



CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 102:</i>	
<i>Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (concluded)</i>	1

President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 102

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

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now continue hearing explanations of vote.

2. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (translated from French): We have two draft resolutions before us: one [A/L.468 and Add.1] affirming the validity of the decision taken by the General Assembly in resolution 1668 (XVI), and the other [A/L.469] concerning the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". There is also an amendment which was proposed yesterday by the representative of Ceylon [A/L.470] to the latter twelve-Power draft resolution. In addition, the representative of Mauritania appealed yesterday afternoon [1379th meeting] to the twelve sponsors of that draft resolution to delete paragraph 2; he also said that, if that were found impossible, he would request a separate vote on that paragraph.

3. Thus, the situation seems a little confused and my delegation would like to clarify it to some extent by explaining how it is going to vote on each of these proposals.

4. I shall begin with the last-mentioned proposal and then go back to the source itself, on which there seems to be a serious divergence of views. My delegation understands why the Mauritanian delegation is making this request, but I seriously doubt whether it will facilitate our work. If we carefully study, as a whole, the draft resolution [A/L.469] submitted by the Albanian and eleven other delegations, we will see that deleting paragraph 2 will not change the substance of the proposal in any way and the effect will be the same, namely, the expulsion pure and simple of the representatives of the Republic of China from their seat in the United Nations. With all due respect for the good intentions of the Mauritanian delegation, we do not think this kind of proposal would serve any useful purpose and we are opposed to any request for deletion or division with regard to this draft resolution.

5. The same also applies to the amendment proposed by the delegation of Ceylon. While we recognize the efforts made by that delegation to eliminate controversial elements and violent language from the text, the effect of this amendment to the operative part would also be to replace the representatives of the Republic of China by those of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The effect of this amendment would have exactly the same effect as the original draft resolution. For this reason, my delegation cannot subscribe to the proposal of the delegation of Ceylon.

6. With regard to the twelve-Power draft resolution, my delegation's position was described in sufficient detail in my statement during the general debate on 11 November 1965 [1375th meeting]. All of us who live in Asia, the region in which the question of China actually arises, know that the problem before us is so serious and important that our decision cannot but have profound repercussions both within the United Nations and outside. The question is so important, I repeat, that its consequences could affect the peace and security of Asia, and even of the whole world, as well as the very structure of the United Nations. My delegation continues to oppose any attempt to solve this very important and complex question merely by replacing the Republic of China by the People's Republic of China. It will therefore vote against this draft resolution, which means nothing less than the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China.

7. These considerations bring me to the last point in my statement.

8. The question of the representation of a country which is a founding member of the United Nations, and which also sits in the Security Council as one of its permanent members, cannot be solved justly and equitably unless all the facts and all the information are carefully weighed in the light of all the complexities of the international situation. How is it conceivable that a problem so fraught with consequences can be reduced to a mere question of procedure or of credentials, as some of the previous speakers have claimed?

9. The very fact that, for the last fifteen years, this problem has continued to provoke controversy and often impassioned discussion is surely irrefutable proof that the question is of capital importance for the United Nations.

10. The Japanese delegation remains convinced that resolution 1668 (XVI) is still as valid today as it was four years ago. Our position is based on the legal view—a view which, moreover, is held by many other delegations—that a decision taken by the General

Assembly in the form of a resolution remains valid until the Assembly takes a decision to the contrary.

11. I should add, in passing, that draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1 which confirms this point of view, and of which my delegation has the honour to be a sponsor, must be put to the vote before any other proposal. We consider that rule 93 of the rules of procedure and the precedent established at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly require that priority should be given to this draft resolution. We also believe that it is quite logical and in conformity with the practice of the Assembly for a decision to be taken on voting procedure before a vote is taken on the substance.

12. In conclusion, now that a serious decision is going to be taken, the Japanese delegation hopes very sincerely that the Assembly will firmly base itself on a realistic and balanced evaluation of all the complex elements of the question, without animosity and without prejudice, in the highest interests of the world community.

13. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The United States will vote against the draft resolution which would expel one of our Members in order to make room for the régime of Peiping. No delegation, in this debate, has been able to refute what is in fact undeniable—that Communist China does not meet the requirements clearly set out in Article 4 of the Charter for participation in this Organization. Both in words and in deeds, Communist China rejects the commitment required of Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to abandon the use of our threat of force in international relations. Communist Chinese pronouncements and behaviour in this respect have become both more explicit and more bellicose since the General Assembly last discussed this question.

14. The most that anyone could honestly argue is that Communist China may possibly, at some indeterminate time, behave better in the United Nations than out of it, but this wish is really the father of the thought, because all experience with Communist China in the past twenty years, its behaviour towards the Soviet Union or India and towards other international bodies, points in the opposite direction. There is no evidence that any of these contacts have mellowed Communist Chinese views. Perhaps, indeed we hope, new patterns of behaviour will develop in Communist China which will make this conclusion obsolete, but they have not yet done so and have not shown promise of doing so.

15. We will vote against this draft resolution also because it belies another reputed aim of the sponsors, that of universality. Universality is a popular concept, but in this instance it has been unwarrantedly used. The draft resolution is not based on universality and a vote for it would not be a vote for universality, for this draft resolution calls for the expulsion of representatives of a State with a de facto population larger than that of most of the countries of those who are sponsoring its expulsion. The draft resolution does not even base itself on realism, another of the shibboleths employed by those who wish to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. The

dictate of realism is not to admit to the United Nations a régime dedicated to its destruction.

16. Such considerations will not be relevant to those who have been using these phrases to achieve ideological objectives. Those in this Hall who seriously support universality and realism in international relations might well examine their own positions as they prepare to vote for this dangerous and misleading proposal.

17. There are other reasons why we will vote against this draft resolution, including Communist China's expressed contempt for this Organization and its endeavours, but we have outlined them before and do not intend to repeat them now, except to reiterate that the sponsors who want to expel the Republic of China are not even able to assure us that Communist China would join the Organization if we did so. We are all aware of the numerous other conditions which the Chinese Communists have laid down.

18. Finally, a word about the procedural aspects. It behoves the Assembly to face up to the reality of the importance of this question, affecting as it does the representation of a permanent member of the Security Council, with all that that implies.

19. Serious and unpredictable consequences in Asia and in the United Nations itself, in connexion with all our efforts to maintain the peace, could flow from a decision to expel representatives of a State which was one of the founders of this Organization in order to seat a régime which explicitly rejects its most fundamental tenets and which shows no interest in joining this Organization except on outrageous terms.

20. It would be hard to conceive of a more important decision in the real sense of the word. This was the reality which the General Assembly recognized in 1961, and it is a reality that cannot be effectively challenged. After four years, and in the face of the assaults on that decision which have been made during this debate, we feel it would be timely and wise for the Assembly to affirm the continuing validity of the 1961 decision that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

21. We urge the General Assembly to vote for the draft resolution presented by Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand and the United States [A/L.468 and Add.1].

22. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to inform the Assembly that it will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1, although for my delegation there can be no doubt that General Assembly resolution 1668 (XVI) of 15 December 1961 remains valid without any need for another resolution to confirm its validity. Moreover, the validity of that resolution, which affirms that the representation of China is an important question, follows from a correct interpretation of Article 18 of the Charter, which expressly lays down that any withdrawal of the rights and privileges of a Member State is an important question. The Republic of China is a Member State and if its replacement by the Peking Government were accepted

it would lose the rights and privileges which, as a State Member of the United Nations, it has been granted under the Charter.

23. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution although it mentions General Assembly resolution 396 (V), which lays down the procedure applicable whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations, which is not the present case since, as my delegation pointed out in its statement in the afternoon of 15 November [1377th meeting], there are not two rival authorities in the United Nations claiming to represent China. As I say, my delegation will vote in favour of it because we understand that what its sponsors had in mind in recalling resolution 396 (V) in their draft resolution was to strengthen the validity of resolution 1668 (XVI).

24. My delegation wishes to state also that for the same reasons, in so far as they are applicable, it will vote against draft resolution A/L.469 and against the amendment proposed by the delegation of Ceylon [A/L.470] because it is basically the same as draft resolution A/L.469, although more mildly worded, in that it resolves the question of the representation of China in favour of the Peking régime.

25. Mr. PIERRE-LOUIS (Haiti) (translated from French): The delegation of the Republic of Haiti would like clearly to explain the reasons for its vote on the problem now before us.

26. Two draft resolutions have been put before this Assembly for the purpose of solving the important question constituting agenda item 102, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations": the twelve-Power draft resolution [A/L.469] and the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.468 and Add.1].

27. Let us dwell for a moment on the first of these drafts. What is its purpose? Its first paragraph refers to universality. Now we know, and a whole series of speakers in this debate have shown this clearly and in detail, and have supported their arguments with many examples, that the People's Republic of China, by its own admission, does not accept the principle of universality advocated by the United Nations. It has been proved here that the People's Republic of China has nothing but contempt for the United Nations. Nor does the usurping Communist Government installed at Peking respect the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. Its doctrine is a doctrine of aggression and the preparation of subversion in many small countries. The Communist Government of Mao Tse-tung has instigated and supported Communist-type subversion in several countries. We know that the invasion of Haitian territory by stateless persons and mercenaries was instigated by Peking.

28. Draft resolution A/L.469 also asks us purely and simply to expel from the Organization a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council: nationalist China. But why should we expel a Member State which behaves properly, a Member which has always performed its functions satisfactorily? Why should we expel this important Member which has always acted with a high

sense of responsibility among the representatives of the various States Members of this Organization? How can we expel nationalist China which, through its many activities and efforts in the United Nations, has rendered very real service to the United Nations and to the cause of peace?

29. In the light of the statement made here [1346th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, Mr. Chalmers, and the principles put forward by Mr. Auguste [1377th meeting] in explaining the position of Haiti on this important problem, and on the express instructions of the lifetime President of the Republic of Haiti, Mr. François Duvalier, my delegation rejects draft resolution A/L.469 and the amendment in document A/L.470.

30. My Government recognizes only one China: the China of Taipei, nationalist China, the peace-loving China which respects the principles of the United Nations. In view of the fact that normal diplomatic relations exist between nationalist China and the Republic of Haiti, and on the instructions of its Government, my delegation will vote in favour of the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.468 and Add.1].

31. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.469, I would appeal to the representatives of Mauritania and Ceylon not to press their proposals.

32. The amendment proposed by the representative of Ceylon is not, in our view, relevant to the debate, which concerns the representation of China and not the admission of a new Member. We are aware of the concern that prompted the representatives of Ceylon and Mauritania. Their concern and the good intentions of both those delegations are duly appreciated. But, on behalf of all the sponsors of the twelve-Power draft resolution, I should like once again to point out that this text reproduces the terms of the recommendation of the Cairo Conference in an endeavour to respect the decisions taken by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, both at Belgrade in 1961 and at Cairo in 1964. That is why we consider that all non-aligned countries should have no difficulty in supporting our draft resolution.

33. This draft resolution forms a whole and cannot be broken up into its component parts without losing some of its substance. The sponsors devoted a great deal of time to drafting the text and spared no effort to set a balance which would be likely to win general support. The two operative paragraphs, in particular, form a whole, and one cannot stand without the other.

34. Operative paragraph 1 states that the General Assembly

"Decides, in accordance with the recommendation of the Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964, to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations."

35. On the basis of that decision the Assembly is then called upon, in operative paragraph 2, to take a separate decision supplementing the first, namely, the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek since there cannot be two Chinas in the United Nations. Under this paragraph, the General Assembly:

"Decides therefore to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

36. A separate vote on these two paragraphs of draft resolution A/L.469 would make the text meaningless and, far from providing a clear and effective solution to the problem now before us, would only foster confusion for the benefit of those who oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

37. For all these reasons, the sponsors of the twelve-Power draft resolution cannot accept either the amendment or the proposal for a separate vote.

38. Mr. SHAW (Australia): I should like to put very briefly before you the thoughts of the Australian delegation on the various proposals now before us.

39. I will turn first to draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1, which is a procedural resolution submitted on behalf of my own and a number of other delegations. No doubt this resolution is the one on which we must first vote. It was submitted first in time; therefore rule 93 of our rules of procedure would seem to require that it be put to the vote first. Secondly, in logic, it should be voted upon first, before the substantive draft resolutions. One normally moves from the general to the particular, from the procedural to the substantive. Logic, as I said, would require that we vote first on this procedural draft resolution. I would remind the Assembly that precedence was given to a similar resolution in the 1961 discussions on this subject.

40. As to the purposes of this draft resolution, it seems to us that they are really unexceptionable. It recalls resolution 396 (V) of 14 December 1950. This cannot be denied; this resolution was adopted. It recalls the decision in resolution 1668 (XVI) of 15 December 1961. This again cannot be denied; such a decision took place. Then it asks that the decision in that resolution of 1961 be declared to remain valid.

41. Again, I think it is a matter of simple common sense, as was pointed out by the delegation of France two years ago, that this matter be regarded as important, and I query the logic of any suggestion that when a political question of importance is involved we can disregard the rules of procedure. The rules of procedure are quite clearly laid down in the Charter and in our own rules, and I think it would be a very dangerous precedent to abandon those rules.

42. Coming to the amendment submitted by the delegation of Ceylon [A/L.470], I think we can all appreciate the effort of that delegation to present to this Assembly a simplified text. However, I must say that in reading the text submitted by Ceylon, the effect, the intent, the purpose, seem to me to be identical with the intent and purpose of the earlier

draft resolution submitted by Albania and a number of other delegations [A/L.469]. The intent and purpose of both these drafts—of the amended draft resolution submitted by Ceylon, and of draft resolution A/L.469, both the preambular part and paragraphs 1 and 2—are to demand the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs and to invite immediately, unsolicitedly and unqualifiedly the representatives of Peking to sit with us here. As the representative of Mauritania pointed out yesterday, each of the operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of draft resolution A/L.469 has precisely the same effect: an invitation to Peking and the expulsion of the Republic of China. Because the preambular parts and both paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of A/L.469, and the Ceylon amendment in A/L.470 all have the same intent and purpose, we will vote against them all.

43. If I might make a remark on the decisions we are about to take, I would make this point: a lot of the argument put forward in this Assembly in favour of an invitation to Peking to send representatives here is along the lines that having their representatives here would in some way help to shape their purposes, to broaden their views, to lead them away from policies that are not in line with the policies required by the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Now, this is a matter of judgement, and I ask the representatives particularly of countries in Africa and Europe to weigh their judgement on this matter against the judgement of the neighbouring countries in Asia and the Pacific, countries which will, after all, have to bear the consequences and repercussions of any error of judgement which we may make. I think it is pertinent to ask ourselves whether we might not have considered more the views of Czechoslovakia, for example, when in 1938 and 1939 the problem of dealing with an aggressive Germany was being considered in the councils of the world. I think we should make no mistake that, whatever the decision we reach here, there will be repercussions. The primary repercussions will be in Asia—in East Asia, South-East Asia, and South Asia also. Secondly, there will be wide repercussions in the world as a whole. Thirdly, there will be repercussions here in the United Nations, which, as I said before, has been functioning as an instrument of security and as an instrument for furthering economic and social progress in the world.

44. No one ignores the fact of the existence of the Chinese people, nor can we ignore the facts of the deeds and words of the Peking régime.

45. Our great problem is how best to bring the Peking régime to accept that the rule of law and the acceptance of peaceful coexistence of different States, of different social systems, has to prevail. I would repeat that the long-term objective of the Australian Government is the achievement of the widest degree of international co-operation. We do not agree, however, that the acceptance of Communist China into the United Nations would further this aim in any way, so long as the authorities in Peking continue to adopt policies in direct conflict with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The acceptance of Communist China in these circumstances would en-

danger the existence of this Organization as an effective instrument of international peace.

46. Mr. PONNAMBALAM (Ceylon): I wish to apologize to the Assembly for taking the floor again. Last evening [1379th meeting], when I ventured to place an amendment before this house, I did so in the sincere belief that, by removing any harsh expressions in draft resolution A/L.469, which was sponsored by a number of countries with a view to ensuring the restoration of the rights of China, I would be doing a service and clarifying the issues.

47. After listening to some of the speeches this morning, I feel that the effect of the amendment has been exactly the reverse. I should hesitate to place an amendment before this house which is likely to divide the forces of those countries which are sincerely convinced that, in the interest of the United Nations and for the purpose of strengthening the machinery of the United Nations, a larger membership and the inclusion of a country like China would be useful. In these circumstances, Cambodia—which in 1961 co-sponsored an amendment, I believe, in identical terms to the one which I placed before this house yesterday—has chosen, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, to appeal to us to withdraw the amendment.

48. In all the circumstances and with apologies to the members of the Assembly, I should like, with your permission, Mr. President, to withdraw the amendment.

49. Mr. DADZIE (Ghana): Now that the representative of Ceylon has withdrawn his motion, I take the floor to support the appeal made by the representative of Cambodia to Mauritania to follow suit; that is to say, to withdraw its own motion concerning our draft resolution A/L.469, co-sponsored by Ghana and eleven other Powers. This motion is, in our view, directed towards the elimination of paragraph 2 of our draft resolution which seeks to expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek who unlawfully occupy the place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

50. Fifteen years of debates on China in this Assembly has established beyond any doubt whatever that the question at issue is not that the People's Republic of China is seeking a new admission to this Assembly; the People's Republic of China is a founding Member State of this Organization and the question at issue is that of restoring to it its lawful place in our Organization, which is now usurped by a delegation from somewhere else. That being the case, should we restore its lawful place to the People's Republic of China, it will naturally follow that those who wrongfully or unlawfully occupy that seat must necessarily relinquish it or otherwise be deprived of it. Paragraph 2 of our draft resolution does no more than emphasize this inevitable consequence. Whether one wishes to face the fact or not, it will follow as night follows day. So why not face it?

51. We have come here all prepared to do justice to a founding Member State, the People's Republic of China. We would therefore not like to leave any doubt in anyone's mind as to the real issue before

the Assembly. For this reason, the two paragraphs which form an integral whole in our draft resolution should be voted on together; in other words, our draft resolution should be voted on as it stands.

52. While my delegation is opposed to any separate votes or modification of the text, we take this opportunity to support the appeal of the representative of Cambodia in the hope that the representative of Mauritania will follow the example of the representative of Ceylon and withdraw his motion.

53. Mr. MISKE (Mauritania) (translated from French): Although the Mauritanian delegation did not formally propose an amendment to the Assembly, I must nevertheless reply to the appeals of our friends who sponsored draft resolution A/L.469 and who have asked us not to press for a separate vote. The representative of Ceylon has said almost exactly what I would have wished to say on this point. We certainly do not wish to divide those countries which support the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

54. After the statements which I have heard this morning, I think I can satisfy the request by withdrawing our proposal and—this particularly concerns our friend, the representative of Japan—by refraining from pressing for a separate vote. It is therefore a pleasure for the Mauritanian delegation to announce that it does not intend to press for such a vote.

55. I will also take this opportunity to say that the Mauritanian delegation still supports draft resolution A/L.469, despite the fact that it contains certain terms which it does not consider absolutely essential and that it also remains convinced that the General Assembly should take a decision on this question by simple majority, in accordance with the Charter and rules of procedure.

56. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now heard all the explanations of vote. The General Assembly has two draft resolutions before it. The first [A/L.468 and Add.1] is procedural in character and has been submitted by eleven Members. The second [A/L.469] has been submitted by twelve Members. As you have just heard, the amendment proposed by the delegation of Ceylon [A/L.470] has been withdrawn.

57. I now put to the vote the draft resolution [A/L.468 and Add.1] submitted by Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand and the United States of America. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guate-

mala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands.

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

Abstaining: Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Austria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Cyprus, Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Maldives Islands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 56 votes to 49, with 11 abstentions.

58. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1 has been adopted, a two-thirds majority will therefore be required for the adoption of draft resolution A/L.469, of any amendment to that draft resolution or of any part of that draft resolution; since there are no amendments, the two-thirds majority rule shall be applied to the draft resolution as a whole.

59. We shall now vote on the draft resolution [A/L.469] submitted by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Romania, Somalia and Syria. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

In favour: Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark.

Against: Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic.

Abstaining: Iceland, Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldives Islands, Netherlands, Portugal,

Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Austria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Cyprus.

The result of the vote was 47 in favour and 47 against, with 20 abstentions.

The draft resolution was rejected.

60. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): A number of delegations have asked to speak in explanation of their vote; I shall call on them in turn.

61. Mr. BOSCO (Italy) (translated from French): On behalf of my Government, I wish to make the following statement in explanation of my delegation's vote against draft resolution A/L.469.

62. Italy's vote was intended to be the coherent expression of a position which is explained by the fact that, in the absence of any preliminary information, any decision concerning China's seat raises several problems for the Assembly. The Peking Government has never expressed any interest in admission to membership of our family of nations and it has adopted attitudes which suggest that at this time it is not prepared to abandon any of its specific objectives in order to accept the whole series of obligations which Members of the United Nations have assumed with a view to co-operating to bring about a better world.

63. Italy's vote, based as it is on a thorough appraisal of the present international situation, does not prevent us from hoping, together with the majority of the General Assembly that in the near future the United Nations may be able to acquire the character of universality, in obligations and rights that was desired by the founders of the Organization which is the supreme headquarters of co-operation and friendship among peoples.

64. It is in this spirit and expressing this hope that Italy must point out that the time has come to turn our close attention to the study of the right methods for dealing with this problem. Accordingly, it appears necessary to ascertain the genuine and sincere intentions of Communist China towards the United Nations, that is to say whether or not it wishes to be a Member. If it does, then we must know whether it is prepared, with that moderation which is the very essence of peaceful coexistence among nations, to refrain from laying down conditions which are unacceptable to the Members of the United Nations and whether, on the contrary, it is prepared to assume in all loyalty the obligations imposed by the Charter and to benefit from the rights which the Charter guarantees. Similarly, we must consider the implications of China's presence in the United Nations, which cannot be left to improvisation.

65. The Italian Government considers that, side by side with this study, methods should be devised in the United Nations to end the present situation by initiating among Member States a process of thought and action which, without any sacrifice of principles, will enable the Organization to assume a truly universal character.

66. This is a process which Italy, in all loyalty to its friends, warmly recommends, in the con-

viction that it is playing its part in promoting peace and the relaxation of tension and at the same time strengthening United Nations action and making the world in which we live more effectively integrated and more and more responsive to the growing demands for freedom and social progress.

67. Having said this, I wish to recall that early in this session, and specifically in the statement which I had the honour to make on 27 September 1965 [1338th meeting], the Italian delegation clearly declared itself in favour of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. This principle leads us to exert every effort to ensure that the whole membership of the United Nations adds up to the entire international community. The trend towards the universality of the United Nations must not, however, allow us to overlook the need for a certain degree of homogeneity among the Member States, which, while preserving their natural, and legitimate characteristics born of their tradition, culture and political régime, must loyally accept the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter; without that, harmonious and organic international coexistence would be impossible.

68. There are various points to be considered in developing a common policy in favour of the universality of the United Nations: the return of States which have temporarily left the United Nations, the admission of those which are still absent and the participation of Governments which are not represented in the United Nations. The solution of these different problems, including that of the representation of China, which has been the subject of ample and thorough discussion, would be less difficult if they were considered in the context of a common policy rising above the individual interests of States and based on the need to strengthen the peaceful action of the United Nations.

69. We are profoundly convinced that the questions involved in the application of the principle of the universality of the United Nations and the strengthening of its authority are of vital importance for the future of the international community. Hence they cannot be settled by votes on resolutions which tend to perpetuate the conflict between points of view that are clearly opposed to one another.

70. The discussion which has taken place in the Assembly on the problem of the representation of the Peking Government is in itself proof that the doubts which, from the outset, were expressed by the Italian delegation concerning the validity of the method followed hitherto are fully justified. So long as there is such a clear divergence of views between those who favour the admission of Peking and those who advocate the retention of the present situation, and so long as no attempt is made to ensure first of all that the necessary conditions exist for progressing from one stage to the next, not only will it be difficult to find a solution but we shall run the risk of prolonging a barren controversy.

71. As far as we are concerned, the question is not whether or not the People's Republic of China can be a Member of the world Organization. Our answer to that question is in the affirmative, as is that of

other Member States which have refused to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.469. What we are discussing here is how and when.

72. In my statement of 27 September 1965, to which I referred first just now, I invoked the principle of universality in expressing the hope that representatives of Peking would participate in our work, but not until we can be sure that such participation would not endanger this Organization. Acting on those principles, the Italian delegation thought it advisable to put a number of questions to the friends of Peking, and to all States, for the purpose of stimulating thought on the problem. We asked those friends to try once again to persuade Peking to adopt an attitude towards the problems of disarmament and towards the present conflicts which would no longer justify the accusations made against it, including those made during the present discussion. We also asked all States whether it would not be worth while to promote an objective analysis in the United Nations of the latest facts of the problem and its difficulties, as also of the conditions, methods and stages necessary to arrive at a solution fully in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

73. Since so far there has been no encouraging answer to the first question and since, on the contrary, we have noted the statements subsequently made by Peking on 29 September 1965, the Italian delegation wishes to point out once again that it will be necessary, in the future, to seek ways and means of overcoming the difficulties in the way of the achievement of universality in the United Nations, a task which must be pursued jointly and steadfastly.

74. The stand taken by the Italian delegation on the problem to which the principle of universality gives rise explains its approval of the resolution confirming the validity of the 1961 decision on the importance of the question of the representation of China.

75. Italy, which in 1961 gave its support to resolution 1668(XVI) in company with all the other countries which have defended its validity during the present session of the Assembly, deemed it advisable, in view of the doubts expressed by some delegations, to submit the question to the Assembly once again for the sake of consistency, clarity and respect for democratic rules.

76. The confirmation of the 1961 resolution will help to create in the meantime a political and psychological climate more conducive to the search for a solution that would be acceptable to all. It thus offers us an opportunity to reflect on the ways and means and the stages by which the problem of the representation of China might be solved, not so much by voting as by the adoption of methods which would be more in keeping with the complexity of the situation and which would make it possible to arrive at an agreed solution, fully in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, in a not too distant future.

77. Mr. MUNDENGE (Rwanda) (translated from French): The Rwandese delegation voted against draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1 because it considers that the United Nations Charter and our rules of procedure are quite clear on the subject. The

issue, in our view, is which delegation represents China and there are precedents on this point.

78. Moreover, my delegation abstained on the substantive question because it was unable to accept the wording of draft resolution A/L.469 in its original form. Nevertheless, we share the view of the majority of the delegations that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the Assembly and other United Nations organs is a necessity for peace and security in Asia and in the world generally. We are equally convinced that the problems of general and complete disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and stability in Asia, and more particularly in Viet-Nam, cannot be solved in the absence of the People's Republic of China.

79. This country must not think, however, that it can impose its will on us through unacceptable conditions. Draft resolution A/L.469 in its original wording confirmed the impression, which has been growing in recent weeks, that the People's Republic of China is not for the moment ready and does not intend to take a seat here and to participate in the work of the Assembly.

80. We believe, of course, in the principle of universality, of which His Holiness Pope Paul VI spoke from this rostrum on 4 October 1965, when he said: "Your vocation is to bring not only some of the peoples, but all of the peoples, to fraternize." [1347th meeting, para. 30.]

81. But China too should demonstrate its will to join the United Nations in order to help us to achieve its objectives in the interest of international peace and security. That, unfortunately does not appear to be the case. That is why my delegation chose to abstain in the vote on the substantive question. It would have preferred a moderately worded draft resolution along the lines of the amendment submitted by the delegation of Ceylon.

82. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): the British Government voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.469. We did so because, as has frequently been stated in the past, we take the view that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the Government of China and is in full control of its territory. Consequently we believe that the representative of the People's Republic of China should be seated in the United Nations as the representative of the State of China.

83. This does not imply any judgement by Her Majesty's Government, favourable or unfavourable, on the character of that Government, but if the United Nations is to fulfil its destiny, it must be a universal organization and it will be far short of that if the most populous country in the world is excluded. Indeed the facts of international life, as they now are, require the admission of the People's Republic of China into our counsels. This is particularly true when many of the problems which beset the world affect Asia and involve the Chinese people. It is therefore increasingly necessary that the Chinese People's Government should have the opportunity and the responsibility to play a part in dealing with them. It is also increasingly urgent to give the People's Republic of China, with its nuclear capability,

the opportunity of associating itself with our deliberations in many other fields, and particularly in the field of disarmament.

84. For these reasons, it is the view of the British Government that the question of the representation of China has become increasingly urgent and that damage in the long run can be done to the United Nations if we delay much longer in solving this question.

85. I should also like to remind the General Assembly that the position of Her Majesty's Government in voting for draft resolution A/L.469 remains that sovereignty over the Island of Formosa is undetermined. It therefore follows that the question of who should represent Formosa in the United Nations is also undetermined. The vote which I cast in favour of the draft resolution does not prejudice the position of Her Majesty's Government on this point. I must also add, with reference to this resolution, that the General Assembly can of course bind only itself and its subsidiary organs. It cannot bind the organizations related to it and can do no more than make recommendations to the other principal organs of the United Nations.

86. Mr. ANYAOKU (Nigeria): I have asked for the floor in order to explain very briefly the votes cast by the Nigerian delegation on the two draft resolutions, A/L.468 and Add.1 and A/L.469.

87. My delegation voted in the light of its general position which was clearly stated here on 5 October 1965 by Mr. Bamali, Nigeria's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to quote what the leader of the Nigerian delegation said on that occasion:

"The admission of the three new Members takes the Organization another step forward towards the attainment of the principle of universality, which my delegation believes can usefully add to the authority and influence of the United Nations. It is in this light that my Government must view with regret the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. The question that we must ask ourselves is whether the United Nations has been, or is likely to be, a more effective organization as a result of the People's Republic of China being kept out of it. Nigeria does not think so. We do not think that a country whose people constitute about one-fifth of mankind and which, whether we approve it or not, now possesses nuclear weapons, should be kept out of the mainstream and the deliberations of this world body. To continue to do so would, in the view of my delegation, mean to ignore the important fact that the task of achieving peace and stability in the world can be more easily and more fruitfully tackled if we can enlist the participation of all the big Powers in consideration thereof.

"But we hope for a full solution"—not a partial one—"to the Chinese question. The Peking-Formosa controversy is part of that question. The resolution of that controversy, however, rests primarily with the Chinese people themselves." [1348th meeting, paras. 4-5.]

Mr. Souvannavong (Laos), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): Ever since the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which took place at Belgrade in 1961, the Tunisian delegation has been loudly proclaiming the strong reasons why it is of fundamental importance to restore the lawful rights of China, an important founder Member of the Organization, in order to enable this great country to play an active part in the work of the United Nations.

89. For that reason, which in our view is still valid and justified, as also for the purpose of achieving universal representation in the United Nations, we should have voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.469 if the request of the Mauritanian delegation for a separate vote on the two operative paragraphs had been accepted.

90. In the past, in similar circumstances, the Tunisian delegation has always requested a separate vote on the two operative paragraphs in the two draft resolutions relating to the question of the representation of China, for we consider that, while it is important to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it is no less important to avoid preventing any other Member of the Organization, in this case the Member which today occupies China's seat, from participating in the work of the United Nations.

91. I should like to state that, had the two operative paragraphs of draft resolution A/L.469 been put to the vote separately, my delegation would have voted in favour of paragraph 1 and against paragraph 2. In view of this disparity between the two paragraphs in relation to the position which I have just explained, and acting on the specific instructions of its Government, the Tunisian delegation could not but abstain in today's vote on draft resolution A/L.469.

92. With regard to draft resolution A/L.468 and Add.1, dealing with a question of procedure, my delegation considers that the reasons which it put forward in 1961 concerning resolution 1668 (XVI) are equally valid this year and justify its opposition to the adoption of the draft resolution in question.

93. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): There is no need for me to speak at length in explaining the vote of my delegation, which has already spoken twice in this debate.

94. I should like to point out that in our opinion draft resolution A/L.469 could have gained by being more concisely worded. Operative paragraph 2, which was, moreover, somewhat discourteous in tone, was in our opinion unnecessary, since the provision in operative paragraph 1 whereby the General Assembly would decide that the People's Republic of China was the only lawful representative of China was immediately applicable.

95. Despite these reservations with regard to the form of the draft resolution and since my delegation is in agreement with the sponsors of draft resolution

A/L.469 on the substance of the problem, it naturally voted in favour of the text as a whole.

96. Mr. FAKHER-ED-DINE (Sudan): In addressing ourselves to this important issue, with a view to explaining our vote, the delegation of the Sudan seeks to emphasize and reaffirm its former stand. In the preceding years, we have voted in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We believe that since the last vote was taken, more and more countries have extended recognition to the People's Republic of China, including France, a permanent member of the Security Council and a founding Member of the United Nations.

97. The need for the participation and contribution of the People's Republic of China in the proceedings of the United Nations is greatly felt, particularly when crucial issues of war and peace are debated. Indeed, the very nature of the major problems which this Organization has taken upon itself to resolve in its endeavour to achieve world peace calls for the presence of the People's Republic of China.

98. As has been repeatedly pointed out by various delegations at successive sessions of the General Assembly, we doubt the effectiveness of any international agreement to which this large and populous country is not a party. How can we, the participants in this world Assembly, exclude a Government that effectively leads and represents approximately 700 million people of an ancient and great civilization? The exclusion of the People's Republic of China deprives this Assembly of its true representative and universal character.

99. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, in which the Sudan participated, expressed in the most emphatic terms the imperative need for this Organization to achieve this principle of universality. It declared that in order to be an effective instrument, the United Nations must be open to all the States of the world. The Conference went on to urge the General Assembly to restore the lawful right of the People's Republic of China to take its rightful seat in the community of nations. In that respect, the Cairo Conference recalled the recommendation of the Belgrade Conference, which asked the General Assembly of the United Nations "To restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations".

100. In conclusion, we voted in favour of the draft resolution to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China because we believe that a country with the potentialities, both military and otherwise, of the People's Republic of China should contribute to an share in the responsibilities of this Assembly.

101. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As no other delegation wishes to speak, our consideration of agenda item 102 is now concluded.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.