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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Boyd (Panama),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 101

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

1. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): For the last several years the question of the representation of China has come before us in the General Assembly, as it has again this year, in what has become almost an annual ritual in which we all participate in one way or another. With predictable regularity the item is included in the agenda of the General Assembly under the tendentious title of the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". It is not only tendentious but illogical as well. That régime has never represented China in the United Nations and, that being so, what is there to restore to it?

2. Year in and year out we have heard the arguments in support of the proposition that representatives of the People's Republic of China should be recognized as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations. We are told that one of the essential principles of the United Nations, that of universality, is not served by a situation where the people of mainland China have no representation. We are told, furthermore, that it is in the fundamental interest of the United Nations, in order to strengthen its authority and prestige, to have the People's Republic of China participate in the work of our Organization and that no important international problem can be solved without such participation. Those are arguments that were advanced when this item first came up in the General Assembly—they have been repeated and elaborated upon through all these years.

3. The Philippine delegation is not impressed with those arguments. We are not impressed and we reject them because they are based on a gross misconception of the United Nations, of its purposes, of the principles which give it strength and from which in turn it draws strength.

4. The idea of universality has been cited as an essential principle of the United Nations and those who advocate the

cause of the People's Republic of China point to the 600 million, 700 million, or 800 million Chinese as a substantial segment of the world's population that must be involved in the work of the United Nations.

5. My delegation submits that that argument does not stand up to close scrutiny. While universality may be highly desirable in proper conditions, it is not an essential principle that should be allowed to override other considerations equally as important in the question of the representation of China, or any other State, in the United Nations. It has its own limitations.

6. The incontrovertible fact is that universality has never been a feature, much less a vital principle, of the United Nations Charter. When the United Nations was established in 1945 it had only fifty-one Members. Between 1946 and 1953 nine additional States were admitted. By the end of 1953 the membership of the United Nations was only sixty and that did not include such important States as Japan and Italy. Japan did not become a Member until 1956, and Italy until 1955. The United Nations has just celebrated its twenty-fourth anniversary but the Federal Republic of Germany, with a population of a little less than 60 million, is not yet a Member; neither is South Korea and South Viet-Nam, not to mention that universally recognized and respected State, Switzerland.

7. For those who make a fetish of the idea of universality and invoke it on behalf of the People's Republic of China, let me point out that from the time of its conception the United Nations has been designed primarily as an organization for maintaining and enforcing peace. The principle of universality was suggested by some States at San Francisco, but this was rejected in favour of the provision in Article 4 of the Charter which in effect restricts membership to "peace-loving States which accept the obligations . . . in the present Charter and . . . are able and willing to carry out these obligations". Let me repeat that "peace-loving States which accept the obligations . . . in the present Charter and . . . are able and willing to carry out these obligations". That is the criterion that the People's Republic of China must meet if it wants to participate in the work of the United Nations.

8. The fact, however, is that the People's Republic of China has yet to demonstrate its commitment to the cause of peace, not to mention the other principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The Members of the United Nations have the right, as well as the responsibility, to demand that such a commitment be made in clear, forthright terms, that the People's Republic of China assure the international community, by word and by deed, that it subscribes to the policy of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the rest of the world based

on mutual respect and scrupulous regard for international law.

9. The Philippines, like several other Asian countries, seeks such a commitment. We seek such an assurance from the People's Republic of China and we insist on it because we are aware of its emergence as a world Power, because we are frankly concerned about our national security, our own survival, and the maintenance of our democratic institutions.

10. We have to contend with the reality of events that happened not long ago and the reality of continuing and current developments. We recall the subjugation of Tibet and the oppression of its gallant people, the military adventure on the borders with India, armed intervention in Korea, and subversion in South-East Asia, including my own country, the Philippines.

11. We are told that the participation of the People's Republic of China is absolutely and urgently necessary to strengthen the authority and prestige of the United Nations, and that no important international problem can be solved without such participation. My delegation cannot accept that view. The United Nations has managed, and managed quite well, for twenty-four years without the People's Republic of China.

12. We would welcome the contribution of the People's Republic of China to our work in the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. We have a right to insist, however, that such contribution must be constructive, based on a positive desire for world peace and the readiness to carry out the obligations of membership. The People's Republic of China should renounce its policy of exporting and supporting armed revolution and fomenting disorders abroad.

13. In our intervention last year on the same item [1711th meeting, para. 135] we cited a few passages from a book containing quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It is relevant to our debate to have those passages in mind:

"War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions. . . . War is the continuation of politics. . . . Revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society. . . . The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. . . . Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'."¹

Those are not mere idle quotations, for in the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held at Peking from 1 to 24 April 1969, Mr. Lin Piao, Minister of Defence and proclaimed heir-apparent to Mao Tse-tung, gave undoubted proof of his full support of and obeisance to these political beliefs.

14. In the face of those quotations from the acknowledged leader, teacher and inspiration of the People's Republic of China, and so long as that Republic pursues its present policy of militancy and aggressiveness and con-

tinues to be engulfed in the tensions of its revolution, we cannot but have very strong reservations about its ability to make a constructive contribution to the promotion of peace and security.

15. Our sense of fairness and justice bids us reject the corollary proposal for the simultaneous expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. As one of the principal architects of the United Nations, with an impeccable record of commitment to the purposes and principles of our Organization and of constructive contribution to its work, the great Republic of China has more than proved itself worthy and deserving of continuing its membership. It fought courageously on the side of democracy, justice and freedom during the Second World War. It does not use or advocate violence. It has not violated the principles contained in the Charter and it is only in a case when a Member of the United Nations has persistently violated such principles that it may be expelled from the Organization.

16. We are told that the reality of the existence of the People's Republic of China cannot be ignored. China is located in the very heart of Asia and we from that region know that we have to adjust to that reality, to live with it and perhaps even to come to terms with it. But I must reiterate what I said last year in this Assembly, that we deny that Republic the right to dictate the terms by which we should live with it.

17. For centuries the people of the Philippines have had close fraternal relations with the Chinese people. Quite a number of them have come to our country and settled among us. And for the great people of China we have the highest respect and admiration. We look forward to the time when it will be possible again for those in mainland China to join hands with their neighbours in Asia, in friendship and goodwill, and work together for peace and the fulfilment of the expectations for a richer, fuller life for all Asians.

18. The Philippine delegation has in past years made clear its position on the various proposals in connexion with the representation of China. We maintain that position. Nothing has happened in the intervening time to make us change or modify our considered views on this matter. As the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, General Carlos P. Romulo, said in the course of his policy statement in the General Assembly on 22 September 1969:

"We remain opposed to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations and this is a position we shall maintain as long as Communist China pursues its intransigent policies and its support of so-called wars of national liberation which so often mask aggression by proxy. Like its other Asian neighbours, we are prepared to coexist with Communist China and the Chinese people, but we have a right to insist that coexistence be based on mutual respect and scrupulous regard for international law." [1760th meeting, para. 46.]

19. It is in the light of the foregoing considerations that we again ask the General Assembly to reject a draft resolution, that in document A/L.569.

¹ Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), pp. 58, 60 and 61.

20. Before the General Assembly there is another draft resolution, that in document A/L.567 and Add.1 and 2, which was introduced yesterday [1799th meeting] by the representative of Japan on behalf of its co-sponsors, including the Philippines. The Assembly has recognized the vital importance of the question of China's representation ever since it was first raised some nineteen years ago and has reaffirmed that decision on numerous occasions. It is so vital and crucial for the future of the United Nations that any proposal to change the representation of China must be regarded as an important question which would require a two-thirds majority vote. In fact, the sponsors of the item now before us stated in their explanatory memorandum that the question "is more vital than ever, especially for the future of the Organization" [A/7652]. It is undoubtedly an important one within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, and there is neither a basis nor a justification for the Assembly to disturb its previous decisions. My delegation, therefore, strongly commends this draft resolution to the Assembly for its support.

21. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania has learned with deep sorrow of the death of the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Akili Danieli. The Albanian delegation was very well acquainted with him here and worked closely with him for a number of years. We considered him a highly qualified and worthy representative of his progressive country, a determined fighter in the cause of the African peoples and of all peoples throughout the world that are struggling for their legitimate rights and aspirations. We were, therefore, deeply affected by his passing. The Albanian delegation tenders to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and to the family of the deceased its very sincere condolences on the premature death of Mr. Danieli, our distinguished and well-beloved colleague.

22. The Chinese people recently celebrated, on 1 October, the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, which marked the arrival of a new era of vast historical significance for its destiny, and which shifted the balance of forces in the world in favour of the progressive sections of mankind, at the same time giving new impetus to the development of the revolutionary movements of peoples throughout the world. The great Chinese people rightly celebrated that historic date with indescribable enthusiasm and joy, in the light of their great achievements during all these years, the fruit of their creative labours in the construction of a new socialist way of life that has radically altered the face of China and has transformed a backward semi-colonial semi-feudal country, ravaged by famine and poverty, into a prosperous, independent and powerful one, enjoying the sympathy and support of all revolutionary and progressive peoples throughout the world, a country whose great role on the world stage, and in the development and evolution of international life as a whole, is growing day by day to the benefit of all mankind.

23. It is strange indeed that it is only the United Nations, which in its very Charter proclaims its aim of universality, that will have nothing to do with the People's Republic of China, thus depriving itself of the collaboration of that great country with its limitless capacity and advantages, that country without whose participation, as everyone here

knows full well, this Organization will be totally unable to carry out its difficult tasks in connexion with the important problems of our time.

24. Obviously—and it is hardly necessary to say so—this is due to the hostile and aggressive policy of the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China and also to the manipulation of this Organization by the United States, manipulation which includes the imposition of that country's arbitrary and absurd position on the question of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations.

25. For 20 years now the United Nations has had imposed on it, in this matter, by the United States a scandalous situation, unprecedented in the history of international relations. For 20 years in succession, Member States that are sincerely attached to this Organization and to the fundamental principles of the Charter, have waged here a continuous struggle to eliminate this disgraceful anomaly, the denial of the lawful rights in the United Nations of the largest State in the world, the People's Republic of China. However, that state of affairs, odious and intolerable as it is, a gross and brutal violation of the Charter and of universally recognized principles of international law and international practice, still continues because of the obstinacy of the United States imperialists, who, far from realizing their responsibilities towards the peoples of the world and the ridicule with which they have covered themselves, believe themselves entitled to be proud that they are able, by their well-known and infamous practices of pressure and corruption, to dictate here on this question their senseless position directly deriving from their policy of aggression and world domination.

26. It is perfectly clear to all that this abominable state of affairs, in which the lawful place of great China in the United Nations is usurped by the remnants of a band of traitors in the pay of the United States who were definitively rejected by the Chinese people after the triumph of the People's revolution 20 years ago, is one of the principal causes of the decline of the Organization, which no longer inspires confidence in the peoples of the world or has any authority in their eyes.

27. We can state without hesitation that positive proof of the policy of a position of force and aggression against the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of peoples, and against the freedom-loving countries, a policy which the United States has been pursuing frenziedly ever since the end of the Second World War in order to create, in line with its global strategy, a vast colonial empire to replace the empires of the former colonial Powers and be far greater than theirs in extent, as well as proof of the lamentable reverses the United States has suffered in carrying out this monstrous strategy, are furnished by that country's policy and acts of hostility and aggression towards the Chinese proletarian revolution and socialist China, as well as by all the losses and defeats inflicted on it so far by the great Chinese people.

28. Immediately after Japan's capitulation, the United States of America, continuing its well-known colonialist policy towards China which dates from the last century, launched an attack upon China with the object of making it a United States colony. The intensification of the inter-

vention of the United States imperialists in China during the years of the civil war, through the massive aid in men and war material that they provided to the renegade clique of Chiang Kai-shek against the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, effectively marked the armed interference of the United States in the domestic affairs of China.

29. Despite their crushing defeat in 1949, when the great Chinese revolution triumphed, the United States imperialists, far from drawing the necessary lessons and ending their criminal policy directed against China and the Chinese people, have persisted and moved even further forward on the same course of aggression and war. Thus, they perpetrated acts of armed aggression in regions adjacent to China, or directly against Chinese territory. In this connexion may be mentioned their aggression in Korea, the military occupation of the Chinese province of Taiwan and their armed intervention in Indo-China, which are continuing even today—all in accordance with their intention to threaten China militarily and invade it from these territories.

30. Throughout these 20 years, United States imperialism has stubbornly directed a blockade and embargo against China in order to throttle that country's economy. It has engaged in provocations of all kinds and has committed countless violations of the territorial integrity and airspace of China. It has created aggressive pacts and set up numerous military bases—including nuclear bases—all round that country, in accordance with its plans for encircling and waging war against China, plans in which the clique of the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have joined in recent years.

31. The proposal made this year by the Soviet social-imperialists regarding the alleged system of collective security in Asia, a principal objective of the cynical proposal for a call for international security that they have submitted to the present session [A/7654], is—like their proposal on European security—nothing more than the result of their dealings with the United States imperialists, designed to repress revolutionary movements in Asia and, above all, to implement common plans for encirclement and aggression against socialist China, the impregnable bulwark in the struggle for national and social liberation of the peoples of the entire world.

32. All the hostile and warlike activity against the People's Republic of China carried on in recent years by the United States of America and its partners, in particular, the Soviet social-imperialists—all the aggressive behaviour, the acts of provocation and aggression, the campaigns of shameless slander, the plans for the economic and political isolation and strategic encirclement of China and so on, have failed hopelessly in the face of the iron determination of the Chinese people 700 million strong in the face of the invincible power of great socialist China. As a result, it is the United States imperialists and the Soviet revisionists who have become isolated and find themselves bogged down in difficulties and crises, who are besieged and severely assailed by the peoples of the world, including those of their own countries; whereas China is prospering in all fields and enjoys the sympathy and support of the vast mass of the world's population, who see in China a faithful

and steadfast ally in their struggle for liberation from imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and reaction.

33. It is precisely within the framework of this insane policy of the United States of America against China that is situated its policy of brutal obstruction of China's rights in the United Nations. These are matters of which all peace-loving States are well aware. They know full well that this sordid and odious situation is the result of the policy of aggressive counter-revolution and world domination of the United States imperialists, which in recent years has been adopted by the Soviet social-imperialists; it is, in particular, the result of their hostile intentions and plans of aggression against socialist China, the chief obstacle, and an insuperable one, in the way of attainment of that objective. They are aware of the imperative requirement urgently to correct this flagrant and intolerable injustice against the great Chinese people, and thus to remedy an absurd situation so harmful to the United Nations and to the cause that Organization should serve under the Charter.

34. The fact nevertheless remains that some of these countries, against their will and for well-known reasons, do not feel able to adopt on this question a position corresponding to their convictions and their real interests, or to their desire to abide by the Charter and to create here the essential conditions for the recovery of the United Nations and for its commitment to a new course corresponding to its basic provisions and to the legitimate rights and aspirations of peoples.

35. It is necessary to point out that, at the present session of the General Assembly, Member States have frankly recognized, in very large numbers and indeed more than ever before, the state of depression and paralysis to which the United Nations has been reduced because of the pernicious stranglehold of the United States of America on the Organization, and also because of the collusion of that Power with the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union, and the intrigues and insidious manoeuvres of those two Powers to the detriment of the movement for liberation and self-determination of peoples and of the struggle of nations for the preservation of their independence, for respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for international co-operation truly in the interests of each State. Many delegations, representing countries of all regions and having different political systems have, in their statements here during the general debate or in the Committees of the General Assembly, laid stress on the dangers of such collusion for the normal and effective operation of the General Assembly and of other United Nations bodies, in particular the Security Council, to which are submitted the most serious questions of international peace and security and where these two Powers enjoy privileged positions.

36. Certain representatives have denounced and vigorously condemned the tendency of these two "super-Powers" to settle among themselves, in accordance with their imperialist aims, the great problems of the present-day world which are of such serious concern to freedom and peace-loving peoples and nations. They have denounced the cynical tactics of these countries which consist in asking this Organization to sanction texts of agreements, proposals and plans which are the outcome of their secret negotiations, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear

Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] which followed the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and other similar treaties, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) on the Middle East, or again the current Machiavellian proposal of the Soviet revisionists on the so-called strengthening of international security, which also incorporates the two proposals concerning the so-called security of Europe and Asia, as well as other proposals and in particular those designed to consolidate their privileged positions in the Security Council by creating in it further possibilities for imposing by force, under the United Nations flag, their plans of repression of peace-loving peoples and nations.

37. A considerable number of representatives have rightly stressed the concern of the small and medium nations at the policy of force applied by the United States and the revisionists of the Soviet Union in flagrant violation of the principles they are required to observe as Members of the United Nations and at their aggressive actions and armed intervention and aggression against peace-loving peoples and nations, and also at their support, overt or covert, of other aggressive, colonialist and racist Powers.

38. Some delegations have also stressed the need for appropriate changes in the Charter, basing their position mainly on the principles of the sovereign equality of States, large and small, and taking due account of the changes which have taken place in the world since the establishment of the United Nations, their object being to adapt the Organization to the present day and age, to the legitimate aspirations of peoples and to their firm determination to fight to the finish for freedom, independence and social progress.

39. Many delegations, in making similar comments, pointed out how the attainment of these objectives was inextricably linked with the question of the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations, and how without the participation of that great world Power, the Organization could not possibly make an effective contribution to the settlement of all the major problems facing it.

40. My delegation cannot but express its great pleasure at seeing representatives from such a large number of countries adopting that position, which, incidentally, confirms in large measure the position and the views that we have maintained here for years and which, we are sure, have been in line with their feelings and convictions. That attitude of those States is, in our opinion, of major importance in the present world situation. It testifies to the fact that the policy of dictation and force pursued by the two great Powers vis-à-vis peace-loving Member States—which constitute the great majority here—has reached the point where it is no longer tolerable to the latter. It also testifies to the fact that this policy is nearing its end. The fact that these States now tend openly and forcefully to voice the higher interests of their countries and of the international community, which are diametrically opposed to the aims of aggression and world domination of two Powers—a fact that has undoubtedly placed those Powers in a bad light—is unquestionably a most encouraging indication of the prospects of strengthening the Organization and shows our vast capability and our superiority over the handful of United States imperialists, Soviet revisionists and their

supporters. It is clear evidence of increased efforts—a very praiseworthy and encouraging development. The peace-loving Members of the United Nations owe it to themselves to persevere consistently in this course.

41. To be sure, a major and essential step in this direction would be to decide on the immediate restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations. Not only would such action be completely in accord with the principles upheld here by peace-loving Members, but it would create the conditions which are essential for the Organization's recovery and would also be an important step towards the goal of freeing the United Nations from the manipulation of the United States and from the sinister collusion of the two Powers.

42. The great Chinese people has amazed the world by its great achievements over the last 20 years in all fields involving the establishment of socialism and the strengthening of the defensive right of China. Under the leadership of its heroic Communist Party and of President Mao Tse-tung, standing firm in the defence of its sovereignty and independence and relying on its own strength, the Chinese people has triumphantly confronted all difficulties and all obstacles inherited from the past or created by its enemies, the United States imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their local tools. Great socialist China, once a backward and semi-feudal country, oppressed and ferociously exploited by the imperialist and colonialist Powers, where millions died every year from deprivation and hunger, has now become a powerful, socialist State, a great world Power enjoying the sympathy and affection of the peoples of the whole world, who see in China an impregnable and sure bastion which will support them to the end in their struggle for freedom and independence, social progress and peace.

43. Today, thanks to the devoted and creative work of its talented people, China has a powerful modern industry, a flourishing socialist agriculture, an advanced form of revolutionary culture and education which has become the heritage of the vast masses of the population, and a standard of living which is daily rising.

44. In science and technology China has now reached the highest current world levels of progress. It has a defensive potential comprising all modern weapons, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and is capable of crushing any aggressor or coalition of aggressors. China is developing its nuclear armoury solely for defensive purposes and in order to break the nuclear monopoly. It should be borne in mind that the Chinese Government has more than once stated that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use those weapons. Its ultimate objective has been, and remains, the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. That was reaffirmed once again in a communiqué issued by the Hsinhua Agency on 4 October 1969, announcing China's first underground nuclear test and the explosion of a new hydrogen bomb, on 23 and 29 September 1969 respectively, a fresh blow against the nuclear monopoly of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

45. The possession by China of atomic and hydrogen weapons is welcomed by all revolutionary people and all peace-loving nations, for nuclear weapons in the hands of

socialist China constitute a most important factor in favour of their sacred cause and against the policy of threats and nuclear blackmail of imperialism and revisionism.

46. The Chinese people has celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China with a brilliant record on all fronts of socialist constitution and in a glorious atmosphere created by the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the historic decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China. The triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution is of vast historic importance not only for the future of the revolution and of socialism in China, but also for the cause of the revolutionary liberation struggle of all the peoples of the world. If the people's revolution of China, whose triumph was marked twenty years ago by the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in the Tien An Men Square in Peking on 1 October 1949, wrenched China from the imperialist system and committed it to the path of socialism, the great proletarian cultural revolution has barred the way to revisionism and to the restoration of capitalism in China; it has shattered the plans of the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists to capture the Chinese citadel from within. The great proletarian cultural revolution, which has given new and unprecedented impetus to the revolutionary development of China in all fields, has become a source of inspiration to all revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world.

47. The Chinese people, 700 million strong, are now mobilized as a single unit to achieve the great tasks laid down by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China. The present conditions, the result of enthusiasm, dynamism and abundance, are the harbinger of further progress in the development of industrial and agricultural production, science, technology, culture and art.

48. The People's Republic of China, born of the great revolution of the Chinese People, remains unswervingly loyal to the highly internationalist principles of that revolution. It has followed consistently, ever since the first day of its existence, a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, of good neighbourliness and international co-operation on the basis of the principles of the sovereign equality of States, large and small; mutual interest; non-interpretation; and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. China has been one of the promoters of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and continues strictly to adhere to those principles in its relations with other States.

49. In the report submitted to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Vice-President, Lin Biao, speaking of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, stated:

"The foreign policy of our Party and our Government is logical. It consists in developing, in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist countries; in supporting the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples and nations; in working to promote peaceful co-existence among States with different social systems, on the basis of the five principles,

namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression; non-intervention in domestic affairs, equality and reciprocal benefits, and peaceful co-existence; and in opposing imperialism's policy of aggression and war. Our proletarian foreign policy is not governed by considerations of temporary convenience; we have applied it for a long time now without faltering. That is how we have acted in the past and will continue to act in the future."

50. On the basis of that policy, the People's Republic of China maintains and is developing normal and friendly relations with many countries throughout the world. It is contributing, through its offers of sincere and unselfish assistance, to the work of construction in a large number of countries in Asia and Africa, adhering strictly to the principle that each State should above all rely on itself, exert its best efforts to promote this revolutionary concept, and act in such a way that these States are able to progress by relying on their own strength. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance and historic significance of such conduct in international co-operation and mutual assistance. That is the only way in which developing countries can free themselves of dependence on the imperialist Powers and strengthen their economic and political independence.

51. Faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the People's Republic of China has firmly opposed the policy of aggression and war of the United States imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. It has unremittently opposed colonialism and every form of oppression and exploitation of peoples. The Chinese people and its Government, faithful to their policy of proletarian internationalist solidarity, have rendered great multilateral assistance to their brother people in Viet-Nam, which has been fighting heroically for many years against the aggression of the Yankee imperialists. China has strongly condemned Israeli imperialist aggression and firmly supports the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. It has forcefully condemned the perfidious aggression of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists.

52. In the present international situation, when, in particular, the two Powers, linked by a counter-revolutionary "holy alliance", are making all manner of bargains and hatching plots to partition the world into spheres of influence and to stifle and repress national and social liberation movements, all the revolutionary peoples and progressive forces in the world see in great socialist China their faithful and staunch defender, the impregnable bulwark of their sacred cause. That is why they regard all the successes and spectacular achievements of the great Chinese people in all fields—in the building of socialism, in the constant "revolutionization" of life and in the strengthening of the defensive might of the country—as their own victories, as priceless gains on the great front of the peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and international reaction.

53. The Albanian people is linked to the great Chinese people by ties of close and brotherly friendship, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It rejoices wholeheartedly in the victories won by the People's Republic of China over the

last 20 years and regards them as its own. Friendship and brotherly co-operation between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China, forged by the two heroic Parties, are splendid examples of relations between socialist countries and of the force and vitality of genuinely socialist relations. The aid and support of the People's Republic of China have been—and in our view still are—internationalist aid and support of great significance in the building of socialism and the strengthening of our country. Albanian-Chinese friendship, which has been tested in good days and bad, is indestructible. It knows no obstacles and will triumph over all enemies.

54. The brilliant achievements of the Chinese people in all aspects of the building of socialism and in the development and constant strengthening of China as well as of that people's great and continually increasing role on the world stage, are sources of exasperation to the United States imperialists and to the Soviet revisionists, who see in China the chief obstacle to the success of their strategy of global counter-revolution and world domination. Hence, the redoubling of their aggressive efforts against the People's Republic of China, the intensification of their slander campaign against China and their provocations of all kinds, including the armed provocation and acts of aggression committed this year by Soviet revisionists on the frontiers of China, the intensification of their war preparations, their intrigues and their machinations to implement plans of encirclement and war against China, including the proposal by the clique of Soviet renegades to create a military bloc in Asia under the pretext of ensuring the collective security of that continent.

55. Yet, whatever the aggressive plans and machinations, the provocations and the acts of aggression planned or undertaken by those two Powers, they will never be able to frighten great socialist China. The People's Republic of China is today stronger than ever. No force in the world can overthrow the Chinese colossus with its population of 700 million. If the United States imperialists and the Soviet revisionists ever dare to undertake war against China, they will receive a well-deserved answer, and that will be the end of them.

56. As for the shameless slanders of China by the United States and the Soviet revisionists, including their current propaganda campaign accusing it of aggressive designs, those are vain efforts which will deceive no one. The peoples of the world know the true facts. They are well aware of the policy of aggression and war of the two Powers, their interventions in the internal affairs of other countries, their provocations and acts of aggression, their armed aggression in various regions, including—to mention only them—the barbarous war which the Yankee imperialists have now been waging for years in Viet-Nam, the United States-Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, and the armed aggression of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia.

57. All these facts are patent and well-known to all, but the ruling circles in the United States and the Soviet Khrushchevian leaders have worked themselves up into such an anti-Chinese frenzy that they have the effrontery to accuse China of pursuing an aggressive policy when the whole world knows that not a single Chinese soldier is

stationed outside China's frontiers, that there is not a single Chinese military base in foreign territory, and that no country has ever been attacked by the People's Republic of China.

58. Peace-loving peoples and nations throughout the world are today more aware than ever of the danger that United States-Soviet collusion represents for their common cause, for their sacred rights to independence and sovereignty, and for international peace and security. The proof of this is that even here in the United Nations, and this year more than ever, peace-loving Members, as we said just now, have denounced and vigorously condemned the policy of aggression and the plots of the two Powers to divide the world into spheres of influence.

59. We do not consider it necessary to review all the pretexts, all the subterfuges and fraudulent manoeuvres resorted to by the United States of America in order to set up artificial obstacles to the sincere efforts of Members attached to the principles of the Charter to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We have often spoken about this in the past and, together with many other States, we have revealed and repudiated all the cynical pretexts and base manoeuvres of the United States imperialists to obstruct the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations.

60. With regard to the fraudulent attempts of the United States of America, attempts which have again been made at the present session in draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1 and 2, to present the question of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations as the admission of a new Member, the decision on which requires a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly, we have amply demonstrated over and over again in the past, together with many other delegations, that such action is unlawful and in contravention of the Charter.

61. China is a Member of the United Nations. It is even one of the founding Members and it is also a permanent member of the Security Council. What we are considering is therefore not a question of admitting a new Member, but merely of recognizing the representatives of a State that is already a Member, namely, the People's Republic of China. Hence, it is a simple procedural matter, to be decided by a simple majority of the General Assembly.

62. There is only one China in the world. There is only one Chinese State, and that is the People's Republic of China. Its Government, and that Government alone, is qualified and has all the necessary attributes to represent China and all the Chinese people in international relations and in all international bodies. The Government of the People's Republic of China, and that Government alone, is therefore entitled to enjoy the lawful rights of China in the United Nations.

63. Taiwan is a province of China. It is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. That is further confirmed by international documents that we have often cited here. The United States imperialists and their supporters are trying in vain by various means to support their fallacious theory of "two Chinas". The Chinese people have committed themselves to liberate—and will without

doubt liberate—that part of its national territory now under the military occupation of the Yankee aggressors.

64. The restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is today more urgent than ever before. It will satisfy the Organization's imperative need to have great socialist China in its midst—a country which represents one-quarter of mankind and without which, as all can plainly see, no international problem of importance can find a just solution in the interest of mankind and of peace.

65. We have already expressed our appreciation of the position taken at this session by many Member States concerning the deplorable situation created in the Organization through the pernicious influence of the United States and through the collusion of the United States and Soviet imperialists. Member States devoted to the purposes and principles of the Charter and genuinely interested in strengthening the United Nations are, as we see it, duty-bound to consistency. A choice must be made: either to decide to work steadfastly for a real strengthening of the Organization in accordance with its fundamental principles and the legitimate rights of peace-loving peoples and nations, in which case the indispensable practical steps must be taken, the first being the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations, as provided for in draft resolution A/L.569—or to make only critical comments which can never result in our achieving the desired goal.

66. Clearly, it is not China that needs the United Nations, but rather this Organization and its peace-loving Members that need China in order to create here the necessary pre-conditions for effectively challenging the pernicious ascendancy of the two Powers and their dangerous collusion which are the main obstacles to the rehabilitation of the United Nations. The participation of the People's Republic of China on the side of the great majority here will consolidate our common front, inject new life into the Organization, and create the conditions for effective action to commit the United Nations to a new course consistent with the basic principles of the Charter.

67. The Albanian delegation believes that the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft resolution submitted by 17 countries, including Albania, will be an historic event in the annals of the United Nations and mark a decisive turning point in the efforts of peaceful Member States to provide effective impetus to this Organization and set it on the path of devotion to the cause of peoples fighting for freedom, independence and progress.

68. Mr. WHALLEY (United States of America): Once again—as in so many years past—the Assembly has before it the proposal of a small group of Members under the leadership of Albania to bring the representatives of communist China into, and simultaneously expel the representatives of the Republic of China from, the United Nations and all its agencies.

69. This is the same proposal which the Assembly has rejected for many years past. Moreover, the facts bearing on this question remain, most regrettably, essentially the same as for many years past.

70. The United States will therefore again oppose the Albanian draft resolution, and we urge that it again be decisively rejected.

71. Once again also, as a result of this issue having been raised, it becomes necessary to resolve any doubts that may exist on the voting procedure applying to this question. For that purpose my Government has joined with Australia and thirteen other Members in offering a draft resolution which reaffirms the validity of the Assembly's long-established position that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question, requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption.

72. Let me emphasize that my delegation considers this debate, in the circumstances, to be superfluous and unnecessary. Nevertheless, other delegations, with a perseverance that deserves a better cause, have once again joined the issue. In the circumstances, my delegation has no alternative but to reiterate its position. This I shall now do, first on the "important question" draft resolution and then on the Albanian draft resolution.

73. As regards the "important question" draft resolution, I place it first because it takes priority in order of voting. This priority flows not only from the fact that draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1 and 2 was submitted before the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.569], but also from the manifest logic of the proposition that a decision on the voting procedure to be applied to a substantive draft resolution should precede the vote on that draft resolution itself.

74. I described the "important question" draft resolution a moment ago as embodying the long-established position of the General Assembly. This position has been affirmed and reaffirmed on every occasion when the Assembly has held a substantive debate on the issue of Chinese representation. Specifically, when this question in its present form first arose in 1961, the Assembly decided, as the present draft resolution recalls, that in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question. The resolutions subsequently adopted, in 1965, 1966, 1967 and 1968, affirmed again by large-majorities the validity of that decision.

75. It seems almost superfluous to recall to the Members the compelling reasons why the Assembly consistently has affirmed the "important question" procedure. The issue before us is not simply a matter of replacing one set of representatives with another. The very fact that each year this issue has been debated at length is testimony to the fact that we all do in reality regard the question as important.

76. Among that large majority of Members which have supported the "important question" procedure, there are, as we know, divergent views on the question of mainland China's participation in the United Nations. All are united, however, in the importance they attach to maintaining the integrity of the Charter's provisions on this particular point.

77. Article 18 of the Charter not only requires that decisions of this Assembly on important questions be decided by a two-thirds majority, but goes on to list some

of the types of questions that fall within this category, including specifically "the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members". Certainly a close reading of Article 18 makes clear that the Albanian proposal is an important question. To insist on the integrity of this Charter provision is in the manifest self-interest of us all. For surely all here must recognize that to permit a perhaps temporary simple majority of those present and voting to expel a Member of the United Nations—an act that has never been taken in the twenty-four years of this Organization's life—would set a most dangerous precedent. Those who may be tempted now to disregard the Charter's safeguards because of their views on the present issue should ponder well whether, at some future time on some future issue, they might not find themselves in a challenged position similar to that in which they now seek to place the Republic of China.

78. Thus, in reaffirming the "important question" principle, we will be taking an action that relates to far more than the question of Chinese representation. We will, in effect, be deciding to remain faithful to a basic rule of the Charter on which the orderly conduct of our work and, perhaps, even the future of some of us in the United Nations depends.

79. Therefore, my delegation strongly urges the Members of this Assembly, whatever may be their position on the substance of the question of Chinese representation, once again to reaffirm the vital procedural point set forth in the resolution contained in document A/L.567 and Add.1 and 2.

80. With reference to the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.569], it seems almost equally unnecessary to reiterate my Government's firm opposition to the substantive proposal contained therein—a proposal remarkable neither for its wisdom nor for its justice. For almost a decade Albania and other sponsors of the current draft resolution have presented us with almost identical proposals. On each of those occasions the Assembly has refused to be blinded by false appeals to the principle of universality of membership in a resolution, the effect of which is to expel a present Member, and by other distortions of fact and misrepresentations of Peking's actions and attitudes. On each occasion the Assembly has rejected the proposition that representatives of communist China should occupy seats from which the representatives of the Republic of China would in the same instant be expelled.

81. The language of the draft resolution, as in the recent past, deliberately has been cast in such a fashion that these two actions—the expulsion of the Republic of China and the seating in its place of communist China—are bound together as an integral and indivisible whole.

82. The views of the United States on this proposition and on the broader question of the desirability of the improvement of mainland China's relations with the rest of the world have been made clear on a number of recent occasions. Little has changed since we last considered and rejected an identical Albanian draft resolution in 1968. Nevertheless, so that there can be no misunderstanding, I should like briefly to restate the main reasons why my

Government once again opposes the Albanian draft resolution.

83. This draft resolution introduced by Albania on behalf of its co-sponsors demands that representation in this Organization and all of its related agencies be denied to the Republic of China: a Government which effectively governs over 13 million people—a population which exceeds that of most of the Members of this Organization; a Government recognized diplomatically by a majority of the membership of this Organization; a Government which has been a Member of this Organization from its founding and which has committed no act that would justify its arbitrary expulsion, but which on the contrary has contributed faithfully and constructively to the work of the Organization, including the specialized agencies. Under these circumstances, the expulsion of the Republic of China could only be regarded as a grave injustice.

84. The demand that the Republic of China be summarily expelled from this Organization should therefore gain no acceptance from those who genuinely favour universality of membership, for its most immediate result—indeed its only certain result—would be the loss of one Member. Nor can this demand, we believe, be supported by those devoted to the cause of equity and justice. It should be opposed as well by those who maintain that the Charter must be upheld if this Organization itself is to survive and be effective.

85. The language of the Charter on the matter of expulsion of Members is clear. Article 6 reserves this extraordinary and extremely important action to cases in which a Member has persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter. It requires the combined action of both the Security Council and the General Assembly—as well it might, in view of the grave import of such an action both for the Organization and for the individual Members. I believe that there is not a single delegation here that could argue with any logic or justice that the conduct of the Republic of China justifies Article 6 action. Yet what is proposed here is still worse: namely, that the Assembly accomplish the same unjustifiable end by the unjustifiable means of circumventing the Charter.

86. All these reasons should impel this Assembly firmly to reject this proposal to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. The formulation of the Albanian proposal [A/L.569] requires the rejection *in toto* of that draft resolution, whatever the views Members might have on the question of Peking's participation in this Organization.

87. Many believe that an area as large as mainland China and an authority as real and as potentially influential as that in Peking cannot be ignored; that it should be represented in the United Nations and brought out of its isolation. While these views are understandable—and my Government shares the conviction that it is important for mainland China to return to the family of nations—they ignore the real obstacles which mainland China itself raises to its participation here in present circumstances. It seems to my delegation that the real question is when the authorities in Peking will permit their people to apply their great talents in a constructive relationship with the community of nations. Others, including the sponsors of the Albanian draft resolution, go a step further and submit that

no important international problem can be solved without the participation of communist China. What are the facts?

88. Peking's own conditions for its participation—among which is the expulsion of the Republic of China—are demands which this Assembly in good conscience, indeed in fidelity to the principles of the Charter, cannot accept. The United Nations for its part makes no special demands: it asks only that Members accept and be able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter. Is it then the United Nations or is it rather Peking itself which, by imposing unreasonable conditions and by pursuing a policy of open hostility to its neighbours, great and small, has placed obstacles in the path of its participation here?

89. It has condemned efforts to end the nuclear arms race: it rejected this Assembly's invitation to participate in disarmament discussions. It has indicated clearly that it opposes the negotiation of a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam.

90. President Nixon has called for an era of negotiation to replace confrontation [1755th meeting] yet Peking has thus far spurned our efforts to negotiate. This year it cancelled the Warsaw meeting of American and Chinese communist ambassadors previously scheduled for February.

91. We are entitled under such circumstances to question whether it is a hostile world that has isolated Peking or rather a still hostile Peking that isolates itself. In such circumstances one must question whether the participation of Peking in the United Nations would contribute to the cause of peace or to the work of this Organization.

92. None the less, despite these discouraging circumstances and despite continuing hostility and rebuff, my Government continues to share the conviction of many others that the current state of tension in relationships with Peking should not continue. As Secretary of State Rogers said in an address in Canberra last August:

“Communist China obviously has long been too isolated from world affairs.

“This is one reason why we have been seeking to open up channels of communication . . . to remove irritants in our relations and to help remind people on mainland China of our historic friendship for them”.²

93. To that end, as Secretary Rogers noted, a number of steps have recently been taken by our Government. We have proposed an exchange of persons. We have also liberalized regulations concerning travel and trade with communist China.

² Address given before the National Press Club at Canberra, on 8 August 1969 (See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXI, No. 1575).

94. Moreover, we had been prepared to offer specific suggestions on an agreement for more normal relations at the planned Warsaw meeting in February, but, as I said, that meeting unfortunately was cancelled by Peking. And, thus far, none of our initiatives has met with a positive response. But the United States intends to persevere. As President Nixon made clear in this Assembly Hall on 18 September 1969, we are ready to talk with the leaders of communist China in a frank and serious spirit whenever they choose to abandon their self-imposed isolation.

95. All these efforts, however, by my country and by others, to improve relationships with Peking cannot be furthered—nor would the interests of this Organization be served in any way—through the adoption of the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.569]. That draft resolution would merely reward Peking's attitude of self-isolation and disrespect for the United Nations by seating it here under its own terms—which would expel the Republic of China in utter disregard for its rights and its contributions as a Member of the United Nations. That would be a major step backward, not forward. It would encourage intransigence, debase the Charter, and perpetrate a grave injustice against a Member of the United Nations.

96. I therefore urge my fellow representatives once again decisively to reject draft resolution A/L.569.

97. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before this meeting adjourns, I should like, in order to simplify our work, to ask representatives wishing to take part in the discussion on this item to inscribe their names in the list of speakers, in order that we may close the list tomorrow at 6 p.m. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees that the list of speakers on agenda item 101 should be closed on Wednesday, 5 November, at 6 p.m.

98. I give the floor to the representative of Albania.

99. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I have asked to speak in connexion with your proposal to close the list of speakers. I would request you to reconsider your proposal in order to allow delegations further time to have their names placed on the list.

100. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Albania has proposed that the closure of the list of speakers be reconsidered. In view of his objection to the closure of the list tomorrow, 5 November, I propose that it be closed on 6 November at 12 noon. If there is no objection to that proposal, we shall proceed as I have indicated.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.