion, but because of the same principle of universality involved, we cannot support the expulsion of the Republic of China, and have therefore been obliged to vote against the second draft resolution.

115. Only last year, the permanent representative of my country to the United Nations put across this point quite succinctly when he said:

“We do not see the necessity nor the morality of supporting [the] expulsion [of the Republic of China] from the United Nations.

“If the question of expulsion of any country or countries is to be considered, we should have thought that South Africa and Portugal would have been the most likely candidates because of their inhuman treatment of the majority . . .” . [1808th meeting, paras. 73 and 74.]

116. Mr. MAHJoubi (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a question which has been inscribed in the agenda of the General Assembly for many years, without the Assembly having been able to find a just and equitable solution. We had hoped that the commemorative session on the twenty-fifth anniversary of

the United Nations, which we celebrate this year, with statements of good intentions, would finally bring about a satisfactory solution to this problem, a solution which, in our view, could only be sought in the restoration to that great country, China, of its lawful rights. That solution should help not only to redress a damage done to a great nation and to remedy an injustice, but also to confer to our Organization, a more universal Character and make its work more realistic.

117. Several delegations, from this rostrum, were most eloquent in presenting incontrovertible arguments and spoke of the important economic and social accomplishments and the great harnessing of technological and nuclear power that that great nation, thanks to the genius of its people, has achieved in record time. Many delegations also showed, with rare relevance, its deep impact on the problems of international life, its cultural potential and the contribution it has made and is still making to the enrichment of human civilization.

118. It is considerations like these which have prevailed for my Government, ever since its accession to independence, in the desire and the will to initiate and to maintain with the People's Republic of China close diplomatic and economic relations. Those relations have, since then, been marked by the greatest cordiality and the best sentiments of mutual consideration and esteem. It is also for those considerations that we have the pleasant duty of supporting the People's Republic of China in the restoration of its lawful rights and that is why we supported the essential elements of draft resolution A/L.605.

119. We would, of course, have preferred the draft resolution to be drafted differently or that the sponsors would have accepted a separate vote on the key elements of that text. However, in view of the intransigent impotence on a vote on the text of the draft resolution as a whole, my delegation voted in favour. But my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express its reservations concerning the general wording of the text of the draft resolution, especially the second part of its operative section.

120. The Moroccan delegation feels quite at ease in making these statements, because Morocco does not have any relations with the Government in Formosa. However, to the question of who must speak on behalf of the 750 million inhabitants of mainland China who must represent them in the main bodies of the United Nations, especially in the Security Council, our answer is obvious, and it has been the same for over twenty years. It is based on the effective authority and incontrovertible power of the Peking Government. That is why this year again we voted in favour of the draft resolution taking these realities into account.

121. However, we voted against draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, because we consider that the mention made of Article 18 of the Charter is groundless and that the interpretation of that Article is somewhat tendentious. On the legal level the resort to Article 18 is not well founded; on the political level it would

serve neither the objectives nor the principles of the Charter.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I find myself in a slightly difficult position. On my list there is the name of one delegation, that of Albania, that has asked to be allowed to explain its vote after the voting, Rule 90 of the rules of procedure very clearly states that "The president may permit Members to explain their votes, either before or after the voting." It states quite clearly: "either before or after". The representative of Albania has already explained his vote before the voting. I therefore do not feel that I am entitled to call upon him to make a further explanation of vote.

123. The representative of Albania has now asked to be allowed to speak on a point of order. I cannot refuse to allow him to do that. But I would also very politely but firmly appeal to the representative of Albania to abide by the rules of procedure of the Assembly and to speak only on the point of order and not use the opportunity to give an additional explanation of vote or take part in a debate. Therefore I call on the representative of Albania on a point of order.

124. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to make a brief statement on the vote on the eighteen-Power draft resolution [A/L.605].

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Does the Assembly agree that the representative of Albania should be given the floor to make a statement? As there is no objection, I call on him.

126. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): A great event, of immense importance to the United Nations, has taken place today in the General Assembly. The majority of the Assembly has pronounced itself in favour of draft resolution A/L.605, submitted by eighteen nations, including Albania, calling for the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and at the same time the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which illegally occupies China's seat in the Organization.

127. This event not only proves the great evolution that has taken place in the position of Member States in favour of the restoration of the rights of the great socialist China, it also constitutes a challenge on the part of these States to the policy of *diktat* and hegemony that has been pursued by the United States in this Organization and also by its main collaborators. The expression of the will of the majority of the General Assembly in favour of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is of great political importance, apart from the fact that the implementation of that will of the majority of the Organization is impeded by the fraudulent manoeuvre regarding the so-called two-thirds majority invented by the specialists of the United States State Department and based on the absurd theory of "two Chinas"—a theory of American imperialism—

designed to detach from the People's Republic of China the province of Taiwan, an integral part of its territory.

128. The support of the majority of the General Assembly for draft resolution A/L.605, recognizing that there is only one China in the world, one Chinese State Member of this Organization, namely, the People's Republic of China, and that the representatives of that Government are the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations, and also, as a consequence, demanding the immediate expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek puppets from here, in an event that proves that the majority of the General Assembly rejects the false United States theory of two Chinas and that it regards as groundless the United States draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, which is based precisely on that absurd theory. Thus the majority of the General Assembly denounces the crafty subterfuge of the United States with regard to the two-thirds majority, which proves that this illegal manoeuvre can no longer succeed in the future. The will expressed today by the majority of the General Assembly in support of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China constitutes at the same time a telling blow to the whole aggressive policy of the United States against the great socialist China as well as all the aggressive plots and plans of the two great imperialist Powers against that great world Power, the People's Republic of China.

129. Today's event is of great importance for the future of the United Nations. It is a felicitous turning point in this sense and it testifies to the strength of the peaceful Member States. At the same time it is fresh evidence of the immense and ever-growing role and authority of the People's Republic of China in the world.

130. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Anything we receive from the Tunisian delegation is entitled to our closest attention and sympathy. It is therefore with the greatest of care that we have studied the Tunisian proposal.

131. We must say at the outset that we fully appreciate the concern of the Ambassador of Tunisia after the important vote just cast by the General Assembly, a vote that we welcome. It goes without saying that the question remains on the agenda. We are not going to stop in midstream and we shall proceed with our action until the rights of the People's Republic of China are restored in the General Assembly.

132. Therefore, paragraph 1 (a) of the Tunisian proposal does not give rise to any objection on our part, except that this is a truism for all those who took part in the vote. It goes without saying that the question remains on the agenda.

133. Concerning paragraph 1 (b), we would find it most difficult to accept this—not that the Secretary-General who, by virtue of his position, deals with all matters could not deal with it, but I do not see what initiative he could take in view of the fact that this

is a matter on which all States are aware of their responsibility as States, as delegations, and the Secretary-General cannot intervene in this matter.

134. Therefore, we think that our friend from Tunisia would be wise if he were to withdraw his proposal, and we could very well agree to it being on the record, since that would meet his point. But if the Tunisian proposal were to be maintained, we would ask for a separate vote on paragraph 1 (b). In the past, we opposed any creation of study committees on this problem, since we consider that all delegations must assume their responsibilities in the most clear-cut manner. Therefore, I endorse the appeal of the representative of Algeria and I too would ask the representative of Tunisia to withdraw his proposal. If he does not, we would ask for a separate vote on paragraph 1 (b).

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I still have three speakers who wish to speak on the Tunisian proposal. Furthermore, the representative of Tunisia had begun his appeal by saying that he did not want to open a debate on the matter. Therefore, before calling on the other three speakers, I shall now call on the representative of Tunisia.

136. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I have listened with interest to the appeal that has just been made by the Ambassador of France. I have also heard the appeal made to me earlier by Mr. Yazid, the representative of Algeria. In the course of the statement that I made, I had already referred to the desire of the Tunisian delegation to avoid the re-opening of a debate. Therefore, if the proposal that we have made threatens to lead us to re-open a debate that we have just concluded, the Tunisian delegation will not press for its consideration or for a vote; but it asks that its proposal be included in the records of this meeting. Thus, the Tunisian delegation will have done its best to persuade the Assembly to take a decision which we hoped, would be taken by consensus if possible, because of the intrinsic interest of the subject but whether or not it should be taken into consideration and decided upon does not depend on our will alone.

137. Perhaps I might be allowed to recall the fact that I referred to this proposal on 16 November [1906th meeting] when I said that, regardless of the outcome of the debates, the Secretary-General should be requested to submit a report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly on the problem of China.

138. Therefore, the Tunisian delegation which had tried to do something along these lines is in no difficulty. But, at the same time, I should like to say that it would redound to the interest of the Organization at least to keep item 97, namely "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session, and it should request the Secretary-General to submit a report. Those are two ideas, that in my mind should give rise to no objection, because they flow from the very nature of the subject.

139. In withdrawing the Tunisian proposal, I would request you, Mr. President, to see whether it would not be possible to ask the Assembly to agree to keep item 97 on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session, and to have the Secretary-General submit a report to us. I leave this task to you, Mr. President. It falls within your purview. You preside over our debates with such great energy and competence, that I wish to pay tribute to you for this. At this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, what is most important is that even as a procedural matter, or in dealing with a matter of detail, we should evince our interest in the items we are discussing.

140. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Tunisia both for his initiative and his wisdom in withdrawing his proposal from consideration at this meeting. His proposal and his final remarks will appear in the records of this meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (Part 1) (A/8173)

141. The PRESIDENT: The next item on our agenda comes from the Third Committee as a matter of priority owing to the situation in East Pakistan. I call on the Rapporteur of the Third Committee.

142. Mrs. GUNAWARDANA (Belgium), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*interpretation from French*): The news of the terrible disaster that has plunged Pakistan into mourning has deeply moved the States Members of the United Nations.

143. The Third Committee, whose agenda under item 12 calls for consideration of the question of assistance in cases of natural disaster, felt very special concern at this dramatic event. The Third Committee, in fact, felt that the unprecedented scope of the disaster, the unprecedented number of victims, the extent of material damage, and the danger of epidemics that still threaten the country now when the elements have abated, called for immediate and urgent measures.

144. We already know that the Government of Pakistan has urgently mobilized its own modest resources and the energies of its people to combat the effects of the disaster, that the International Red Cross and the Pakistani Red Crescent immediately dispatched first aid to the area, and that various countries have provided practical assistance to the stricken country. It therefore was incumbent on the United Nations as well to participate, to the greatest extent possible, in this movement of international solidarity which seeks to bind up the wounds and revive life amid the ruins and the sorrow.

145. It is for this reason that the Third Committee commends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution [A/8173, para. 5] which, in my capacity as Rapporteur, I have the honour, Mr. Presi-

dent, to ask you to place before the Assembly for its approval.

146. This draft also echoes the joint appeal voiced by the Secretary-General and by you, Mr. President, to marshal all possible assistance for Pakistan, that country so sorely afflicted. It requests all organs of the United Nations and all governmental and non-governmental organizations to provide to the Pakistani Government the greatest possible amount of resources so as to assist that Government in implementing the programmes of relief, reconstruction and development that it envisages for the devastated area. It further invites the Secretary-General to take steps to ensure the widest possible co-ordination of the assistance to be provided to Pakistan through the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the non-governmental organizations, and to co-operate with other international sources of aid.

147. What the cyclone and the tidal wave wiped out in a few hours can never be replaced, for so many human lives were lost. But at least every effort should be exerted to prevent this disaster from having tragic effects on the development of the country whose suffering we all share.

148. The Chairman of the Third Committee and, following her, numerous delegations offered their condolences and their sympathy to the delegation, the Government and the people of Pakistan. May I now be permitted to echo them here, and voice the hope that the General Assembly will, like the Third Committee, unanimously adopt the draft resolution we now submit.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.

149. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that representatives have already had the opportunity, in the Third Committee, in other Committees and in the plenary Assembly, to express their compassion and their feelings of sorrow and dismay, and also their solidarity with Pakistan, with respect to the tragedy that has struck the people of that State. May I therefore take it that it is the urgent wish of the General Assembly to adopt unanimously the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 5 of its report [A/8173]?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2643 (XXV)].

150. Lord St. OSWALD (United Kingdom): I simply want to say that my delegation would have wished to co-sponsor the draft resolution we have just adopted. Unfortunately, we left it until it was too late, technically, to do so. This in no way reflects upon our deep concern and grief at the appalling disaster in East Pakistan, feelings which I was able to express in the Third Committee. Far from lacking sympathy, we were indeed firmly in support of the resolution, and I should like to take this opportunity to announce that the United Kingdom has already made a substan-

tial contribution, both in cash and in kind, for emergency relief to the victims of the disaster. This was not known at the time when we dealt with this in the Third Committee. We have contributed £530,000 in cash, and we have sent thirteen powered assault-boats to Dacca, to assist in the appallingly difficult task of transportation of supplies, in rescue work, and so on. Consignments of medical stores are already on their way. Four ships of the Royal Navy are sailing to the Bay of Bengal to assist in the distribution of relief supplies and in carrying drinking water, and to survey navigational channels.

151. My Government is also prepared to offer to the Government of Pakistan long-term assistance in the form of food to the value of £500,000. We are also ready to participate in an international aid effort for flood control in East Pakistan.

152. All these measures were announced to the House of Commons on 19 November by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

153. I hope that these acts, decided upon in Westminster, will compensate for our slip in failing to join the sponsors, and will make explicit our cohesion with them.

154. Mr. BAYULKEN (Turkey): In view of the lateness of the hour, I am speaking only to express, on behalf of my delegation and of all the delegations which co-sponsored the draft resolution, our thanks for the unanimous adoption of the resolution by the Assembly.

155. Miss EDMONDS (United States of America): Our delegation expressed in the Third Committee our genuine concern in this matter, and I need not repeat that here. It is certainly, however, a matter of the utmost concern to us that we should all push forward with our immediate efforts in the situation relating to Pakistan. I wish to say that our Ambassador in Pakistan donated immediately \$52,000 from his contingency fund, on 15 November; and further, that the White House, on 17 November, announced the establishment of a high-level interdepartmental working group specifically designated for disaster relief in East Pakistan.

156. At the same time, the President of the United States directed that the working group prepare initially to provide assistance up to \$10 million for other programmes of immediate relief. And among these many actions are the air-lifts of tents, blankets and so forth. Equally important, 50,000 metric tons of wheat have been authorized for early shipment to East Pakistan. Three C141 aircraft have been sent carrying four QE helicopters and support crews. They are now operational in the disaster area. Two smaller Bell helicopters have been sent from the United States Aid Mission to Nepal. We have made stand-by arrangements to provide additional helicopters. The United States Government stands ready to release currency—a substantial part of its remaining world-wide Contingency Fund—to Pakistan for relief purchases in Pakistan.

Two further chartered aircraft have been dispatched with relief supplies, mostly packaged food provided by the Office of Civilian Defense and Care. In response to the request just received, the United States is sending fifty motorized inland-water craft to assist in the distribution of relief supplies to the devastated areas.

157. The tragic occurrence in Pakistan of such vast proportions and consequences cannot help but bind more tightly the common feeling of mankind throughout the world that whatever affects one of us affects all of us. It was with this sense of utmost urgency and heartfelt consideration that the United States co-sponsored the draft resolution and proceeded forthwith to act accordingly.

Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): In view of the lateness of the hour I shall be extremely brief. Our delegation on the Third Committee has already expressed its grief and sorrow over this great calamity which has befallen our Pakistani brothers. I only wish to put it on record that, had it been technically possible, Tanzania would have liked to have been one of the sponsors of the draft resolution.

159. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): I too should like to be very brief. My delegation would have liked to have been a sponsor of the resolution of the Third Committee, but unfortunately, because of some slip-up, this has not been possible. I should like to say, however, that even if technically it is not possible now for us to be a co-sponsor in fact, I should like my delegation to be considered, in spirit at least, as a co-sponsor of this resolution.

160. My Government has announced initial contributions for the relief of victims in East Pakistan and I should like to assure you, Mr. President, and the Assembly that the Malaysian Government will do everything possible to support and to rally international assistance for the relief of victims of the East Pakistan disaster.

161. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): It is with renewed belief in the solidarity of mankind that my delegation wishes to express its deep gratitude to this Assembly and to all those delegations which were responsible for bringing this matter so urgently to the attention of the United Nations. I should also like to thank again the many delegations which have expressed their sympathy and condolences in connexion with the cyclone disaster which has affected millions of people in my country.

162. The President of Pakistan has himself expressed the deep gratitude of the people of Pakistan to the international community for its immediate response to the dire need of the people of East Pakistan who were stricken by this terrible disaster.

163. For the promptness of the relief assistance rendered and for its size, we cannot but express our deepest appreciation to the United States and the United Kingdom. Ambassador Bayülken of Turkey channelled

the sympathy and support of a great many delegations behind the resolution of the Third Committee. The Imperial Government of Iran declared a national disaster for their own country to identify themselves completely with the people of Pakistan. I could also mention the great many delegations which have expressed their sympathy and support in the most generous terms, but it would take me too long and I should like to conclude, therefore, by extending our gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General for having issued your urgent joint appeal for assistance to Pakistan. The various bodies in the United Nations family, especially the agencies, have already come forward with substantial help within the financial and statutory limitations of their respective organizations. We thank all of you.

164. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the representative of the Philippines to express his thanks, I should like to announce here that the representative of Mali had also asked to speak, but his request came to me so late that I had already called on the representative of Pakistan. I should like it to be recorded that the representative of Mali had also wished to participate in the debate and had expressed his sentiments of solidarity with Pakistan, but he desisted as the representative of Pakistan had already thanked the Assembly.

165. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): The Philippine delegation thanks the Secretary-General for circulating to the General Assembly the telegram from the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East [see A/8174] concerning the resolution passed by the ECAFE Typhoon Committee on the recent staggering tragedy caused by the Pakistan cyclone and the series of Philippine typhoons.

166. As Members know, the terrible loss of life in Pakistan, which according to recent estimates totals about half a million, as well as the destruction of property, has caused unprecedented suffering in that country.

167. The Philippines has also witnessed a series of typhoons, four in all, which have occurred in succession during the past two months. The first three typhoons in late September and October caused more than a thousand deaths and property damage estimated at millions of pesos. Just the other day, another vicious typhoon was visited upon our hapless land causing the death of more than one hundred persons, injury to thousands and destruction of property placed at millions of pesos. The Philippine Government notes with deep and grateful appreciation the concern of the ECAFE member countries with the tragedy in the Philippines and the great humanitarian and material assistance extended from all quarters, by the Member States of the United Nations, by the specialized agencies and by other organizations who helped to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunate victims in my country.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.