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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 93

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I shall call now on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of the votes they cast at the previous meeting. In this connexion, may I suggest that statements should not exceed 10 minutes.

2. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to place on record before this Assembly its position in connexion with the voting on the question of China. My delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution on the question of substance [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2], as we would have done with any other that had been put to the vote.

3. As my delegation sees it, any organization, and therefore the United Nations, must adjust to changing historical circumstances. To claim that the question of China revolves about the interpretation of procedural articles or rules similar to those which prevailed in 1950 means abdicating an understanding of the profound political problem of the question. It is not possible to make any interpretation outside the historical context and, in our days, this context is different from what it was 20 years ago. Today a just and peaceful coexistence is being sought on a realistic basis, and it is not, therefore, possible to ignore the existence of a country with 750 million inhabitants. The time of isolations is gone, and we therefore welcome the fact that this reality is reflected in the United Nations. We trust that this will contribute to creating a new international order which will be more stable and harmonious.

4. We cannot fail to affirm that if the major political problem is to adjust our Organization to the process of history, there are, nevertheless, principles in our Charter which remain unalterable. One of these is non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Strict observance of this principle has been the norm for the international conduct of my government. Consistent with that stand we abstained in the vote on that draft resolution. This

abstention means that Spain, being convinced of the national unity and territorial integrity of China, accepts the presence in the United Nations of that great nation, a presence which we consider to be desirable and necessary. We did not, nor did we wish to, go into other aspects which might arise in connexion with this important question, because these are matters solely for the Chinese people who are the only and absolute masters of their destiny.

5. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation abstained in the vote on the procedural draft resolution [A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2] for the following reasons. Belgium believes that this draft resolution, on which we expressed ourselves yesterday evening [1976th meeting], did not enunciate clearly what the matter was about. This draft could lead us to believe that the draft resolution dealing with the substance (the so-called "Albanian draft") solved other matters than the choice of the representatives of the Chinese State in our Organization.

6. Our position is based upon a long-term decision of our Government, a decision which was recalled at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly by our Minister for Foreign Affairs [1856th meeting]. It is a position that can be explained as follows. First, the Charter provides the State of China with one single seat in the Organization. Belgium believes the representatives of the People's Republic of China must occupy that seat. Consequently, Belgium cannot accept the so-called thesis of two Chinas. Secondly, Belgium would not be in favour, unless there were an agreement between the two interested Governments, of dual representation for a single State. Thirdly, the permanent seat of China being recognized as belonging to the People's Republic of China, if the representatives of Taiwan had wished to retain their right to be seated in our Organization as representatives of a State other than China, Belgium believes that this question should have been debated and settled in a positive manner.

7. This is the basic position of Belgium, and this is why we abstained in the vote on that draft resolution.

8. As far as the so-called Albanian draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2] is concerned, my delegation voted in favour of that text for the following reasons. Since 1968 Belgium has clearly and unequivocally stated that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should represent the State and people of China in the United Nations. Clearly the representatives who have occupied the seat of China until now could not continue to do so.

9. In voting yesterday in favour of the Albanian draft resolution, Belgium based itself upon this specific position.

As we just stated in the explanation of our vote on the United States procedural draft resolution, this draft resolution, in the view of the Belgian Government, confined itself to recognizing the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the sole representatives of the Chinese State in the United Nations.

10. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly, despite the efforts and numerous pressures of the United States, adopted in an atmosphere of extraordinary enthusiasm, draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by Albania and 22 other sponsors, which restored the lawful rights of the glorious Chinese people and the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—rights that were unjustly denied to that country for 22 years as a result of the policy of *diktat* of the American imperialists. This decision of considerable importance will be a historic one for the United Nations as a victory for all the peoples of the world, for all peace-loving forces, and as a stunning defeat for the United States.

11. The support of the overwhelming majority of the Assembly for the 23-Power draft resolution was a manifestation of the enormous authority and prestige of the People's Republic of China, of the great role recognized for it, of the vital role which is China's on the road to peace and progress. It was a further confirmation of the force and will of all peace-loving States. This vote reaffirms the truth that without People's China, without its participation, without its indispensable assistance, the United Nations cannot contribute to any effective solution of important problems now facing the world.

12. The United States, blinded by its hate for the triumph of revolution and socialism in great China, fought with all its force to block China's progress and to keep it away from the rest of the world. Here in the United Nations for a score of years the United States mobilized a fantastic anti-Chinese operation mounted against the people and Government of China. Against the will of the peoples and States of the world, the United States persisted to the last minute in its opposition to the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations. The General Assembly's decision inflicted a heavy blow to the hostile attitude of the United States Government towards People's China. The obstructionist policies of the United States towards China in the United Nations have failed miserably. The United Nations has decisively rejected the United States plot of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" for ever by restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and expelling the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek political corpse from the United Nations and all bodies connected to it.

13. This decision of the General Assembly is also a heavy defeat for the Soviet socio-imperialists, who made very effort to isolate China in the world.

14. It has put an end to the shameful situation that existed in the United Nations, an unprecedented international injustice towards the greatest country in the world.

15. The restoration of China's full rights in the United Nations is an event of great importance to the Organization. It is an important contribution to the struggle of peace-

loving Member States to free the United Nations from the manipulation of two great Powers and to bring about recovery, rehabilitation and the setting of the United Nations on the road prescribed by the Charter.

16. By this decision the Member States have expressed their firm opposition to the United States policy of *diktat*. From this great event they rightly draw the conclusion that, by concerted efforts, they are able not only to confront the policy of force and blackmail of the imperialist Powers but also to inflict stunning defeats upon them. Despite the great defeat they have suffered, the American imperialists will not abandon their policy of *diktat* and aggression. They will continue on the same path. But their desperate efforts against the peoples will meet with an ever more resolute resistance and, in the last analysis, it is justice, the peoples and their struggle that will triumph.

17. The decision taken by the General Assembly to restore the rights of China in the United Nations is the incarnation of the will of the peoples of the world, which look upon it as their own victory and the victory of all the peace-loving forces and States that are fighting for the triumph of the cause of liberty, independence and progress in the world.

18. In People's China the peoples see the great citadel of socialism, the resolute and loyal bulwark of the peoples struggling for national and social liberation, the powerful defender of the principles of justice and the insurmountable obstacle to the plan of two great imperialist Powers for hegemony and world domination.

19. As the country that introduced the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, Albania wishes to express its sincere thanks to the majority of States Members of this Assembly for their powerful support on this issue. At the same time we congratulate the delegations of the States sponsors of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, which waged here a just battle of principle in complete conformity with present international reality.

20. We take advantage of this opportunity to address to the great Chinese people our warmest fraternal greetings on the occasion of this important victory in the struggle against imperialism, and with all our hearts we trust that under the direction of the Communist Party of China and of President Mao Tse-tung it will achieve ever greater successes on the glorious road of socialism.

21. Mr. SEIGNORET (Trinidad and Tobago): The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago was one of those which did not participate in the debate on item 93. For many Governments, mine among them, this has been a very difficult problem. On the one hand we could see the urgent need for the Government of the People's Republic of China to participate in the work of the United Nations and the organizations related to it. On the other hand, we could also see the need for finding a way to preserve representation for the people of Taiwan, such as they have had, pending the eventual settlement of the conflicting claims involved.

22. After the most careful and exhaustive examination of the question of Chinese representation, this Assembly has

decided to restore to the People's Republic of China all its rights and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations. There was manifest near-unanimity in this Assembly that the Government of the People's Republic of China should participate in the work of the United Nations. This is not surprising since, without its participation, none of the questions of great concern to all of us, those questions which require settlement on a global basis, can be dealt with satisfactorily and none of them can be settled.

23. In the view of my delegation, the presence of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China will provide the States Members of this Organization with enhanced opportunities to fulfil the role given to it by the Charter.

24. If a decision had been taken to vote separately on the latter part of the operative paragraph of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, my delegation would have voted against the provision to expel the representatives of the Republic of China. We have a great deal of sympathy for, and friendly connexions with, the people of Taiwan, but I must make it clear that the greater imperatives lay on the side of supporting the effort which seemed most likely to bring about the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of this Organization. Hence our vote in favour of that draft resolution.

25. The question of China's representation here has been decided. My delegation hopes that it will soon witness the arrival of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. We also hope and pray that before long, with due regard to the rights of all concerned, a negotiated settlement of all claims and issues involved will be achieved.

26. Mr. MOLEFHE (Botswana): Mr. President, as my delegation is taking the floor for the first time, I must address my congratulations to you on behalf of my delegation and my Government and express the high regard and esteem in which you are held. It is our hope that you will steer the proceedings of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly to a fruitful end.

27. With regard to the main procedural votes, my delegation did not feel justified in supporting the use of the "important question" draft resolution [A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2] as a device to postpone further the taking by the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations. My delegation recognizes that the People's Republic of China is a Power to be reckoned with today. Such action could not have been in accordance with the principles and relevant Articles of the United Nations Charter when one considers the changing circumstances on the international scene, especially with regard to the role of the People's Republic of China.

28. Recognizing also that the main contentions of the People's Republic of China and those of the Republic of China are mutually exclusive, my delegation has been constrained to vote, on the substantive issues, in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2. At the same time it wishes to express the hope that the Chinese people themselves will resolve the domestic differences which have kept them apart for these past 20 years.

29. Mr. LUPIS (Italy):¹ I should like to explain the vote of my delegation. This Assembly is fully aware that the Italian Government, as I had the honour to state on 20 November of last year [1913th meeting], has recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China; it entertains diplomatic relations with Peking and is developing its relations with the great Chinese nation. For this reason the Italian Government, in the interest of the international community, as well as of the United Nations and of China itself, wished the People's Republic of China to enter this Organization during the present session of the General Assembly—as was solemnly declared in this hall on 6 October 1971 by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aldo Moro [1954th meeting]—and to occupy the seat that the Charter of the United Nations attributes to China in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

30. Consistent with this position the Italian delegation cast its vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2.

31. Twenty-two countries submitted the draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, which was based on Article 18 of the Charter. This Article rightly considers the expulsion of a Member State as an important question, to be decided, therefore, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. The Italian delegation believes that this rule constitutes one of the fundamental principles on which the United Nations is based. In the specific case of the proposal submitted to the vote of this General Assembly, the Italian delegation believed that possible future implications had to be taken into consideration and, as the legal consistency of the formulations submitted to us did not appear sufficiently demonstrated, the Italian delegation abstained.

32. The final outcome of the vote corresponds to the expectations I expressed at the beginning of my statement, that is, to the wish of the Italian Government that the People's Republic of China should occupy its rightful place within our world Organization during this very twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We therefore hope that Peking will send a delegation to the United Nations as soon as possible so that it may take part in our work forthwith.

33. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): Despite certain shortcomings in draft resolution A/L.630, and in particular the superfluity of the last part of its operative paragraph, the Israel delegation voted for it since the central purpose of the resolution is to clarify that the Government of the People's Republic of China is entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

34. In casting its vote the Israel delegation was guided by the principle that this is a vote which gives recognition to the right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China, a Member of the United Nations, and not a vote for the expulsion of a Member State.

35. Israel's fundamental attitude is based on the principle of universality of the United Nations, on recognition of the right of all States to be represented by their Governments

¹ Mr. Lupis spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and on the membership in the United Nations of every peace-loving State that applies for it.

36. Sir Lawrence McINTYRE (Australia): This morning, in Canberra, in a statement in the House of Representatives following last night's voting on the representation of China in the United Nations, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Nigel Bowen, who addressed this Assembly in the course of the general debate a few weeks ago [1951st meeting], said, speaking on behalf of the Australian Government:

“As we have made plain for many months and as we have asserted in the speeches delivered on behalf of Australia in the General Assembly, and by the resolutions we have co-sponsored, we have supported the representation of the People's Republic of China in the General Assembly and their occupation of the seat on the Security Council. We are therefore pleased that the People's Republic of China will now be enabled to be represented in the United Nations and enabled to take the seat on the Security Council.”

But Mr. Bowen also went on to express his disappointment that the collective decision of the United Nations membership should have resulted in the loss by the Republic of China of its seat in the world Organization.

37. As all delegations are aware, my delegation has repeatedly made clear in the course of this debate its support for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in the seat belonging to China on the Security Council. At the same time we have made clear our strong desire that the General Assembly should recognize the existing realities of the international situation by confirming the right of the Republic of China—a founding Member of the United Nations and for 25 years a faithful adherent to the purposes and principles of the Charter—to retain its seat in the United Nations.

38. In accordance with this clearly-proclaimed attitude, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, which would have required that any proposal to unseat the Republic of China would be considered an important question needing a two-thirds majority for adoption. We supported a motion asking for a separate vote on the last phrase in the operative paragraph of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, which called for expulsion of the Republic of China. And, finally, we voted against that draft resolution not, I repeat, on the grounds that it called for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in the Security Council, but because it described the People's Republic as the only lawful representative of China and demanded the expulsion of the Republic of China.

39. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): In voting as it did, my delegation was motivated by a strong desire to contribute to a solution of the problem of Chinese representation, which has been a source of conflict and controversy in the United Nations for over 20 years.

40. My Government has long since considered that the effectiveness of the United Nations, in the fulfilment of its primary purpose of maintaining international peace and

security, depends in large measure on the universality of its membership, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Mr. P. J. Hillery, emphasized in his statement in the general debate on 7 October [1956th meeting]. My Government therefore concluded that it was of the highest importance, in the interests of world peace, that the People's Republic of China should take its place in the United Nations without further delay as the Organization enters the second quarter-century of its existence.

41. My Government has also had a genuine concern for the rights and the security of the people of Taiwan. However, we must recognize that the Government of the Republic of China claims to represent not Taiwan but rather the whole of China, of which it and the People's Republic of China consider Taiwan to be a part.

42. The Government of Ireland would in no way wish to be associated with any step directed at the expulsion of a Member which has not persistently violated the principles of the Charter. The Republic of China has certainly not been guilty of such action. In our view, however, we were dealing not with a question of expulsion but with the question of the representation of a Member State. If it were a question of expulsion, the Assembly could take action solely on the basis of a recommendation from the Security Council in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter.

43. It has been stated in the debate on this item that, if the representatives of the Republic of China remained, the People's Republic of China might take its place in the Organization. It may be so. But all the evidence available to us casts doubt on that opinion. Very many countries which have active relations with the People's Republic of China and whose judgement we respect have stated publicly that there was no prospect of that Government's coming here if the representatives of the Republic of China remained. My delegation found it necessary to give full weight to those responsible statements. We had, moreover, the statement issued in Peking on 20 August last [see A/8470], which rejected, quite unequivocally, any possibility of the People's Republic of China taking a seat here if the Republic of China remained.

44. My Government very much regrets that a solution to this complex problem had to be found in voting on rival draft resolutions in this Assembly. We would have hoped that an agreed solution would have emerged among the parties concerned. As that was out of the question, my Government was obliged to take positions on draft resolutions which we did not consider entirely satisfactory, and to do so on a basis of realism as set out in the Foreign Minister's statement in the general debate on 7 October, to which I referred.

45. In the light of the foregoing considerations, my delegation voted in favour of giving priority to draft resolution A/L.632. We did so in the interests of open debate and because we considered that the Assembly should be given an opportunity to pronounce on that draft resolution. We voted against the draft itself because in our view the “important question” provisions of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter should not be invoked to prevent a realistic solution, at last, of the problem of which Government should occupy the seat of China in this

Organization. Finally, we voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2. I should add that we are unhappy about the rather harsh language of that text. My delegation would have preferred a less peremptory wording, one more consonant with the style we consider appropriate in this world forum.

46. We sincerely hope, and believe, that the decision made by the Assembly will greatly promote the prospects of world peace and the efficacy of the United Nations in fulfilling the purposes of the Charter.

47. Mr. ATTARD KINGSWELL (Malta): I asked to be allowed to speak in order to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, which was adopted yesterday evening by this Assembly. Since my delegation did not take part in the debate preceding the vote, I feel I owe it to the Assembly to explain our vote on that draft resolution and on the others with which the Assembly has dealt under the item before it.

48. In my speech in the general debate on 13 October [1965th meeting], I made it clear that my country welcomed the prospect of the People's Republic of China assuming its rightful place in the Organization during this session of the Assembly. Our vote against that draft resolution must not, therefore, be construed as a change of policy in that regard. We voted against that draft resolution, not because we did not wish to see the People's Republic of China take its rightful place in this Organization, but because, in the interests of universality, we could not possibly agree to the expulsion from the United Nations of the representatives of Taiwan.

49. My Government now welcomes the participation of the People's Republic of China and looks forward to a reawakening and a revitalization of the activities of the United Nations, be it in the political, the economic or the social field, as a result of the presence among us of a State which, apart from governing approximately one fifth of the world's population, boasts of an ancient culture, an ancient wisdom and a progressive attitude towards contemporary problems.

50. My delegation voted against draft resolution A/L.630 because it implied the expulsion of the Government of the Republic of China, with which my Government maintains diplomatic relations. While opposing the expulsion of the representatives who have since 1945 represented China in the United Nations, we did not and do not subscribe to the view of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan". In the considered view of my delegation, we felt that we should neither oppose nor support one side or the other in what is essentially and exclusively an internal and domestic Chinese issue. The question of Chinese representation is, for us, a question for the Chinese people themselves to decide. Our attitude was dictated by that fact and by a desire to do nothing which could be construed as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of China.

51. For the same reason we abstained also on each and every procedural draft resolution which sought to make it easier or more difficult to achieve a solution of this problem in accordance with the wishes of one side or the other. In particular, my delegation abstained on draft

resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, the so-called "important question" draft resolution. We did so in the light of the well-known circumstances which had made that draft resolution the really important question before us. We realized that unless the "important question" draft resolution was adopted, draft resolution A/L.630, which we opposed, would undoubtedly be adopted, as it has been, but we did not vote for the "important question" draft resolution because we felt that we had no right to help in placing procedural obstacles in the path of the will of the majority. Last year, for the first time, a similar draft resolution to the one which has now been adopted won a simple majority vote of the membership of this Assembly [1913th meeting]. We could not fail to take that fact into account.

52. In that spirit my delegation now, not only fully respects the will of the majority, as it has just been expressed, but also completely identifies itself with that majority and welcomes with sincerity and pleasure, and in anticipation of the beneficial results to come, the presence among us of the great People's Republic of China.

53. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): As I made clear in my statement during the debate on this item [1967th meeting], New Zealand had long felt that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations. We have wanted to see it take part not only in the General Assembly but in all other United Nations bodies, including the Security Council. The decision taken by the Assembly last night should achieve that objective and my Government has therefore welcomed it. Since the decision was taken, my Prime Minister has pointed out that:

"The United Nations will provide a setting within which the People's Republic will have ample freedom to explain its policies. At the same time it will be knit into the vast variety of United Nations activity and exposed in many ways to the opinions of other nations. China's isolation will be greatly reduced, and I am hopeful that, as it assumes the opportunities and obligations of United Nations membership and enters into the work of the Security Council, it will come to a new understanding of the world about it."

At the same time my Prime Minister went on to say:

"I am deeply disappointed over the expulsion of Taiwan."

54. It would have been both reasonable and more realistic for the General Assembly to have accepted the solid fact that there are two Chinese Governments, each in effective control of its territory and population. It was with that fact in mind that my delegation became a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, providing for the representation of both Governments. We regret that that proposal never came to a vote.

55. My delegation also became a sponsor of, and voted for, draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, providing that any proposal that would deprive the Republic of China of representation should be treated as an important question. New Zealand has long felt that any proposal that contemplates the withdrawal of the right of representation

falls squarely within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. It may prove unfortunate for the future of the United Nations that this view has been rejected.

56. Draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2 called explicitly for the expulsion of the Republic of China. For that reason, my delegation was obliged to vote against it. Nevertheless, as I have said, we are glad that it has been made possible for the People's Republic of China to be represented in this Organization. We hope that it will now assume its seat, both here and in the Security Council, and that it will play an active and constructive part in the work of the United Nations.

57. We believe that this will enable the Organization better to fulfil its functions and to come to grips with the great problems facing it, especially in the field of peace and security. We trust that in the days ahead it will do so.

58. Mr. ECOBESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I have the honour and the pleasure of welcoming from this rostrum the adoption by the General Assembly of the decision to restore to the People's Republic of China all its lawful rights in the United Nations.

59. This decision is a political event of particular importance for international life. A new page has been turned in both the history and the activities of the United Nations. Indeed, for over a score of years now, since the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, the legitimate seat of that great socialist State in the United Nations, usurped by persons who had nothing to do with the Chinese people, has finally been restored to that State.

60. Yesterday evening's vote [*1976th meeting*] was a triumph of political wisdom and lucidity, of legality and justice. The anachronistic and irrational policy of isolation pursued towards People's China has failed. Thus an end has been put to a deeply abnormal situation in which the People's Republic has been prevented from exercising its rights in this international forum and which has deprived the United Nations of the contribution of the Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China to the consideration and solution of major problems facing this Organization.

61. It became evident many years ago that, without the participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of the United Nations and in international life as a whole, it would not be possible to find realistic or viable solutions to problems of concern to the international community. The President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, stated in that connexion:

"I think that it must be clear to all politicians and to all States that without the participation of China in the solution of problems facing humanity today it will not be possible to find the best solutions. The participation of the People's Republic of China in international life is a requirement for the successful solution of the major problems of international peace and security."

62. The historic vote of the General Assembly is eloquent testimony to the progress made by the United Nations, to the fact that it has come of age as a political body able to take account of present-day realities. That justifies our hope that the United Nations will find it possible to work with more determination and effectiveness to fulfil its basic tasks, namely, the strengthening of peace and international security and the development of broad co-operation between all countries of the world.

63. That decision of the General Assembly highlighted at the same time the role of the small and medium-sized countries in international life as well as in the United Nations. That clearly proves that those countries can play an essential and ever-growing role in the solution of world problems and in the affirmation of and respect for the principles that must govern international relations.

64. To conclude, I should like, on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, most warmly to congratulate the People's Republic of China on the re-establishment of its lawful rights in the United Nations and transmit to it our best wishes for success in the activities it will deploy in our Organization.

65. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday before the vote we explained our reasons for voting in favour of draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2. Today we wish to explain our reasons for voting against the substantive draft resolution sponsored by Albania and other States [*A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2*].

66. The position of the Government of Venezuela on this question is very clear. On 4 March 1971 the President of the Republic said the following in a press interview:

"There is no doubt that, for the United Nations to be more effective, the entire world, if possible, must be represented therein. So powerful a country, with such a large population and so important in many respects as mainland China is, should unquestionably play a role in that world forum that is the United Nations. We shall place no obstacle in the way of this, but we aspire to the settlement of some questions which its admission entails. For example, we maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, whose Government has its seat in Formosa, and the representation of that country does not deserve from us that we make it the subject of a slight."

67. In his statement in the general debate at the meeting on 29 September last [*1944th meeting*], the Minister for Foreign Affairs, after recalling those words of the President of the Republic, expressed the hope that, by means of an open and forthright dialogue, a formula would be found that would allow for the full participation of the People's Republic of China without excluding the Republic of China.

68. My Government was not unaware of the great legal and political difficulties involved in the solution of the problem through a formula of this kind; but it did not lose hope of reaching a general agreement which, while respecting the principles and purposes of the Charter and its other provisions, would consider the existing realities. Regrettably, the formulae proposed seeking this end, apart from

doubts which arose as to their compliance with the Charter, did not meet with the needed general political support.

69. As is known to all, once the proposals for priority for other substantive proposals were withdrawn or rejected, the General Assembly had to pronounce itself first on the draft resolution submitted by Albania and other States. Given that circumstance, and in the light of the considerations I have stated, our vote had to be what it was: negative.

70. The Government of Venezuela knows very well that it represents one of the small or medium-sized nations and that we lack the political and military resources which the great Powers have; but it being always our goal to follow the rules of ethics which should prevail in international relations, we have maintained in this case a position which we believe to be balanced and fair.

71. The General Assembly, by a majority larger than two-thirds, has already taken its decision, which we respect. As I said earlier, my Government shared, and continues to share, the general view about the desirability of the presence of the People's Republic of China in our Organization. We now reiterate the hope that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will contribute to strengthening and giving new life to our Organization, and, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, to solving the major problems confronting the international community, and thus to achieve the supreme objective of true peace throughout the world.

72. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): My delegation did not participate in the debate on this question. I consider it the duty of my delegation to explain the vote we cast last night on draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, which was adopted by the General Assembly.

73. We abstained in the vote on that draft resolution, which contained in its operative paragraph language aimed at expelling from our Organization the Republic of China. Had the vote been taken on a text that did not contain that language, my delegation would have cast an affirmative vote on that draft.

74. The position my delegation took on that text has been consistent with the position it has taken ever since 1960: we have always abstained in the vote on similar draft resolutions. Our voting was never aimed at obstructing the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership in the United Nations. My Foreign Minister, in his statement to the General Assembly on 29 September 1971, said the following:

“The participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations will consolidate international co-operation, security and peace. It will no doubt contribute to the realization of the objectives and ideals of our Organization.” [1944th meeting, para. 147.]

75. The participation in our Organization of the People's Republic of China, representing as it does 750 million people, will undoubtedly give fuller meaning to the principle of universality, which is one of the corner-stones of our Charter.

76. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote. I shall now call on all those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply to the statements made.

77. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): Mr. President, if you will allow me, I wish to seize this occasion first to congratulate you and, through you, the United Nations and the world and, most particularly, the 800 million people of China, whose lawful rights in the United Nations were restored last night, after more than two decades of denial. History will record that, under the leadership of Adam Malik of Indonesia, the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 25 October 1971, took the most important decision in its history. Last night's vote will echo in the four corners of the globe; after that historic decision, the United Nations will never be the same again.

78. Now, Sir, I beg your indulgence, but I am in duty bound to comment on some remarks—very strongly worded, to say the least—made last Thursday afternoon, 21 October, by the representative of the United States [1973rd meeting].

79. The representative of the United States of America alleged that my delegation's statement [*ibid.*] on the question upon which we voted last night constituted a personal attack on the Chief of State of the United States. Now, despite my surprise, and indeed dismay, I resisted the temptation to ask for the floor immediately after Ambassador Bush had spoken, out of deference to him and out of understanding of what he had been through that whole day. He had taken the floor several times to explain or defend or apologize, and I felt personal sympathy for him, for our relations here—official as well as personal—are based on mutual respect and understanding, regardless of differences of opinion. But the record must be set straight. The statement, which is already in the General Assembly records, dealt with United States policy regarding the subject matter which was then under discussion.

80. I could understand Ambassador Bush disagreeing with the statement's interpretation of his Government's policy. But to misunderstand the statement, to read into it what is not there, to say that it is a personal attack against a chief of State is a matter of deep regret, because it simply is not true.

81. We hold the President of the United States, and all chiefs of State, in the highest esteem and respect.

82. Finally, I feel that, had the circumstances prevailing last Thursday been different, or had Ambassador Bush listened to my statement or read it carefully, he would not have found it necessary to retort in the way he did, or to comment on it at all.

83. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): Yesterday, during the debate on the problem of China, the representative of Albania used the words “Japanese militarists” [1976th meeting, para. 70]. My delegation is utterly at a loss to understand the reason why such words were used. Japan is a peace-loving country that has solemnly renounced belligerency under its Constitution. Our defence expenditure amounts to less than 1 per cent of the gross national

product and to less than 8 per cent of the national budget, which is a very small figure indeed compared with the defence expenditures of many other countries.

84. Our defence force is maintained strictly for the purpose of self-defence, and it is forbidden under law to use it outside our country, a law which, I think, is unique among the nations of the world.

85. I may add that, although Japan has the ability to develop and possess nuclear weapons, the Japanese Government has repeatedly stated that it has no intention of doing so.

86. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic does not feel it necessary to explain the reasons for its vote on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations because, ever since the formation of the People's Republic of China, we have supported the type of solution which was adopted yesterday by the United Nations General Assembly.

87. I asked to speak in order to remind the United States representative to the United Nations, Mr. Bush, in connexion with his frequent references to the membership of

the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in the United Nations, of the response which was made by the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR to a similar statement by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, at the 1960th meeting on 11 October 1971. I should like to point out that there was no support for the position of the United States in any speeches. Its position was condemned by many representatives, and by their vote yesterday the States Members of the United Nations rejected the unworthy attempts of the United States delegation to save the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, in which inadmissible expressions were used to refer to a founder State of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 96

The representation of China in the United Nations

88. The PRESIDENT: In view of the action taken by the General Assembly on agenda item 93, may I assume that it is the wish of the Assembly not to consider agenda item 96, entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations"?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.