



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 93: Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations . . . . .	1
--	---

*President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).*

**AGENDA ITEM 93**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to urge representatives who wish to participate in the debate kindly to inscribe their names on the speakers' list as soon as possible. I should also like to remind representatives that they should be ready to speak when they are called upon, in the order in which their names were inscribed on the list.

2. At this stage I wish to inform the Assembly of my intention to close the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 93 at 5 p.m. on Wednesday, 20 October. However, I should like to consult members on this point. I shall be very happy to be at their disposal between now and the beginning of tomorrow's morning meeting, if any representative wishes to express different views. If there are no different views, it is my intention, with the consent of the Assembly, to declare that the list will be closed on Wednesday at 5 p.m.

3. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was and is the demand and desire of all the peoples of the world. Many States which love freedom and peace have for years fought hard to have this Assembly act with a full sense of responsibility and discharge its duty and obligations to the Chinese people and to the People's Republic of China.

4. The situation created in the world today and the ever-growing influence exerted by the People's Republic of China on the development of international events are such that today it is more essential than ever to give that great and powerful socialist country its rightful place in this Organization and to expel the Chiang Kai-shek clique forthwith. The question therefore properly commands the principal attention of this Assembly, and actually the debate on this subject began from the very first day of the opening of the current session, almost a month ago. This is proof of the justifiable concern of the overwhelming majority of the Member States that this problem should be solved fairly and immediately in conformity with reality and with the right and will of the Chinese people and in the

service of international peace and security and of the United Nations itself.

5. We have noted with pleasure that during the course of the general debate of the Assembly, which has just concluded, a very large number of representatives of various countries have stressed the urgent necessity of restoring as soon as possible the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all its subsidiary organs and fully appreciated both its force and its role, while pointing out that in the world there exists only one China, the People's Republic of China. They all stressed the unchallengeable reality that the world and the United Nations have a great need of the great People's China, without whose participation no just or effective solution can be found to any important problem of our time. It is quite clear that from now on, despite various barriers created by the United States and independently of its pressures and manoeuvres, the trend in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives has become a general and predominant trend at the current session, and it is quite clear that any attempt to block such a result is doomed to failure.

6. The People's Republic of Albania has always firmly stood for justice and truth in this matter. It has constantly drawn the attention of the Assembly to the harmful and dangerous consequences which would flow from a refusal to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and, together with many other States, it fought to correct the grave injustice done to the Chinese people and their Government. Our efforts have always been inspired by the desire of putting an end to this unprecedented anomaly and to the obnoxious and reprehensible situation which was created within the United Nations as a result of the usurpation of the seat which lawfully belongs to the People's Republic of China by the remnants of a discarded clique which does not represent anything. We have especially defended the point of view that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization is not only imperative and vital to preserve it from eventual decline but also an inevitable measure to enable it to discharge the duties incumbent upon it under the Charter and to contribute to the just solution of the problems that are of concern to the peoples of the world.

7. The determined stand taken by the People's Republic of Albania has always been welcomed by peace-loving peoples and States, and life itself has proved the correctness of its position. An appreciable contribution was also made in this connexion by many other Member States which objectively and realistically assessed the situation created in the world and attempted to place international relations

upon just and firm foundations in order to ensure the strictest respect for the rights of each people and of each sovereign State and to safeguard their freedom and independence against the savage policy of violence and aggression perpetrated by the two great imperialist Powers and the forces of international reaction. It is becoming more obvious each day that socialist China will definitely take its rightful seat in the United Nations, whether its enemies like it or not.

8. Nevertheless, despite the aspirations of progressive peoples and States, despite the important advances made in this direction, the scandalous situation created in the United Nations as a result of the denial of the lawful rights of the Chinese people continues even today, 22 years after the foundation of the People's Republic of China. All this has happened simply because the United States, as ever, stubbornly pursues its hostile anti-Chinese policy, based on its hatred of revolution and socialism and its designs of aggression and world domination.

9. The whole world knows that the American imperialists have committed and continue to commit extremely serious crimes against the Chinese people. For over two decades they have tried to destroy socialist China, to halt its victorious march towards revolution and socialism and to return the Chinese people to their erstwhile condition of slavery, which the triumphant revolution of 1949 ended once and for all. They have continually waged against the People's Republic of China a policy of war and aggression and have tried to surround it with a system of military bases and pacts and to strangle it by an economic and political blockade. The United States has, since 1950, continued to occupy the Chinese province of the island of Taiwan, and for purposes of provocation and aggression, has concentrated its Seventh Fleet in coastal areas of the People's Republic of China. It has also endeavoured to isolate China on the international plane and has used every means to incite hatred against People's China and to denigrate the policy of principle of that great socialist Power. The same may be said of the Soviet revisionists, who, just like the American imperialists, have led and continue to engage, particularly in recent years, in extremely hostile action on the political, economic and military level against the people of China and the People's Republic of China and conduct a base and slanderous propaganda campaign of hatred and libel, while fanning the flames of anti-Chinese hysteria in the world.

10. However, both the imperialists and the revisionists have made a serious mistake. Faced with the indomitable strength of the People's Republic of China, its just revolutionary policy, its powerful role and influence on world events, the anti-Chinese activity of the two great imperialist Powers failed completely. They have been unable to block the forward movement of 700 million Chinese in their task of transforming their motherland into a powerful and prosperous socialist State. Great People's China has marched ahead, with giant steps, on the path of revolution and the building of socialism, and in a very short period of free and independent development has achieved tremendous victories in all the fields of life of the country.

11. The talented Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of China and of President Mao

Tse-tung, has unleashed its inexhaustible revolutionary energies; it has put an end to the backward state that was a heritage of the past, and, on the basis of its own forces, it has created a powerful economy, with a modern industry and an advanced collective system of agriculture, as well as a science and technology which in many respects have achieved the highest levels in the world; it has created a revolutionary system of education and culture at the service of the working masses. Socialist China has become one of the rare countries of the world without internal or external debts. It possesses an indestructible defence potential and is ready and able to crush any aggressor or coalition of aggressors which would dare to engage in adventures against the freedom and independence of the Chinese people and the territorial integrity of its motherland. The triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has given a new impetus to the creative forces of the glorious Chinese people, has raised the power and the grandeur of socialist China to a higher level than ever, has struck yet another hard blow at the global aggressive strategy of the imperialists and the social-imperialists and crushed their hopes and dreams for the capture of the Chinese fortress from within and for diverting China from the brilliant road of socialism. This revolution has further strengthened the people's power in China and its international positions. The People's Republic of China has been developing and growing at a pace never known heretofore, and its brilliant successes in all fields have amazed the entire world.

12. The colossal progress of the Chinese people, achieved in conditions of a fierce struggle against the plots, blockades and intrigues of their ferocious enemies, is a great victory for all the peoples of the world and for all peace-loving and freedom-loving States, which see in the strengthening of China and of its international role a guarantee for the defence of their sovereign rights and of peace and security throughout the world. The People's Republic of China is for them the most powerful support in their struggle for freedom, independence and social progress. It is an impassable obstacle to any plans of hegemony nurtured by the two large imperialist Powers.

13. The Government of the People's Republic of China, guided as always by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by the thoughts of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and by principles of proletarian internationalism, has faithfully pursued a revolutionary foreign policy. A policy of principle, of peace, of friendship and of international co-operation.

14. The Chinese people and its Government support and assist with all their force—and will do so until final victory—the Viet-Nameese people and the other peoples of Indo-China in their determined struggle against the American aggressors and for their national salvation. They have resolutely supported the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialist-Zionist aggression. The People's Republic of China is a firm fighter against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination. It opposes the designs of the two large imperialist Powers to extend their domination over the seas and the oceans, and supports the struggle of the Latin American countries to save their national independence and their sovereign rights. Socialist China, on the basis of the principle that the essential factor in the development of each country is the support of its own forces, provides

economic, technical and scientific assistance, on a disinterested basis, and without any conditions, to a large number of developing countries, for their economic and social progress. The People's Republic of China has rendered an immense service to the cause of the peace and security of peoples by breaking the American-Soviet nuclear monopoly. This has led to rejoicing among the peoples of the world and the freedom-loving countries, and has encouraged them in their just struggle to defend their independence and national sovereignty, confronted by the threats and blackmail of the two large imperialist Powers.

15. People's China rejects the chauvinism of a large Power; it is firmly opposed to such an attitude. It acts in the most correct way towards all States, large and small, and bases its relations with them on full equality and on the principles of independence, of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and of non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual interest. The States which maintain and develop their political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific relations with the People's Republic of China are well acquainted with this policy and are certain, from their own experience, that the development of these relations and the strengthening of co-operation with People's China will always serve their interests and will help them to strengthen freedom and economic and political independence, and will contribute to consolidating the forces of peace and progress and thereby weaken the reactionary forces of oppression and aggression.

16. Relations of fraternal friendship and sincere and manifold co-operation between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China constitute a striking example of the relations that should exist between two socialist countries, a model for relations between two sovereign States, no matter what their size or their potential.

17. Our peoples and our two countries are closely linked to each other; they support each other in the building of socialism, they inspire each other and are determined to struggle and triumph together. Our revolutionary friendship, forged by the beloved leaders of our peoples, Comrade Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, is indestructible. It will live and flourish through the centuries because it is based on the triumphant principles of Marxism-Leninism and upon proletarian internationalism.

18. Through the tremendous victories it has achieved during 22 years on the glorious path of socialist construction, through the precious contribution it has made and continues to make for the triumph of the cause of the peoples and of the revolution, through its consistent and deeply revolutionary foreign policy, the People's Republic of China has become a factor of extremely great importance for world-wide development. That is why it has won the hearts of the peoples and of all progressive humanity which have for it feelings of limitless affection, admiration and respect. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said:

“Never before has the international authority of China achieved the heights it has achieved today. People's China is a true socialist colossus, the unshakable citadel of revolution and of socialism, under the feet of which all

the dangerous plans and plots of imperialism and the modern revisionists are trampled. The great China of Mao Tse-tung has shown by its actions that it is the defender of the peoples, large and small, of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, against the intrigues and the plots of American imperialism and of the Soviet revisionists.”

19. It is clearer than ever before that the People's Republic of China is a great reality which can be neither ignored nor rejected. It suffices to be realistic and to see things as they are in order to become convinced that whoever seeks to deform this reality or to act against it with hostile purposes will be going against the current of the spirit of today and against the course of events throughout the world.

20. Of late the inevitable process of the recognition of the People's Republic of China and the establishment of diplomatic relations with it has accelerated and has created panic among the enemies of the Chinese people, and above all in the United States of America. The People's Republic of China is now recognized even by those who, not so long ago, hesitated to do so for various reasons, including, of course, the pressure and blackmail of the United States. This proves that the traditional policy of the United States Government to isolate the People's Republic of China in the international arena has failed, not only politically but diplomatically as well. The number of countries which realize that such a policy is fruitless and do not wish to be victims or to be sacrificed, particularly from the point of view of their national interests, has grown continuously. In fact, it is not the People's Republic of China that has been isolated, but the United States, through its short-sighted policy, finds itself in an ever-growing isolation today. This is particularly evident if one remembers that many of the States which still support the anti-Chinese policy of the United States, do so not because they really want to, but because they have not yet completely thrown off the political, economic and military shackles which American imperialism imposed on them at various times.

21. That succession of events in the world has resulted, within the United Nations itself, in the situation constantly changing in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. It should be pointed out that at the previous session of the General Assembly the necessary number of votes for a just solution of the problem was already secured when 51 States voted for, and 49 voted against, the draft resolution submitted by the People's Republic of Albania and 17 other sponsors.<sup>1</sup> If today the People's Republic of China is still not represented in this Assembly, it is, as everyone knows, because of the consistent anti-Chinese policy pursued by the United States, which, through various procedural arguments and the voting machinery and by misleading a number of States contrary to the spirit and provisions of the Charter, has managed both to impose its position upon the Assembly and to prevent, by sabotage, the will of the majority of its members from being heeded.

22. Nevertheless, the result of the vote of the twenty-fifth session on this item was a crushing defeat for the United

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 97, document A/L.605.

States. Yet, the United States Government, instead of drawing the proper conclusions and bowing to the will of the majority and renouncing its obstructionist policy towards the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, has obstinately maintained its previous position.

23. At the current session of the General Assembly, the United States has embarked upon a new manoeuvre in proposing the so-called question "The representation of China in the United Nations" [A/8442]. That change in tactics by the United States is confirmation of the recognition of its defeat in connexion with the efforts that it has exerted for years to bar the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. It is also a further attempt to extricate itself from the impasse in which it finds itself and to keep the puppet representatives of Chiang Kai-shek within the Organization at all costs. The absurd thesis of a dual representation of China is nothing but the old "two Chinas" plot of the American imperialists—and it is a new hostile act against the People's Republic of China. It clearly demonstrates the hypocrisy of United States policy on this matter.

24. For years the United States has tried to deny the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and to ignore it, while making monstrous and unimaginable accusations against it in order to force the Organization to adopt a hostile attitude towards that revolutionary and peace-loving country. Now that the United States finds itself isolated even from its erstwhile partners and now that its arguments have been completely discredited, it is again trying to mislead Member States by giving the impression that it is following the path of reason and favouring the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, while insisting at the same time that the Chiang Kai-shek clique remain within the Organization. In short, the United States is trying in various ways to keep the basis of its anti-Chinese policy intact. By that attitude it shows the greatest contempt for the Member States and for the United Nations itself.

25. The United States of America claims that black is white and tries by every possible means overtly to distort reality on the subject of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. But the overwhelming majority of Member States which have been giving this matter their most serious attention have judged this reality, not according to the inventions of the United States State Department, but according to their own convictions and on the basis of objective facts which reject those arguments completely. The whole world knows that the great Chinese people is one and indivisible, as is its motherland, the People's Republic of China. The province of Taiwan is an inalienable part of the Chinese territory, and the Chinese people is determined to liberate it. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government of all the Chinese people and is alone entitled to represent China in its international relations, in the United Nations and in all United Nations organs. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, which represents nothing—neither a people nor a State—should have been expelled from the United Nations long ago. The fact that it continues to remain in it illegally is a black spot in the history of our Organization and is a considerable blow to the prestige, authority and efficiency of the United Nations.

26. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique is a single problem, and there is no reason or basis to divide it into two. The question itself is simple and clear, but its just and effective solution is of overwhelming importance, since it is a matter of the attitude adopted towards the lawful rights of a sovereign State and people, the People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council; it is also a matter of respect for the provisions of the Charter and of the future of the United Nations itself. The United States of America must not be allowed to engage in speculation or to divert those who seek a solution of this problem from the only correct course. There is no room in this case for compromise or hesitation; we must act resolutely. We should lose no time or energy in seeking various ways of solving this problem, because there is but one just solution: the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the complete restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

27. The denial of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to this day is a grave act of hostility towards that country and its people; but the attitude which the American imperialists want to impose on the Organization is even more hostile. The United States, by various manoeuvres, is trying to break Taiwan away from its motherland and to perpetuate its own occupation of that Chinese province. That is a blatant act of aggression, and Member States should resolutely reject the attempts of the American imperialists to legalize it through the United Nations. They should not allow a situation whereby the United Nations would become an accomplice of the United States in such acts and brutally interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. No people would ever allow the United Nations to interfere in its internal affairs with a view to seizing a part of its territory and creating a new State. Can there be anything more absurd than to try to keep in an international forum a clique long since overthrown by the people and which has sought refuge in a corner under the protection of foreign occupiers? It would be an unforgivable crime for the United Nations, and a flagrant violation of its Charter, if the United Nations were to fall in to the trap set by the United States of America and grant the status of Member to such a clique as that of Chiang Kai-shek for the sole reason that some individuals of that puppet have remained physically and illegally in the United Nations until today because of the assistance of American imperialism.

28. It is well-known that the United States of America is the main support for all the anti-people's régimes throughout the world and that it has great sympathy for the reactionary cliques that have been rejected by the peoples. That is its business and, since it is so nostalgic about them, it can keep them if it wants political corpses on its hands. But for us, the States Members of the United Nations, it is not possible to permit such corpses to remain within this Organization and to infect its atmosphere by their presence.

29. It should be stressed once again that all the facts clearly show that the United States of America, through its manoeuvre of the "dual representation of China" which it has formally presented in its draft resolution contained in

document A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, wishes to turn the attention of the Assembly away from the basic problem, to complicate and to lead into an impasse the work of the current session, to keep the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations and, consequently, to prevent again the People's Republic of China from occupying its lawful seat here. The very same purpose is served by the procedural quibbling of the United States of America, given concrete form in the draft resolution contained in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, which constitutes a flagrant distortion and an open falsification, for premeditated purposes, of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter. Through this draft resolution they are trying to force the Assembly to take up a non-existent question. It is ridiculous and absurd to invoke Article 18 of the Charter when there is no problem relating to that Article before the General Assembly.

30. The United States draft resolutions are contradictory and deeply erroneous. They do not hold water either from the political or from the legal point of view because, in the case of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, there is no question of the admission of a new Member to this Organization or of the expulsion of one of its Members, which would be a subject governed by a specific procedure and which would require a two-thirds majority for a decision. We have before us a simple question of the representation of a State that is already a Member of the United Nations, a question which can be settled by a simple majority of the votes in the Assembly.

31. Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The question of the political régime is a matter entirely within the domestic affairs of the Chinese people, a matter which it has solved in conformity with its will, and the United Nations cannot interfere in that. There is only one Chinese State in the world today and its name is the People's Republic of China. The change in the name of a State has nothing to do with its status as a Member of the United Nations. There are numerous examples of similar cases in the history of our Organization.

32. With respect to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, we have already stressed that it represents no one and that, consequently, there is no place in any way for it in the United Nations. Its expulsion therefore has nothing to do with the exclusion of a Member State and it is completely illegal to describe it or treat it as a Member State. The attempt of the United States of America to present the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique as the exclusion of a Member State and the threat that it might lead to the expulsion of other countries in the future are in flagrant contradiction with truth and justice. All this is being done simply to mislead Member States and to exercise pressure on them and blackmail them.

33. That is why, bearing in mind the illegal character of the draft resolutions of the United States, as well as the fact that they could lead to extremely negative consequences for the interests of Member States and the United Nations itself, it is necessary to adopt a position of principle with respect to those draft resolutions and resolutely to reject them.

34. The General Assembly is now facing a crisis and is on the threshold of a very important decision. It cannot postpone indefinitely the solution of the problem of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and that of the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The General Assembly must now bow to the desire and the aspirations of the peoples and find the necessary strength to accomplish its task and correct without delay the grave injustice which has been done to the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China. In present conditions, when the United Nations is being manipulated by the United States of America and the Soviet Union and when, as a result, it cannot play its proper role, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, the largest State in the world, would make a great contribution to the normal functioning of the Organization in conformity with the Charter and in the interests of all peace-loving peoples and States.

35. Correctly and seriously considering all the aspects of the problem of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Albanian Government, together with the Governments of many other States, has taken the initiative of submitting once again a draft resolution to the General Assembly. This draft resolution, contained in document A/L.630 and Add.1, submitted by the People's Republic of Albania and 21 other States, calls for the restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China, the recognition of the representatives of its Government as the only legal representatives of China in the United Nations and the recognition of the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the seat which they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all the organs belonging to it. This is the only just solution of the problem. It is a solution which is in conformity with the rights and the wishes of the Chinese people and with the United Nations Charter itself. The People's Republic of Albania has done everything and will do everything possible to contribute to the complete success of the efforts to achieve this objective.

36. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations unconditionally requires the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, because here we have two inseparable aspects of the same problem. This is an absolutely indispensable step. Any attempt to find another "solution", no matter what its nature may be, and to reconcile two mutually exclusive problems is unjust and gravely violates the provisions of the Charter; it is unacceptable to the Chinese people and to the Government of the People's Republic of China. They have publicly proclaimed their firm and consistent attitude on this subject, namely, that they will allow no one to interfere in their domestic affairs.

37. The Government of the People's Republic of China has publicly made clear once again in its statement of 20 August 1971 [see A/8470] that its legitimate rights in the United Nations should be fully restored and that the Chiang Kai-shek clique should be expelled from this Organization. It has similarly rejected resolutely the United States imperialist plot of "two Chinas" or of "one China and one

Taiwan" and has said categorically that it will have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations if it adopts that course. This firm position of the Chinese Government is a manifestation of its consistent revolutionary policy. The great People's China, on the question of the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations as well as on any other problem, does not bargain with principles, with its interests or with its sovereign rights.

38. The Albanian delegation is convinced that the General Assembly will adopt a just solution to the problem now before it and will take a firm decision for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the basis of the draft resolution submitted by the People's Republic of Albania and 21 other Member States.

39. We appeal to all Member States to vote in favour of this draft resolution because it is the only way to repair the horrible injustice committed against the Chinese people. Secretary of State Rogers, speaking before this Assembly a few days ago [1950th meeting], wanted to sell us a few cents worth of justice. If one were to believe him, it would be a great injustice to expel the puppet Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations. But—strange as it may seem—it is only a great justice, very pure justice, to have kept outside the United Nations for more than 22 years a nation of 700 million persons who constitute one fourth of humanity.

40. We are appealing to all the countries that the United States is seeking to catch in its anti-Chinese trap and to lead into positions of hostility against People's China not to submit to these American pressures but to act in accordance with logic, justice and their own national interests. The United States has become the advocate of a lost cause. Everybody is clearly aware of this and the United States itself understands it. They know full well that Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek are the links in the chain that has bound their feet and that they wish to break and free themselves of. Give them the soap so that, like Pontius Pilate, they may wash their hands. This of course will be a defeat for the United States, but it is not the first and will certainly not be the last.

41. In conclusion, I should like to stress once again that the decision that we shall adopt for the complete and immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will be a great achievement of the current session, an event of exceptional importance for our Organization. That decision will serve the interests of international peace and security and will be welcomed by all the peoples of the world.

42. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the debate on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has opened.

43. Algeria, since its accession to independence, has regularly denounced the abnormal situation created by the exclusion from our institutions of a country as important as the People's Republic of China, and has stressed the grave prejudice for our Organization which followed from this. Doubtless it is not necessary to revert to the arguments

which we have developed on repeated occasions because it seems that no one any longer thinks of challenging the legitimate right of Peking to the Chinese seat in the United Nations, as a permanent member of the Security Council. It is fitting to welcome this triumph—delayed but still comforting—as a gauge of the wisdom and realism of the international community, and we are happy to see therein the augury of a new era in the relations between States and between peoples.

44. On resuming the seat among us which lawfully belongs to it, the People's Republic of China will certainly confirm the importance of the role which it plays in the evolution of the world as well as the share of the responsibilities which it already is assuming in the maintenance of peace. The place it occupies on the international scene is on a par—and it cannot be otherwise—with its own dimensions as a great country and a great people, which has been able to preserve its personality and reaffirm its unity while at the same time mastering modern techniques and sciences which have endowed it with nuclear power. Despite the policy of ostracism practised in regard to it, its influence throughout the world has never ceased to grow, just as the number of countries with which it maintains diplomatic relations has never ceased to grow. This tendency is today crowned in the contacts which are at present being established between the Governments of Peking and Washington.

45. This reality, which was confirmed today in so striking a manner, has not so far found concrete form in our Organization. We shall not recall here the manoeuvres whereby the settlement of this problem was postponed from year to year, thus weakening the authority of the United Nations and its real ability to carry out its mission. In fact, it is actually the cause of peace in the world which would be strengthened by the participation in our work of the People's Republic of China which, by assuring our Organization its true character of universality, would at the same time enable it to face its responsibilities with increased effectiveness and enhanced prestige.

46. China, being a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, and the People's Republic of China being unanimously recognized as the authentic and legal representative of China, one is then logically entitled to think that no obstacle remains to the final settlement of a problem that is well known to us all since it has been before us for more than 20 years.

47. This is not a question of admitting a new Member but of giving the mandate of a Member State to its legal representatives, which naturally means withdrawing it from those who have no right to it, inasmuch as one country cannot have more than one seat. This is exactly what the draft resolution of which Algeria is a co-sponsor [A/L.630 and Add.1] states, and this should no longer be subject to challenge since it is recognized that it is the Government of Peking which represents China.

48. And yet some would introduce into what is really a simple debate a new element designed to present the annulment of a mandate illegally held by the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, as being the expulsion of a Member State. Those who, following the United States

position in this, today wish to defend this point of view appeal to our sense of realism and advance legal and moral arguments. Realism, legality, morality: is it not curious that it is precisely those who for more than 20 years have deliberately ignored these virtues who come to remind us of them today? But let us look more closely at the justification they give for their attitudes.

49. We are told that it is not very fair to remove from our midst representatives who for more than 20 years have shown complete respect for the principles of the Charter, and the rules of our Organization and that the draft resolution which we are submitting is of a punitive character which is not justified. It is difficult to retain such considerations, which would lead one to think that political régimes may dodge the will of the people as long as their behaviour in international institutions is satisfactory. If an expression of condemnation is to be found in our draft resolution, it must be sought in our refusal to accept any longer what is only a pure and simple usurpation of the representation of China.

50. It has also been stressed that what is called the Republic of China, whose territory is limited to the island of Formosa, consists of a population of 14 million, numerically, therefore, a population much larger than that of many States Members of our Organization. That is beyond question; but why neglect to compare that figure with that of the population of China as a whole? And besides, is this not the only politically valid comparison since the issue here is the representation of the Chinese people? Need one hesitate to know which of the two situations conforms best to the law, justice and morality: the one in which a minority of 14 million inhabitants claims to speak and act on behalf of 800 million Chinese, or the other way around?

51. Finally, we are invited to recognize a *de facto* situation, namely the existence of two Governments which exercise their authority over the territory and people of China. These new converts to realism have no doubt suddenly discovered that the boundaries of Taiwan cannot be mistaken for the frontiers of China. That is all to the good, but it should not be difficult for them to find out that the island of Formosa is an integral part of Chinese national territory, and for that, it would not even be necessary to recall the declarations of Cairo in 1943 and Potsdam in 1945, in which the Allies of the Second World War confirmed that Formosa belonged to China. An amputation of the national territory of China must not be accepted simply because the Chiang Kai-shek forces found refuge in Formosa following the establishment of the People's Republic of China and have remained there as dissidents ever since.

52. Therefore, as long as Peking was unjustly kept out of the United Nations, no one ever claimed that there were two Chinese States, and the Taipei régime has continued illegally to hold a mandate in our institutions purporting to represent the Chinese people as a whole.

53. Entrusting this mandate to the People's Republic of China, which is lawfully entitled to it, does not therefore imply the exclusion of a State Member of our Organization but, as is furthermore specified in our draft resolution, the

exclusion of the representatives of a dissident minority régime.

54. In point of fact, the question of retaining Taiwan's representation in the United Nations must be viewed as the admission of a new Member. It is only because of the effects of a usurpation of a title that the present régime of Formosa can be mistaken for the Republic of China, which, on 1 October 1949, ceased to exist and was replaced by the People's Republic of China. Formosa has never enjoyed the status of a Member of the United Nations and cannot therefore have a seat in our gatherings except through the regular procedure of admission.

55. Strange manoeuvres indeed that would thus have us transform a question of the admission of a Member State into a question of its expulsion! However, we do not wish to be drawn into a debate which would constitute clear interference in China's international affairs. The problem of Taiwan's dissidence is a matter for the sovereign Chinese people, and our Organization cannot, without violating one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, start a discussion of a subject which in fact bears on China's territorial integrity and independence.

56. Is it not precisely for this reason that the Government of the People's Republic of China has clearly stated that it would refuse to occupy its seat in the United Nations if the representation of Formosa is maintained? There can be no more legitimate attitude, since it expresses the concern of a State to preserve its full sovereignty in settling its own affairs. Let the world beware! This is in no way a declaration designed to exercise pressure on the General Assembly's decisions. The problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is clear cut, and its solution must be equally clear.

57. We have already said that political realism cannot be content with half-measures. We understand the heartbreaks imposed at times by a change of attitude compelled by submitting to a truth which one can no longer ignore. To admit mistakes to which one has always clung is a form of political courage which makes for the greatness of peoples and contributes to the prestige of their Governments. All attempts to maintain confusion and to delay the restoration of a situation in accordance with law and justice are, inevitably, doomed to failure and should be condemned with the utmost severity.

58. The draft resolution which we submit to the General Assembly for approval has the merit of providing a wholly unequivocal solution to a problem which requires a completely unambiguous stand. By stipulating the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council and, consequently, the exclusion of the representatives of Formosa, it sets out the only course—I mean the only course—which will bring to an end a situation which we now unanimously consider to be prejudicial above all to the international community as a whole and to peace in the world.

59. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): For 22 years the question of the representation of the great nation of

China in the United Nations has been a major international issue, a troublesome issue, an intractable issue. In the history of this issue the year 1971 can be and ought to be, a year of change and a year of decision.

60. I must say at the outset of my remarks that it is very difficult for me to know how to reply to the outrageous slanders of the representative of Albania. For a moment it was even hard to believe that we were in October 1971, because this old-fashioned tirade, complete with the clichés of the cold war, turned the clock back to a time well before October 1971. So, I repeat, it is difficult for me to know how to reply. But let us proceed in this General Assembly debate without name-calling and let us discuss the issues. That is what we are here to do.

61. For 21 years the Assembly on this question faced only one stark alternative: either to leave things as they were with no representation here for the enormous population of the Chinese mainland or to agree to a formula which in a single stroke would make room for the People's Republic of China by expelling the Republic of China, a Member—and, we all would agree, a Member in good standing.

62. The Assembly has always been aware of the drastic nature of the latter step and of its fateful implications for the United Nations itself, and year after year the Assembly has refused to take this step, even though this meant prolonging the absence of the People's Republic of China from this Organization. And so the situation has remained frozen. Everybody has known, all through those years, that there was a third possibility. Instead of throwing out one of those Governments to make room for the other, it was perfectly possible for the United Nations to accommodate them both. The fact that the discussion of such a solution was highly distasteful to the settled policy of both was not in itself a conclusive argument against it since very often in these halls the peaceful resolution of strongly held, conflicting views requires difficult decisions. I believe that all of us are aware that there has been a steadily growing, although muted, discussion about a practical way to accommodate the realities of the Chinese question within the United Nations. It has become increasingly clear that the past pattern of United Nations decisions simply is no longer sufficient. The time has arrived to find a way to welcome the People's Republic of China into the United Nations.

63. In so doing, however, we must act with due regard for realism, for justice and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We must find a way which would avoid the unacceptable route of expelling a law-abiding and faithful Member of the United Nations. It should be a way that could command the assent of a sufficient majority in the General Assembly itself. It should be a way which facilitates the tasks of this Organization in working for peace.

64. My Government set out to develop such a proposal and in the process we consulted very nearly the whole membership of the United Nations—we excluded only a few from our consultations. In embarking on this course, we were well aware of the difficulties. For many years the issue had been posed in sharp black-and-white terms and positions have been frozen on each side. But we went ahead in the belief that this year as we embark on the second

quarter-century of the existence of the United Nations, ought to be, and could be, a year of decision and that the decision must be sound and realistic but above all it must be just and not one which this Organization would later have cause to regret. In this spirit and with the help of many Governments sitting here today, we proceeded to shape an alternative to the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1].

65. The final results of consultations is embodied in the draft resolution whose text appears in document A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, which is sponsored by 19 Members, including the United States. Our draft resolution is short. In the context of the discussion of the Albanian draft resolution I should simply like to read it.

*[The speaker then read out the text of draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2. For the text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 93].*

66. I need comment only briefly on this draft resolution. Its terms are simple. Its terms are direct. In essence the draft resolution recommends that the People's Republic of China take over China's place as a permanent member of the Security Council and provides representation in the General Assembly for both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. The co-sponsors of this draft resolution believe that it offers the most realistic, pragmatic and equitable solution possible to the problem. Under its terms, the Republic of China would continue to be represented in the General Assembly instead of being summarily and unjustly ejected. The representatives of the People's Republic of China, with its enormous territory and population, would no longer be excluded from the General Assembly and, in addition, would occupy the seat of China in the Security Council. All the people of China would thus at last be represented in the United Nations by the Governments which, for over 20 years, have actually governed them.

67. Moreover, this draft resolution, while achieving these things, has been very carefully written in order to avoid prejudicing related matters in any way. It does not ask Member States to alter their recognition policies or their bilateral relations. It does not ask that. It does not in any way purport to divide China into two separate States or to commit those who vote for it with respect to how they may in the future regard the legal or the diplomatic situation of the parties involved. It does not take either a "two Chinas" position or a "one China, one Taiwan" position, nor does it in any other way seek to dismember China. It is simply founded on the reality of the present situation as we all know it to be, but it does not seek to freeze this situation for the future. On the contrary, it expressly states in the preamble that a resolution of the problem should be sought without prejudice to a future settlement.

68. We are aware that some, although recognizing that this is a political initiative to solve a practical political problem, have raised legal questions. It is unavoidable that what we propose should be new because the situation with which we are dealing in October 1971 is unique. But the Charter, which is flexible enough to allow for the representation of Byelorussia, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union in the

United Nations, is certainly flexible enough to accommodate this situation. Therefore we have sought to develop a draft resolution which is compatible with the law of the Charter and which recognizes that, if the United Nations is going to be strong and if it is going to keep pace with the times, it cannot, and it must not, be afraid to innovate. That is the nature of this proposal we place before the Assembly. It is an eminently realistic, fair and practical proposal to solve this historic problem of Chinese representation.

69. There is another proposal before the Assembly, and that is the Albanian draft resolution. This draft resolution would not only admit the People's Republic of China to membership in the Organization but would also at the same stroke "forthwith" expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs. And that act of expulsion is the issue before us today.

70. Both sides agree that the People's Republic of China should be admitted. Both are in agreement on that. Both agree that it should sit in the Security Council as a permanent member. But one fundamental point divides us, and that is simply whether to retain or to expel the Republic of China. I submit that the course of expulsion, first, is most ill-advised and dangerous as a precedent in the United Nations and, secondly, is simply an unacceptable price to pay for the entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization.

71. Let me give my reasons for both those points, taking first expulsion as a precedent. In the 26-year history of the United Nations no Member has been expelled or deprived of its seat—not one. In fact, the whole trend has been just the other way, so that the original 51-nation membership has now grown to 131 and includes countries of an immense variety of sizes and an immense variety of political systems. Yet here it is proposed that a Member in good standing, a Government representing more than 14 million people, served here by decent men—a Government which has committed no violations of the Charter and has no violations against its name, but, on the contrary, has a most constructive record—should be expelled utterly from the United Nations and all its agencies solely because certain other Governments question its legitimacy.

72. Let us remember realistically that, once this Government has been expelled, the likelihood of the Republic of China's ever being readmitted to the United Nations as a separate Member under whatever name or label would be approximately zero, given the fact that under the Charter a proposal for its readmission could be vetoed in the Security Council. If the Assembly is to travel down that road, where do we stop? Who can predict what United Nations Member could be next? Surely there is many another Member of the Organization which, although fully in possession of territory and governmental powers, could one day become the target of some political combination in these halls commanding a simple majority and aiming to throw it out of the United Nations solely because its right to govern is disputed by others.

73. If we are to start playing with the rights of Members to sit in this Organization as if that right were a chip in some international poker game, we will have started the

United Nations itself down a very perilous slope. We think that such a step could have a profoundly damaging effect on this Organization and on the attitudes of many Member States towards it. Such a step would lead away from universality, away from realism and towards factionalism, recrimination and, if you do not mind my saying so, irrelevancy. It would damage the very fabric of this Organization.

74. At this point let me say a few words about universality. Much has been said from this podium on this subject. During the twenty-fifth anniversary session last year, two Declarations were adopted which endorsed the goal of universality. Many distinguished speakers in this year's general debate have reiterated their Governments' dedication to this ideal. As we understand universality, it means the creation of circumstances whereby all peoples—all of them—can eventually be represented in this world Organization.

75. We honestly do not see how the supporters of the Albanian draft resolution can logically invoke this principle of universality. Although they may question the legitimacy of the Republic of China, none of them can contest the unblinkable fact that it is very much a reality. In our view a vote for the Albanian draft resolution would be a vote against universality. One nation coming in and one going out would not make this Organization more universal. We should frankly face the fact that this session of the United Nations cannot and should not try to write the last chapter in the complicated history of China's relations with itself or with the rest of the world. We should concentrate instead on writing today's chapter in the history of China's relations with the United Nations. If we can do that and do it right, we shall have accomplished a great deal and I believe we shall have given the United Nations a new lease on life.

76. There are those who argue that the Republic of China has to be expelled, however regrettable that may be, simply because the People's Republic has announced in advance that it will not participate on any other basis. I respect the sincerity of those who make this argument, but for several reasons we simply cannot agree. The formula we have proposed has been most carefully written to avoid placing any unnecessary difficulties in Peking's way, neither says nor implies that there are two Chinas, or that there is one China and one Taiwan. It does not attempt to prejudice the status of China, or the course of future developments between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China, or the relations between them. It carefully closes no doors concerning future developments. It simply provides that, given the existing state of affairs, the People's Republic of China which is not in the United Nations, should come in and should take over the seat of China in the Security Council and that the Republic of China, which is in, should remain in. The draft resolution, to be sure, does not accept the claims of the parties, but neither does it deny or reject or prejudice those claims. It is completely silent on them. Nothing consistent with the realities of the situation could be less prejudicial.

77. For all those reasons I commend to the General Assembly the 19-Power draft resolution known as "the dual representation draft resolution" [A/L.633 and Add.1

and 2]. It is a new approach, responsive to a new and more hopeful situation in the relations between China and the rest of the world. It provides for the first time the effective representation in the United Nations of all the people of China by those who actually govern them. It realistically provides that the People's Republic of China, which governs the largest population of any government on earth, should occupy the seat of China in the Security Council. It avoids the expulsion of the Republic of China, an unnecessary, unrealistic, dangerous and irreversible step which is the distinguishing feature of the Albanian draft resolution. It carefully avoids any attempt to prejudice or foreclose the ultimate solution of any of the disputed issues relating to China, or to affect the recognition policy or bilateral relations of any Member.

78. The time has come for the United Nations to settle this question and to do so in a way that will be just to all parties, realistic in its reflection of the facts and constructive for the United Nations and its Members. I have great confidence that this can be done and that the dual representation draft resolution we are talking about here will do it. By contrast the expulsion of a Member in good standing, which would result from the Albanian draft resolution, is simply unrealistic and certainly dangerous for the future of the United Nations.

79. It is for that reason that the United States and its fellow sponsors have proposed a second draft resolution [A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2]. In practical terms, our draft resolution would require that the Albanian draft resolution, or any other draft resolution having the effect of depriving the Republic of China of representation, must obtain a two-thirds majority in order to be adopted.

80. Let me be very, very clear as to what we are talking about. We are dealing, in this "important question" draft resolution, with the question of expulsion, and if representatives vote "yes" on the "non-expulsion" draft resolution, they will be voting against the insidious precedent of expulsion by a simple majority. And if they vote "no" on this draft resolution they will in essence be voting for expulsion, and in so doing they will, in our judgement and the judgement of many members present today, be undermining the very foundations of the United Nations itself. The issue is just exactly that clear. And no matter how honourable members now present are going to twist and turn so as to avoid this serious question, the one and only question involved here is that of expulsion. Are they for it, or are they against it? It is just that simple.

81. It is only logical and in keeping with United Nations practice that this procedural point should be settled before the voting on substantive proposals begins, and accordingly the United States delegation moves that the General Assembly should vote first on the draft resolution contained in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2.

82. The question before us is the most serious and important one that will face the Assembly at this session and possibly for years to come. Let me assure representatives that the United States approaches it in a most serious and forthright spirit. Our present policy is a logical evolution of the position we stated in this hall on this issue

last year. My colleague Ambassador Phillips, who is present today, stated on 12 November 1970:

"The fact of the matter is that the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization." [1902nd meeting, para. 88.]

83. We want to see both these entities in the United Nations. Our policy need not, and does not, interfere with the plans for President Nixon's visit or with the mutual desire of the two sides to develop better contacts with each other. Many difficult issues surround the relations of the Chinese People's Republic with the rest of the world. They cannot all be resolved overnight. We in this Assembly certainly cannot resolve them all by any amount of resolution-making. What we can do is to decide here, now and at long last the vexing problem that is properly before us: how China should now be represented in the United Nations.

84. Let each of us for a moment look at what is best for the United Nations. Many representatives know very well that they do not really want the Republic of China expelled. We, the 19 countries that have sponsored this draft resolution, ask representatives now to act here at the United Nations with the best interests of the United Nations in mind. Let us stand up for what is fair; and let us stand up for what is decent; and let us stand up for what is constructive. Let us welcome a large and dynamic reality to our midst. But let us do so, not on its own terms, but on the United Nations terms. And let us affirm representation for the People's Republic of China, but let us vigorously protect the principle that no smaller reality—in this case the Republic of China, which has abided by the Charter, and faithfully abided by it—need ever fear, now or in the future, that it will be expelled to accommodate a larger reality. And let us make that decision realistically, wisely and equitably and in a way that will strengthen the United Nations to serve peace now and in the future.

85. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): Since we debated the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations last year, certain events having a direct bearing on that question have taken place.

86. First among those events was the vote by a clear majority of the representatives at the last session of the General Assembly for the draft resolution sponsored by my country and other friendly States calling for the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations.<sup>2</sup> The significance of that vote was not confined to the fact that, for the first time in the history of the debate on Chinese representation, a majority had voted affirmatively for the seating of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese people in the United Nations. It had much larger significance. It was a rejection of the falsehoods and defamatory accusations levelled at the People's Republic of China as an excuse for preventing it from occupying its

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

rightful place in this Assembly. It was also a clear protest against the procedural tricks that had been used to achieve that purpose. *The New York Times* on 21 November 1970 stated, in an editorial commentary on that debate, the following:

“In short, the inflexible United States policy of excluding from the only existing security organization the régime that for twenty-one years has controlled mainland China and a fourth of the world’s population is bankrupt.”

After that vote, even the United States Department of State had to admit that a new situation existed on this matter.

87. The second development was the announcement by President Nixon of his desire to normalize relations with China and his intention to visit it. While not wishing to comment upon the sincerity of the professed desire to normalize relations with China and the motives, both domestic and international, that prompted it, we all wish that that development will contribute to the easing of international tension and the strengthening of international security.

88. The third important development lies in the fact that the People’s Republic of China has made great progress in its relations with other States. During the year that has passed since the question of Chinese representation was debated, a large number of countries have normalized their relations with the Government of the People’s Republic of China and have established diplomatic relations with it.

89. Those important developments should lead us all to the only possible logical conclusion with regard to who should represent China in the United Nations. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Shortly before the opening of the present session of this Assembly the United States Government announced its “two Chinas” policy, which its Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers, elaborated during the general debate [1950th meeting] and which Mr. Bush so passionately advocated a short while ago.

90. I do not wish to elaborate upon the reasons why the Chinese People’s Republic should be here with us. Hardly a State has failed to do so during the general debate. I will instead confine myself to discussing why, in the view of my delegation, the “two Chinas” policy is illogical, illegal and, above all, extremely dangerous.

91. Let us examine the premises upon which the “two Chinas” policy is based and which Mr. Bush ardently pleaded before this Assembly. Firstly, we are told that, by restoring to the People’s Republic of China its rights in the United Nations, we shall in fact be expelling a Member State which ratified the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 and was allotted a permanent seat in the Security Council. But it was of course the Government of the whole of China, which ruled over all the people that inhabited the Chinese territory, that was awarded a permanent seat in the Security Council. It was because of the power due to the vastness of the territory, and the size of the population of that State that it was allotted that permanent seat. The place and the rights of China in the United Nations belong not to a specific régime or a particular government but to

any government that controls China and rules over its population.

92. As for the so-called Government of the Republic of China, that Government has ceased to exist after its expulsion by the Chinese people on 1 October 1949. The clique that escaped the Chinese revolution and now rules over the people of Taiwan is there only because of the guns of the United States Seventh Fleet. Many States that are members of this Assembly have changed governments, whether by force of revolution or by democratic process. Some of the toppled governments even contrived to control part of the territory of the countries they formerly governed. Many States during the course of their membership in this Organization have also changed their names. But has anyone suggested that because of these circumstances they should have two representations? Would such a preposterous suggestion be taken seriously?

93. Mr. Bush has been arguing against a course which no one has been advocating in this Assembly. He has been telling us that what my country and the other 21 sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/L.630 and Add.1 are advocating is the expulsion of a Member; but we know that the Charter of the United Nations specifically states that each country is entitled to one place in the Assembly. The Charter also states that there is only one China and that China is named as a permanent member of the Security Council. What we are debating is who should represent that China, whether it should be the representative of the discredited Chiang Kai-shek clique or the representative of the Government of the People’s Republic of China. That is the whole question, and what has been said regarding expulsion is no more than a smoke-screen.

94. The supporters of the “two Chinas” policy have tried further to confuse the issues by citing the representation of Byelorussia and Ukraine in the United Nations as a justification for retaining the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. I submit that this false comparison can not stand serious examination. Firstly, all the Republics that form the Soviet Union enjoy the same political, economic and social system; but, foremost of all, the representation of Byelorussia and the Ukraine was established with the agreement, indeed by the desire, of the Soviet Union. Whatever sovereignty was conceded as a result of the multilateral representation, it was conceded by the sovereign Power, that is, by the Soviet Union, a legitimate prerogative of a sovereign State. No similarity whatsoever exists between that case and what the proponents of the “two Chinas” policy wish this Assembly to do.

95. The second argument for the “two Chinas” policy is that, in the name of universality, we should not deprive the 14 million people living in Taiwan of representation in the United Nations. Let me, first of all, emphasize the fact that Taiwan is and has always been an integral part of China. The declarations of the four great Powers in 1943 and again in 1945, the Cairo and the Potsdam Declarations, affirmed that historical fact. Indeed no one, not even the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, has ever claimed otherwise. What we are asked by the United States to do is to seat in the United Nations two Governments that claim sovereignty over the very same territory. The commission of such an illegal act would be a serious tampering with the

Charter which could threaten the very foundation of the United Nations. As for depriving 14 million people of their representation in the United Nations, let me ask what is preventing their uniting with the rest of the people of China but the foreign presence of the United States Seventh Fleet? Does the United States representative seriously believe that the régime of Chiang Kai-shek represents the people of Taiwan? If he does so, I can only refer him to a magazine article, which has just been published, by his predecessor, Mr. Yost. Surely he knows that the National Assembly in Taiwan that supposedly elects the President and amends the Constitution is no more than a body of aged and dying men, chosen 25 years ago. It is a body that a former United States representative in the United Nations, Mr. George Ball, has described as "the only tontine parliament of the world".

96. As for the latter-day believers in universality, I can only say that it is the height of cynicism for those who for 21 years have succeeded in preventing the true representatives of one fourth of the world's population from occupying their rightful place in this Organization to attempt to perpetuate the very same injustice in the name of universality. We have also heard morality and decency being cited as justifications for keeping the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek. I do not believe that we need any lessons in morality or decency from those who thought it moral to keep 750 million people from being represented in this Organization for over two decades.

97. The Government of the People's Republic of China has on several occasions, and specifically on 20 August of this year [see A/8470], categorically and emphatically expressed its opposition to a "two Chinas" policy and stated that it will never sit in the United Nations as long as the illegal presence of a Chiang Kai-shek representative continues. Yet the United States Secretary of State and the United States representative in this Organization, whose country is the only serious proponent of a "two Chinas" policy, tell us that the United States wants to see the People's Republic of China come to the Assembly, take a seat and participate. If I fail to see the logic of this statement as related to United States actions on this matter, I am consoled by the fact that I am not alone in my bewilderment.

98. I regret to state that, though the arguments have changed and the language used is different, the purpose of the United States position is still the same. It is still its purpose to bar the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. It is still the purpose to deprive this Organization of true universality. It is still the purpose to hinder the greatest possible breakthrough towards achieving the goals of peace and international security for which the whole people of the world earnestly yearn.

99. Allow me to say a few words on the implication of our acceptance of a "two Chinas" policy. We are asked, in defiance of the United Nations Charter, to seat in the United Nations two Governments claiming sovereignty over the very same territory and claiming to represent the very same people. We are being asked to trample on the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity by arrogating to ourselves the right to divide the territory and population of a sovereign State. We are being asked to

ignore the principles of equal rights and self-determination by imposing upon the Chinese people a situation in which they have neither say nor choice. We are asked to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State—which is the very essence of the "two Chinas" policy.

100. It might be desirable for the United States, for domestic reasons, in order to save face or for reasons of prestige, to advocate a "two Chinas" policy, illegal, illogical and dangerous as such a policy is; but it is not for us to go along with it. On the contrary, it is not only our moral duty but also in our self-interest to see to it that such policy is defeated.

101. If we allow interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, tampering with the Charter of the United Nations, and violation of the principles of equality and self-determination, to become an act of this Assembly, then every State in this Organization, especially the medium and small Powers, will be putting their sovereignty and territorial integrity in great jeopardy.

102. Before I conclude, I wish to touch upon the attempt to misuse Article 18 of the Charter on important questions. This procedural trick has been used in the past to perpetuate the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the Organization. Let no one be deceived about its use this time. It is still the same device to be used for the very same purpose.

103. My delegation considers that every vote for this proposal [A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2] is a vote against universality; any vote for it is a vote against the Charter of the United Nations and certainly a vote against the 800 million people of China.

104. Let this Assembly register a historic victory for realism and wisdom, for universality and for the principles of the Charter. Let us give the manoeuvres of the United States a crushing defeat and thus open the door of this Organization to a founding Member whose absence has been long and whose presence is long overdue.

105. Mr. EL HASSAN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the General Assembly is seized of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Rarely has any other question been discussed in substance as much, and for as long a period, as this matter, which, in the opinion of my delegation, is a simple one, because it is only one of credentials. Everyone knows that our Organization recognizes States and not political régimes. Everyone knows that, with the exception of the People's Republic of China, no other Member State was ever dispossessed of its seat in the United Nations simply because the population had chosen another system of Government that responded in a better way to its aspirations. If the United Nations has decided to recognize solely those political régimes which were in existence at the time of the foundation of the United Nations, this hall would be rather empty today.

106. Further, I should like to state that during the course of numerous discussions on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People Republic of China, no delegation challenged the effective authority exercised by

the Government of the People's Republic of China over the whole of the Territory of China.

107. Those who oppose the representation of China in the United Nations have tried to avoid and to bypass this question, to mix it up, by submitting all sorts of allegations against the People's Republic of China. Nevertheless, those unfounded accusations can mislead no one, because, for some 22 years now, the People's Republic of China has provided sufficient proof of its attachment to peace, of its desire to settle through peaceful means the differences among States, and of its loyalty, which is unquestionable, in the bilateral relations which it maintains with some 60 States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, as well as equality and reciprocal advantages.

108. Everyone here is convinced, whether he states this or not, that the People's Republic of China is the object of confidence on the part of 750 million Chinese, whom it has freed of the most inhuman feudalism that history has ever known and of whom it has made, in a score of years, a people not only with one single State, with unity and national pride that are admired by all, but also the sole and true representative of the Chinese people. It is this Government, which has the authority recognized by its population, and not the régime of Chiang Kai-shek, overthrown by it long ago, which should be authorized to represent it and speak in its name.

109. The arbitrary exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations was an extremely grave denial of justice committed against a founding Member of our Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. Our Organization must put an end to this exclusion.

110. The postponement of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not only a flagrant case of international injustice, but doubtless a serious handicap for the effectiveness of our Organization. If this Organization is beginning its first Disarmament Decade and its Second Development Decade, if it has proclaimed its desire to undertake a serious effort in order to find ways and means to enforce international security, what can then be the future for an agreement on disarmament, on development, or on international security, without the agreement and the co-operation of China? No programme of peace can be full or effective without the co-operation of this great country which has become a nuclear Power.

111. Moreover, the International Development Strategy will only be partial without the participation of the talented and hard-working Chinese people. Thus, if our Organization speaks of peace and development without the presence or the participation of China, my delegation believes that it can only then refer to a precarious peace and to partial development. The Charter has envisaged the promotion of peace and development within a global and universal context.

112. For this reason, we state that, without the People's Republic of China, the effectiveness and the authority of

the United Nations will be seriously undermined. This should be taken into account by those who proclaim their attachment to the reinforcement of the authority of our Organization. Greater effectiveness for its action, greater strength for its authority, can be provided if the United Nations is convinced that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is more clearly in the interest of this Organization than that of China itself.

113. Those who oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, while recognizing the unfounded character of the arguments which they submitted in the past, have had recourse this year to a new tactic. It is based upon the theory of two Chinas. It claims that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China should not lead to the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

114. This theory is unacceptable because, since the Cairo Declaration of 1943, and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945, Taiwan has been restored to China. Since then it has become an integral part of Chinese territory. If the Chiang Kai-shek régime is still in existence in Taiwan, it is not because of the will of the Chinese people. The situation is actually the opposite. This régime has been maintained solely as a result of American protection, a protection which has taken the form of a true military occupation of a Chinese province. Such an occupation cannot be a source of right granting the status of a sovereign and independent State to a group of usurpers.

115. The United Nations must refuse to associate itself with an attempt to split a Member State and to grant an independent status to one of the parts of the territory of that Member.

116. My delegation rejects categorically the theory of "two Chinas" or of "one China, one Taiwan", which certain countries are obstinately proposing to the Organization. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, are for us two aspects of one single problem, linked one to the other. I would add, for the benefit of those who nurture the illusion that the People's Republic of China can accept some sort of a presence of Taiwan, even in the form of a satellite State, that they should not continue to dwell on this error. In no case will China take its seat in the United Nations so long as the régime of Chiang Kai-shek is represented therein.

117. The theory of two Chinas is based upon no legal foundation. It is a clear interference in the internal affairs of China. It should be energetically discarded and rejected by this Assembly.

118. The draft resolution submitted by a certain number of States in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 asks the General Assembly to decide "that any proposal in the General Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter". That draft resolution is an operation of obstruction. To try to adapt the machinery and procedures of our Organization to the interests of a small group, to perpetuate an indefensible situation, is a mockery of our Charter, particularly when one wrongly refers to one of its clauses.

119. What the authors of that draft call the "Republic of China" does not exist. There is but one China, and that is the People's Republic of China. The Chiang Kai-shek régime is nothing but a fiction and exists only, as I have already said, because of the military occupation of the Chinese province of Taiwan. The presence of its representatives here has been illegal since 18 November 1949, when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China informed the President of the General Assembly that its Government, on the basis of its sovereign prerogatives, had decided to change its delegation to the United Nations. Therefore, having no legal existence, the Chiang Kai-shek régime can have no rights or privileges in our Organization.

120. Reference to Article 18 of the Charter is abusive, because it is not a question of excluding a Member State of our Organization, but of restoring the lawful rights of a Member which has been deprived of its United Nations seat. That draft, therefore, should be firmly rejected.

121. On the other hand, in order to restore our Organization's universality, in order to assist the United Nations to achieve the objectives set forth in the Charter, and to repair the injustice knowingly committed against the people of China, the General Assembly must approve the draft resolution in document A/L.630 and Add.1, of which my country is a sponsor. Approval of this draft does not require a two-thirds vote, because it is not a question of admitting China to the United Nations or of giving it a special seat. Its seat is here, and is recognized to be here, but has been usurped by illegal representatives imposed upon our Organization.

122. From the legal point of view, therefore, a simple majority vote is sufficient to adopt the draft resolution which I have just recommended. My delegation appeals to all States Members to vote for that draft resolution and thereby put an end to an injustice which has for so long weakened the morality and authority of our Organization.

123. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm here that Mauritania considers that there is only one Chinese nation, one Chinese people, and only one Chinese State. This reality, which part of the international community has for a long time tried to ignore, imposes itself upon us today as a result of the gigantic efforts made by the Government of the People's Republic of China both domestically and internationally. Domestically, the consolidation of national unity, economic and social progress, and the technological and scientific achievements of that great people have inspired the admiration of all. The faith of its people in its future and its moral rectitude are among the main reasons for its astounding evolution. Internationally, the disinterested assistance which that country grants to all those struggling for their economic development, for their liberation from the colonial yoke and for the recovery of their human dignity has been and remains highly appreciated because of its importance and effectiveness. Such a nation and such a people should not be kept outside our Organization as a result of an iniquitous procedural manoeuvre based upon a legal fiction.

124. The rule of law must be re-established in this Organization through the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of those who are illegally occupying its seat in the United Nations.

125. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government of Costa Rica last year took a new position in regard to the representation of China in the United Nations. At the end of 1970 I publicly announced this change of attitude on the part of our Government through the media of television and the local press. What I said then can be summarized as follows: firstly, the Government of the People's Republic of China must be represented in all United Nations bodies; secondly, the representatives of that Government are the ones who should occupy one of the five permanent seats on the Security Council; thirdly, despite the foregoing, the Government of the Republic of China with its capital in Taipei must continue to participate in the work of all United Nations bodies.

126. Subsequent events have confirmed the reasons which led us to change our former position with regard to the representation of China. In recent years the People's Republic of China has given proof of its growing desire for integration in the international community and for participation in the efforts aimed at putting an end to cold-war tensions. The dramatic step taken in inviting President Nixon to visit Peking and the fact that he accepted that invitation are obvious proof of the favourable change in the foreign policy of mainland China which we had already observed last year.

127. Item 93 of the agenda, now before the Assembly, which was designed to open the debate we are having on the representation of China, was included under the improper title of "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". Therefore, Costa Rica—which, as I have already said, is in favour of representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—voted against its inclusion. We did this because what we wish is that the Assembly should debate and solve, in the best possible way, the problem of the representation of China. But when the time came to decide on the inclusion of so important an item, we could not agree that the substance of the question should be prejudged by giving it the inadequate title which was adopted. In any case, despite the stratagem of designating the item according to the interests of a particular group, what we are discussing here, and what we shall decide in substance, is not the supposed restoration of the rights which the People's Republic of China has never had, but the way in which the State of China, a founding Member of this world Organization, should be represented in the United Nations.

128. As we all recall, when the United Nations was created in 1945, the people and territory of China were under the jurisdiction of a single State which was called the Republic of China. Its Government, then under the presidency of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was the legitimate representative of that State, which, because it was one of the five "great Powers", was recognized as having the right to a permanent seat on the Security Council.

129. In 1949 the situation changed, when the forces of Mao Tse-tung dominated mainland China and those of Chiang Kai-shek took refuge in the island province of Taiwan and other neighbouring islands.

130. If we wished to find a legal explanation for the events which have since occurred we could affirm that a new State was created on mainland China, with a communist structure, with a new name, the People's Republic of China. The former nationalist State, which since the inception of the United Nations has been called the Republic of China, was reduced to the territory of the island of Taiwan and some small neighbouring islands. It is true that the Governments of both States claim jurisdiction over the entire people and territory of what in 1945 was the Republic of China. But, in reality and *de facto*, the People's Republic exercises its jurisdiction over the territory of mainland China and over the people living there, while the Republic of China exercises jurisdiction over only the province of Taiwan and some neighbouring islands and those who live there.

131. The theory that these are two Chinese States has a strong foundation in the actual reality of the last 22 years. It is only by closing one's eyes to that historical reality that one can uphold the claims of each Government of the two conflicting States, according to which each one is the legitimate representative of the Chinese State which was a founding Member of the United Nations.

132. Under item 93, the proposal initiated by the delegation of Albania and supported by 21 other delegations [A/L.630 and Add.1] calls upon the General Assembly "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China", to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, to recognize the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which, according to the proposal, they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

133. Costa Rica, of course, cannot agree to that proposal.

134. From what I have said it is clear that in the opinion of my delegation the People's Republic of China has never been a Member of the United Nations. In substance, therefore, it is a question of a new State segregated *de facto* from the founder Member of the United Nations called the Republic of China. We agree that the representation of the Government of that new State should be seated in this Assembly and in all United Nations organizations. But, so long as no resolution which allows this is adopted, we maintain that the said People's Republic lacks and has always completely lacked any rights as a Member of our Organization. It follows that if the People's Republic of China has never had any rights as a Member of the United Nations, it is logical to conclude that none can be restored to it because restoration can be made only of what one has possessed, and not of what one merely aspires to possess.

135. Accordingly, our delegation cannot support by its vote the fallacy that the People's Republic of China has been a lawful Member of the United Nations, that it has been illegally deprived of its representation and that this right and all rights must be restored to it, rights which are inherent in the participation that it has never had. The premise on which the draft resolution of Albania is based is as contrary to the truth as it would be to maintain that the

Republic of China, with its seat in Taiwan, continues to be the only Chinese State which must be recognized as a Member of the United Nations.

136. I repeat the truth is that *de facto* and *de jure* today there are two Chinese States: a new one, the People's Republic, which encompasses all the territory of mainland China and the vast majority of its population, and the other, which is the remainder of what was the Republic of China, a founder of the United Nations, which only encompasses the province of Taiwan and neighbouring islands and governs only 14 million of the 750 million Chinese who live in that ancient country.

137. This is not the first time that a State has lost a large part of its territory and yet continues reduced in size, the legal life of the State from which parts of the territory and its population separated to form other States. Recent history proves that there are many cases which serve as a precedent. Therefore, the delegation of Costa Rica maintains that, since the Republic of China, on Taiwan, constitutes the remainder of what was the Chinese State which was a co-founder of the United Nations; that Republic of China is the legal continuation of the original State; and that consequently that Republic has never for a moment ceased to be a legitimate Member of the United Nations.

138. For these reasons my delegation cannot accept the assertion in the draft resolution of the delegation of Albania according to which the Assembly should recognize that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate representative in the United Nations of what was China in 1945. In truth, the representation of that Government encompasses only the territory and the inhabitants of mainland China; its jurisdiction was never for a moment extended either *de facto* or *de jure* to the territory and the inhabitants of Taiwan.

139. For the same reasons my delegation could never concur in the theory of Albania and the 21 other sponsors of the draft resolution under consideration, since it would require that we expel forthwith from the United Nations the representatives of the Government presided over by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

140. My delegation maintains that those representatives are properly seated in the United Nations, since they are emissaries of the Government of the Republic of China, which, although its territory and population have been sizably reduced, is nevertheless, as I have already said, the legal continuation of the Chinese State which was a co-founder of the United Nations.

141. Furthermore, they are representatives of a State which deserves the respect of the international community because of its peaceful conduct, because of its efforts for economic and social development for the benefit of its own people and because of the co-operation it has rendered for the development of other peoples. The conduct of the representatives of the Republic of China has proved that the State sincerely aspires to peace, to harmonious relations with other nations and to compliance with the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States.

142. Twenty-two years ago one could have discussed whether the Chinese State in Taiwan was a fiction or not. But at present nobody can deny that the Republic of China has all the attributes of a modern State; that it maintains diplomatic relations with 59 countries, 56 of which are Members of the United Nations; that it has a population of 14 million, many times higher than the population of a great majority of the States represented here; that it possesses a flourishing industry whose exports exceed those of the People's Republic of China; and that it has developed a separate economic and social system with its own distinctive characteristics which are very different from those of mainland China.

143. As a forceful argument to induce the Assembly to take the unjust decision to expel the representatives of the Republic of China, the advocates of the Albanian draft resolution have maintained that, otherwise, the Government of Peking would not agree to take a seat in this Assembly or in the Security Council.

144. To counter that argument nothing seems to me better than to quote from the intelligent statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Carlos Romulo, who, in his excellent speech in the general debate, said:

“... the People's Republic of China should enter the United Nations on United Nations terms, not on terms which it apparently seeks to impose by proxy through its spokesmen in this Assembly. The People's Republic of China is a big Power, but it is not bigger than the United Nations, and it should not attempt to dictate the terms of its own entry into the United Nations even before the question has been decided by the General Assembly and the Security Council.” [1959th meeting, para. 70.]

145. In accordance with the United Nations Charter it is for the Security Council to decide which of the two Chinese States should have a permanent seat in that organ. Without at this time discussing the validity of the arguments which gave rise to the fact that the five States which considered themselves to be the most important obtained permanent seats and the right to the veto in the Security Council, it is a historical fact which must be accepted that this was governed by the belief that the concurrence of the five big Powers was necessary for the maintenance of peace. Therefore, when the time comes to decide which of the two Chinese States is to have a permanent seat on the Security Council, the only logical criterion which can be accepted is that this seat should be occupied by the Chinese State which constitutes a great world Power. And within that criterion of military and economic strength which prevailed when the structure of the Security Council was decided, there can be no doubt that at the very moment when representation is given to the new State called the People's Republic of China, that State is entitled to the permanent seat on the Security Council.

146. The delegation of Costa Rica recognizes that, as I have said, it is unreal and contrary to international doctrine on recognition of *de facto* Governments to deny to the People's Republic of China its status as a *de facto* Government firmly rooted in mainland China, in the full exercise of its jurisdiction over the territory and population

of most of what was the Republic of China in 1945. We also consider that the United Nations cannot achieve the principle of universality to which its founders aspired as long as a Government which exercises jurisdiction over a very vast territory and over more than 750 million inhabitants is not duly represented in this world Organization.

147. This is why Costa Rica, although it is in no way prepared to vote for the proposal of Albania, does wish, I repeat, that the People's Republic of China be represented in our Organization and that it have a permanent seat on the Security Council.

148. For those reasons, my delegation decided to sponsor the draft resolution prepared by the United States delegation [A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2] which is intended precisely to achieve those objectives, as was so eloquently explained by the United States representative at this meeting. We believe that, by adopting this realistic and just draft resolution, the Assembly will affirm the right of representation in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China and recommend that it take its place as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council—all of this without prejudice to the right of the Republic of China to continue to be represented in this Organization.

149. The formula which we have proposed has the apparent disadvantage of not being accepted by either of the two Chinese Governments. But this should not prevent the majority of Member States from supporting it. We must consider that it is not up to United Nations Members to impose solutions which merely endorse the point of view of one of the parties to a conflict, without taking into account the position of the other. The task of the Assembly should rather be to seek compromises which are in accord with reality, as the one we propose is. The fact that one or both of the parties to a conflict immediately reacted against the formula that has been proposed does not mean that the formula is a bad one. If it is believed that the solution is reasonable, as is the one we propose, it must be implemented in practice and we must not allow ourselves to be intimidated by threats of rejection by one or both of the parties directly concerned. We must hope for a more serene response from these parties once the resolution has been adopted.

150. In this specific case the delegation of Costa Rica considers that in the long run the People's Republic of China will not refuse to take advantage of the opportunity to be incorporated into the world Organization simply because the Government with its capital in Taiwan will remain, as is proper, within the Organization. Nor do we think that the Republic of China will lose its membership in the United Nations simply because we admit the reality of the existence of a Government on mainland China and give it the representation to which it is entitled in our world Organization.

151. As we know, one of the main purposes of the draft resolution submitted by Albania is for the Assembly to expel the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China from the United Nations. If this draft resolution were to be adopted, which we hope will not

happen, its effect would be nothing other than to deprive a founding Member of the United Nations of the rights and privileges to which it is entitled as a Member of our Organization. This, quite simply, would be nothing other than to expel from the United Nations one of its Member States.

152. In accordance with Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, resolutions of the General Assembly intended to revoke the rights and privileges of a Member State or to expel it, must be catalogued as important questions and therefore require a majority of two thirds of the Members present and voting for them to be adopted.

153. The delegation of Costa Rica maintains that there cannot be the slightest doubt that the proposal under debate, since it would revoke the rights of representation of the Government of the Republic of China, is an important question which, in accordance with the provisions of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, can only be approved if it obtains a minimum of votes equivalent to two thirds of the members present and voting.

154. A most dangerous precedent would be set, particularly for the small countries, if on this occasion the legal rules I have quoted were not applied and if it were decided, by a simple majority to expel from the United Nations the lawful representatives of the Government of the Republic of China.

155. It has been argued that the Albanian draft resolution seeks not to expel a Member State, but to expel the representatives of a Government which does not represent the Chinese State. But this specious argument cannot stand up to the least analysis because it is based on a premise which is totally false, namely, that the People's Republic of China, *de facto* or *de jure*, exercises jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of Taiwan. The truth is, as I have reiterated during this statement, that the Republic of China with its capital in Taiwan is the legal continuation of the Chinese State which was a co-founder of the United Nations and, therefore, at no time has it lost its status as a Member of this Organization. Hence, despite all the legalistic acrobatics which may be attempted, the expulsion of the representatives of the Government of Chiang Kai-shek would imply leaving without representation in the United Nations the Government of a Member State, which is definitely tantamount to expulsion. To adopt a resolution of so grave a character requires a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting in this Assembly, as is categorically ordered in Article 18 of the Charter.

156. Even on the assumption—and my delegation would accept it only for the sake of argument—that it was established that the Albanian draft resolution does not imply expulsion of a Member State, even on that illogical assumption, the question raised would have to be considered important and consequently would require for its adoption a minimum of two-thirds of the votes of the members present and voting.

157. Indeed a question such as the one raised by the proposal of Albania, whatever interpretation one may wish to give it, fundamentally affects the representation of a Member State and therefore, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, it is an important question.

158. This problem of the representation of China, as presented in the draft resolution by Albania, has always been dealt with as an important question since it was first presented in 1961. There is no reason for the Assembly to consider this year that the matter is less important than it was in previous years. Nothing has happened to diminish the importance of the question for the representatives, for the United Nations or for the world.

159. On the contrary, the importance of the question is greater at the present session than at previous sessions, to the extent that the item in this debate has become the key issue of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, as was affirmed just now in opening the debate by the representative of Albania. The political importance which all delegations attach to the matter raised by the proposal of Albania makes it impossible for anyone to argue in good faith that the question is not important.

160. As we read in the records of the 191st meeting of the General Committee held on 22 September 1971, when discussing the inclusion of the item which today is numbered 93, most of the proposers of the draft resolution under debate stated, one after the other, that the question raised was of the utmost importance.

161. For example, in the summary record of that meeting we read that Mr. Malile of Albania said:

“... that the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China was a question of exceptional importance to the United Nations, affecting its universality and its functioning in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter.”<sup>3</sup>

162. In the same summary record, we read that Mr. Ismail of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen said:

“... that the question of China was a matter of major importance for which the United Nations held a great responsibility.”<sup>4</sup>

163. We also read in the same record that another member of a delegation proposing the draft resolution, Mr. El-Shibib of Iraq said:

“... that the question of China was of vital concern not only to his country, whose position on the matter was clear and well-known, but to world peace and the future of the United Nations.”<sup>5</sup>

164. We also read in the same record that Mr. Mojsov of Yugoslavia said:

“... that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was perhaps the most important issue facing the United Nations and the international community.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, General Committee, 191st meeting*, para. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 71.

165. Similar terms were used, with the intention of emphasizing the enormous importance of the question, by Mr. Shahi of Pakistan, Mr. Ecobescu of Romania, and Mr. Tomeh of the Syrian Arab Republic.

166. My delegation fails to understand how, in view of the statements made by such important members of the proposing delegations, and given the reasons expressed here in the same sense, it can be claimed that the Assembly should not catalogue as an important question this one which is raised in the draft resolution of Albania.

167. For the reasons I have advanced in regard to this procedural matter, my delegation has joined 21 other delegations to request the General Assembly that, naturally as a prior act to voting on the Albanian text, it should decide that any proposal, the result of which would be to deprive the Republic of China representation in the United Nations, is an important question in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter [*A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2*].

168. I appeal to all delegations, including those which support the Albanian proposal, to vote in favour of this procedural resolution which is so important.

169. I have said that our draft resolution that describes as an important question any matter, like the one included in the draft resolution of Albania, which would result in depriving the Republic of China of its lawful representation in the United Nations must, of course, be voted on first, because I assume that it will not be argued that a draft resolution that affects the way in which a substantive draft resolution will be voted upon and will determine the number of votes required for its adoption can be put to the vote after that draft resolution.

170. The precedents set in the General Assembly on this point are definitely favourable to the thesis I have just advocated. Whenever the question of the importance of an item for voting purposes has been raised, the Assembly has decided to resolve the procedural point first. As regards specifically the question of the representation of China and the expulsion of the representatives of the Government of Chiang Kai-shek, the Assembly has always decided, since 1961, that the procedural question should be voted on first. This has been so even in cases when the "important question" draft resolution was introduced after the draft resolution entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

171. I believe there is no valid reason whatsoever to alter the precedents established during 10 consecutive years. The delegations which are going to vote on the Albanian proposal have the right to know what will be the effect of their vote. Particularly, those who may have considered the possibility of abstaining must know in advance whether the question is to be defined as an important one or not, because only thus will they be able to assess the effect of their abstention as compared with their vote in favour or against.

172. I trust that the General Assembly will not, in this case, violate procedural principles which are so fundamental, and that accordingly it will vote first, and in favour of, the draft resolution which describes as an important question any draft resolution such as the one submitted by Albania and other delegations which would unjustly exclude from the United Nations the legitimate representatives of the Republic of China or Taiwan.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*