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of China in the United Nations (*continued*) 1

President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 97

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

1. Mr. AL ATTAR (Yemen Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to express to the delegation of Pakistan our deepest sympathy over the catastrophe that has just struck the territory of East Pakistan. We are deeply grieved over the tragic loss of human life sustained by the Pakistani people. My country shares the feelings of distress and grief resulting from this calamity and I should like to assure the fraternal people of Pakistan of the solidarity and compassion of the people and Government of the Yemen Arab Republic.

2. The position of the Yemen Arab Republic on the problem of the restoration of the lawful and integral rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has always been very clear and it will continue to remain so. At several sessions, my delegation has stressed this attitude which has never varied and in my statement at the twenty-fourth session on 10 November 1969 [*1805th meeting*] I tried to be more explicit and dealt with several aspects of this question in detail. For that reason today I shall make a briefer statement since our arguments are still valid and I would even say that they are proving to be more and more irrefutable for anyone who wishes to deal with this matter without any preconceived ideas and without any bias. On the other hand, those who persist in following the notorious ostrich policy are fully aware that it is based on an unrealistic and indefensible attitude. To deny the People's Republic of China its lawful and integral rights because it has chosen a social, political and economic structure which does not suit certain Powers, particularly the United States, is really to display a remarkable lack of logic and a stubbornness which can only be explained by the arrogance of the great Powers and their contempt for modern geopolitics.

3. However, it is reassuring to note that many countries have given up that kind of thinking and today

recognize political reality. We see that the "camp" that systematically ignores the People's Republic of China and uses its influence within the United Nations is slowly but surely losing several of its supporters, while common sense and the spirit of independence are more and more gaining the upper hand. The representative of the United States himself recognized, in the statement he made last Thursday, that "the People's Republic of China . . . cannot be ignored" [*1902nd meeting, para. 88*].

4. However, rather than drawing the appropriate conclusion, several States continue to follow the dilatory manoeuvres of the United States, which persists in its obstructionist course, thus discrediting the United Nations by working against the purposes and ideals of the Charter.

5. Is it not arbitrary that a country having the dimension of the People's Republic of China, a country which has been able to assume its responsibilities in international affairs and which has followed the policy of coexistence and true international co-operation, should be absent from our Organization?

6. Having just commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, can we follow those who erect obstacles of a pseudo-legal nature, when the matter involves purely political factors?

7. The celebration of this Organization's quarter of a century of existence has given several delegations the opportunity to analyse and sometimes criticize our Organization for taking a certain passive attitude. Are all those initiatives to be unfruitful? Would it not be better to begin again on a sound basis in order to strengthen this international institution and make it more effective and more useful by repressing the flagrant injustice that has been done to the people and Government of the People's Republic of China and by no longer denying that country its place in our Organization?

8. The Chinese people has just commemorated the twenty-first anniversary of its triumphant revolution whereby it eliminated the reactionary and corrupt Chiang Kai-shek régime and established the rule of the People's Republic of China.

9. If we examine the tremendous progress achieved in all fields by the People's Republic of China, which, in 1949, was in dire economic and social straits after interminable wars—in other words, in an almost absolute state of under-development—we can only admire the work that has been accomplished. Who

could doubt the remarkable and noted achievements of the People's Republic of China in all fields—economic, technical and scientific? Its economic growth rate is one of the highest in the world. Thus the People's Republic of China is in the process of conquering under-development in record time. That country, hitherto hungry and impoverished, is today in a state of full development and does not hesitate to participate actively and effectively in the development of several countries of the third world. Moreover, it assists many liberation movements. Its effective contribution to the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and under-development is a real factor in its policy of international solidarity. Thus the People's Republic of China provides a serious example to be reflected on by many third world countries by showing them that they must depend on themselves above all.

10. In the field of international relations, the People's Republic of China, together with the majority of countries, particularly those of the third world, follows a policy of co-operation based on equality and on respect for national sovereignty. The delegation of Yemen wishes to stress that the People's Republic of China frequently demonstrates by concrete deeds its wish for peace and co-operation. The Yemen Arab Republic, which has signed with the People's Republic of China several economic and trade agreements, and also some technical assistance agreements, greatly appreciates the co-operation between our two countries.

11. May I be allowed to raise quite frankly the following question: is it possible to imagine that we can reach truly positive results without the participation of a great Power such as China? I have in mind our deliberations on the strengthening of international security, on disarmament, nuclear power and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, as well as the exploitation of the sea-bed, and the Second United Nations Decade. It would seem difficult to answer in the affirmative. The People's Republic of China, as a great Power, will have to participate in those deliberations, and that will not be possible until its rights have been restored to it by our General Assembly in accordance with the Charter; and the sooner that is done, the better it will be for our Organization.

12. The argument often invoked or at times implied by certain delegations, that the People's Republic of China itself does not wish to participate in the work of the United Nations, is not based on facts. The leaders of the People's Republic of China could indeed sit in the United Nations, but only after our General Assembly had restored to it its lawful and integral rights and recognized only a single representation for China.

13. For my delegation there can be no doubt that the rights and responsibilities devolving on China as a founding Member of the United Nations and as a permanent member of the Security Council can be exercised lawfully only by the People's Republic of China.

14. Yemen is a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.605, which contains a request for the restoration of the rights

of the People's Republic of China. The adoption of that draft resolution will be an important element for the strengthening of the Organization and will be a decision in conformity with the Charter.

15. On the other hand, my delegation regards as unacceptable draft resolution A/L.599 and Add. 1, by which certain countries seek once again to impose a two-thirds majority in order to solve this problem, since it perpetuates a grave injustice. Indeed, we should not be misled as to the nature of the present debate. It is not for the General Assembly to take a decision on the admission of a new Member, since China is already a founding Member, but, purely and simply, to decide on the representation of China. Consequently, Article 18 of the Charter is not at all involved here; on the contrary, a simple majority should suffice. This question is, indeed, of paramount interest, but, granting this, it does not mean that it should be considered important within the terms of that Article.

16. We should like to hope that the majority of United Nations Members will without any further delay give to the People's Republic of China the place it is entitled to within the United Nations in order to pursue with it the common endeavor.

17. Mr. SOW (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the delegation of Mali has joined with other countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe in proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [A/8043 and Add. 1 and 2]. It is our profound conviction that that question which logically should have been settled when there was a change of régime and Government in that country should receive an equitable solution with no further delay, in accordance with the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. As long as the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations continue to be obstructed we will never cease saying, with increasing force and conviction, that our Organization, in its present form, lacks realism and objectivity on the question at present before us.

18. Others have said, and this is a constant fact, that the United Nations needs the great People's Republic of China to strengthen its authority and in its worldwide quest for appropriate solutions to the very many problems which beset mankind. The people and the Government of the Republic of Mali sincerely wish to work with all countries cherishing peace and justice for the strengthening of our Organization, which is an instrument needed to bring the people of the world closer together, and we are prepared to work for co-operation among nations on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal interest. This is an edifice needed to safeguard peace and that is why it needs fresh dynamism if it is to be capable effectively of discharging the various obligations which it has under the Charter. In this debate my delegation will try to stay away from the special interests and emotional considerations which have so frequently been associated with this problem in the General Assembly.

19. The real designs of the staunch opponents of the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are quite clear. These are constant attempts to create a permanent threat of war and a lack of security and are also attempts to satisfy special interests which we certainly must not confuse with the lofty goals of the Charter of our Organization.

20. We are pleased to see that those dealings, which are not based on any sound foundation, are not deceiving men of goodwill and we are pleased that some States, which have changed the position that they took not so very long ago, have come to swell the ranks of those which wish to take a realistic view of things and act in strict accordance with the Charter on this question. It is highly likely then that the overwhelming majority of members in this Assembly will be won over to this point of view and we are sure that that will only redound to the benefit of one and all.

21. The status of the People's Republic of China as a sovereign State and founding Member of our Organization can certainly no longer be challenged, nor can there be any question of the representativeness of the Government of Peking. The problem before us which we truly believe is a non-issue is the question of two Chinas. The idea of two Chinas may appeal to some. It is none the less an absurdity and a delaying tactic to maintain in our Organization a clique which has been rejected and driven out by the Chinese people. Both the People's Republic of China and the puppets in Formosa have always declared that there is only one China and only one Chinese people. The unity of that great people has constantly been affirmed as has indeed the integrity of the Chinese territory of which Formosa is an integral part and the problem must be viewed in that light.

22. Furthermore, everyone is aware that individuals who have refused to follow the dictates of their conscience and have sold their souls to imperialism claim to speak here on behalf of the Chinese people but in fact represent no one. They are here thanks to foreign armed forces and we would ask that in accordance with law they be expelled from our Organization. There is and can only be one single China, one single Chinese people, the authentic representative of which is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

23. How, as some speakers have tried to do, can anyone seriously claim that Chiang Kai-shek and his associates were founding Members of the United Nations? The founding Member of the United Nations is in fact the People's Republic of China, for as we stated in the general debate along with others, our Organization was created by the people for the people and the Charter in its preamble confirms this, for it begins with the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations . . ."

24. We categorically reject the idea of two Chinas. A prominent feature of today's international life is China, and of course I am referring to the People's Republic of China. The fact that this simple statement is so intolerable to some cannot change reality. Why

do we speak now in terms of only four permanent members of the Security Council, if the Formosa clique represents someone? Why in our Organization on all important questions do consultations take place solely at the level of the four permanent members, the four major Powers, whereas there are seats for five permanent members? This is tacit recognition of the fact that there is a great void which must be filled as soon as possible. In order to fill this regrettable void, the only equitable solution would be to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. To continue to keep it outside our Organization would only place in jeopardy the universality and authority of our Organization. This is a highly irregular situation which has long served to maintain a state of tension throughout the world with the risk of a possible widespread confrontation.

25. The People's Republic of China is quite obviously present in everyone's minds but, unfortunately, not in everyone's hearts. Respect for the Charter, duty and logic demand that we restore its lawful rights. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization provides us with an excellent opportunity to do so which we must not miss.

26. My delegation, consequently, believes that the United Nations must appreciate this fact if it wishes objectively to deal with the major problems of the world which so far have remained unresolved. A new order is required in the international community, a new order which favours the presence of the People's Republic of China in this forum.

27. We should like to ask those who, by means of pressure and the use of various manoeuvres, try to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and who say that that country has demonstrated no determination to act in accordance with the Charter whether they are prepared to discuss the vital interests of their peoples in the absence of that country.

28. Those who oppose the People's Republic of China accuse that peaceful State, which is trying to build a new society in accordance with the interests and aspirations of its people, of promoting subversion, maintaining terrorism and committing all kinds of other evil acts against so-called democratic governments. My delegation strongly rejects those allegations and would draw the attention of everyone, particularly those of the developing countries, to this deception on the part of some Powers which maintain this psychosis in an attempt to exercise their influence over the small States that have only recently acquired independence, in order better to exploit them.

29. An eminent Italian statesman, Mr. Pietro Nenni, speaking of China a few days ago, states:

"It has been pursuing a policy of active presence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, wherever the development of countries and peoples that have only recently acquired national independence is still pending, countries and peoples that must organize them-

selves socially and economically and prevent interference and neo-colonialist tendencies.”

30. That is quite true, in our opinion, because the People's Republic of China is the only country, to our knowledge, that throughout 20 years of its revolution has fed, clothed, educated and taken care in a satisfactory manner of 750 million men, women and children. To the best of our knowledge it is the only country which in the space of less than a quarter of a century has achieved the highest levels of scientific and technological knowledge. It is one of those countries whose co-operation has taken the most humane, consistent, effective and least costly forms for the developing countries of the world. It is a great country, a great Power, which has no military bases abroad, which has no soldiers beyond its borders, which only aspires to live in peace with all the nations of the world, great and small. As its leaders have recently stated, the People's Republic of China is anxious to establish relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries that cherish peace and justice.

31. Whether one likes it or not, the People's Republic of China is an integral part of our world. Accordingly, contrary to the statements of some representatives, it is concerned with the future of the world, and it is thus concerned with our Organization, and the world is closely linked to the future of the Chinese nation.

32. We recognize that the People's Republic of China, which has relations of friendship and co-operation with many States of the international community, respects the independence and sovereignty of other countries scrupulously. The people of Mali are particularly satisfied with the results of the participation of the People's Republic of China in our economic and social development ever since our independence. We are convinced that the results which we have achieved and which other countries in increasing numbers will continue to achieve in the future are the fruits of forthright co-operation based on friendship and reciprocal esteem.

33. In view of these considerations, my delegation vigorously denounces draft resolution A/L.599 and Add. 1, submitted by Australia and other countries, which in fact is only one further dangerous and deceptive attempt to maintain confusion in connexion with this simple and direct issue. In the opinion of my delegation, what is required is that we should determine which is the Government and the authentic representative of the great Chinese people, in accordance with objective criteria. Our Assembly must state its views unequivocally on this fundamental issue in the light of the interests of our Organization and its goals and objectives and in keeping with equity. We must resolutely recognize that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of the Chinese people, and its lawful rights in the United Nations must be restored without further delay.

34. For those reasons I believe that it is really unnecessary for my delegation to say that it will vote

against the draft resolution that I have just mentioned, which attempts to make the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations an important question under Article 18 of the Charter. I recommend that our Assembly reject it unanimously.

35. On the other hand, draft resolution A/L.605, of which my country is a sponsor, is the epitome of justice and fairness and responds to the wishes of all those who are anxious to respect the Charter and its principles. I believe that if we give it overwhelming support we shall once and for all obstruct these delaying tactics and put an end to an absurdity which has lasted only too long.

36. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): The tragedy which befell the eastern part of Pakistan over the weekend has brought untold sorrow to the entire world. Natural disasters are not uncommon in many parts of the world, but the frequency and the scale of damage to life and property of those disasters which have afflicted Pakistan in recent years have made the latest national calamity all the more tragic. My delegation wishes to convey its deepest sympathy to the Government and the people of Pakistan and to express its hope that the international community will be responsive to the needs of the Government of Pakistan in this hour of grief.

37. The Assembly is now considering an issue of great significance, the question of the representation of China. For two decades now the question has occupied our serious attention. Since 1961, when the matter first appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly, this important issue has been a subject of wide-ranging debates in this forum. It seems clear to my delegation that Member States regard this matter as one of special importance and have given it most careful consideration both in and outside the General Assembly.

38. Those who are endeavouring to reduce this significant problem to a mere procedural matter of credentials need to be reminded that the question under our consideration has always been treated as one of special importance which has far-reaching consequences and repercussions, not only within this world Organization but also in Asia and elsewhere throughout the world. It is with these considerations in mind that the Thai delegation decided once again to join with other delegations in submitting to the General Assembly draft resolution A/L.599 and Add. 1, requesting the Assembly to reaffirm its previous decision that, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to change the representation of China be treated as an important question that must be decided by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting.

39. In 1961, when this question came up for debate in the Assembly for the first time, the representative of Thailand in this forum expressed surprise and perplexity at the way and manner in which this claim was presented. He stated [*1076th meeting*] that the Assembly was confronted with the problem of the membership of one Member State being challenged,

not by another authority but by another Member State, apparently on behalf of that other authority, without any clear desire or intention on the part of that authority to participate in the activities of the world Organization.

40. This anomalous and ambiguous state of affairs still exists today and has not really changed except for the fact that the original proposer of this item later dropped out and was superseded by others. Despite eloquent pleas which have been heard around this hall asking the Organization to restore so-called lawful rights to a régime in the United Nations, no one has heard a clear-cut response from the régime in question to the question whether it wishes to become a Member.

41. Although this question has been on our agenda for nine years, it is still a fact that the People's Republic of China has, so far, not applied for membership of our Organization. Its leaders have, moreover, repeatedly made statements demanding changes concerning the United Nations that must be effected before the People's Republic of China would even consider becoming a Member of the Organization. Prime Minister Chou En-lai has stated that:

“The United Nations must correct all of its mistakes of the past and must be thoroughly reorganized and reformed.

“If this goal is not reached, then the possibility will increase that a new revolutionary United Nations will be set up.”

42. On 29 September 1965 Marshall Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, demanded the following conditions: first, the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations; second, the complete reorganization of the United Nations; and third, the withdrawal of the General Assembly resolution condemning Peking as an aggressor in the Korean conflict.

43. Surely it should not be this world Organization which has to adapt itself to suit the taste and rigid criteria of the People's Republic of China, but rather the reverse. The People's Republic of China, the supporters of which are seeking its admission to this Organization, must prove first that it, in the judgement of Member States, is qualified for admission. It must first prove itself to be a peace-loving State and show concrete signs of accepting all the obligations as enunciated in the Charter.

44. The sponsors of the present draft resolution A/L.605 once again seek not only to gain admission of the Peking régime to the United Nations but also to expel from this Organization another Member, the Republic of China, which has strictly adhered to and has faithfully carried out its obligations under the Charter, and which moreover has made its contribution in various fields of activities of the United Nations. The attempt to expel an original and faithful Member, the Republic of China, seems to us most unjust and quite unjustified. In my intervention last year, I said:

“This proposition does not appear to have any logical basis; for to deprive over 13 million people of the representation which they have long enjoyed in the world Organization is, to say the least, unreasonable, as well as illegal, even to many of those who might support the presence of the Peking régime . . .”. [1806th meeting, para. 52.]

It would also be contrary to the principle of universality of membership which so many advocates of the current draft resolution have talked so much about.

45. The relevant question surely is whether the People's Republic of China is prepared to comply with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter clearly states “Membership in the United Nations is open to all . . . peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter . . .”. So far as my delegation is concerned, we have seen no evidence that would qualify the People's Republic of China as a peace-loving State. Records of Peking's policy of open and indirect aggression and subversion in Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and Tibet, as well as in my country, Thailand, and others in Asia are too well known to need repeating here. During the Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China held at Peking from 1 to 24 April 1969, Marshal Lin Biao reiterated his régime's support for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in various countries and the struggle for national liberation by the people of Viet-Nam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia and other nations in Africa and Latin America. One reason that the war in Indo-China has continued unabated is due to the support which the aggressors received from the People's Republic of China. Mao Tse-tung's philosophy that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”¹ and his theory concerning the expansion of Communist doctrine by force could hardly be considered to be consonant with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Peking's subversive activities in many other countries in Asia and its all-out support of the so-called “wars of national liberation” all over the continent of Asia show that it holds no respect for the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States which forms one of the cardinal principles of our Organization.

46. In our view, the People's Republic of China has so far not shown that it was willing or able to accept the obligations as contained in the Charter of our Organization. On the contrary, it has seen fit to attack and to throw abuses at the United Nations. The Peking régime has clearly demonstrated, particularly in the eyes of the people of Asia who have been victims of their aggression and subversion, its wanton disregard for the cherished principles and purposes of the United Nations as enshrined in the Charter.

47. For the reasons explained above, my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.605 proposed by Albania and others. We continue to hold the view that

¹ Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), p. 61.

the Republic of China is entitled to retain its seat in the United Nations and its various organs.

48. Before I conclude, I wish to reiterate again my delegation's view which was given by my Foreign Minister in his address to the General Assembly on 23 September this year. He said:

“... in our view, the question of representation is one which should be left to the Chinese people itself and any settlement of the issue should be the responsibility of the two contending parties. No initiatives or measures taken by Member States of the United Nations can be expected to yield satisfactory results. Nor can any solution or formula devised by others be expected to gain the acceptance of the rival parties.” [1846th meeting, para. 77.]

49. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): The position of the Australian Government on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is well known to Member countries. My Government's policy in respect of China was made clear earlier in the present session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Right Honourable William McMahon, in the course of his statement in the general debate on 23 September [1846th meeting], and there is no need for me to repeat it here. In accordance with that policy my delegation will vote for the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add. 1, of which Australia is a sponsor, and will vote against the draft resolution in document A/L.605, and I would urge all delegations to vote in the same manner.

50. The PRESIDENT: As representatives will remember, the list of speakers in this debate was closed on Tuesday. One delegation, however, the delegation of the Soviet Union, has asked whether the Assembly would be willing in spite of that to listen to a declaration by the permanent representative of the Soviet Union. If there is no objection from the Assembly, I shall call on the representative of the Soviet Union.

51. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): For many years the General Assembly has been discussing the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Throughout all these years the position of the Soviet Union has been a position of principle, consistent and unchanged. I personally have frequently had the honour of speaking from this rostrum in order to set out our position and I spoke from this rostrum on this question more than twenty years ago. The position of the Soviet Union was also set out during the commemorative part of the present session of the General Assembly in a statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko [1877th meeting]. This position has frequently been set out in the course of the debate on this question at previous sessions of the General Assembly. In view of all this, there is hardly any need to repeat once again the cogent arguments in favour of the need for an immediate and positive decision on this question at the present time. These arguments, which have been repeatedly adduced by the Soviet

delegation and by many delegations of other countries in the course of the debate at previous sessions and at the present session, are arguments which even the enemies of the People's Republic of China, the opponents of justice, the opponents of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, cannot now contest and would not venture to do so.

52. We have frequently said that there is no justification for the fact that until now the People's Republic of China has been deprived of its lawful place in the United Nations. The fact that China, one of the founding members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, is deprived of the opportunity of taking the place in this international Organization which belongs to it by law and under the Charter is a scandalous injustice towards the Chinese people and a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

53. We know that the United Nations is based on the principle of universality and this fact is very significant. No departure from this principle can possibly be justified, as it only weakens the United Nations. During the present anniversary session of the General Assembly, when we are drawing up the balance-sheet of the activities of the United Nations during a quarter of a century, the importance of strict observance of this most important principle of the activity of the Organization has once again been emphasized very strongly in the statements of very many delegations both during the general debate and during the discussion on a number of other items on the agenda. It should be pointed out that even in the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [resolution 2627 (XXV)], which was unanimously adopted on 24 October 1970, it was noted that the achievement of universality was an important task of the United Nations.

54. The Soviet Union was, and still is, in favour of the restoration of the full rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China—a great Power which alone can represent the Chinese people in the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies. Any delay in a positive solution to the question of the full restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations causes harm to the United Nations and undermines the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which is one of the most important bases of its efforts to maintain peace and security.

55. As we know, those who are opposed to a solution to the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have so far consisted of a certain group of countries, headed by the United States of America. As in previous years, during the discussion of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the United States and some of its allies in the military-political blocs in Europe and Asia are resorting to well-known procedural stratagems, claiming that a decision on the

question must be taken by a qualified majority, that is by two thirds of the votes of those Members of the United Nations present and voting.

56. It is a well-known fact that the question of the admission of new States to membership of the United Nations must, of course, be decided in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of the Charter, in other words a decision on the admission of new Members must be taken by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. In the present case, however, it is not a question of admission. It is a question of the restoration of the lawful rights in the United Nations of a State which is a Member State. The lawful rights of that State have been unlawfully usurped by imperialism and, equally unlawfully, the place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been given to the American puppet, the representative of the Taiwan clique, who does not represent anyone or anything.

57. The Soviet delegation objects most strenuously to the continuation at the present session, too, of this kind of procedural stratagem on the part of the enemies of the People's Republic of China. As we have stated at previous sessions of the General Assembly, the question at issue, namely the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, should be decided by a simple majority. The usual manoeuvres of a group of countries headed by the United States with respect to procedural matters cannot be regarded as anything other than an act of direct hostility towards the People's Republic of China, an act which can only cause harm to the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

58. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China would help to strengthen and broaden international co-operation in the interests of strengthening peace and security throughout the world. The Soviet delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.605 submitted by a group of sponsors calling for the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. At the same time the Soviet delegation decisively rejects and will vote against the United States draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

59. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): We are now at the end of the debate on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. I should like here in the General Assembly to stress that those delegations which, together with mine, have sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605, and all who have supported that draft, have made brief statements as an indication of their desire to co-operate with the officers of the Assembly to help adhere to the schedule the Assembly has set for itself for this session.

60. We were very pleased that in the course of the debate on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations we felt a definite change in the atmosphere, which seems to be an indication that in the very near future the

lawful rights of the People's Republic of China will indeed be restored in our Organization.

61. Those countries that categorically opposed the presence of the People's Republic of China among us, headed by the United States of America, no longer come before us with all manner of records, quotations and statements which would have us believe that the People's Republic of China is the big bad wolf that must not be allowed among us. Now tributes are being paid to the great Chinese people, tributes are being paid to the People's Republic of China and attention is being given to certain so-called procedural questions or even manoeuvres on the substantive issues under debate. This manipulation of the rules of procedure and political sleight of hand have in fact been of no avail and no longer seem to have any real effect on public opinion in the United States.

62. I think it appropriate for my delegation to take up a few of the arguments which have been brought before us. I should like first to deal with the argument used by the United States. It is the so-called two-Chinas idea. I must admit that I find it very difficult to follow the position of the United States in the course of the twenty-fifth General Assembly session by reference solely to texts. The position of the United States in fact is quite clear, but it is hard to understand it in accordance with texts. One is not too sure which comments should be used of the very many heard here or whether one should take account of the comments which have reached us from the White House or comments which the specialized press in the United Nations has reported from a spokesman of the American mission on, I believe, 16 November. All these arguments that were brought forward were very contradictory indeed, but there is a political reality with which we are all quite familiar—that the United States would at no price accept the presence of the People's Republic of China among us.

63. The United States, the only permanent member of the Security Council opposing the restoration of the lawful rights of great socialist China among us, continues to believe that the presence of China among us would create a new situation in our Organization, a situation which would adversely affect the little influence which imperialism still has in the Organization. In this respect I must say that the fears of the United States are somewhat justified because the presence of China here would reinforce opposition to colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism in our Organization. Politically, I think, the position is quite clear and no one need have any doubt about it. I am not saying this to stir up any controversy. There is in fact no controversy but a clear-cut cleavage among those countries headed by the United States, and those other countries taking the position which we are defending in the General Assembly.

64. The two-Chinas idea this year was put forward as a kind of change, as a so-called positive development on the part of some countries, on the part of the United States, but it is one that only meets the needs of the moment. It is really nothing more than a way of oppos-

ing the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is an idea which will be relinquished very rapidly by its proponents. I wish to tell those who have means of giving this information to the Chiang Kai-shek clique that the day is very near when they will say that there is only one China, the People's Republic of China. On that day perhaps there will be no more talk of expulsion. There may be specialists in the State Department who may say, "We have a new idea, the idea of the voluntary absence from our body, or the voluntary departure of the Chiang Kai-shek clique", and, as the will of Taipei is established in Washington, not in Taipei, things will proceed very smoothly on their own.

65. This so-called two-Chinas idea is not accepted by any Chinese, and I do not think that this needs any further clarification. The problem is really quite simple. What is at issue is a seat in the United Nations, which has existed since the creation of the United Nations. There is one seat for China—not two. The question is who should occupy it. The overwhelming majority in this Assembly believes that the People's Republic of China is entitled to do so. There is also the idea of having two authorities occupying the same seat, but this is an idea which is really quite unsound. Some have said that the problem should be viewed in terms of a request for admission to membership on the part of the People's Republic of China, but the purpose of that position is really only to create confusion and not to lead to any sound result.

66. For us there is only one China, and if anyone wants to call for its admission after the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, I am sure there would be only one or two votes supporting that approach. So it would be wrong to ask the People's Republic of China to apply for admission to the United Nations. The People's Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council and a Member of our Organization. The doors have been closed to it, but this is in violation of the Charter. It shows complete disregard for the principles which have brought us here.

67. Hence a number of countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe have submitted draft resolution A/L.605. The advantage of this draft resolution is that it puts the problem in very clear terms. There is only one seat; that seat should be occupied by the People's Republic of China and, accordingly, those who illegally occupy it must be expelled. The position set forth in the operative part of the draft resolution is an inseparable whole. The draft resolution has legal and political meaning only to the extent that it is viewed as a coherent whole. There can be no political justification for separating the text into various parts. And, as in past years, the sponsors of the draft resolution have put the problem in straightforward terms.

68. We express satisfaction at the fact that an increasing number of representatives have come to this rostrum speaking out in support of our draft resolution and stating that they are prepared to vote for it. We

appeal to all other Members of our Organization to cast their vote in favour of this draft resolution. It would be a vote which would make it possible to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly.

69. We are all aware that the clear and just position of the countries which have submitted this draft resolution is that the rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization cannot properly be restored unless the Chiang Kai-shek clique is expelled forthwith.

70. The United States manoeuvre, reflected in the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add. 1, is really quite clear. It is obvious that an overwhelming majority of our Organization is in favour of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is because that is realized that this so-called procedural draft resolution has been put forward; its purpose is to prompt us to agree to the theory that what is at issue is the admission of a new Member. But that is wrong; it is contrary to a correct understanding of the historical and political realities with which we are all quite familiar. The vote which will take place tomorrow should certainly not be considered as falling under Article 18. A simple majority is sufficient not only under the spirit and letter of our Charter but also under our rules of procedure.

71. We would appeal to the membership of the Organization to bear in mind the political importance of a vote against the United States draft resolution. We would urge representatives to be mindful that the United States draft resolution is designed only to obstruct the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization, and we must remove that obstruction, for it is contrary to all the principles which have brought us together in this Organization. The political importance of a vote against the United States draft resolution must be stressed. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization is the only appropriate measure, and we are all aware that the only way to keep the People's Republic of China outside our Organization is by resorting to this fraudulent two-thirds majority rule.

72. In our first statement [1902nd meeting] we said that the time was not far off when the People's Republic of China would be with us and would help restore the authority of our Organization and strengthen it. Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China is prepared to exercise its legitimate responsibility together with us. And when it does so, which will be in the very near future—nearer than some would believe—its presence among us will not only reaffirm the universality of our Organization but create a new situation in our Organization: it will rekindle the interest of the peoples and the nations of the world in our Organization; it will make it possible to deal in the most effective way with the major problems besetting the international community, especially those related to respect for and the strengthening of justice, peace and progress throughout the world.

73. Mr. LIU (China): I have asked for the floor to reiterate the position of my Government and to reply to some of the allegations and distortions which some delegations have made in the course of the debate.

74. The basic position of my Government has already been set forth in my Foreign Minister's statement of 12 November [*ibid.*], yet misunderstandings of one kind or another persist. I deem it important to state once again that, in the eyes of the Chinese people everywhere, the Government of the Republic of China is the only legally constituted Government that can truly give expression to the wishes of the Chinese people and speak in their name in the international community. Indeed, were it not for the presence of my delegation in the United Nations, the cries of agony of the oppressed millions on the mainland of China would not even be heard in these halls.

75. The other day [*1906th meeting*] the representative of Saudi Arabia, Ambassador Baroodi, raised the question of a plebiscite. In this connexion, may I be permitted to quote what my predecessor, Mr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, said at the eleventh session of the General Assembly, on 15 November 1956:

"Now, it is very important for us to know what the 500 million people of China want. Do they want the Communists to represent them here, or do they want my Government to continue to represent them here? I should like to state, upon instructions of my Government, that, if the United Nations could conduct among the entire people of China a free vote as to whom they wished to represent them in the United Nations, my Government would abide by the results of such a free choice by the Chinese people." [*578th meeting, para. 154.*]

76. That statement, made 14 years ago on behalf of my delegation, still stands today. Would Peiping allow such a plebiscite? I think not. The Communists are perfectly aware that if such a plebiscite were to take place they would be repudiated by an overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

77. The Republic of China, I may add, has earned its place in the United Nations by virtue of its contributions to the cause of freedom and democracy during the Second World War. From 1931 to 1941 it fought single-handedly against one of the world's mightiest war machines of that time, without allies and with little material aid from abroad. During those 10 long and difficult years, we had more than once been approached by the enemy to agree to a settlement on terms not altogether unfavourable. But we rejected all such offers. We rejected them because we believed we were fighting for a principle—the principle of law and order. It was a principle on which we could not and would not compromise. It had always been our unshakable conviction that peace not based on law and justice could not long endure.

78. Today we are still fighting for the same principle. Now as then, we do not intend to sacrifice principle on the altar of expediency. And we believe that what

we are fighting for has implications for the whole world and for the future of the United Nations itself.

79. When the war that had started in China in the 1930s developed into a global conflict, the Republic of China became one of the principal allies which signed the Declaration of the United Nations in 1942. It was due to the courage and steadfastness of purpose on the part of our people and the indomitable will and far-sightedness of our leadership, as well as our close co-operation with the Allies, that the war in the Pacific was finally won.

80. We of the Republic of China, however, looked beyond the victory. We envisaged the day when all mankind would be able to live in peace under the rule of world law. We played an important part in the drafting of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Republic of China was one of the four Powers which sponsored the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. It actively participated in the formation of the specialized agencies. It was no accident that the Republic of China was specified in the Charter as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

81. I have referred briefly to that period of history in order to refute the unfounded accusations and vilifications which some delegations have seen fit to make against my Government. It is a libel to say that Taiwan, on which the Government of the Republic of China is at present based, is under the military occupation of the United States. I categorically repudiate such a malicious allegation. Like all sovereign States, the Republic of China is free to enter into alliances with any country it chooses. That is an exercise of its sovereign prerogative. We have no apologies to make to anyone about the military and security arrangements we have made in defence of freedom in our part of the world. Under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, the Republic of China stands as a beacon of hope for the enslaved millions on the mainland of China, the standard-bearer of Chinese culture and civilization, and the rallying point of free Chinese everywhere in the world.

82. Contrary to the assertions of the Sudanese representative [*1859th meeting*], Taiwan is a bastion of freedom and a glaring contrast to the terror, surveillance and repression that have prevailed on the mainland. Moreover, Taiwan is an open society, there is nothing to hide. Any representative here is free to visit Taiwan and see for himself what progress we have achieved during the past two decades.

83. The fact that the Government of the Republic of China is at present based on Taiwan does not mean that it is no longer the legally constituted Government of China. It may be recalled that during the war years the Republic of China had lost a major portion of its territory to the invading Japanese army. Yet no one questioned the right of its Government to speak and act on behalf of all China. It was the Government in Chungking, not the puppet régime in Nanking, that represented the authentic voice of the Chinese people in all international conferences during the war years.

84. I may also perhaps be permitted to recall that during the war years the United Nations, as the Allied nations at war with the Axis Powers were then called, gave unflinching support, not to the Vichy régime, but to the Free French fighting under the banner of General de Gaulle. We of the Republic of China did not hesitate to give General de Gaulle all the moral support we were capable of. We did that because we believed General de Gaulle, in his determination to restore freedom to the French people, was the embodiment of the spirit of the French nation. The Chinese people, like the French people during the war years, are facing a period of unprecedented tragedy. Is the United Nations now prepared to deny the Chinese people, under the leadership of a legal government based on Chinese soil, the right to resist tyranny and fight for freedom?

85. In this connexion it may not be irrelevant to note a distinction between the recognition of a régime by an individual State and recognition by the United Nations. Some twenty years ago I had occasion to comment on General Assembly resolution 396 (V), which recommends that:

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

I said then:

“Where recognition by an individual State is a matter of policy within its sovereignty and may be motivated by trade or other reasons, recognition by the United Nations should be based on the larger considerations of the interests of the Organization as a whole.”²

86. The validity of that observation has not, I believe, diminished with the passage of time, in spite of recent developments. Let it be remembered that the Charter is the basic law of the Organization, the sole source of authority on matters pertaining to the privileges and duties of membership. It may not be fatal for the Organization if some of its Members break its rules and standards. But it is a different matter if the Organization itself votes to scrap its own rules and standards in a vain attempt to accommodate a lawless régime. If it did that, it would be starting down the road to its own destruction. I do not understand how those who advocate world peace through world law can in the same breath advocate brazen violation of the nearest thing to world law we have—the Charter of the United Nations.

87. The representative of Algeria has now replaced the representative of Prince Sihanouk as a leading spokesman of Mao Tse-tung in the United Nations. In an impassioned opening speech he spoke glowingly

of the “splendid victories” which Peiping had achieved “over underdevelopment, famine, sickness and ignorance” [1902nd meeting, para. 10]. Obviously he is not aware of the depth of misery into which the masses of the Chinese people on the mainland have sunk ever since the Communist take-over in 1949. Obviously he is not aware that, as has been pointed out by *Pravda* of 18 May 1970, the “big leap” and the “cultural revolution” have led to a “deep and protracted disorganization of industry and agriculture”. Nor is he aware of the fact that—again to quote *Pravda*:

“More than 70 million children of school age have been deprived . . . of the possibility to study normally at school. The country did not get the millions of specialists because studies at establishments of higher education have been suspended.”

88. The *Pravda* editorial, as released by the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, summed up the situation by saying:

“Barracks and ignorance, rightlessness and servility—such is the order now being implanted in China. And it intends to impose it on other peoples, ‘to raise the banner of Mao Tse-tung’s ideas over the world’.”

89. This is a very different picture from the one painted by the representative of Algeria. *Pravda*, I should say, should be in a better position to know the facts than the representative of Algeria.

90. The Albanian representative, Mr. Budo, has for years been Mao Tse-tung’s mouthpiece extraordinary in the United Nations. He spoke the other day at some length about the “great . . . courageous, hard-working, talented” [1904th meeting, para. 25] Chinese people. I agree with him about the greatness of the Chinese people. They are heirs of an ancient and glorious civilization. The Chinese Communist régime, however, has from the very start of its power left no stone unturned to destroy the cultural traditions and heritage of the Chinese people. That campaign to eradicate all the cultural values which the Chinese people hold dear reached its obscene climax during the so-called Proletarian Cultural Revolution. That régime has thus shown itself to be un-Chinese in character and un-Chinese in purpose. It is therefore totally unfit to represent the great Chinese people in the international community.

91. Mr. Budo and his fellow apologists for Peiping have been in the habit of painting Mao Tse-tung as one who is committed to a policy aimed at settling by peaceful means all disputes between States, and to a policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries. Those assertions are so patently false that the Chinese Communists themselves would have repudiated them with utter contempt. It is well known that the Chinese Communist régime believes that war is not only inevitable, but something to strive for. The Chinese Communists, observed Moscow Radio on 12 March 1970, have branded the word “peace” as “black stuff” and have replaced it with the word “war” in their

² This statement was made at the 19th meeting of the Special Political Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

banners and slogans, newspapers and speeches. Moscow Radio continued:

“Today those in power are telling the people that war is not horrifying and that the proletariat should welcome a world war. But, would it not cost the lives of billions of people? The reply of these activists is: there is nothing horrifying, it does not matter even if one third of mankind is to perish because this would make it possible to build a fine new society out of the rubble.”

A régime that welcomes a world war cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to desire peace.

92. But Mr. Budo has not been content with depicting Peiping as merely peaceful. He has gone a step further and has echoed Peiping's determination to completely revolutionize the United Nations. According to him, the other day, once inside the United Nations, Peiping would set the Organization “on the right course” by coping “. . . more effectively with the . . . plots hatched by the United States and revisionist Soviet Union” [*ibid.*, para. 24]. This is tantamount to saying that Peiping's real purpose for entering the United Nations is to destroy it through disruptive tactics. It is thus crystal clear that the admission of Peiping would lead to disastrous consequences for the Organization.

93. During the present session the concept of universality has frequently been invoked to justify the advocacy of Peiping's admission. My delegation has more than once made it clear that we have no quarrel with the principle of universality if it is properly interpreted. As an official publication of the Vatican once put it, “true universality does not mean the arithmetic sum of nations”. In our view, universality must not be used to serve the interests of the aggressors. Some time ago I had occasion to recall what Mr. Maxim Litvinov, the then Soviet delegate to the League of Nations, had said about this in 1939. Abyssinia, now known as Ethiopia, had just been taken over by Fascist Italy and Mr. Litvinov warned against the danger of appeasement to which the League was about to succumb. Because of the extraordinary relevance of his remarks to the present debate, I take the liberty of quoting them again: “I say we do not want a League that is safe for aggression. We do not want that kind of League even if it is universal, because it would become the very opposite of an instrument for peace.” These are memorable words which I think are a cogent answer to what Mr. Malik had to say a while ago in respect of universality.

94. Members of the League failed to heed Mr. Litvinov's warning and the League was soon to be thrown into the dustbin of history. Can we today afford, in the name of universality, to make the United Nations safe for aggressors?

95. We believe that we live in a deeply troubled and rapidly changing world. On every hand we find moral values discarded and normal standards of international behaviour ignored. The United Nations, created to preserve international peace in conformity with law and

justice, is now in danger of being perverted to serve the interests of powerful warmakers and aggressors, who have no respect for the principles upon which this Organization was founded. Those who stand for law and justice, for moral values and human decency, for resistance to force, are reviled for their steadiness of purpose. Expediency has become the be-all and end-all of foreign policy. If that trend is allowed to continue, then an era of collective aggression, not of collective security, is upon us. I, therefore, appeal to all Members of the Assembly to search their conscience and see whether it is in the long-range interests of the United Nations to strengthen the forces of aggression by adding to its membership a régime which is clearly disqualified by the spirit and the letter of the Charter. Unless the majority of the Assembly accept the reality of the danger and unite their efforts to meet it, the future of the United Nations is grim indeed.

96. The Chinese people are facing fateful times. We are engaged in a life-and-death struggle in defence of our freedom, and that struggle will go on irrespective of the vicissitudes of international life. We do not ask the United Nations to lift a single finger on our behalf. But we do ask the United Nations to refrain from giving aid and comfort to the oppressors of the Chinese people by stamping upon the Peiping régime the seal of international approval. It cannot do this without doing irreparable damage to its own future.

97. This then is the issue before the Assembly. It is an issue of freedom and enslavement, not only for the Chinese people, but also for all Asia, and perhaps for the whole world. I trust the delegations will once again reject all attempts to seat the Chinese Communist régime in the United Nations.

98. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Assembly is now ready to start the procedure of voting. That procedure will begin with explanations of vote before the vote.

99. Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to make quite sure that Members are aware of rule 90 of the rules of procedure, which states: “The President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment.” I feel it necessary to state that again today because some of the delegations that have asked for the floor to explain their votes are sponsors of one of the proposals.

100. Mr. OHIN (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The Foreign Minister of Togo, in his speech in this Assembly on 24 September 1970, clarified the position of the Togo Government with regard to the Chinese problem. At that time he said:

“May I be permitted to reaffirm the position of my Government on this question. In our view, the Organization would only be doing justice to the People's Republic of China by admitting it to the Organization, and it is in the name of that same principle of justice that an opportunity should be given to Nationalist China to continue to sit amongst us.” [*1849th meeting, para. 58.*]

In these conditions, any resolution calling for the expulsion of the delegation of Nationalist China could not be accepted by my delegation.

101. It goes without saying that the admission of a new Member to this Organization is an important question under the terms of the Charter. Furthermore, the fact that this matter has repeatedly come before the various Committees and the General Assembly for the past 22 years is undeniable proof of the importance attached to the question by the international community. For this reason Togo is co-sponsoring draft resolution A/L.599 and Add. 1.

102. Mr. THA TUN (Burma): Burma enjoys normal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and the attitude of the delegation of Burma on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been clearly stated before the Assembly on numerous occasions in the past. The Government of the Union of Burma consistently holds the view that there is only one China and only one legitimate government representing the Chinese people with jurisdiction over its territory, and that government is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

103. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations has remained with us as a major and urgent issue ever since the advent of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It is now two decades that the Government of the People's Republic of China has been in existence and proven itself to be the only effective authority exercising control over 700 million Chinese people, and its writ extends throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese mainland. It follows therefore that it is the only government that is in a position to employ the resources and direct the people of China in the fulfilment of the obligations of membership in the United Nations. China today is a significant Power to be reckoned with politically, economically and militarily, in Asia and indeed in the entire world. Yet the Government of the People's Republic of China continues to be deprived of its rightful seat as a Member of the United Nations and its role as a permanent Power in the Security Council.

104. It is the considered view of the delegation of Burma that this injustice should be righted and that the doors of the United Nations should be opened to the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, a government that represents one fourth of the world's population and without whose participation in the United Nations crucial world problems will not achieve realistic solutions. Now, in 1970, it is the fervent hope of the delegation of Burma that, in the course of our deliberations, support for the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will increase to the extent of putting the mark of history on the successful conclusion of a long-outstanding issue of the General Assembly.

105. In conformity with these observations, the delegation of Burma will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.605. With regard to draft resolution A/L.599

and Add. 1, it is the view of the delegation of Burma that the issue involved is a simple question of credentials, a question of who represents China, and accordingly my delegation will vote against it.

106. Mr. ALVARADO (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru wishes to explain why it will vote against the draft resolution requesting that any decision on the representation of China in the United Nations be considered an important question [A/L.599 and Add.1]. Article 18 of the Charter does not specifically include as an important question the case covered by the draft.

107. It was only after the sixteenth session of the General Assembly in 1961 that questions of this kind were considered by this body. The matter has acquired political implications such that it has not been possible to agree on a solution in keeping with the desired universality of the United Nations. We believe that the time has come to satisfy this legitimate desire for universality, and we hope that our position will contribute to the creation of opportunities to find a satisfactory solution.

108. We wish to make it quite clear that our vote should not be regarded as prejudging the final resolution of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, which is the subject of the other draft resolution [A/L.605]. Nor shall we declare on this occasion that we are in favour of the expulsion of a Government that is now represented in this Organization.

109. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, as stated in the General Assembly by its Foreign Minister [1842nd meeting], wishes to see all the countries of the world represented in the United Nations, and we hope that the necessary conditions will be created for a solution to this long-standing problem.

110. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): We have followed this debate with all due care and have listened with great interest and thought to the diverse views that have been expressed, and we have always borne in mind the principles and purposes of the Charter and the development of the United Nations.

111. I should like first to take this opportunity to reiterate my Government's dedication to the principle of universality. This stand has been voiced from this rostrum several times. Indeed, we have considered the United Nations since its inception as a world Organization in which all nations, irrespective of their size, irrespective of their political, social and economic creeds, can, within the concept of the Charter, rise to well-deserved places in this community of nations. We have always been inspired by the desire to translate this conviction into an operative reality. I should like to add that today too we remain desirous of action in this direction.

112. Unfortunately, however, we do not find that draft resolution A/L.605 meets these requirements sufficiently to enable us to approve it. For that reason

we shall be obliged to vote against it. My Government stands ready to study with due attention an adequate proposal that would enable the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

113. Mr. DIGGS (Liberia): I have asked for the floor to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolutions A/L.599 and Add.1 and A/L.605 now before the Assembly on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

114. The first draft resolution—procedural in character—which we have to consider is that contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1. This draft resolution seeks to reaffirm the decision taken by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session that, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question.

115. The sharp division of views which has characterized the debate on this question of China's representation, the continuing confrontation between the military forces of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Nationalist China, the sharp ideological differences which are in evidence in that region of the world, and the demand for the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China from the United Nations as a condition for restoring rights of representation to the People's Republic of China raise fundamental problems which will exacerbate an already serious situation. It is, therefore, in the light of those considerations that my delegation has consistently voted for the reaffirmation that this question is an important question, and we shall again do so.

116. With regard to draft resolution A/L.605, it is to be noted that the sponsors seek to exact from our Organization Shylock's pound of flesh for the honour and privilege of having the People's Republic of China participate in the work of the United Nations. The argument for universality of our Organization is a cogent one, but in the pursuance of that goal it would be ironic to dismiss a Member State which controls the destiny of 14 million people in favour of another State even though it controls 50 times that number of people, especially when the representatives of that State, the Republic of China, have respected and fulfilled the international obligations to which they subscribed by their ratification of the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation will therefore vote against draft resolution A/L.605.

117. Mr. ENE (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has already expressed its position [1906th meeting] on the question now before the Assembly, relating to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

118. The request that the Assembly should consider this question [A/8043 and Add.1 and 2]—a request in which my delegation had the honour to join—was aimed at enhancing the role and effectiveness of our

Organization and the promotion of international security and normal relations among States.

119. The experience of recent years in international life shows clearly that it is inevitable that the People's Republic of China should join us in accordance with its lawful rights.

120. In those conditions any legalistic fiction, such as that contained in draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, which is an attempt to halt the course of history, shows a lack of political realism and is detrimental to the authority of an important international forum such as the United Nations.

121. Thus, as other delegations have stressed, we feel that the aforementioned draft resolution is not supported by any provision in the Charter nor by the present doctrine and practice of friendly international relations.

122. The lack of juridical foundation is shown by the false association made in this draft resolution between the problem of valid representation of a Member State in the United Nations, which is the essence of the problem now before the General Assembly, and the terms of Article 18 of the Charter, which deals, not with matters of representation, but, rather, with the admission of a new Member State or the expulsion of a Member State from the United Nations. Being unable to justify the request for a two-thirds majority decision on a question of representation the sponsors were compelled to try to find legal justification in a sphere other than that involving the present case.

123. The fallacious argument that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China would imply the expulsion of another Member State has also been used by certain sponsors of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 during the course of this debate.

124. Now, under the Charter, China in the United Nations is one and indivisible: the China that is a founding Member of the United Nations, a permanent member of the Security Council. The problem that arises is one in which the General Assembly accepts, in accordance with the Charter, that the seat of a Member State should be occupied by a representative of the Government which exercises effective authority and which can fulfil the rights and obligations devolving upon a Member of the United Nations. In the case of China, the sovereign will of the people of China is expressed beyond all doubt by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

125. The assertion that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would lead to the expulsion of another Member State is juridically false for at least two reasons: first because it is States, not Governments, that are Members of the United Nations, and, secondly, the so-called State that would have to be expelled exists neither in fact nor in law.

126. With respect to the true problem, namely, the representation of China in the United Nations by the Government which in fact exercises authority in that State, this is a true question of representation which, under the Charter and the rules of procedure, should be decided by a simple majority vote.

127. This principle, in accordance with which a Member State must be represented by the Government which is really qualified to act in its name, has been applied in all cases where there has been a change of Government or a change of régime during the 25 years of the existence of the United Nations, with one exception—that of China. All questions that have arisen in the past concerning the application of this principle have been settled by the legal means of credentials, and by a simple majority. There again, the one exception has been the question of the representation of China.

128. I would also refer in this connexion to discussions which took place recently in the General Assembly on another case involving representation. It seems to us quite relevant to recall that the decision of the Assembly on that matter was adopted by a simple majority vote and that no delegation, even amongst the co-sponsors of the draft resolution before us, raised the slightest objection to that procedure.

129. The theory of a two-thirds majority obviously has no legal foundation and is simply a tactical manoeuvre to thwart the will of the majority of Member States to put an end to an injustice which is damaging to the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations.

130. The history of similar draft resolutions that have been imposed on the Assembly, beginning with 1961, shows that this trick was introduced only in view of the imminent restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, further to the increase, year after year, of the number of States that have adopted a realistic position on this subject in the interests of international peace and understanding.

131. If this question is an important one, it is important in the sense that the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored, in the interests of the prestige and authority of the Organization itself.

132. For the aforementioned reasons my delegation will vote against the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.