

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**1604th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 22 November 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 93:</i>	
<i>Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (continued)</i>	<i>1</i>

President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 93

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

1. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): When addressing the General Assembly on 25 September 1967 [1565th meeting], the Prime Minister of Lesotho enunciated the position of my Government on the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of China. In brief, while recognizing the importance of universality in the composition of the United Nations, the Prime Minister noted that the Government of Lesotho would not, in defence of that principle, associate itself with any attempt to exclude the Government of the Republic of China from speaking for its 72 million citizens on the Island of Taiwan.

2. Since the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China has been debated for many years and all historical, legal and moral arguments both for and against admission have been explored, it is hardly necessary for me to dwell at length on the matter. I do not think it amiss, however, to stress the importance of dealing justly with the presently recognized Government of China, for its unseating would have important consequences for this Organization, and especially for some of its smaller Members.

3. There has been some discussion in the Press and here in the United Nations of the necessity for limiting the participation of smaller States in the councils of the Organization. For some strange reason, the size of a State would be made a criterion for its right to be seated here. This fallacious assertion, which ignores the primary fact that the United Nations is an embodiment, however inadequate, of the world community and not of structured political power, lends itself to the kind of facile thinking which would exclude a State—small indeed in comparison to the area, population and power to the People's Republic of China—but a State which here and now is part of the world community and indeed is making a vital contribution to the development of many poorer States, including Lesotho.

4. My Government thinks it particularly unfortunate that many Member States of the United Nations whose populations are considerably less than that of Taiwan are, behind the rhetoric, treating the admission of the

People's Republic of China as though it were a question of numbers. All the expressions of moral outrage, however justified, against the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations will not overcome another concrete fact. And that fact is that the Chinese Government and people on Taiwan exist, and nothing short of a third world war would be likely to alter that reality.

5. But if we reject such approaches as would ignore the membership of the Republic of China in the world community, we would also like to take this occasion to impress on those who would equate the size of a State with its right to official membership of the United Nations that size is irrelevant in international law, and irrelevant in terms of the world community based on natural law.

6. Because it is irrelevant, we assert our position to express our concern that the nature of the world community be respected precisely when dealing with the question at hand. And may I add that we are particularly saddened when this expression of contempt for the intrinsic right of small States originates among those who saw no such problem at the time of the founding of this Organization. For at that time several States, considerably smaller in population than Lesotho, were eagerly accepted as Charter Members. We can only wonder if it was because their votes were considered assured in favour of one of the power blocs. In defence of this principle the Government of Lesotho supports the right of the Republic of China to its seat in this Organization.

7. My delegation feels that this distinguished Assembly cannot with justice ignore the contribution of the Republic of China to the United Nations over the years. From the beginning the Republic of China has played a responsible role in the deliberations and decisions of all the principal organs of this Organization. Let us not forget that even the contribution of the Republic of China to the regular budget is larger by far than that of many Member States represented here and it is a fact that the Republic of China has contributed substantially to the operations of the specialized agencies. Justice, which is the key principle of this Organization, demands that we recognize the positive contributions which the Republic of China has made to the United Nations. It would be most unjust to expel such an effective Member from this Organization. One doubts, too, whether the contributions of some who would like to see the Republic of China unseated, taken either singly or jointly, would equal the contribution of the Republic of China.

8. The question we are dealing with is, as many have said before me, one of crucial importance to the future of this Organization. Every Member has an obligation

to ponder the situation most seriously not only in the light of previous decisions but also in the light of new developments, and whatever new attitudes have emerged since the last decision was taken. Some of us attach great importance to the United Nations and the principles embodied in the Charter. Any decision which is likely in any way to affect the substance of what the Charter stands for must, therefore, in our view be treated with extreme care. For this reason my delegation will support resolution A/L.532 and Add.1, which recognizes, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question. In the view of my delegation any method of expelling a Member State, not covered by Article 18 of the Charter, would be ultra vires.

9. Draft resolution A/L.531 requests this Assembly to expel forthwith the representatives of the Republic of China from the seat which it is alleged they unlawfully occupy in the United Nations and in all the organizations relating to it. My delegation will not vote in favour of the expulsion of any Member State which respects the basic tenets of the Charter. And my delegation will vote in favour of the admission of any country that applies for membership of the United Nations, subject only to a declaration by that State that it adheres to the principles of the Charter.

10. Draft resolution A/L.531 further requests this Assembly to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations. It is significant to note at this stage that the People's Republic of China has not applied for the restoration of its rights and has not asked this Assembly to recognize any representatives of its Government. The attitude of the People's Republic of China to this Assembly and to the United Nations as a whole is well known and has been repeated on several occasions. In the light of the conditions which the spokesmen of the People's Republic of China have laid down, my delegation wonders wherefrom the sponsors of this draft resolution have derived their authority to speak for and on behalf of the People's Republic of China. Is there any assurance that the People's Republic of China would be prepared to accept membership of this Organization without conditions that run counter to the Charter?

11. In conclusion, let me state that my delegation will not support draft resolution A/L.531 which proposes the unseating of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. My delegation will consider the application for membership by the People's Republic of China when such an application comes before this body and when it is made without any threats or unusual conditions attached to it.

12. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (translated from French): The General Assembly is called upon once again to rule on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a question which concerns the fundamental principles of the Charter and profoundly affects the prestige and efficacy of the United Nations. This problem, by its nature, is one of representation of a Member State.

13. The United Nations is asked to answer the following question: which authority is qualified and able to

represent China? Whether the matter is viewed from the legal, political or historical angle, the only possible answer is: the only authority which is in a position to designate the representatives of China to the United Nations is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

14. For the past eighteen years, the will of the Chinese people and State has been expressed in international relations by the Government of the People's Republic of China, sitting in the country's capital, Peking. Only in the United Nations and its organs do there remain, in disregard of the provisions of the Charter and rules of international law, persons who are in no way qualified to represent China. Membership in the United Nations entails responsibilities and obligations which only the Government that effectively exercises authority in the State in question can undertake to discharge. Under the Charter, China has a special responsibility with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. The obligations deriving from that responsibility can, beyond doubt, be discharged only by the Government which is in fact able to speak and act on behalf of China—the Government of the People's Republic of China.

15. The draft resolution [A/L.531] which the Romanian delegation, jointly with the delegations of ten other States of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, has the honour to submit to the General Assembly demands that China's rightful place in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it should be given to the only lawful representatives of that State.

16. Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations naturally requires the expulsion of those who style themselves China's representatives. This measure has to be taken in accordance with the fundamental rule governing representation, which is that every Member State is entitled to one seat in the United Nations, a seat which must be occupied by a properly accredited representative of the State.

17. Incidentally, this rule has been invariably applied in every case of change of régime or government since 1945, with the sole exception of China. Viewed from that angle, opposition to allowing the People's Republic of China to play its rightful part in the Organization is an act incompatible with the United Nations Charter and with contemporary international law.

18. Draft resolution A/L.531 reflects proper respect for the principles of the Charter and concern for the United Nations position in the world.

19. The policy of seeking to prevent the People's Republic of China from exercising its lawful rights in the United Nations has, over the years, given rise to various procedural tactics. Thus, the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of the United States and fourteen other countries [A/L.532 and Add.1] presents the question of the representation of China as an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter which must be decided by a two-thirds majority. However, rule 28 of the rules of procedure, the general rule governing representation, provides explicitly that the credentials of representatives of all States shall be approved or rejected by a simple majority.

20. The alleged credentials of those who are unlawfully occupying China's seat in the United Nations are subject to a procedure implying the application of the general rule of simple majority. In other words, in the case of China a simple majority suffices to perpetuate an illegality, but a two-thirds majority would be needed to restore the lawful situation.

21. The purpose of the draft resolution submitted by the United States is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the Charter and with the need to provide for a solution of the great international problems we must deal with. My delegation will therefore vote against that text.

22. The proposal [see A/L.533] to set up a committee to study the question of the representation of China in the United Nations will not, we feel, bring us any closer to a solution. A similar attempt was made seventeen years ago, when it was also recommended that a committee should be set up to solve the problem; as we know, the committee met only to place on record that it had failed in its mission.^{1/} In our view, study would not expedite the solution of the problem. What is needed is that certain countries should stop ignoring the realities of the situation. Whatever the sponsors may intend, the establishment of a committee would only open the door to further postponement.

23. For these reasons, the proposal in draft resolution A/L.533 is unacceptable to us.

24. In the present circumstances, where the major problems of peace and progress have grown so urgent that a concerted effort on the part of the entire international community is needed if the purposes proclaimed in the Charter are to be achieved, restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China becomes an imperative necessity. The Romanian Government believes that, if the United Nations is to play its proper part in the relaxation of international tension, the settlement of disputes and the development of co-operation among States, it must become a universal organization.

25. Romania is strongly in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is time, as Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary-General of the Romanian Communist Party, said in the great National Assembly of Romania on 24 July last,

"to realize that the great problems of international life cannot possibly be solved today by ignoring the People's Republic of China and other States kept out of that international organization".

26. In truth, the consequences of the People's Republic of China being kept out of the United Nations are many. Nor can there be any doubt that they are most harmful to the United Nations. If one of the main concerns of the United Nations is indeed to promote international law and respect for that law, is it not obvious that the injustice done to that State makes it difficult to take any action on the basis of justice and equity? The United Nations has been founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of States. How can it promote

respect for that principle if it applies discriminatory measures to one of its Member States?

27. The purposes of our Organization are world-wide in scope, and so are the solutions which it is called upon to seek. But how are its goals to be attained, how are the answers to contemporary problems to be worked out, when one-quarter of mankind is not permitted to take part in the effort?

28. The major subjects of concern to mankind call for universally acceptable solutions. Can we conceive of effective measures in these various fields—from nuclear disarmament to peaceful co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space—which fail to take due account of the existence and the views of the People's Republic of China?

29. The central problem for the greater part of mankind is that of accelerated economic and social development. How can the United Nations do without the participation of the People's Republic of China in its programme of international co-operation in economic and social matters?

30. The great Chinese people, to which the world is indebted for so many scientific discoveries and such a store of wisdom, can help to strengthen our Organization and increase its ability to be a centre for harmonizing the concerted efforts of peoples to achieve peace and progress. Keeping the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations is a mistake which must be corrected in the general interest.

31. In the course of recent debates, a number of countries have suggested that the problem could be "solved" by accepting the theory of "two Chinas". But numerous international documents, some of them signed by the United States, testify beyond challenge that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is an integral part of its territory. In fact, the "two Chinas" notion would only raise fresh obstacles to the solution of the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations and sanction the foreign military occupation régime in what is part of China's territory.

32. Attempts have been made here to misrepresent the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. This is not the time to analyse them, of course, since we are not concerned with a State's application for admission to the United Nations but with determining who is entitled to represent that State. To bring into a matter of representation considerations relating to a country's policy can have no other purpose than that of distracting delegations from the true problem under discussion: Who is the lawful representative of China? Who is entitled to speak on behalf of the Chinese people and should occupy the seat that is China's by right in the United Nations? The actions of those who try to shift the discussion to another ground speak for themselves. The United States bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the activities on China's frontiers are not such as to give the perpetrators the moral authority to pronounce value judgements on another country's policy.

33. Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China calls for courage and political wisdom on the part of the General Assembly, for it entails reconsidering a line of action which has proved

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes, "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations".

not to be in the interest of the United Nations. The sooner this reappraisal is made, the better.

34. The Romanian Government is firmly convinced that restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would make the Organization better able to do its share in solving the major problems of international life.

35. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): For the nineteenth time in its twenty-two years of existence, the United Nations has before it the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Hitherto, it is true, the delaying tactics and the pressures resorted to by certain Powers, and particularly by the United States of America, have prevented the Assembly from abiding by its own Charter. In allowing this to happen not only does our Organization strike at the very foundation of its own principles; it condemns itself to total paralysis as regards dealing with the great problems which daily endanger world peace and security.

36. Algeria's position on this question is known. By depriving itself of the presence of the fifth world Power which, moreover, is a permanent member of the Security Council, the United Nations contradicts the letter and spirit of its own Charter. The paralysis of the United Nations, which no one can any longer ignore, is due in large measure to the fact that the Organization does not reflect the real balance of power in the world.

37. That balance, as conceived in 1945, was and still is the backbone of the entire system established by the Charter. If a major component in that balance of forces, the People's Republic of China, is excluded, the entire system is thrown out of gear. Obviously, therefore, restoration of its rights to the People's Republic of China is an act the United Nations must perform if it is to find a way out of its impasse and recover the political authority it needs to discharge its primary duty, which still is "to maintain international peace and security".

38. Over and above the self-interest of the United Nations, which I have just mentioned, restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China raises a fundamental problem, that of a State being prevented from fully participating in the community of nations, of which the United Nations is the highest instance.

39. As to substance, our debates over many long years have clearly demonstrated that the People's Republic of China, as a State, enjoys the status of a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, with all the rights conferred on it by Article 24 of the Charter.

40. When the United Nations was brought into being, it recognized and admitted to membership one, and only one, Chinese entity, which was acknowledged to be a great Power and made a permanent member of the Security Council. That admission and recognition were, and still are, based on the political fact that the Chinese entity played then, and plays today, a major part in world affairs. The bond with the Chinese entity which the United Nations itself established cannot be maintained unless it is accepted without reservation that

the People's Republic of China alone represents the only Chinese entity in existence.

41. In that case, can we possibly recognize Formosa as a Member State? That would mean going back on the original concept, which the United Nations still holds, for the United Nations recognizes only one Chinese entity. Moreover, to acknowledge that the only valid representation is that assured by the authorities ensconced in the Chinese territory of Taiwan would be, at the very least, to admit that the Chinese entity no longer enjoys the status and prerogatives which devolve on a permanent member of the Security Council.

42. This is the political reality which the international community encounters whenever it examines one of the great problems of our day.

43. As a nuclear Power, the People's Republic of China cannot be left out of the debates on disarmament which have been going on for many years. The invitation recently issued to it to become a party to the Treaty on the denuclearization of Latin America^{2/} will serve as an example.

44. Whether the issue is disarmament, restoration of peace in Asia, evolution of the world's balance of forces, the various goals set by the United Nations with regard to the maintenance or safeguarding of peace and to the continuing process of decolonization, or the economic future of the countries of the Third World, we cannot continue to ignore the role that the People's Republic of China has to play, any more than we could disregard the role and responsibilities of any other great Power, whatever régime it may have and whatever may be its relations with the other great Powers.

45. We all know, too, that time has worked against the United Nations. Today, the question may fairly be put: which of the two, the United Nations or the People's Republic of China, stands in vital need of the latter's participation in the work of this Organization? Have the deception and submission which have been spreading like a fatal disease lessened the already limited attractiveness of the United Nations? One day everyone will realize that the interests of the small and medium-sized Powers do not necessarily coincide with those of the great Powers or the super-Powers.

46. Mr. ZBANATSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been on the agenda of plenary meetings of the General Assembly for the past eighteen years. During that period all delegations have expressed their attitude to this question and have stated their views regarding a solution of the problem.

47. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has frequently set forth its position from this rostrum, and therefore there is scarcely any need once again to dwell in detail on well-known truths.

48. In the opinion of the Ukrainian delegation, the matter has assumed an extremely paradoxical nature. Since 1949 a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, the

^{2/} Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Mexico City on 14 February 1967 (A/6663).

People's Republic of China, has by every possible subterfuge been denied the right to take its lawful seat in the United Nations, a seat which has never ceased to belong to it.

49. The impression is gained that certain States, on whom an effective solution to this question mainly depends, have placed it in "quarantine". Is not this period of "quarantine", which is supported by certain Powers with regard to the People's Republic of China, lasting somewhat too long?

50. It is now clear to all that without the participation and representation in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, whose population is more than half that of all States Members of the United Nations, the United Nations cannot be a universal organization. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations is all the more essential if we are to strengthen the Organization and to achieve progress in the solution of a number of other important international problems which are perturbing the peoples of the world.

51. Consequently the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has always favoured a positive solution of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and has favoured denying this right to the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which does not represent anyone here because that clique was long ago rejected by the Chinese people and is sustained only by the support of certain Powers.

52. It is necessary without any delay or procrastination to restore historic justice, to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as called for by the representatives of many countries of the world.

53. That is why I state, on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Cambodia, Guinea and a number of other States, which proposes that the General Assembly restore all rights of the People's Republic of China and deprive the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek of their seat in the United Nations.

54. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (translated from French): The twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly has once again come to grips with what has unfortunately become a routine item—restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. Although it is clearly stated and its solution seems obvious, this vexing question, which offends the sense of justice and of political realism of every impartial observer, has remained unsolved for the seventeen years that it has lain upon the conscience of States Members of the United Nations.

55. Many Governments, aware of the serious consequences which the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has had for the international community, have honestly, realistically and clearly put forward cogent arguments in favour of respecting public international law, the United Nations Charter and international practice, and consequently in favour of restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in this Organization.

56. My Government, which is privileged to count itself among these Governments of Asian, African, Latin American and European countries, is proud of having requested, together with some of them, the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly [A/6831] and of having co-sponsored a draft resolution [A/L.531] calling for an appropriate solution to it.

57. Other Governments, on the contrary, for obvious reasons of national policy and by means of unconstitutional and petty procedural manoeuvres, have been endeavouring to maintain a situation which is prejudicial to the higher interests of the international community.

58. Thus, in the 1960s the United States Government made up out of whole cloth the procedural device of requiring a two-thirds majority for the solution of this problem and not a simple majority, as hitherto. The purpose of that operation was to frustrate the wishes of the new African and Asian States, which had made their mass appearance on the international scene since 1960 and which are more sensitive to injustice than others, having been the victims of it throughout their history. We must admit that so far the device has served its inventors well; but it cannot do so forever. It cannot arrest forever the irreversible course of history.

59. The enemies of the People's Republic of China, in seeking to defend their indefensible position, accuse it of being an aggressive country, of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, of planning to export its revolution to other countries, and finally of not respecting the United Nations and having no intention of respecting the Charter. These arguments, however, are refuted by the realities of the situation.

60. The People's Republic of China has more than once made a contribution—and a valuable one—to the restoration of peace in troubled parts of the world, notably in Asia. For example, it took part in the Geneva Conferences of 1954 on the restoration of peace in Indo-China and of 1961-1962 on the situation in Laos. Despite constant bombing along its frontiers by the United States intervention forces in Viet-Nam, it has never sent any troops whatever to that country. That is certainly not the way an aggressive Power acts. The same can hardly be said of the United States and its allies, which are always quick to intervene wherever they feel their personal interests are threatened, and equally quick to accuse China of being aggressive. Let us say, in any event, that if for any reason another Power decided one day to bomb a region bordering on the United States, that day would certainly see the opening of the third world war.

61. As to the charge that the People's Republic of China interferes in the domestic affairs of other States, I must say that it is always brought by the very countries which maintain no relations with China, so that they know little or nothing about it, and are consequently unable to adduce facts to substantiate their accusations.

62. It is true, of course, that in some of these countries there have been military coups d'état unseating popular régimes and that, needing a scapegoat, these countries have accused the People's Republic of China

of every imaginable crime. But they are the first to know that no one is deceived by their asseverations. Furthermore, if all those guilty of aggression and subversion were to be excluded from the General Assembly, its membership would be greatly reduced. In the long list of aggressions that have occurred throughout the world, the People's Republic of China will never be found among the aggressors.

63. In any case, my country, which since its entry on the international scene has been one of the steadily growing number of countries—in Asia, Africa, America and Europe—which maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the People's Republic of China, that great country which accounts for over one fourth of mankind, is proud to state here that it has derived great benefit from those relations, and that the People's Republic of China has never, by any act of commission or omission, attempted to interfere in its internal affairs. The Chinese experts, whose personal qualities and professional qualifications are above suspicion, whose dedication is matched only by their modesty, maintain the most cordial relations with Guinean citizens, thereby greatly strengthening the bonds of friendship between the Chinese and Guinean peoples.

64. The People's Republic of China is also accused of planning to export its revolution. The accusation is so frivolous as to make one smile, for the leaders of Peking are the first to know that a revolution can be neither exported nor imported.

65. Lastly, it is said that the People's Republic of China has no respect for the United Nations and would have no intention of respecting its Charter. In support of this utterly unfounded assertion, various newspaper articles and various statements are cited. That is nothing other than guilt by imputed intent and undue attention should not be paid to it.

66. In order to establish the true facts, however, it must be said—and said forcefully—that it is not China that does not respect the United Nations, but, on the contrary, the United Nations that does not respect China in failing to accept a clear and definite decision taken by the great Chinese people. If the basic truth is borne in mind, it is easier to understand the statements of the Chinese leaders, whose country is being subjected to unwarranted and hence revolting ostracism. In their place, no one would be tempted to sing the praises of the United Nations.

67. The achievements of the People's Republic of China in all spheres—political, economic, social and cultural—are countless. Its progress in science and technology has been so swift that, far sooner than anyone had foreseen, it succeeded in probing and mastering the secrets of the atom, demonstrating thereby that science cannot be the province of one race or continent, and still less of one nation. By thus diversifying its mastery of human knowledge, the People's Republic of China has made a valuable contribution to the human, intellectual and historical rehabilitation of the so-called coloured peoples, which hitherto had been classed as inferior.

68. It should be noted that following the explosion of its first atom bomb the People's Republic of China solemnly called for a world conference to outlaw nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. It has repeated

that statement after each such test. That proves, if there were any need of proof, that the Chinese régime is essentially peace-loving.

69. With these considerations in mind, a number of countries, under pressure from a public opinion which was becoming increasingly aware of the international realities and accordingly demanded that the tragic error with regard to the People's Republic of China should be corrected, invented another fiction, as obscurantist and unfair as it was unfounded and nonsensical, namely, the fiction of two Chinas. These countries claim that, while it would of course be just and proper to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations, it would be unjust and improper to expel the alleged representatives of Taiwan. They quite forget that the latter represent only an overthrown régime, only one man, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, who was removed from power by a popular revolution and driven into the sea and who is now clinging desperately to his impossible illusions in the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of China's national territory and in which he is able to maintain himself only thanks to the presence of United States military forces. It is a fact that today Taiwan is nothing more than a United States military base, kept in operation to serve a policy which in the end may prove to be a bane to mankind.

70. The United Nations must realize this, as it must also realize that the ostracism to which it arbitrarily subjects the People's Republic of China hurts it more than it does China. Experience has shown, and shows daily, that the People's Republic of China, being stronger and more solid than ever, does not need the United Nations in order to live, progress and prosper, whereas the United Nations needs China to give real weight to its decisions. Without China, what would a treaty on general and complete disarmament or on the non-proliferation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons be worth? Without China, what is the worth of all the resolutions that we adopt here by a large majority, or even unanimously?

71. Can there conceivably be a sincere desire for disarmament, a sincere desire to stop the race for weapons of mass destruction, a sincere desire for peace in Asia, while that great country, that great Power, the People's Republic of China, is being kept out of the international community? The right of veto is being refused to the People's Republic of China in the United Nations; but it uses that veto daily, and to greater effect, outside the United Nations. We hope that the majority of Members of the United Nations will grasp this self-evident truth!

72. We hope that this majority will grasp the need to reject the United States resolution [A/L.532 and Add.1], which, for the sole purpose of delaying the inevitable, asks the Assembly to place this question illegally in the category of questions within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

73. We hope that this majority will grasp that it must resolutely face the future, and rule in favour of the "restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", and consequently vote for the draft resolution [A/L.531] co-sponsored by my country together with some other

African and Asian countries. That surely is the only way to rehabilitate the United Nations, which has lost so much of its authority because of its unjust treatment of the People's Republic of China. It is the only way to restore to it that measure of effectiveness which it needs to survive in our troubled world.

74. Mr. REYES (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The Chilean delegation, together with Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, is sponsoring the same draft resolution [A/L.533] as was submitted last year with a view to the establishment of a Committee to explore and study the situation and submit the appropriate recommendations to the next General Assembly for a proper solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. This affair has been dragging on for eighteen years, and the arguments which the two sides have advanced and repeated with minor variations leading to mutual recriminations have not enabled an inch of progress to be made.

75. The subject of China is remote from our immediate concerns. Nevertheless, we consider it of great importance to the future of the United Nations, for unless this Organization is universal it cannot effectively fulfil the principles and purposes of the Charter. This is apparent in such serious matters as the Viet-Nam war and disarmament negotiations, where the fact that mainland China stands on the side-lines is not helpful.

76. Clearly, the United Nations and each of its Member States must be inspired by the spirit of peace; without that spirit, it is futile to strive after any form of co-existence which respects fundamental human values. That is the *raison d'être* of this Organization, which has proved to be a forum where apparently irreconcilable matters can be discussed and common objectives can be found.

77. We know it is not right that the situation should remain as it is. Nor would it be acceptable to exclude a nation which for many years has participated fully in the life of this Organization and has abided by its rules. The subject is so complex and many-sided, and the alignment of positions so inflexible as to suggest that only objective study and delicate negotiation by a group of countries especially appointed for the purpose by the Assembly could lead to a positive outcome in respect of the representation of China.

78. As the representative of Italy stated yesterday [1602nd meeting], we are open to any further suggestions relative to our proposal which would help us to find a harmonious and constructive solution. In view of the rigidity of other positions, our proposal will perhaps meet with the same fate in the Assembly as it did last year. Nevertheless, we felt that it is necessary to keep open a morally sound and politically desirable alternative for settling, through diplomatic negotiation, an affair which is important to the life of the United Nations and the cause of world peace.

79. We believe that the proposed Committee should operate as broadly and flexibly as possible and not, in any event, along rigid predetermined lines, so that its work can be truly positive and contribute to the subsequent settlement of the question by the General Assembly.

80. It will be clear from what I have said that Chile is opposed to the draft resolution submitted by Albania and ten other countries [A/L.531]. Chile also considers that a resolution on the so-called "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", which constitutes agenda item 93, cannot, in view of its nature, be adopted by a simple majority, but only with the support of at least two thirds of the Members.

81. This is a further reason why the search for an agreement which could reflect the opinion of Member States as widely as possible should be made by an *ad hoc* Committee. The proposal which Chile is co-sponsoring does not contain a judgement on the substance of the matter; it is a procedural formula, and it will be for the Assembly itself to adopt a substantive resolution at its twenty-third session on the basis of the report submitted by the Committee.

82. We hope that our idea may find acceptance. We are sure that the feelings which motivate Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Chile alike can be shared by the great majority of nations.

83. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In order to expedite the work of the Assembly, I would urge representatives who wish to speak to item 93 of the agenda to have their names entered in the list of speakers, so that the list can be closed on Friday, 24 November, at noon.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.