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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHAWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly:

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee (concluded)*

1. The PRESIDENT: I request Mr. Waldheim of Austria, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the report of the Committee to the Assembly.

2. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): The Credentials Committee, as may be seen from the report contained in document A/6742 and Corr.1, has examined the credentials of the representatives to the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

3. Credentials issued by the Head of State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as provided for in rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, have been communicated to the Secretary-General either in the form of a written document or in the form of a cable for the representatives of the Member States. In accordance with the practice established under the said rule, cabled credentials are considered as acceptable in the case of emergency sessions. The appointment of the representatives of Member States has been communicated to the Secretary-General in notes verbales or letters from the Permanent Representatives or the Permanent Missions to the United Nations.

4. One Member State is not represented at the current session.

5. Some members of the Credentials Committee expressed reservations as to the validity of certain credentials. These reservations have been recorded in the Committee's report.

6. The Credentials Committee adopted the draft resolution contained in document A/6742 and Corr.1, para. 21, under which it accepts the credentials of all representatives to the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly and recommends to the General Assembly that it approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

7. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests that the recommendation of the Credentials Committee should be put to the vote, and wishes to make the following statement.

8. The USSR delegation, like the delegations of many other Member States, does not recognize the validity of the credentials presented by the Chiang Kai-shek envoys, since they do not conform to the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. The position of principle held by the Soviet Union on this question has been explained repeatedly in the United Nations and it is well known to all Member States.

9. Our position is that only the representatives of the People's Republic of China can represent China in the United Nations. We acted accordingly when this question was considered by the Credentials Committee. However, the draft resolution [A/6742, para. 7] reflecting these views, which was submitted by my delegation and which proposed that the credentials presented by those who unlawfully style themselves representatives of the Republic of China, should be considered invalid, was not adopted. Therefore, the USSR delegation will abstain in the vote on the Credentials Committee's draft resolution as a whole.

10. Mr. DEVENDRA (Nepal): Once again we are seized of the question of the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Government of Taiwan. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has always maintained that the only legal representatives of the great Chinese people can be the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The so-called Government of a handful of anti-national elements occupying, under the protection of a foreign Power, the territory of Taiwan, which is legally and constitutionally a part of China, cannot claim to represent the 800 million Chinese people. The so-called Government of Taiwan has neither the status nor the stature to represent China either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council as one of the Big Five.

11. Certain Powers that want to exclude China from the United Nations have, unfortunately, been wearing opaque glasses of international relations, through which they have been unable to see the existence of both the vast Chinese land mass and one fourth of the human race, which constitute the Chinese nation. Those interested countries have always considered might as being more important than right, the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations. My delegation hopes that those countries must at least have realized the importance of

*Resumed from the 1525th meeting.

the recent thermonuclear experiment of China and that the opaqueness of their glasses must have become clearer by the blast of the Chinese hydrogen bomb. My delegation hopes that they will now see and realize the existence of the People's Republic of China, and the sooner they do so the better it will be for humanity and world peace.

12. My delegation's vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee should be treated as not affecting in any way the consistent position of His Majesty's Government on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

13. Mr. OR KOSALAK (Cambodia) (translated from French): The position of the Cambodian delegation on the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations and all its organs is well known. The Cambodian delegation continues to refuse to recognize as valid the credentials submitted by a group of individuals who, through the help of the American imperialists, have unlawfully arrogated to themselves the title of representatives of the Chinese people.

14. As far as Cambodia is concerned, the only legitimate representatives of China and the Chinese people are those appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

15. For this reason, the Cambodian delegation will abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee.

16. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Faced with events that disturb the international atmosphere through the threat that they represent to the peace and security of the peoples, the United Nations does not always rise to the full height of its important task, in obedience to its own purposes and principles. The debates of the General Assembly have more than once demonstrated the existence of negative factors which prevent the presence of the United Nations in the present context of international life from effectively exercising a good influence for the strengthening of peace and the promotion of a spirit of friendly co-operation among States.

17. One of the most important of the factors I have just mentioned is undoubtedly the fact that our Organization is still far from satisfying the criterion of universality and far from reflecting the highly complex realities of international life. This is one of the sources of its hesitations and failures. The representation of China in the United Nations, that matter so often discussed, offers us the clearest example of this kind of thing.

18. For years my delegation has persistently stressed the need for the effective presence of China in the United Nations and shown that the only Government with the legal capacity to represent it here and in all international agencies is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

19. In this respect, the report of the Credentials Committee contains inadequate conclusions regarding the validity of the credentials issued to the persons who claim to represent China. In view of the fact that the credentials of the representatives of Chiang

Kai-shek do not emanate from the legitimate and representative Government of the Chinese people, which is the Government of the People's Republic of China, with its seat at Peking, they conflict with the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and must therefore be regarded as null and void. For this reason, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole.

20. Mr. PLAKA (Albania) (translated from French): Everyone knows that there is one China, the People's Republic of China, which is one and indivisible. The province of Taiwan, at present occupied by the armed forces of American imperialism, is merely an indisputably integral part of the People's Republic of China, whose Government alone is entitled to represent China in the United Nations or in any other international body.

21. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania therefore protests, with the utmost vehemence, against the illegal and absurd decision, contrary to the Charter, of the Credentials Committee, which in its report to this session of the General Assembly once again recognizes the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent nothing and who, owing to the manipulation of the United Nations by the United States of America, continue to occupy China's seat in the Organization.

22. We have said here many times that this deplorable situation is damaging only to the Organization itself, to its prestige and its ability to play its role in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter. Without the People's Republic of China, no important international problem can be settled.

23. We also enter our reservations in regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Pretoria régime, who represent only the white racists of South Africa.

24. For all these reasons the Albanian delegation will abstain in the vote on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee [A/6742, para. 21].

25. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to remind the Assembly that this morning I requested members to put their names on the list of speakers by 2.30 p.m. I did not say that that was the time-limit. Since 2.30, I have received some certain requests to speak in explanation of vote. I should like to ask whether I may consider that the list of speakers will be closed at 4 p.m. If there is no objection to that, the list will be definitely closed at that time.

It was so decided.

26. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): I should like briefly to clarify the position of my delegation with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee. The Afghan Government has always recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of China and, consequently, as the only lawful authority to represent China in the United Nations and in other international organizations, where its rights should be restored. Therefore, my delegation considers as invalid credentials that come from any source other than the Central Government

of the People's Republic of China. It is with this reservation that my delegation approves the report of the Credentials Committee.

27. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): In connexion with the consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee, the French delegation wishes to record that, although it presents no objection to the adoption of the report as a whole, it nevertheless continues to believe that only the People's Republic of China is entitled to occupy China's seat in the United Nations.

28. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): I should like briefly to state the position of my delegation regarding the report of the Credentials Committee. My delegation, like many others, has consistently maintained that the only Government legally entitled to represent the Chinese people is the Government of the People's Republic of China, and not the Chiang Kai-shek group of exiles which has illegally arrogated to itself the right to represent the Chinese people. Consequently, the so-called credentials of the usurpers can by no means be recognized as valid.

29. Simultaneously, I wish to place on record the strong reservation of my delegation regarding the credentials submitted by the representative of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Since that racist régime which, while practising the inhuman policy of apartheid has deprived the majority of the African population of its fundamental rights, represents but a small minority of that country, the documents presented by the representative of the South African Republic should not be recognized as valid.

30. For those reasons, the Polish delegation is unable to support the report of the Credentials Committee and will abstain from the vote on that report.

31. U AUNG MYAT KYAW (Burma): In voting for the report of the Credentials Committee the delegation of Burma would like to make its usual reservations regarding the credentials of the representatives of China. To the Government of Burma, the only legal Government representing China is the Government of the People's Republic of China, and as such, only the representatives appointed by that Government could be the legal representatives of China in the General Assembly.

32. Mr. LIU (China): Only a few weeks ago the Assembly, at its fifth special session, as it did not so long ago at the twenty-first regular session, reaffirmed the validity of the credentials of my delegation. Similar findings are set forth in the report of the Credentials Committee now before the Assembly.

33. It is surprising to me that some representatives should feel obliged to reiterate positions that have been stated time and again on past occasions. These restatements of position can only be dismissed as a sort of ritualistic performance that has come to be expected of those delegations.

34. The position of my delegation as being the rightful and true representatives of the Chinese people remains unchallengeable.

35. Mr. GYARMATI (Hungary): My delegation would like to make its position clear on the report of the

Credentials Committee. In our opinion, there are certain individuals in this Assembly who do not represent the people of their countries, and whose credentials, therefore, cannot be considered as valid under the rules of procedure, despite the suggestion in the report.

36. We refer, first, to the so-called credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek régime, which has arrogated to itself the title of representative of China in the United Nations. The majority of Member States know well that those individuals represent no one but themselves. We have stressed here on many occasions, when the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China was discussed, that without the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations we cannot properly resolve the fundamental problems confronting the world that are examined in this building. That is why my delegation shares the view of many other delegations that feel that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations.

37. Second, as regards the credentials of the representatives of the Pretoria régime, we fully support the reservations to the effect that the so-called Government of the Republic of South Africa flagrantly violates the elementary rights of millions of men and continues to maintain the policy of apartheid, despite the United Nations decisions. Therefore, it cannot represent the people of South Africa.

38. For those reasons, the Hungarian delegation is unable to support the recommendations of the Credentials Committee.

39. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): With regard to the report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to make the following reservations.

40. First of all, with regard to the representation of China, speaking on behalf of the delegations of the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Syria and Yemen, and in confirmation of the stand taken in the past by my delegation and those I have mentioned, we still consider the legal representatives of China to be the Government of the People's Republic of China.

41. Second, we wish to associate ourselves with those delegations which have registered their reservations concerning the representation of the Government of South Africa. We do this in view of the fact that the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions concerning the racist policy of the Government of South Africa, and that that policy is contrary to the principles and spirit of the Charter and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

42. Third, on behalf of all the Arab delegations, and in accordance with the resolution adopted by the League of Arab States, we now confirm, as we have stated in the past, our non-recognition of the State of Israel. This we do primarily because of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, which has made the right of self-determination one of the basic rights under the Charter, to which all Members of the United Nations should adhere. This sacred right of self-determination has been denied primarily to the Arabs of Palestine, whose legal representatives are not here—in fact, who are not represented here at all;

they have been deprived by force from being represented at the United Nations.

43. We have also stated in the past that Israel is an expansionist, racist régime; in fact, this was proved in 1948, during the first aggressive war of expansion by the Zionist Israelis of Palestine; again in 1956 and once again right now. This emergency special session of the General Assembly has been convened, as all of us know, in order to look into the aggression of Israel, following a treacherous war committed by Israel against the neighbouring Arab States, as a result of which Israel now occupies an area four times its size.

44. If this proves anything, it proves what we have stated in the past: that denial of recognition to that State should be reaffirmed time and again, because it is an expansionist State and because, as I have just pointed out, the Assembly is looking into the question of Israel's expansion and the liquidation of the fruits of its aggression.

45. Finally, we have always maintained, and still do, that Israel, its régime, the Zionist philosophy and doctrine, represent one of the ugliest and most despicable forms of colonialism, as a result of which a whole population—the Arab population of Palestine—has been uprooted; and this process is going on against other Arab States.

46. Mr. YUNUS (Pakistan): In order briefly to record the views of my delegation, may I recall the reservations expressed by the Pakistani delegation at the 1552nd meeting of the General Assembly on the report of the Credentials Committee during the fifth special session. I should like to reaffirm that these reservations equally apply to the report of the Credentials Committee presently under consideration.

47. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (translated from French): At this moment, in accordance with its rules of procedure, the General Assembly is considering the report of the Credentials Committee. The Algerian delegation would like once again to express the following reservations on this point:

(1) The authorities of Formosa, who continue unlawfully to occupy China's rightful seat, represent nobody but themselves. No one can any longer be in any doubt about the fact that this seat, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, belongs of right to the Government of the People's Republic of China.

(2) As regards the authorities of Pretoria, they too cannot represent the people of South Africa. The representatives of South African colonialism cannot possibly be substituted for the indigenous people, who are subject to that worst of repressions, apartheid.

(3) Lastly, the Algerian delegation concurs wholeheartedly in the attitude expressed on behalf of the Arab States by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic in regard to the usurpation of the land of Palestine by the colonialist authorities of Israel.

48. Mr. M'BAYE (Guinea) (translated from French): As you must know, my delegation is a member of the Credentials Committee. During the discussion of the Committee's report my delegation had occasion to

enter its most formal reservations in regard to the representation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. We said at the time that the authorities of Formosa, who represent nobody but themselves, cannot possibly take the place of the great Chinese people, for whom we have the greatest admiration.

49. As regards the fascist and nazi authorities of South Africa, we are convinced that history will sweep them aside to enable the people of South Africa to take their destiny into their own hands.

50. In any event, in the case of South Africa in particular, we are convinced that all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples share our view that it will not be long before the authorities of Mr. Verwoerd or Mr. Foerster are swept away by history.

51. Mr. DIAKITE (Mali) (translated from French): It is customary to regard meetings such as this, which is intended to endorse the work of the Credentials Committee as pure routine. My delegation considers, however, that the adoption of reports such as the one now before us, which seeks to make the Assembly as a whole endorse decisions which are contrary to the truth, is too serious a matter to allow it to remain indifferent.

52. In fact, we consider that it is contrary to the truth to recognize the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek who are in this hall at this moment as having any rights at all as representatives. As far as the Republic of Mali is concerned, the only true representation of the Chinese people must come from Peking, in other words from the People's Republic of China, with which my country, in common with most of the democratic States of the world, entertains the most cordial relations of friendship and co-operation.

53. For these reasons, my delegation considers that the report now submitted to us does not reflect the true state of affairs. We shall therefore be compelled to abstain in the vote on it.

54. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia): In connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee I should like to make the following reservation. It has been, and continues to be, the opinion of the delegation of Yugoslavia that the only Government which can lawfully represent China in the United Nations and other international organizations is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

55. Mr. TEJA (India): My delegation would like to say a few words on the report of the Credentials Committee submitted under agenda item 3 (b).

56. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee [A/6742 and Corr.1, para. 21]. This does not, however, derogate from India's well-known position regarding representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

57. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked for the floor in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call upon him.

58. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The remarks made by the representative of Syria on behalf of other Arab States and his own country are significant both in the context of the report on credentials and in a wider context.

The charge of aggression against Israel is precisely the charge which the majority of the Member States and the vast majority of the non-Arab States have recently rejected.

59. I would only say that it is a false allegation by States which have themselves openly proclaimed a policy of aggression, belligerency and war against Israel. We note that this policy remains unchanged. Accordingly, the statement thus made strengthens my Government's resolve not to respond to any request or interest from these States until or unless there is an explicit recognition of Israel's statehood, sovereignty and international rights. Thus the statement made on behalf of the Arab States must have an important effect on the attitude of my Government on the substantive issue for which the General Assembly has been called into session.

60. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representative wishes to explain his vote before the vote is taken, the Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report [A/6742 and Corr.1, para. 21].

The draft resolution was adopted by 76 votes to none, with 23 abstentions.

61. The PRESIDENT: I have one speaker on my list who wishes to explain his vote after the voting. I call on the representative of South Africa.

62. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): The South African delegation has previously set out its arguments on the validity of its credentials and they remain on record. The South African delegation voted for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee. This does not, of course, imply concurrence with the views expressed by individual members of that Committee as contained in the report. I do not intend to reply to those individual views nor to the statements which were made this afternoon regarding my Government and its policies, except to reject them in their entirety.

63. The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 3 (b).

64. I request representatives to be kind enough to inform me about the outcome of their consultations not later than 10.30 o'clock on Thursday morning.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.