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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 93

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

1. Mr. MBEKEANI (Malawi): Mr. President, since the Malawi delegation did not participate in the general debate, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualities as a statesman are well known and will, I am sure, prove to be of great benefit to the membership in its efforts to resolve at this session certain crucial issues that directly affect the future of our Organization. At the same time, I also wish to associate my delegation with the richly deserved tributes that have been paid to Ambassador Evard Hambro of Norway for his skilful leadership of the General Assembly during last year's landmark session when we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

2. My delegation would also like to associate itself with the condemnation that was sounded on this rostrum yesterday of the shooting at the Soviet Union Mission. We, too, have been the victims of such bombings. However, we are grown-ups and we think we probably understand why. But shooting into a building in which innocent children are living is, in my delegation's opinion, unacceptable and should be condemned without any reservations. I should like to ask the delegation of the Soviet Union to convey the sympathy of my delegation to the children in question and to their mothers, and to say that we feel just as they do about this incident.

3. One of the crucial matters I referred to just now is of course the subject currently being debated under item 93 of the agenda—namely, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, which first became a live issue in 1949. In that year, major hostilities in the Chinese civil war came to an end. While General Chiang Kai-shek as head of the Government of the Republic of China remained firmly in control of the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of Chinese territory, the Communist Government of Mao Tse-tung, based in Peking, proclaimed the People's Republic of China on the mainland. But if actual fighting had ceased, the confrontation between the two

Governments had not, since each claimed to be the sole legitimate Government of China and pledged itself to bring the rest of the territory under its control; and this situation has remained the *status quo* for the past 22 years.

4. From the outset, the other nations of the world naturally took sides, some recognizing the Government based in Peking, others recognizing the Government based in Taipei, whether *de jure* or *de facto*. In the early years, recognition of one or other of the two Governments was largely determined by the cold-war confrontation; the Communist nations accorded recognition to the Government in Peking, while a substantial number of the non-communist countries recognized the Government in Taipei. As the Chiang Kai-shek Government, which had been in power in China at the time of the founding of our Organization, had continued to occupy China's seat in the Assembly and the Security Council, it was up to Peking to take the initiative in calling for a change in the representation of China—which it did in 1949 by requesting the President of the fourth session of the General Assembly to reject the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China.¹ With that request the controversy on the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations began. It immediately became a major cold-war issue and, throughout the ensuing 22 years, the United States led a successful drive to prevent any change in the existing representation of China.

5. The controversy may be said to have passed through three main phases. The first phase centred on the problem of establishing general criteria for settling disputes over the representation of States in the United Nations, which terminated with the adoption of resolution 396 (V) recommending that:

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

6. The second phase arose out of the efforts of the friends of the Republic of China continually to postpone discussion of an agenda item on the specific question of Chinese representation. These efforts were successfully maintained for 10 sessions and substantive debate did not start until 1961.

7. During the third phase, the controversy centred on the pros and cons of allowing the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations, which were argued out in relation to various provisions of the Charter.

¹ See document A/1123 (mimeographed).

8. However, in recent years, as cold war considerations gradually ceased to be a key factor in determining Members' attitudes on this issue, support for the entry of Peking steadily increased. The People's Republic of China, which possesses roughly a quarter of the world's population, had long since emerged as a potential super-Power and a growing number of States came to recognize that it is essential to include the Peking Government in United Nations deliberations on global problems, such as the maintenance of international peace and security, disarmament and economic development, if any meaningful results are to be achieved. A few months ago, President Nixon publicly declared his endorsement of that view, and, with the dramatic reversal of United States policy on the question of Chinese representation, all serious opposition to Peking's entry has been dispersed.

9. Hence, at the present session the controversy on the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations enters its fourth and probably final phase. The issue now in dispute concerns the manner in which the Assembly is to make provision for the People's Republic of China to take its place in the world body. This is a dispute which brings us face to face with the central conflict of principle that has always been at the base of our previous discussions, but which is for the first time stripped of all extraneous considerations. The decision that we make on this issue cannot help but have a bearing on the future character of our Organization and therefore should not be taken lightly, as it may well prove irreversible.

10. The essence of the conflict I am speaking of is embodied in two opposing draft resolutions that were submitted prior to the opening of the present debate. One of these drafts, contained in document A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, seeks to resolve the problem of Chinese representation by affirming the right of representation of the People's Republic of China in conjunction with the continued right of representation of the Republic of China, without taking a stand on the conflicting claims of the two Governments involved. This draft commends itself to my delegation as the only realistic and equitable solution possible in the circumstances, and we regard it as being fully in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter since it takes account of the principle of equal rights of peoples—in this case, the equal right of the citizens of both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China to have their respective Governments represented in the world body.

11. The other draft resolution, contained in document A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, in contrast, would have the Assembly take an explicit stand in favour of the Peking Government's claim that there is only one China, of which it is the sole lawful Government, and, on this basis, forthwith expel the representatives of the Taipei Government. But on what grounds can the Assembly legitimately declare the Peking Government to be the only lawful government of the whole of China, including the State of the Republic of China established in Taiwan? The truth is that that Government is not in *de facto* control of Taiwan and therefore cannot be said to represent its people. The only Government which is in control there is the Government of the Republic of China. Moreover, since Taiwan formed an integral part of the Republic of China as

constituted before the civil war under the Chiang Kai-shek Government, on what grounds can the Assembly legitimately deny this Government's right *de jure* to proclaim the continuance of the State of the Republic of China on that island?

12. In view of the fact that, for the past 22 years China has been divided into two quite separate States, each with its own long-established Government that has been accorded diplomatic recognition by a substantial number of other nations, it is difficult to understand how Peking and its friends can go on blandly asserting that there is only one China. Of course what they are really saying is that the division is undesirable and that there ought to be only one China, the People's Republic of China. Well, naturally they have a right to their beliefs, but they do not have the right to try and foist them upon the Assembly and insist that we make the undesirability of a divided China a value criterion in deciding the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. The desirability or undesirability of the present division of China should not enter into the picture at all, for there is nothing in the Charter forbidding the admission of States that once formed part of a single nation. All that the Assembly is legitimately entitled to do in the circumstances is to act on the basis of the situation as it is and, in a spirit of realism and equity, acknowledge the existence of two Chinese States, by making provision for the representation of the Governments of both. Should China once again become a united country, then these provisions may be adjusted accordingly; but in the view of my delegation the Assembly has absolutely no right under the Charter to ignore present realities and take a decision that seeks not only to anticipate the future emergence of a single State of China but also to determine in advance its lawful government.

13. As everyone knows, draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2 is essentially a replica of previous drafts which the friends of Peking have doggedly submitted each session for the past 10 years. Since becoming a Member of this Organization, Malawi has steadfastly refused to vote for this draft and our position remains unchanged. My Government has taken this stand in part out of a sense of loyalty to the Republic of China, which has been a good friend of Malawi from the moment we gained our independence. But even were there no special considerations of loyalty and friendship to take into account, we would still not wish to be associated with a resolution that so blatantly violates the spirit of equity enshrined in the purposes and principles of the Charter.

14. It is with considerable distress, then, that we observe that several Members which originally shared our attitude have in recent years changed course and given their vote to this undisguised pro-Peking draft, and that still others have announced their intention of doing so at the present session. Moreover, a number of these latter-day supporters of the draft—I am talking about the Albanian draft [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2]—in their anxiety to ensure its adoption, have also given notice that they will not vote for the procedural draft, contained in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, that would have the Assembly declare that any proposal 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. This

decision is particularly shocking to us, because the expulsion of Members is one of the questions specifically cited in Article 18, paragraph 2, as requiring settlement by a two-thirds-majority vote. I am of course aware that Peking's supporters side-step this issue by claiming, on the basis of their "one China" theory, that the Chiang Kai-shek delegation does not represent a legitimately constituted State and that therefore the question of the expulsion of a Member of the United Nations would not arise as a result of the adoption of a resolution that would replace this delegation by representatives of the People's Republic of China. This obnoxious piece of legalistic fabrication may have the virtue of consistency, but that is its only virtue. For who here really believes that it remotely corresponds to the reality of the situation as we see it today?

15. Personally, I am convinced that many of the newly converted supporters of the pro-Peking draft are deeply conscious of, and not a little troubled by, its inequities and have subscribed to it chiefly because they believe it is the only solution to the problem of Chinese representation that would gain Peking's ready acceptance. In other words, they have taken the pragmatic view that the need to bring Peking into the United Nations as rapidly as possible outweighs all other considerations. Now we in Malawi pride ourselves on being pragmatic, and able to accept unpalatable truths and compromises if the occasion demands. Nevertheless, we know also that the sacrifice of fundamental standards and values in the name of pragmatism often has an undesirable boomerang effect.

16. Before casting their votes for the pro-Peking draft, Members of this Organization should ponder long and hard on the possible adverse repercussions that could flow from a decision to adopt a solution to the problem of Chinese representation that is patently contrary to the principles of the Charter, for such a decision could well undermine respect for the Charter, both as a binding legal instrument and as the basis for guiding our future decisions on other issues.

17. Because Peking is fully aware that the majority of Members are eager to speed its participation in United Nations deliberations on major world issues, it not unnaturally feels it is in an excellent position to try to compel the Assembly to endorse its claim that it is the sole lawful Government of China. On the other hand, were the Assembly to make clear its firm intention to refuse to be pressured into making concessions touching the principles of the Charter, Peking would then be compelled in its turn to consider whether it was worth its while to continue to press its demands and remain outside the world body as a consequence. My delegation, for one, believes that in those circumstances Peking would be likely to decide that the practical advantages of joining the Organization were sufficiently important for it to accept the solution to the problem of Chinese representation proposed in draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, which accords to it China's seat as a permanent member of the Security Council and explicitly declares that the Assembly's decision to affirm the right of representation of the People's Republic of China in conjunction with the continued right of representation of the Republic of China is taken without prejudice to the eventual settlement of the conflicting claims of the two Governments involved. By leaving the

matter of the conflicting claims an open issue, that draft resolution would enable the People's Republic of China to take its place in the United Nations without compromising its own position in that regard. For that reason my delegation is convinced that Peking would within a very short time agree to join the Organization on the basis of the provisions of draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 and that there are therefore no grounds whatsoever for the Assembly to contemplate allowing Peking to dictate its own terms of entry, which would require us to turn our backs on the principles of equity enshrined in our Charter.

18. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 and also in favour of the procedural draft resolution contained in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, and it will vote against the pro-Peking draft resolution contained in document A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, which seeks to expel an existing lawful Member of the United Nations, namely, the Republic of China.

19. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Last year, when the General Assembly considered the item "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", my delegation pointed out [*1908th meeting*] that the discussions on that item had in fact already been concluded; that the debate that year would prove the complete bankruptcy of the policy which North American imperialism has imposed on this General Assembly over two decades, a policy of discrimination against the People's Republic of China which had in practice deprived that State, a founder Member of the United Nations, of the exercise of its rights within the Organization.

20. We also pointed out that, lacking any argument and being definitely defeated on the political level in this Organization, the United States was left with only procedural resources and manoeuvres to prevent the Assembly from adopting concurrent decisions with the assent of the majority of its Members.

21. The result of the voting last year [*1913th meeting*] on the draft resolution which Cuba sponsored and which would have restored the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China² proved that that affirmation was true. Most members of this Assembly proclaimed themselves resolutely in favour of the immediate restoration of all its rights to the People's Republic of China and the immediate expulsion of the group which, lacking any claim or any legal basis to represent either China or any other State here, has for 20 years usurped the seat which belongs to a founder Member of the United Nations—China.

22. This year the Assembly can once again observe the total bankruptcy of the anti-China policy which has been followed for 20 years by the United States. Once again the Assembly faces a situation which is the same as it was last year—and one might even say that in substance it is the same as that which it has had to consider for two decades: either the Assembly reaffirms the majority vote taken in 1970 in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2—the only one which settles a problem that should have

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 97, document A/L.605.

been solved as long ago as 1949—or else it once again falls under North American pressure and by procedural contrivances once again prevents the People's Republic of China from exercising its lawful rights as a Member.

23. At this very hour when claims are made by certain delegations who have in the past applied the anti-China policy and who now try to present us with a new approach or a more realistic view of the question, it is fitting to recall the process which this item has undergone in this Organization so that we may distinctly see how the attitude of today, the manoeuvre of today, seeks but the same objectives as those sought since 1949, when the efforts to deny the People's Republic of China the right to exercise its sovereign rights within this Organization began.

24. From 1949 to 1961 North American imperialism, and those within this Assembly hall who followed its policy, have refused even to include in the agenda the item regarding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. During those 12 years there was no problem for them regarding the representation of China in the United Nations; the Taiwan régime was the only representative of the State of China within and outside this Organization. In 1961, because of the changes which had taken place within this Organization by virtue of the process of decolonization, which meant the addition of new, independent States from Africa and Asia, they were compelled to accept the inclusion of the item, "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." But, starting at that time, they introduced a new procedure to deny the people of China the exercise of its rights. The problem which never existed for 12 years became, starting in 1961, an "important question," as defined in the Charter. And with this procedural argument the Assembly has been prevented from taking a decision in accordance with what the majority of its membership, as well as the majority of the members of the international community, thinks, feels and wishes.

25. For years, by calumnies against the People's Republic of China, trying to make it appear to be a State that did not meet the necessary requirements to become a Member of this Organization, they attempted to deny the rights of the People's Republic. Now that they have been definitely defeated on the political level and are even concerned that they might not obtain the necessary majority to impose the traditional procedural resolution, we face a rather curious situation in which an attempt is being made to confuse this Assembly regarding the so-called expulsion of a Member State by the submission of another procedural draft resolution [*A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2*] which would call for a two-thirds majority vote, no longer for any proposal intended to change the representation of China, as they have demanded for a whole decade, but only for any proposal intended to deprive what they call the Republic of China of representation.

26. The purpose of the 1971 manoeuvres is still the same as that of the aggression against China in 1949 and the anti-China policy within this Organization for 22 years: to refuse to recognize sovereign decisions taken by the people of China 22 years ago when, by means of a profound revolutionary movement, they changed the existing social régime in that country, completely liquidated the Chiang Kai-shek clique and established the people's régime.

27. In the past there has been much insistence on the significance of this historical fact of the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek régime. It only takes a little thinking, for the purposes of this debate, to evaluate the alleged representativeness of the refugees sheltered by the Yankee Seventh Fleet when we remember that, in one of the largest territories in the world, the people of China inch by inch defeated the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was not able to hold even one millimetre of the territory of continental China and has lasted until today solely because of the North American military occupation of the island of Taiwan and of the strait which separates that island from the continental part of the territory of China. The fact that there still subsists a régime defeated by its people in a part of Chinese territory is not a source of rights but, on the contrary, obvious proof that for 22 years North American imperialism has been committing aggression against the people and Government of China, an aggression that continues to this day and that, far from creating rights 22 years ago, is as illegal and reprehensible today as it was in 1949. My delegation does not accept that as the basis for any so-called realism or any so-called legitimacy for the defeated régime. The Chiang Kai-shek clique subsists in Taiwan only to remind us that North American imperialism, violating the Charter of this Organization, intervened in the internal affairs of China, invaded a Chinese province, and occupied it militarily so as to maintain there a clique which could not hold even an inch of one of the largest territories on earth. The fact that that clique subsists today simply indicates to us that there is a continued violation of the Charter of the Organization, that the principles of international law in that area are still being violated and that there continues to be an aggressive, interfering attitude towards the people of China which cannot and must not be the source of any right.

28. My delegation throughout a decade has maintained an unalterable position of principle in regard to this problem. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. That is enshrined in the Charter of our Organization and therefore it is a definition that is binding on us all. Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, as was recognized in important international documents at the time, and even before, the Charter was adopted. For us, the problem today is still, as it was in the past, to restore to the People's Republic of China its full rights in this Organization and, consequently, as a measure that is indissolubly linked to that restoration, to expel forthwith the usurpers who, without any right at all, have occupied that seat for more than 20 years.

29. Accordingly, my delegation categorically rejects any interpretation or manoeuvre designed to promote in the Assembly the so-called thesis of "two Chinas", or "one China, one Taiwan." There is, and historically there has always been, only one Chinese people, one nation, one State. Foreign intervention, which has sought to segregate a province from that territory, can never be a valid justification to accord to that territory, separated by force, any national character or any sovereignty.

30. The "two Chinas" thesis, furthermore, implies interference in the internal affairs of that country, a threat to the territorial integrity of States; it would serve to perpetuate the military occupation of Taiwan and compel the Assembly to condone Yankee aggression against China.

31. My delegation believes that the Assembly must, once and for all, liquidate the North American endeavour to force States Members to march in step with its imperialistic and aggressive policy. Many States went along with the United States during the decade when the Chinese problem did not exist and they went along with the United States later when it became an "important question" for them under the Charter. It is to be hoped that now, when the United States, whose anti-China policy has been totally liquidated, is manoeuvring in a way which evinces the weakness and the bankruptcy of the policy, many Member States will not continue to go along with the United States until the sorry end of its reprehensible anti-China policy in this Organization.

32. As in the past, my delegation has joined a group of Member States of this Organization in proposing the adoption of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2.

33. I should now like to make a few comments on the two draft resolutions submitted by the United States of America in documents A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2. To say the least, those documents reflect a certain haste, a haste perhaps caused by the inability of the North American delegation to manoeuvre in present conditions, when it is aware that an overwhelming majority of the Assembly is pronouncing itself in favour of the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. But we think that before voting Member States should ponder about the texts submitted to them, not only to interpret what may be hidden behind the words, but also to watch over the prestige of our Organization when decisions are adopted.

34. Draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 starts with a preambular paragraph that is, really, disconcerting. Now it turns out that in 1971 the North American delegation proposes a sentence which reads: "*Noting* that since the founding of the United Nations fundamental changes have occurred in China". First of all, reference to the founding date of the United Nations seems to us perhaps to imply some dangerous conclusions. If the United States is referring to the changes which have occurred in China because of the action taken by the Chinese people, who radically changed the course of the history of that country, then it would be simply noting now something which a group of States have for 22 years in the Assembly been pointing out to the United States and to those who have acted in the same manner as the United States. So it is quite ridiculous to propose now that the General Assembly should come to discover the historical fact of the revolution in China, which occurred in 1949, that is to say, some years after the founding of the United Nations. But if the reference to the founding of the United Nations is intended to bring into question the agreements and commitments regarding the territorial integrity of the Chinese State entered into by the great Powers during the Second World War and confirmed *de facto* when the Charter was signed, my delegation would like to draw the attention of representatives to the implications which such an affirmation might have. First of all, the paragraph is so ambiguous as to make it impossible to reach any definite conclusion from it at this stage.

35. Then, in another sentence which is quite obscure—in the next paragraph—we read: "*Having regard* for the

existing factual situation". Now, the factual situation is not a current one. We have already said that, in fact, the United States of America has been intervening in the internal affairs of China and militarily occupying a province of that country for 22 years now. This is the only fact in regard to the text of the draft resolution. So that this is not an "existing" situation, but a situation as old as the problem the Assembly is considering.

36. The fourth preambular paragraph states: "*Believing* that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations", but then further on, operative paragraph 1, which apparently is related to the preambular paragraph I have mentioned, states: "*Hereby affirms* the right of representation of the People's Republic of China and recommends that it be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council". In Spanish the text reads: "recommends that it take its"—I repeat "its"—"seat". Now, if the United States believes, according to the fourth preambular paragraph, that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations and if, in accordance with operative paragraph 1, it should take its seat, what this text suggests, then, is that we restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful seat, because, according to the text in Spanish it is "its seat"; a seat which, however, it has not yet occupied.

37. On the other hand, if "its seat" is defined as the one which belongs to one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and my delegation agrees with that, this means recognizing that the People's Republic of China is the State which is mentioned in Article 23 of the Charter and which is, therefore, as we and other delegations have maintained, a founding Member of this Organization, whose rights and the exercise thereof have been obstructed for two decades.

38. If this is so, it is appropriate to ask: to what State does operative paragraph 2 of the North American draft resolution refer and whose right of representation in this Assembly would be continued? After having affirmed that the People's Republic of China should be represented here and after having explicitly stated that its seat is that of a permanent member of the Security Council, the only logical conclusion is that the People's Republic of China is that State of China, a founding Member of the United Nations, mentioned in Article 23 of the Charter, and that, therefore, there is no room within this Organization for any other Chinese State which, furthermore, is non-existent.

39. What right of representation would continue for a State which not only does not exist, but whose entry into the Organization has never been considered or proposed by the North American delegation?

40. On the other hand, I must point out that draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 contains an even greater contradiction than the other North American draft resolution. This draft resolution is very brief; its preambular paragraph specifically and precisely refutes what its only operative paragraph states. After recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations—and as we have seen in the other North American draft resolution this should compel us to restore the People's Republic of China to its lawful seat—it affirms that the General Assembly should

decide that any proposal which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation is an important question. If there were a minimum of consistency and of strict logic on the part of the authors of both draft resolutions, the requirement for a two-thirds majority should apply to any proposal which would result in depriving the State whose seat is that of one of the five permanent members of the Security Council of its representation in the United Nations, the State which is now recognized as one of those mentioned in Article 23 of the Charter.

41. Therefore, those North American draft resolutions should lead us to consider that if any special majority ought to have been required here during all these years, it should have been required not to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, but to violate the United Nations Charter for 22 years, thus excluding from our endeavours the delegation of a State whose seat is the one referred to in Article 23 of the Charter as that of a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations.

42. My delegation wishes to bring out what is meant, in our opinion, by inviting this Assembly to take decisions such as those proposed in the United States draft resolution [A/L.633 and Add.¹ and 2]. The People's Republic of China is the product and consequence of the history of the Chinese people, of the development of its revolutionary struggle against imperialist oppression and a feudal past which has been liquidated forever in almost all of the Chinese territory, and thus it is the result of the self-determination of the Chinese people, the consequence of a sovereign decision of that people, which buried for all time the colonial, dependent past of China, represented here by the Chiang Kai-shek emissaries. No one, no Member State, nor the international community as a whole, no one, I repeat, has the right to question the sovereign decision of a people to change its institutions, to overthrow a reactionary régime and to move forward on the road of revolution and development. The only one who is authorized to change its representation in the United Nations, the only legal basis to replace representatives who have been speaking here on behalf of the Chinese State, was and is the Chinese people themselves.

43. Today, after 22 years, some who have been affected with a myopic condition for decades, have begun to perceive that fundamental changes have occurred in China. They commence to perceive them when all of mankind has been aware of them and when scores of States have recognized the reality of the People's Republic of China and have accepted the sovereign decision of its people in 1949 to sweep away the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Nevertheless, while through formal lip-service a concession is made to confuse the Assembly, an attempt is also made to retain, together with this living reality created by the Chinese people through its own century-old struggle and the sacrifices of the people during the civil war, the ghosts of the past, those whom the Chinese people have overthrown for all time.

44. My delegation considers that the so-called expulsion of a Member State with which this Assembly is being threatened should not be a reason for small states to be

concerned. What should be a reason for concern is that, during almost a quarter of a century of the life of this Organization a founding Member of it has been excluded, a Member which, as in 1945, should have been here starting in 1949, represented by the legitimate envoys whom its people decided to send to this Headquarters. What should be a reason for concern to all States is the perpetuation of a policy whose only origin and only significance is an anti-China attitude, a hostility towards that great people, and aggression against the people of the Far East in general. What should be of concern to States Members is not the so-called expulsion of a Member, which nobody is proposing, but that that Member's seat be really returned to its representatives, since it is now occupied by private persons, like those who sometimes invade our meeting rooms and are expelled by the security forces of the United Nations and have just as much legal right to represent Member States. What should concern this Assembly is that at this stage that aggressive policy against the people of China continues, and that the Organization is being forced to adopt decisions that are intended to make it a partner in the policy of interfering in the internal affairs of China. The question of Taiwan is an internal affair of the Chinese people. Its only international aspect is the fact that North American troops continue to occupy that Chinese province and the strait which separates it from continental China. It would be very grave indeed, and the consequences definitely very dangerous for small States, if this Assembly were to condone the North American attempt to separate a province from the territory of a Member State, to create a legal fiction without even following the ritual procedures laid down in the Charter, and to impose on us here a Member which does not exist, which has not been sent by any people on earth, which has no place on earth or in history after the sovereign decision taken by the Chinese people 22 years ago, and which still exists as a defeated political grouping only because of the protection of the North American bayonets.

45. My delegation appeals to States desirous of strengthening their independence and sovereignty, to States interested in strengthening the role of this Organization in its task of preserving international peace and security, to act once and for all in accordance with the interests of this Organization, of justice, and of respect for the fundamental principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, and to begin with respecting—even though it is 22 years later—the sovereign right which the Chinese people historically exercised in an undeniable manner many years ago when they changed their representation in this Organization.

46. Let us teach those who would try to ignore the realities of history, those who attempt to place in the seat reserved for sovereign peoples and their representatives cliques which have been historically defeated and liquidated by this people that the majority in this Assembly aspires to have the principles of the Charter fully reflected here and to have its membership made up of legitimate envoys of the nations which constitute the United Nations.

47. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, in his statement of 7 October [1957th meeting], announced the position of my country with regard to the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations. In imple-

menting this point of view, my delegation has sponsored draft resolutions A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2. This brief statement will be but an explanation of the vote of Bolivia and the reasons why we have taken a specific position in a problem of as much importance to the Organization as it is to peace and security throughout the world.

48. First of all, it seems to me to be essential to emphasize a particular circumstance which has been pointed out by other delegations, namely, that the General Assembly vote could give rise to a transitory solution which would consist, on the one hand, in admitting the People's Republic of China and, on the other, in maintaining the status of Member for the Republic of China. This situation, whether transitory or not, appears to be indispensable in order to maintain the fundamental concept that only one China exists—a point on which both Governments, that of Peking and that of Taiwan, certainly agree. Thus, the later and final solution of the problem would be up to the two peoples and Governments I have mentioned.

49. I shall deliberately refrain from going into the technical, legal or political aspects of that position, but, on the other hand, I should like to make a statement in order to avoid any confusion regarding my Government's position. If in the near or distant future, the *de facto* situation now existing in regard to the problem of the representation of China—a situation which has persuaded my Government, as well as others, to vote in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China to this Assembly and to the Security Council as a permanent member and also to oppose the expulsion of the Republic of China—should be changed by the two Governments concerned, such an agreement would be unobjectionable to us whenever it occurred because of the principle of self-determination. If, on the other hand, this *de facto* situation, which justifies the vote of the Assembly, were to change in the future because of decisions alien to either of the two Governments I have mentioned and if, as a result of such decisions, we were to be faced with the demand to expel the Republic of China or not to admit the People's Republic of China, the Government of Bolivia would not change its present position and would maintain the same position of principle as it does now.

50. The reasons of principle which guide our conduct on the admission of the People's Republic of China to the Organization, including the Security Council, are the same as those which have been mentioned repeatedly by other delegations. Universality in the United Nations cannot be achieved if a State is excluded which has 25 per cent of the inhabitants of the earth, which has a territory equivalent in size to a continent, and which, furthermore, is a nuclear Power and an essential factor for economic and social development in the world not only today, but also in the foreseeable future.

51. Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that for more than 20 years that country has had an organized Government which controls its territory and population and functions under an economic, legal and political system which it set up for itself and which is not unique in the present-day world.

52. Finally, we all know that that State maintains normal diplomatic relations with more than 60 nations in the world.

53. Given these realities, it would be dangerous, artificial and inexplicable to maintain the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations.

54. The Republic of China, for its part, is an organized Government which controls the island of Formosa with a population of 14 million inhabitants and which functions under a social, legal and political régime, which is not unique either. That Government in turn maintains diplomatic relations with 60 other States. It was one of the founders of the United Nations and, throughout the life of the Organization, has completely fulfilled the obligations which it contracted when signing the Charter.

55. My delegation believes that a vote in this Assembly, particularly by a mere simple majority, is not sufficient to cause the disappearance from the map of the world of a State which exists in reality. The precedent which might be created thereby is of profound concern to my country. It may be that it will never be applicable to the great Powers but, because of circumstantial political convenience, it might be applicable in the case of the small countries.

56. In addition to the reasons of principle that I have mentioned, we have interests, both current and foreseeable, that are equally valid for both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. Despite the geographical distance which separates us from Asia, we have in common with the People's Republic of China the fact that we are two of the most important producers of antimony in the world, as well as of tungsten and other minerals. We compete in the world market, and since there are no relations or agreements between our two countries, that competition frequently proves ruinous. In Bolivia there are many hundreds of medium-sized and small companies exploiting antimony and tungsten and employing thousands of workers who depend, for their well-being and advancement, on the market price of those minerals. Furthermore, the export of those basic commodities is an important factor in the economy and the trade of my country. We are therefore interested in reaching an agreement with the People's Republic of China with regard to the production of antimony and other minerals in such a way that, without detriment to the consumer, we can maintain remunerative prices. With its entry into this Organization, we hope that some negotiation on this subject will be possible, for this problem is of interest to that country as well.

57. As regards the Republic of China, a State with which we have maintained diplomatic relations for many years, we also have certain economic interests in common. The considerable experience gained in the cultivation of certain products on the island of Taiwan has proved useful to us, thanks to a programme of mutual co-operation and technical assistance in agriculture.

58. Finally, I should like to say a few words concerning the procedural problem. My delegation will vote in favour of the priority requested for draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, of which we are a sponsor, and we shall also

vote in favour of the requirement for a two-thirds majority in any decision to expel the Republic of China.

59. Despite the obvious procedural character of both proposals, it would be illusory and deceitful to limit them to that. It is present in the minds of all that a vote on those points of procedure will have a decisive effect on the substantive problem. It is that conviction which determines the conduct of my delegation, above and beyond any technical or legal argument. Our vote on the procedural questions will be prompted by a desire to attain results that will bring about, as their final effect, a practical, equitable solution in accord with our convictions and our interests in the substantive question, so that the admission of the People's Republic of China will not lead to the expulsion of the Republic of China.

60. Mr. MONDJO (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): I find myself in the comfortable position of one who is participating in a clear debate, with a clear conscience and with conviction and determination equally clear.

61. This enables me from the outset to say, on behalf of my delegation, that of the People's Republic of the Congo, that the undoubtedly brilliant theatrical effects that may impress propagandized national opinion but which mean nothing to our Organization and which are and will remain completely out of place in this debate, the pretences, the pressures, the quibbling aimed at leading us astray, the combinations deriving from the same procedures of 20 years ago which today, just as yesterday, continue to misuse the same illusions—that all these will take no hold and have no effect on the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo.

62. Some as you know, for lack of a serious basis in law, in common sense and in reason, shamelessly hide behind the easy protection of procedure—I almost said their procedure—and now, more and more, behind arrogance and even contempt.

63. As far as we are concerned, we are convinced that all these manoeuvres that we know so well are, from now on, doomed to the most abject failure. The problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can no longer, despite the last-ditch efforts of the enemies of the Chinese people, be buried under a heap of mendacious myths. Neither draft resolutions involving a so-called hard majority, nor fruitless attempts at so-called merger, all of which compromise principles, nor financial blackmail, nor amendments aiming at the creation of total obfuscation will serve any purpose.

64. For the Revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of the Congo, there can remain no doubt, no moment whatsoever of hesitation in this matter, for the elements involved are crystal-clear: there is only one China and the island of Taiwan is an integral and inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. The wild claims of the Chiang Kai-shek clique no longer succeed in convincing even their guardian angels in Washington, because the whole world has come to realize the total sterility and the pathological danger that these plans present to the international community. It is therefore urgent, for it is a matter

of public sanitation, to put an end to this gross fiction by expelling outright these usurpers who have betrayed the Chinese nation.

65. What do the enemies of the People's Republic of China claim today? Let us try to separate a bit of grain from the chaff.

66. After having for a long time loudly claimed that the only government worthy of representing the great Chinese people was that of the so-called authorities in Taipei, the representative of the United States of America this year comes before us with an innovation which I fear—unfortunately for him—will not be very successful, for the excellent reasons that various speakers have already set forth from this rostrum. The representative of the United States, who unquestionably has a gift for semantic exercises, abandoning the well-travelled road of his predecessors, comes before us and blithely asks us to accept his well-known notion of “dual representation”, which, he says, is diametrically opposed to the equally well-known concept of “two Chinas” or “one China, one Taiwan”. This whole intellectual construction is, in our opinion, only one more manoeuvre designed to take us in.

67. Several speakers have asked the substantive question which can lead to the only correct settlement of this matter. The problem of representation of China in the United Nations, need I recall, stresses the consequences of the international juridical personality of the State. Despite revolutionary changes which were more than healthy and made it possible to checkmate the internal and external enemies of the Chinese people, the continuity of the Chinese State could at no time be doubted. China, a founding Member of the United Nations, in any case does not have to come here and knock at our door to obtain its admission.

68. But we are being told by some that two Governments claim to represent the whole of China and to be authorized to appoint representatives to the various United Nations bodies. From the point of view of law, logic and reason, which is the Government of China? Despite all kinds of pressure and manoeuvres everybody knows today that the only Government actually representing the great Chinese people, is and can only be, the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is now pitifully settled in the Chinese island of Formosa in conditions well known to everyone thanks to the military, economic and financial support of American imperialism which perpetuates its aggression against the Chinese people, represents nobody. We have often repeated that here. All the sentimental statements about the merits, the docility, the servility of these usurpers are a matter of utter indifference to us. The problem of these Chinese citizens is an internal problem which is exclusively within the pale of the Government and people of China. We who often speak of the Charter should start by respecting it. Let us respect the political independence and territorial sovereignty of other States, even if for the time being our power seems to be terrifying.

69. As to the lame argument often adduced by the so-called government in Formosa, which reproaches the Chinese Government with being Communist, we can only

smile. So far as we know there is no trace in the Charter of any provision forbidding Communists from belonging to this Organization.

70. Furthermore, Taipei and those who unfortunately continue to listen to all these unfounded and interminable quibblings accuse the Chinese Government of being in the forefront of subversion in Asia and Africa and flagrantly ignore, or hold in contempt, the gigantic work of national reconstruction undertaken for over 20 years by the Chinese revolution. I think it would be useful to say a few words about well-known facts to put the slanderers in their place.

71. In his speech marked by visceral and retrograde anti-communism—of course, he has to please his masters—the so-called representative of the so-called Government of China dares to give lessons in democracy to the People's Republic of China. Of course, democracy has become a visiting card for all Governments even if it is deprived in fact of its appeal. If in the euphoria of technical progress in the consumer societies democracy is tantamount to an ever-greater plundering of the majority by a minority of the wealthy and the "haves", we understand that this concept has ever fewer chances since it is doomed to have no future. We all know the essentially popular nature of the power in China. It is an advanced example of the rainbow of deep wishes of the working masses, who themselves take part in the power, have been freed from the shackles of former enslavement and show exemplary self-discipline.

72. But let us leave those thoughts, which could lead us astray. It is easy for the refugees in Taiwan to give lessons to others. I did not want to refute all the mistakes in the statement made by Mr. Chow, but when he incautiously said that the Peking régime "has kept itself in power through torture and terror, surveillance and intimidation" [1967th meeting, para. 37], we must remind him that the Kuomintang was a Government of inextricable intrigues. We must remind him of the terrible activities of the war lords and of the demented massacres, organized by avid and bloody *condottieri*. Mr. Chow has probably not forgotten the date of 12 April 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek undertook the most barbarous witch hunt in Shanghai; labour leaders, progressive students and advanced elements of that great city were all exterminated with unprecedented cruelty. So let us not give others lessons in non-violence. Chiang Kai-shek, captured in the former imperial city of Sian, was freed thanks to the generosity of the Communists which you execrate today. Since you speak of history, please give us history in a more objective version.

73. In any case, all this slander is in vain. It is nobody's fault—certainly not that of the Communists—if Chiang Kai-shek, in his limited militarism and his ticklish despotism, sold as he is to bankers, exploiters and antinational renegades, has been expelled and is abhorred by the great Chinese people, who have known the explosion of the most avid and fierce cupidity, a people who were the victims of the most barbarous colonialist exploitation known to history.

74. The Chinese people has for ever turned its back on the China of monstrous profit, the China of plundering soldiery and exploiter landlords tyrannizing poor peasants, bureaucrats, prosperous outlaws, war lords and bandits of all kinds

allied to the Kuomintang, who imposed their ruinous yoke upon the people.

75. Since the great revolution of 1 October 1949 the first people in the world have constantly piled up remarkable achievements in all fields—economic, cultural, social, technological and others. The People's Republic of China has become today the beacon lighting up the east, the living example of achievements which can be accomplished by proletarian nations provided they break the chains of the past and mobilize their efforts for the improvement of the working masses. This, gentlemen, is unadulterated truth.

76. To conclude, I should like to make two quotations. First, that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of my country who, from this rostrum on 6 October 1971, tried to tranquillize all those who listen to the systematic campaign of denigration which is orchestrated against the People's Republic of China, gratuitously accused of being the spearhead of aggression and subversion in Asia and Africa. Minister Ickonga said:

"... the Chinese people, guided by its outstanding leader, Mac Tse-tung, desires only one thing: to draw closer to the other peoples of the world, to co-operate with them in all sincerity, in a completely disinterested spirit, strictly observing the sacred principles of equality among States, great or small, mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries." [1955th meeting, para. 257.]

Mr. Ickonga continued:

"In so far as the Congolese people is concerned, we are gratified by the degree of fruitful co-operation and the sincere friendship which have bound us with the Chinese people for over seven years now. In the context of these extremely friendly relations, we have come to know the Chinese people, whose modesty and creative capacity need no praise and should serve as an example to more than one Government which, undoubtedly through ignorance... believes that the greatness of a country can only be measured by the number of its inhabitants, forgetting in so doing that the will to build itself up in peace... and the capacity to create its own independent existence also serve to increase the strength and greatness of a people." [Ibid., para. 258.]

77. Secondly, Prime Minister Chou En-Lai, during the recent visit to China of Emperor Haile Selassie, whose positive contribution and perseverance with regard to the crucial problem of decolonization of our continent we highly welcome, said a few days ago: "The Asian and African peoples must realize, under the flag of the Bandung Conference, the five principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, must maintain friendly relations, must remain united and must support each other."

78. What more can be said? It is now for the representatives to judge. It is my duty to ask you actively to take part in the restoration of the lawful rights of the greatest people in the world, which asks only to co-operate, to live in peace, with the other nations on our planet. It is by voting massively in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1

and 2 that we shall make our contribution to the triumph of justice and truth and the strengthening of international peace and security.

79. Draft resolutions A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, which the United States strives desperately to impose on the General Assembly, must be rejected out of hand. The coming generations will be grateful to us.

80. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this session of the General Assembly three draft resolutions have been submitted on agenda item 93, "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". One of them, appearing in document A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, in its preamble, affirms "that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations". It asks us to recognize "that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council" and to restore to it the rights deriving from its status as a Member and to expel the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, both from the United Nations and from all the organizations related to it. The representative of Saudi Arabia has proposed amendments to that draft resolution and they are contained in document A/L.637.

81. The second draft resolution, which is contained in document A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, would have us recognize that since the founding of the United Nations, of whose Charter the Government of the Republic of China is one of the first signatories, fundamental changes have occurred in that country which constitute undeniable historical facts. It also calls for the continued representation of the Republic of China in all United Nations events and activities, as has been the case from 1945 to date. It further considers that the People's Republic of China should be represented in this world body.

82. The presence of two antagonists poses a delicate problem for our Organization in which the United Nations must act as a harmonizing centre in the search for an equitable solution for both Governments.

83. The same draft resolution affirms:

"... the right of representation of the People's Republic of China and recommends that it be ... one of the five permanent members of the Security Council";

it maintains the right of representation for the Republic of China and

"*Recommends* that all United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies take into account the provisions of this resolution in deciding the question of Chinese representation."

84. The third draft resolution, contained in document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, of which the delegation of Nicaragua is one of the sponsors, requests the following decision:

"*The General Assembly,*

"...

"*Decides* 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".

This is not a matter of voting on the question of what is or is not in compliance with the Charter, but of determining that the question of China is important and must be governed by that Article.

85. Article 18 of the Charter stipulates that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, and mentions specifically as important questions: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council and of the Trusteeship Council, the admission of new Members to or their expulsion from the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, and questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system and budgetary questions.

86. In the opinion of the delegation of Nicaragua, most of these elements mentioned as important questions in Article 18 are present in the case of the State of China, and consequently Article 18 is applicable to any draft resolution on the question; particularly to the one calling for the expulsion of a Member State, which requires the two-thirds majority ordered in the Charter.

87. The draft resolutions which propose specific solutions for the question of China have undeniable repercussions both on the future of the international order as well as on the functioning of the United Nations.

88. From the well-documented statements made here in defence of the two theses, one infers that there is no need to give further arguments to support the contention that Article 18 is applicable to draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2. The arguments and reasoning of the two sides are in themselves a sufficient demonstration that we cannot close our eyes to the reality that we are bringing before the conscience of the world a very far-reaching problem, not simply an important one.

89. No State Member of the Organization—and this is all the more true of the small nations, which in the United Nations have the best guarantee for their participation in the international order—could look on with indifference if so vital a question as the expulsion of a founding Member of the Organization were to be dealt with as anything but an important question. This resolution would have the characteristics of those events which are unusual, which constitute milestones in the process of the historical development of mankind.

90. Many precepts of international law will have to be quoted, upheld or revised to find a harmonious solution which cannot be limited to the geographical and political area of China, but will have to be broadened to the context of the world situation. That is what the Foreign Minister of

my country said in his recent address to the General Assembly:

"If the incorporation of the People's Republic of China, with millions of people and the immense potential of its age-old culture, is justified by the principle of universality, if that same principle also justifies the permanent membership of free peoples, such as the people of Nationalist China, whose permanence in our Organization ought to be ensured, the achievement of this principle of universality justifies acceleration of the process of decolonization, so that new peoples having received international recognition of their right to be free and sovereign can become members of the universal concert for which we are working in order to bring about the rule of freedom and justice in the world." [1957th meeting, para. 44.]

91. Before our conscience there is not only the fact of when a State has ceased to be a State, or when a new State has been born, of which Government represents a State whose legal integrity continues despite an internal change, by whatever means it is manifested—because of the sovereign will of its people or because of the triumph of a revolutionary situation or a condition. We are not asked solely to decide whether a potential physical reduction of the jurisdiction of a State or the diminution of its juridical personality as a whole in more intangible but no less important aspects than its physical frontiers constitutes an important question. We are facing not only the alternative of authorizing or not authorizing by our vote the separation of a part of the territory of a State in order to recognize the insurgency of another in the concert of nations, for this is a phenomenon which is not uncommon in the history of this century of convulsions. All of these elements are present in the case we are considering because the problem before us is a further phase in the eternal human struggle to maintain a form of definition, and if there is one group which has succeeded in preserving this definition for more than 20 years, whatever this group may be, we can hardly embark without deep thought on a course of ignoring this fact and authorizing its legal extinction by giving our moral support to its condemnation.

92. The defenders of the thesis that the People's Republic of China should be incorporated into our Organization have adduced in favour of their point of view reasons which the Foreign Minister of my country accepted in advance in the statement I have quoted.

93. Nicaragua does not deny, nor could it deny, that more than 700 million people with a governmental régime which, for more than 20 years, has proved its effectiveness and control over a major part of the territory and population of China should be represented in the United Nations.

94. To deny this would mean closing our eyes to irrefutable facts in the contemporary world. These are the ever-wider participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China in world affairs, the growth of an economic system whose presence in the world is undeniable, and the growing number of Governments which recognize the legal existence of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

95. We therefore do not object to, but recognize, the soundness of the arguments which are held by those who

defend the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Nevertheless, as was pointed out in his statement by the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica [1966th meeting], it is an historical fact that is equally undeniable that the Governments of the world have in the last 20 years been dealing with two Governments which claim equal rights over the State of China. Both have the internal and external elements which are characteristic of genuine States, independently of one another, a *de facto* situation which can only be settled by an agreement between the parties, an agreement which it is an obligation of the United Nations to encourage, so that it be reached by peaceful means.

96. It is very difficult to understand how the United Nations could encourage a peaceful form of settlement of the problem of China if, as a precondition for the continued presence or entry of either Government, the other has to be expelled. To do this without the calmest attention and careful recognition of its formidable importance would mean placing the United Nations in a difficult situation for the exercise of its functions and the attainment of its purposes in the future.

97. Whatever solution may be adopted favouring one of the parties would mean giving the moral support of the United Nations to the favoured party so that in the future it will be able to exercise or seek a solution against the party which was not favoured by the United Nations, which implies for our international Organization a responsibility of such great historical scope that it is equally obvious that this has to be considered to be a most important question.

98. Having carefully listened to the arguments of the representative of the United States of America [1966th meeting], we feel that he has shed new light on the problem which the Organization faces today on the question of China. The argument he advanced, that this question could be dealt with by maintaining the representation of the two Governments in the same way that there has been multiple representation here of Governments which formed part of larger legal entities, is in itself worthy of respect. With this expedient, we guarantee the non-interference of the United Nations in the international affairs of a State, we encourage the use of peaceful means for the internal settlement of the dispute of the two legal entities and, implicitly, this proscribes the use of force between two States Members of our Organization.

99. The delegation of Nicaragua has at all times recognized with sympathy the wisdom of the provisions of Article 13 of the Charter. The cases mentioned in it as important are important beyond doubt, but if 26 years ago we held that budgetary questions were in the category of important questions for the Organization, to deny today that the destiny of the Republic of China, a founding Member of this Organization, a worthy nation for many reasons, is not at least in an equal category would be to deny the very nature of the United Nations.

100. Nicaragua does not invoke the application of Article 18 further to delay the solution of this problem. There are many world problems which have taken longer to resolve and there is more than one State which has taken decades to reach its goals in the world order.

101. We are facing a question in which the issue of peace is at stake, as well as security and justice among the peoples of the world. This is a problem whose solution involves the ability of the United Nations to set standards of fairness for the benefit of mankind.

102. For those reasons, without going into any further pronouncements and restricting the discussion on the question of China solely to the issue of important questions, Nicaragua considers that any proposal in the General Assembly the result of which would be to deprive the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter, and that consequently it must have the approval of two thirds of the Members present and voting.

103. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): At this late stage of the debate it has become abundantly clear that for the United Nations the problem which is now before the Assembly is one of the most complex, delicate and difficult with which it has had to deal—and so it is for many States which are Members of this Organization. For Thailand, separated from the western extremity of the Chinese mainland by an 80-mile narrow strip of Burmese and Laotian territory, and for the Thai people who at one time—over a thousand years ago—used to live in a part of what is now China and had to migrate to their present abode as a result of prolonged wars and conquests, the problem is one of vital importance.

104. It is by no means a problem of changing government and changing representation. That would be relatively easy to dispose of. Rather is it a question intimately connected with the fragile and intricate fabric of international life, interwoven with the composite political, ethnic, social, cultural and security elements not merely of Asia but of the entire world.

105. That is why it is not conceivable that legalistic arguments or juridical contentions alone will be adequate to deal with this problem. The present question relates closely to certain present-day realities, deriving from the historical past and still unfolding, which could hardly be anticipated at the time when the United Nations was founded 26 years ago. Its connexions and ramifications reach the inner depths of Asian life and its implications go far beyond the confines of the ancient Asian continent—indeed, they extend to many parts of the world; therefore its handling requires not only legal and juridical, but also political, psychological and perhaps philosophical, considerations. In other words, while we are not tackling the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, we are in fact dealing with something that touches upon the tenuous threads of Asian political life, as well as upon the precarious balance of forces within both the Asian and Pacific region and far out in the rest of the world.

106. The historical developments on the Chinese mainland since that time are well known to all of us and need no further elaboration. However, in the United Nations context, there are a few salient facts which need to be recalled for a better understanding of the complex aspects involved as well as the difficult dilemmas facing many of us who are genuinely interested in peace and in the future of our Organization. Such a proper understanding may in turn, it is hoped, lead to a solution which would be based on

fairness and realism and would be in consonance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

107. First, China is a founding Member of the United Nations and, since the Organization's inception 26 years ago, has been responsibly represented by the Government of the Republic of China, which has for over two decades enjoyed the support of the majority of United Nations Members.

108. Second, no similar situation has heretofore arisen in which two governments, each effectively controlling a part of the territory of a State Member of the United Nations and claiming jurisdiction over the remaining part, have maintained the necessary attributes of sovereignty in the areas under their respective control for such a long period of time. After the take-over of the mainland by the People's Republic of China, the other Government, that of the Republic of China, established its seat on Taiwan and has been recognized by, as well as entertained diplomatic relations with, a substantial number of States, many of which are Members of this Organization. In the meantime, the People's Republic of China has consolidated its rule over the mainland and has gradually gained recognition from a significant number of States, many of which are also Members of this world body.

109. In the United Nations purview, the question of whether or not the Republic of China has the "right" to represent China in this Organization has been determined in past years by decisions taken in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter, as well as by events occurring at the time. It is true that the principle of universality has been invoked to justify the seating of Peking. Likewise, it has been pointed out by many that the same principle should also be applied, with equal force, to the 14 million people on Taiwan whose Government, that of the Republic of China, represents a viable entity which is exercising effective authority over them. Any proposal which would result in a denial of the representation of that entity in the United Nations is unavoidably an infringement of the very same principle and would not bring us nearer to the goal of universality of the membership of the United Nations.

110. Moreover, there are also the important principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States. Ultimately, it should be recognized that the divergence between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China is a strictly Chinese affair and must and can only be resolved by the Chinese people themselves—certainly not by outsiders, or even by the United Nations.

111. If the United Nations were to intervene or to pass judgement by inviting one and excluding the other, it would do so only at the risk of violating the two Charter principles. Whether or not the respective claims of the two parties will be realized in the future is irrelevant at the present time. The fact is that both claims remain extant claims. While both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China regard Taiwan as part of China and claim sovereignty over the whole of China, the simple fact is that the former, the People's Republic of China, has no control over Taiwan and the latter no control over the mainland. I

should like to refer to the interview given to Mr. James Reston and published in *The New York Times* of 10 August 1971. In that interview the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, admitted that the *status quo* of Taiwan has remained for 21 years, thus confirming his recognition of the fact of the effective control of Taiwan by the Republic of China.

112. The third fact is that while most Member States, including my country, Thailand, would favour the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the entry of Peking, even on its own terms, cannot undo the reality of the Republic of China on Taiwan. In this respect, dual representation is the only logical solution, albeit perhaps a transitional one until the Chinese people can resolve the question for themselves and by themselves. It has been said by some that partial representation would mean no representation at all. In the United Nations framework every representation is entitled to one vote, no more no less. On the other hand, if the Republic of China were to be deprived of the right to representation in the world body, then the 14 million people, numbering more than the population of two thirds of the Member States, would have no proper representation in the Organization. Surely this situation, should it be permitted, would be equally "untenable", "unjust", and "unrealistic".

113. The foregoing facts constitute incontestable political realities of the present situation. From the point of view of many nations in Asia, including Thailand, the fact of the People's Republic of China is undeniable and is more keenly felt by them than by the countries situated farther away. As I already said in my statement to the Assembly last month [1946th meeting], it is our sincere hope that many Asian and indeed world problems will have a better chance to be resolved and, consequently, the prospects of peace in our part of the world further enhanced, by Peking's entry into the United Nations. That is why my Government has decided to support the representation of the People's Republic of China in both the Assembly and the Security Council. If, however, we also support the continued representation of the Republic of China in the Organization, it is because Thailand has had friendly and normal relations with Taipei and there is no valid justification to do away with them. On the other hand, Thailand up till now has had no official relationship with Peking.

114. Our delegation's support for dual representation in the present case of China, which is in accord with the substance and intention of the Charter, also applies to the cases of other divided States, without prejudice to an eventual settlement by the peoples concerned. The situation of divided countries, stemming as it does from certain anomalies of international life, represents not a permanent situation but rather a temporary one. There is, however, no denying the fact that the concept of dual or multiple representation has already existed in this Organization and is likely to be resorted to more frequently in the future as a new pattern of international life to give expression to present-day international complexities. As a result, it is not unrealistic to expect that the United Nations will have in the not-too-distant future to deal with the question of the admission of existing divided States into the world Organization.

115. It remains for me to add that my delegation has based its position entirely on the requirements of present political realities and the existing facts of international life, and on strict observance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It entertains no desire to indulge in any "procedural manoeuvre" for its own sake, but has in mind only the interests of our Organization, the interests of world peace and the future well-being of mankind. For this reason it has endeavoured to be candid and forthright, even at the risk of jeopardizing short-term advantages. It fully believes that the world body should be the proper judge of its own procedure. Therefore, it has limited itself to using reason in trying to find the best possible solution to the difficult and important question imposed on the world body by events beyond its control and unanticipated by the founders of our Organization. It has not lost sight of the fact that both Peking and Taipei firmly adhere to the concept of "one China".

116. Other countries, such as Thailand, also believe in the unity and integrity of all sovereign States, and my delegation would like to reiterate its hope that time will bring better comprehension and possibly an accommodation of the conflicting claims of the parties involved. After all, during the past 21 years when the People's Republic of China, mainly of its own doing, has remained outside the United Nations, no solution has been found to the question of China. Now that the two contending parties may eventually come to live side by side in our Organization, it is not impossible that, with the help of the United Nations' harmonizing influence and inspired by the atmosphere of international co-operation, they might find a common ground for working together to overcome their differences, something they have so far been unable to do elsewhere.

117. It is hoped that some time in the future the peoples of the United Nations will live as one world, united and all-embracing, under the sign of universality and in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. How the General Assembly deals with this important question of Chinese representation during its current session may well have a lasting impact on the prospects of attaining those United Nations ideals. The General Assembly would do well not to close its eyes to reality but to act in consonance with its mandate, which is to assist opposing parties to compose their differences and certainly not to intervene in a purely internal affair, in this case a Chinese affair, or take a decision in favour of one party to the detriment of the other. With this in mind, the Thai delegation has decided to co-sponsor two draft resolutions—one on non-expulsion and the other on dual representation—which have been tabled under agenda item 93 and appear in documents A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2. It is the view of my delegation that these draft resolutions, if adopted by the General Assembly, would reflect more faithfully the existing complex realities of international life in Asia and serve the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Above all, the cause of peace and stability in the world will benefit by opening up opportunities for contacts and negotiations that may lead to the peaceful settlement of vexing international problems which have threatened on many occasions to disrupt the peace and tranquillity of the world. For many of us around here, there is confidence that

the Chinese leaders on the mainland will rise above the entanglements, political manoeuvrings and threatening argumentation of some, and will give the measure of China's greatness and wisdom by accepting to join this world Organization on a basis that will enhance the United Nations and make it a truly international instrument of peace and harmony.

119. Mr. SIKIVOU (Fiji): I wish to take this opportunity to explain the position of the Government of Fiji on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

120. It was only a year ago that Fiji became independent and joined this distinguished Assembly. But the question of the representation of China in the United Nations and, indeed, the events in China generally, have always been of considerable interest to the people and the Government of Fiji. China is not only an Asian country, it is a Pacific country also, and a small but significant part of our population is of Chinese origin. They play a welcome and helpful role in our multiracial community.

121. On attaining independence and after our admission to the United Nations last year, one of our first acts, which I had the honour of performing on behalf of my Government, was to express from this rostrum our support for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [1907th meeting]. May I, however, point out that at the same time I expressed my country's view that we would not and could not support any attempt to expel the representatives of the Republic of China.

122. Our position has not changed. We would welcome the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in the Security Council. The principle of universality is flouted when a country of some 800 million is not represented in this great Assembly. That the People's Republic of China should be seated in this world Assembly is not only common justice, it is common sense. With its vast land area and its population of 800 million people, the People's Republic of China represents an increasingly important force in international relations. We cannot ignore the fact that the People's Republic of China is a nuclear world Power. The continued exclusion of its representatives from the United Nations has meant that many important problems, including security in South-East Asia and the Pacific, and the limitation of armaments, among others, cannot be usefully discussed, nor can realistic and lasting solutions of these problems be sought through the United Nations.

123. But while fully supporting the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Government of Fiji cannot acquiesce in any proposal that would deprive the Government of the Republic of China of its representation in the United Nations. This would also flout the principle of universality. The Government of Fiji accepts that the Government of the Republic of China exercises effective authority over the island, which has never been controlled by the Government of the People's Republic of China, and that the Republic of China has a population larger than that of most Members of this Organization. My Government is satisfied that the Republic of China has faithfully observed the obligations of

membership and has contributed effectively to the activities of the United Nations.

124. We are ourselves a small country of only 500,000 people. If, as a result of seating the People's Republic of China, with its 800 million people, the Republic of China, with a population of 14 million, which has faithfully played its part in the United Nations for 25 years, is to be expelled, we must regard this with very deep disquiet. This seems to ignore the realities of the situation as it exists today and it is not in accord with common justice or common humanity.

125. My delegation is therefore glad to sponsor draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, which seeks the support of the General Assembly for declaring any move to deprive the Taiwan-based Government of the Republic of China of continued representation in the United Nations an important question.

126. Let me make Fiji's position quite clear. We are supporting and sponsoring draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 only because it comes nearer than the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2] to the solution which we ourselves would advocate as the best answer to the China question. Our co-sponsorship and support of the dual representation of China, therefore, are aimed merely at providing an interim answer on the basis of which a real answer can be negotiated: We continue to hope that it will not be beyond the resourcefulness and wisdom of this great Assembly to find a constructive solution to problems which must, unfortunately, persist in the wake of its deliberations. The Assembly must still strive to find a solution which would take account of the rights and wishes of all the millions of people involved, a solution which would enhance the standing and, therefore, the effectiveness of the Organization in the world.

127. Mr. BOUBACAR KANTÉ (Mali) *interpretation from French*: Before speaking on the problem on the agenda, may I say that, in the name of the delegation of the Republic of Mali, I deplore the serious incidents of which the Soviet Mission of the United Nations in New York was a victim. Let the Soviet delegation find here the expression of our deep and sincere sympathy. We still hope that energetic measures will be taken by the authorities of the host country to avoid a recurrence of such incidents, which are a great threat to our missions to the United Nations.

128. Once again the General Assembly is seized of the important question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

129. Political developments in the world during the past two decades, particularly characterized by a decrease in the cold war, have made it possible in varying degrees to remedy some of the numerous and serious injustices created by policies based on positions of strength.

130. We therefore seemed to be entering into a new era characterized by understanding and co-operation for the well-being of mankind. The new approach to solutions to problems of international relations resulting therefrom had made it possible to envisage the future of our world with some optimism.

131. But, alas, we were soon to lose our illusions when confronted by the persistent manoeuvres of some Powers in trying to use our Organization for their own aims of hegemony. Barring access to the United Nations for over 20 years to the People's Republic of China is one of the best examples of this.

132. We must at this session remedy one of the most grievous injustices committed by our Organization in its history.

133. Frustrated over its seat as a founding Member of the United Nations since 1949 in the interest of impostors installed by the United States of America, the People's Republic of China must finally have all its rights restored as speedily as possible if we want to make our Organization more representative and more authoritative.

134. Political change in China resulted from the free choice of the Chinese people and in no case had anything to do with the representation of that country in the United Nations, since our Organization recognizes not governments, but States.

135. Everybody knows that after the Japanese occupation of China, the Chinese people, led by its avant-garde party, the Chinese Communist Party, in a revolutionary upsurge put an end to the régime of corruption and decadence of the Kuomintang.

136. Chiang Kai-shek and his followers fled from the continent to take refuge in Taiwan under the protection of the American army. That island province of China has been progressively transformed into a war arsenal and integrated into the American defence system. More than 12 million Chinese citizens deprived of their land and frustrated of their sacred rights are victims of the régime of segregation practised by the Taipei usurpers.

137. There is no better testimony of this unspeakable interference by the United States of America in the internal affairs of China than the letter of 19 February 1955 from President Eisenhower to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The American chief executive wrote:

"We must not lose Chiang's army and we must keep up its strength, its effectiveness and its morale. A few months ago we had at the same time Chiang and a solid, well-equipped French army to defend the position of the free world in South-East Asia. The French have left and their departure makes it more imperative than ever to avoid losing Chiang, unless we want to withdraw completely from this part of the world. For us [Americans], this is unthinkable, and I have the feeling that you do not envisage such a possibility any more than we do."

138. For my delegation, the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of the Chinese people. This is why we are a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by 23 countries.

139. The first objective of that draft resolution is to put an end to a state of confusion purposely maintained in our Organization for over 20 years, by which the Charter was

exploited for purely selfish purposes. Further, the draft resolution aims at placing the Chinese question in its true context. There is in fact only one China, the People's Republic of China, of which Taiwan is an integral and inseparable part.

140. Draft resolutions A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 which have been submitted are designed only to delay a settlement of this painful problem. In fact, their sponsors strive to warp the question, attempting as they do to impose on us the theory of two Chinas, while the majority of States agree in recognizing the unitary nature of the Chinese State. How can we be expected to admit these political fictions which they themselves do not believe when it took them more than 20 years to understand the realities of new China?

141. The theory of two Chinas or that of one China, one Taiwan, which is propounded in those draft resolutions, would not strengthen our Organization. It deliberately confuses the ideas of universality and fragmentation, which are two fundamentally contrary and opposed notions. Therefore, they constitute a grave threat to our national entities.

142. The sponsors of these draft resolutions allege that they defend the universality of our Organization. But in fact if these draft resolutions were adopted, what would they lead to? They would lead merely to maintaining the *status quo*, that is to say, the puppets would continue to sit in the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in all other United Nations bodies, while we would shut the door to 800 million Chinese and their genuine representatives. Is that really what we want, when we all recognize that it is absolutely necessary for the People's Republic of China to take part in the settlement of the grave problems of our times?

143. It is also alleged that the People's Republic of China is dictating its conditions for admission to the United Nations. But everybody knows that in point of fact it is the United States of America which strives to impose its conditions for that admission. We must decisively reject those attempts. We must never let any State, no matter how powerful, dictate its will.

144. Speaking in the general debate in the General Assembly on 27 September 1971 [1941st meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, dealing with the Chinese question, drew our attention to the danger of political myths. His appeal finds an echo in the work of Mr. George Ball, former Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, who, writing of the Chinese problem in his book *The Discipline of Power*, states:

"It is, I think, undignified for the United States, holding as it does a unique position of prestige and responsibility, to employ its political muscle to perpetuate a myth in which no other nation believes, and we have paid in hard political coin for our sponsorship of the Nationalist regime. We have made concessions in foreign aid and less tangible media to governments that did not merit them, simply to gain their vote in the General Assembly . . .".³

³ George Ball, *The Discipline of Power* (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 182.

145. This affirmation, which does not redound to the honour of our countries, gives a strange appearance to the true intentions of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2. A vote in favour of those draft resolutions would create a precedent which, far from finding a solution to the problem of divided countries, could foster the parcelization of States of the third world, many of which are still looking for final boundaries of their national identity. To lend themselves to the games of the great Powers could therefore be fatal to the evolution of our countries.

146. I have tried to speak very simply and clearly in explaining the position of the delegation of Mali on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

147. My delegation does not doubt that a very large majority will be found in this Assembly to reject draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, which is only a new attempt at obstructing the final solution of the Chinese question. We also continue to hope that we shall all be worthy of our responsibilities and restore at this session all the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and also immediately expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, who illegally occupy the seat of China. In fact and in law, there is only one Chinese people, one Chinese nation and one Chinese State. In this way, side by side we shall build with genuine representatives of the great Chinese people a world of peace and justice to which all the peoples aspire.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.