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CONTENTS

Agenda item 97:

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic  
of China in the United Nations (*continued*) . . . . . 1

**President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).**

**AGENDA ITEM 97**

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

1. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is difficult to escape the temptation of beginning my statement with the opening of the First Catilinaria and Cicero's memorable quotation: "*Quousque tandem, Catilina?*" That is the solemn question we address to the American Government; it is the question that is voiced by the international community after 20 years of interminable discussions, still without being able to solve the question of the Chinese representation in the United Nations. How long has the United Nations to suffer the illegal, abnormal situation that obviously can only be harmful to the United Nations? How long will the seat of China in the United Nations be occupied by a spurious representation that two decades ago was completely liquidated by the Chinese people themselves and forced to seek refuge behind American bayonets? How long can the interests of this Organization be subjected to the arrogance, arbitrary designs, and heavy-handedness of one of its Members?

2. How long can the American Government abuse the patience of the international community, because after having heard the statement made on Thursday of last week by the United States representative [*1902nd meeting*] no one can have any further doubts regarding the way in which the problem of the representation of China is now presented to us. That statement was an admission of the bankruptcy of a sterile and absurd policy. Unable to stem the irreversible process leading to the recognition of the Chinese reality by an ever-increasing number of States, the North American Government has come to this General Assembly with a single goal in mind: that of gaining time, of preventing this Assembly, by dilatory tactics, from adopting a decision that is already inevitable, while it waits in a delirious dream for a change in the historic realities that gave rise to the process.

3. The American delegation concentrated its effort on trying to convince the Assembly to approve its

request, according to which an arbitrary two-thirds majority would be required for the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/L.605, which Cuba has the honour of co-sponsoring. Today, these facts are presented to us in a false and distorted fashion as though we were dealing with the question of the admission of a new member. Efforts are being made to make us forget that on 18 November 1949 the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China informed the then President of the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> that the only legitimate Government established on the territory of the Chinese State had, in the use of its sovereign and inalienable prerogatives, decided to change its representation in this Organization. That decision was merely the reflection of a revolutionary process that had completely destroyed the feudal and pro-imperialist régime and set up the people's power in China. The defeated clique was unable to keep control of a single inch of mainland China and had to seek refuge under the protective cannons of the Yankee Seventh Fleet. The representativity of the new Chinese Government flowed from the sovereign decision of its people that had forever swept away its past history of slavery and misery. No one possesses the authority to question the legitimate right of the peoples of China to form a new socialist régime, a régime that has freed it from centuries of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and has turned the new China into a powerful nation. The Chiang Kai-shek régime is a mere figment with no more real existence than that given it by the American military occupation of the Chinese province of Taiwan.

4. From 1949 to 1961, for 12 years, the North American delegation even opposed discussion of the problem of the representation of China in this Organization. Those were the years when North American imperialism could impose its will on this Assembly without undue difficulty. Later, when the decolonizing movement and the advance of progressive forces introduced important changes in the composition of the United Nations, when a number of States, earlier subject to colonialism, added their independent voices to this concert of nations, the United States forced the adoption of a decision calling for an illegal majority to approve the resolution that would redress the injustice done to the Chinese people. The end in mind was the same, to ignore the sovereign decision of the Chinese people and to oblige the international community to recognize as the representatives of China a group of individuals buried by history.

5. If the Chiang Kai-shek clique still holds on in Taiwan, it is not through the consent of the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Document A/1123.

people that expelled it from one of the largest territories on our planet, but because of North American aggression against that Chinese province. The colonial occupation of Taiwan is not and cannot be a source of law. The group of renegades ensconced there at the service and by the will of the foreign occupiers cannot assume the representation of the people that overthrew it. To try to disguise that figment of the imagination with the title of sovereign State is an insult to all independent States and a mockery of the most elementary principles of international law.

6. Yet, that has been the policy imposed on this Organization by the Government at Washington. Its representatives in this Assembly still try to confound and confuse international opinion by voicing sophistries which by repetition lose their force as the years pass.

7. No one has asked for the expulsion of any Member State to give its seat to the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, it is precisely the United States which, for twenty years, has denied that State the exercise of its legitimate rights and allowed their usurpation by its Taiwanesque creature. China is a founding Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. Its right to be here is set forth in the Charter. None can deny it that right and no one is being asked to grant it. Yet, that intangible right of the Chinese State has been frustrated in its exercise since 1949, when its legitimate representatives were not allowed to occupy the seat that belongs to them alone.

8. The language of the American proposal reflects its grotesque view of international affairs. In fact no one has made any proposal to "change the representation of China". Such a proposal would not be fitting and the only ones who could make it would be the Chinese people themselves. But, it so happens that, even though the imperialists refused to recognize the fact, that people did change its representation in 1949. It was the North American imperialists who disavowed the legitimate representation without, for that, having the consent of two thirds of this Assembly.

9. In its endeavours to perpetuate the fictitious existence of a régime that is the pure invention of imperialism, the American delegation did not balk at extortion and insults levelled against States Members of this Organization that it compared with the régime of Taiwan, which according to the United States, rules over "a population larger than that of two thirds of the Members of this Assembly" [1902nd meeting, para. 90]; nor did it shrink from advising or warning those present here that they "should consider carefully whether at some future time on some future issue they might not find themselves in a position similar to that in which some have sought to place the Republic of China" [ibid., para. 84]. Those comments reflect the concept that American imperialism has of national sovereignty. The Assembly must reject it most energetically. Independent States represented here are not comparable to a régime that is the product of imperialist aggression. They do not owe their sovereignty to the movements of the Yankee Seventh Fleet.

10. The attitude of the American delegation proves that their anti-Chinese policy is bankrupt. Incapable of gathering around itself a substantial bloc of Members of the Assembly, they are left with no alternative but to resort to procedural manoeuvres to try to recover, by a parliamentary ruse, what they have irretrievably lost in the political arena. And there lies the reason for their appeal for the so-called "two-thirds resolution", which I shall cite. I shall leave it to representatives to define it as they see fit—whether it is ridiculous or pathetic:

"... I strongly urge all members, regardless of their position on the substantive question of Chinese representation, to vote to reaffirm this vital procedure" [ibid., para. 85 ].

11. I feel that we would be justified in wondering for whom the approval of the draft resolution, co-sponsored by the United States, is "vital"? Is it vital for the majority of the Members concerned with strengthening the authority and effectiveness of this Organization? Is it by any chance "vital" for the majority of the Members concerned with promoting the universality of the United Nations, and once and for all solving the problem of the representation of China?

12. This is obviously a "vital procedure", but it is vital only for the United States and no one else. The North American position on this point has reached such extremes of isolation and weakness that it hangs, as if on a very fragile thread, on this procedural manoeuvre.

13. The way to solve this problem is precisely the opposite. In order to achieve the universality of this Organization—to assist it to be able to contribute to the achievement of the objectives set forth in the Charter—to redress the injustice committed against the Chinese people, this Assembly has no other course but to approve the draft resolution that we proposed in document A/L.605 and at the same time to reject the manoeuvre embodied in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

14. There is only one Chinese nation, one Chinese people and one Chinese State. Its place has always been here since the very foundation of our Organization. The General Assembly must immediately expel those who have usurped that place and restore it to its sole legitimate owners.

15. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): In the 25 years of its checkered history this world Organization has known many anomalies. There has been no lack of advocates of unjust causes among its Members. The instances of deliberate and prejudicial misinterpretation of its Charter are too numerous to recount. Expediency has now become its watchword. Yet, in the 25 years of its history, the Organization has known no paradox so devoid of sense and reason as the representation of China by the representatives of the discredited clique that rules the island of Formosa solely through the support of American imperialism. In all the years of its history the Members of this Organiza-

tion have not lent their advocacy and the collective power of their vote to a cause so patently unjust as that of barring the true representatives of the Chinese people from its councils. There has never been such wilful misrepresentation of the Charter as the contention that the People's Republic of China is seeking admission to the United Nations and should therefore assume and fulfil certain obligations before admission is granted to it.

16. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, together with seventeen other delegations, maintains that the Chinese people have been unlawfully deprived of their rights to representation at the United Nations and that those rights should be restored. We do not consider that the People's Republic of China is applying for admission to the United Nations, since China has been a Member of this Organization for the last 25 years. The United Nations Declaration was signed in 1942 by President Roosevelt, for the United States; Winston Churchill; Mr. Litvinov, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States; and Foreign Minister Soong, on behalf of China. The United Nations thus came into being, with China as one of its four original founding Members. The Charter of the United Nations accords it a place on the Security Council as one of the five permanent members which have a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

17. Allow me to refer in this regard to a commentary on the Charter of the United Nations—of which you, Mr. President, are a co-author—where it is stated that:

“It was felt at San Francisco that there ought to be a definite relationship between obligations imposed on certain States and their capacity to influence decisions of the Organization. Power and responsibility should be joined together. That was the basis on which it was decided to accord a special position to certain States. Those States were the ones to be regarded as the most important guarantors of security . . . the countries which, upon the basis of their industrial resources and manpower, were most likely to furnish the necessary force to keep the peace of the world.”

18. China was one of those States by virtue of its size, its population and its human and economic potential. China was considered capable of assuming the obligations for the maintenance of peace and security arising from the Charter. But it was barely five years after the United Nations had come into being that the great revolution of the Chinese people crowned its victory over Japanese imperialism by defeating Chiang Kai-shek, who fled with the remnants of his Kuomintang to the island of Formosa, where, to this day, he maintains the myth that Taipei is the capital of China.

19. That myth, as we have recently seen, has now worn very thin. We have seen that even the United States Government, which has helped to perpetuate it for the last two decades, is now forced to admit that the People's Republic of China is able to: “play a constructive role in the family of nations.” [1902nd

meeting, para. 88.] But, having admitted that, the representative of the United States should not have reverted the other day to the contradiction of maintaining the position that the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

20. The Members of this Assembly are well aware that, in spite of the denial by the representative of the United States, the “important question” procedure has effectively served to keep the People's Republic of China out of this Organization.

21. Let us recall how that procedure came into being. From 1953 to 1960 the United States was able to muster enough support for refusing to include the question of the representation of China in the agenda of the General Assembly. By the year 1960, when its position was becoming increasingly precarious as a result of the increase in the membership of the Organization, the United States had to accept the inevitability of a substantive discussion of the representation of China. It had to resort, however, to the ingenious, though fraudulent, procedural ruse of claiming that the question of representation requires the affirmative vote of two thirds of the membership of the Assembly in order to guarantee the exclusion of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. It is significant that the representative of the United States began his statement before the Assembly the other day by recalling the rejection in previous years of the proposal that seeks to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, and expressed the hope that that proposal would again be rejected.

22. Now, in the light of that express statement on the part of the representative of the United States and in view of the role that the United States has played in devising the procedure that has ensured the rejection of that proposal, my delegation is at a loss to understand the sense in which the United States is: “interested . . . [in seeing] the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations.” [Ibid.]

23. How, one may ask, is the People's Republic of China to play such a constructive role if the representatives of that Government are so diligently excluded from the councils of the United Nations?

24. The statement of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek régime in Taiwan before this Assembly was, in contrast to that of the representative of the United States, forthright and unequivocal. Unlike the representative of the United States, Mr. Wei did not depart from the position that the authorities of Taiwan have consistently maintained—the position that he expressed in his statement last year [1798th meeting], namely, that the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would confer upon that Government the seal of international approval and legitimize the acts of suppression and deprivation of freedom in which the Government of the People's Republic of China has, in his estimation, been engaged. There is no need to point out to the Members of this Assembly that this is yet another of the specious argu-

ments that the supporters of the Chiang Kai-shek régime never seem to tire of reiterating.

25. However, the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek régime should not have chosen to regard the suppression of freedom as an impediment to the membership of the United Nations. The island of Formosa had been for 20 years under martial law, whereby circulating rumours or encouraging students to strike or disrupting the electric or water supply can carry the death penalty.

26. There have been different estimates running into thousands, of the number of political prisoners and many statistics running into hundreds, of the annual executions for political offences in the island of Taiwan. These facts should not be obscured by the glib rhetoric of the spokesman for the free world. Nor should the members of this Assembly disregard the fact that the harsh laws under which the Chinese people of Taiwan now suffer will last for the duration of the state of siege, as long as the period of communist rebellion exists on the mainland. One might well wonder whether the international community should confer the seal of approval on a Government that condemns 14 million people to live in a state of siege forever.

27. Leaving aside the quixotic dreams of Chiang Kai-shek's return to the mainland, the status of the island of Formosa as part of China should not be in doubt. The advocates of the two-Chinas representation formula should be warned that there is no alternative and no substitute to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

28. We of the continents of Asia and Africa should welcome the participation of the People's Republic of China in our Councils. Its presence in the United Nations will buttress and support the struggle of our people to free themselves from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism that continue to impede the progress of our two continents. The participation of the People's Republic of China will be an effective factor in releasing this Organization from the pervasive and insidious influence of the imperialist front which has continued to frustrate all attempts for the realization of the principles of the Charter, especially on questions of self-determination and the attainment of freedom by the oppressed people of southern Africa.

29. We of the Sudan, who have maintained the closest of relations with the People's Republic of China, can testify to the fact that its policies have been based on an unwavering commitment to the freedom of peoples from colonial domination and on adherence to the principles of mutual respect between nations of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and on equality among all States, great and small.

30. We of the Arab world, Mr. President, will not forget how the Government of the People's Republic of China, together with other socialist countries, has supported and upheld the struggle of the Arab people in order to liberate their land from Israeli occupation. Nor shall we forget the support that the Government

of the People's Republic of China has continued to provide for the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation.

31. We have no doubt that this Organization will gain immeasurably through the participation of the People's Republic of China, the representative Government of a great people, whose contribution to human knowledge and civilization has been unsurpassed in world history. The United Nations should redeem itself by rectifying an injustice that has been a blot on its record for two decades.

32. The time has come for the People's Republic of China to assume its rightful place.

33. Mr. OULD TAYA (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has the privilege of being, along with other friendly countries, a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605 which has as its purpose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. That being so, we feel that we are not only supporting the lawful rights of a friendly country, but also making a contribution, a modest one, indeed, but an eminently positive one to the endeavours of our Organization.

34. Once again, this Assembly has before it the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, conferred upon it as a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

35. Once again, we see the dilatory, unjust and criminal manoeuvres of those who, going against the current of history and the irreversible march of peoples towards freedom and equality, are attempting to convert a simple question of approval of credentials into a question of the admission of a new Member to our Organization, which is governed by Article 18 of our Charter.

36. From this rostrum, on 21 October 1970, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania stated that if the United Nations has not "turned out to be an instrument likely to solve the crises of our contemporary world" it was in great part on account of its inability to resolve its internal contradictions in order to become "that great international rostrum in which each voice may be heard equally in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Charter it has given itself" [*1877th meeting, paras. 23 and 24*]. And President Moktar Ould Daddah continued:

"Is not the refusal to admit to its ranks the People's Republic of China the very best illustration of these serious internal contradictions . . . ? My country considers that in this specific field, as in all the other fields, the United Nations has shown, and still shows, a weakness or perhaps even a lack of awareness, whether it be voluntary or not.

"In the field of disarmament alone, for example, how is it possible seriously to envisage profitable progress in the absence of a country which has.



more than 700 million inhabitants and which has become a thermonuclear Power? Not only has the great Chinese nation, which is one and indivisible, acquired a place in the foreground of the international scene, but . . . its absence from our Organization represents an objective obstacle to any attempt to achieve substantial progress with a view to the implementation of true disarmament measures. This illustrates—if need be—how dangerous and unreasonable it is to keep that great Power outside the United Nations in flagrant violation of the principle of universality of the Charter. That is why my country wishes to reaffirm its conviction of the need to proceed without any delay to the re-establishment of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China within the United Nations Organization. We reject the theory of the two Chinas which some States are attempting to give standing within our Organization, and we consider it an unfounded manoeuvre doomed to failure." [Ibid., paras. 24 and 25.]

37. That is, from the mouth of our Head of State himself, the answer that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania gives to the sordid manoeuvres that I have referred to.

38. In this anniversary year celebrating the establishment of our Organization, this year when Heads of State have come from all corners of the earth to reaffirm their faith in this Organization and their profound attachment to the ideals inscribed in its Charter, we owe it to ourselves and we owe it to mankind to set aside our own selfish interests and curb our thirst for power and domination, so that we may come as close as possible to the path we have traced for ourselves in establishing this Organization. The stake is the survival of the Organization just as much as the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in the world. The repeated violation of its own Charter by our Organization will irremediably damage its international authority and reduce in no uncertain fashion its ability to resolve the serious problems of the day and relax the tensions which generate conflicts.

39. In the present instance, the violation is flagrant and intentional and has been repeated for more than 20 years. The sponsors of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 want no more and no less than to impose on a very great and very old country with a civilization going back thousands of years, through the means of our Organization, a small minority which its own people unanimously shrugged off into the sea after having chosen for itself leaders capable of taking it along the path of economic development and social equality.

40. Is that the sovereignty of peoples as recognized by the Charter? Is that their right to choose freely their own destiny, as advocated by it? I doubt it, and I am not alone. The invocation of Article 18 in draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 is and can be nothing but a procedural manoeuvre designed to delay the inevitable outcome and to perpetuate the *status quo*, that is, the repetition of the grave injustice committed by our Organization against the great, peaceful and hard-working Chinese people.

41. The Government of the People's Republic of China has indicated on many occasions its desire and determination to maintain relations with all the peoples of the world on a basis of equality and mutual respect, relations based upon non-interference in internal affairs, upon mutual respect for the territorial integrity of the countries concerned and upon friendly and fruitful co-operation. That statement has been expressed in deeds for all those who have maintained relations with the People's Republic of China, and my country has the honour to be one of them. That is why, as we are convinced that this is purely and simply a question of the approval of credentials, we shall vote, in any event, against the draft resolution I have mentioned, that is, draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1.

42. Sir Alieu JACK (Gambia): My delegation wishes to be associated with those who have expressed sympathy with regard to the terrible disaster that has befallen Pakistan. We are deeply grieved at the tragic loss of life and property suffered by the brotherly people of Pakistan. May I convey, through the Ambassador of Pakistan to the United Nations, to the Government and people of Pakistan the deepest sympathy of the Government and people of Gambia.

43. The question of the representation of China has been before the General Assembly every year for the past 21 years. At each session since 1950 the General Assembly has rejected proposals calling for a decision to restore the so-called rights of the People's Republic of China, to recognize the representatives of that Government as the only lawful representatives of China in the United Nations and to expel the representatives of the Republic of China from the United Nations and from all related organizations and agencies.

44. My Government's position on this question was clearly stated by the President of the Republic of Gambia when he addressed the Assembly during the general debate on 24 September last [1848th meeting]. On that occasion my President clearly reiterated what has been the Gambia Government's constant and unequivocal position on this important question. To put it briefly, my Government considers that the Republic of China, a founder Member of the United Nations, legally occupies a seat in this Organization as well as in all its affiliated agencies. Furthermore, my Government considers that the Republic of China has always fulfilled the obligations of membership under the Charter. My country, together with more than 60 others, enjoys diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, and our programme of exchanges for technical co-operation in development is most satisfactory.

45. For these reasons my Government has made it clear that it is unable to support any move in this Assembly aimed at seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations if that entails the expulsion of the Republic of China. My delegation will, therefore, vote against draft resolution A/L.605.

46. To my Government the question of the representation of China is a most important one, and any proposal to change that representation would, in the esti-

mation of my delegation, require a two-thirds majority vote under rule 85 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. This rule specifically lays down that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. Among "important questions" under this rule are listed the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership and the expulsion of Members. Considering, as it does, that the suspension or expulsion of any Member from the Organization is an important question, my delegation has joined the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, in favour of which it will cast its vote.

47. My Government will not oppose the admission to membership of the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, provided that that country wishes to become a Member, accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and is able and willing to carry out those obligations. Needless to say, my Government cannot agree that the admission of any one country into the Organization should be at the expense of the expulsion of another, particularly when the other is a founder Member of the Organization and has done nothing to warrant action under Article 6 of the Charter.

48. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): Before beginning my statement on the question of the representation of China, I should like to express the deep sorrow felt by the Japanese delegation at the news that a tidal wave had hit areas of East Pakistan, causing a tragic loss of life, great suffering and extensive damage. My delegation wishes to offer to the delegation of Pakistan its heartfelt sympathy and requests the representative of Pakistan to transmit to the Government and the people of Pakistan the most sincere sentiments of sorrow and sympathy of the Government and the people of Japan.

49. At past sessions of the General Assembly my delegation has always emphasized that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is not one of mere technicality and of procedure but one which should be considered in all its aspects, in the light of all the relevant facts, and in full cognizance of all the possible implications. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is one of the most complex and important of the problems that this Organization has ever faced. My country therefore has a very special interest in the present issue before us.

50. The position of my country stems from its close relationship with China, geographical as well as historical. The southern end of the Japanese archipelago lies little more than 200 miles off the coast of mainland China, and is only seventy miles away from the island of Taiwan. This geographical position brought our two nations, among the oldest in the East, into the closest of relationships, and there have been over the past 2,000 years almost unbroken ties between the two countries. Despite the vicissitudes of our long history, Japan and China have, by and large, lived together in a close relationship based on mutual respect. It would give us great satisfaction to see the Chinese

people come once more into a harmonious and friendly relationship with all the peoples and nations of the world.

51. The Government of Japan maintains the position that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority for decision. The Japanese delegation has therefore joined with eighteen others in sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/L.599 and Add.1. We are confident that a large majority of the Assembly will join us in supporting that draft resolution when it is put to the vote. From the time that the question of the representation of China was first raised, it has always been recognized in the United Nations that the question is of great importance to the Organization. The sixteenth session of the General Assembly gave formal endorsement to the sentiment prevailing in the Assembly by declaring, in its resolution 1668 (XVI), that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. That decision has been reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its succeeding sessions, thus confirming the correctness of our position.

52. In the view of my delegation, the basic factors which must be taken into account in our approach to this all-important and complex problem are the following.

53. The first basic factor to be taken into account is that there are two authorities confronting each other across the Taiwan Straits. One of these is the Government of the Republic of China, in effective control of a population of 14 million people who enjoy a high standard of living in Taiwan. The other is the Government of the People's Republic of China, in control of the China mainland. Each of these authorities persistently claims to be the sole legitimate Government of all the Chinese people. Under such circumstances, any attempt to solve the question of the representation of China in the United Nations merely by expelling one of the two parties from the place it has legitimately occupied in this Organization, and replacing it by the other, would inevitably militate against a just and equitable solution of the problem.

54. It might be useful to remind ourselves at this juncture that in the General Assembly every year a great majority of the questions that come up before this Assembly are decided upon by a two-thirds majority or by unanimity. Surely, a question of such magnitude, in its impact upon the lives of so many millions of people as the present one, should be treated as important, just as are so many other questions in the United Nations.

55. Secondly, another important factor to be stressed is the position of the Republic of China with regard to our Organization. The Republic of China was one of the principal founders of the United Nations, and has faithfully carried out its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter, consistently upholding the authority and prestige of the Organization. These are

well-known and indisputable facts that cannot be denied by anyone. If, in the United Nations, the Government of the Republic of China were to be replaced by the Government of the People's Republic of China, it would be tantamount to the expulsion of a Member. Seen in that light, it is beyond doubt that the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations would be inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

56. The principle of universality of membership in the United Nations has sometimes been alluded to in connexion with the present item. While it is no doubt highly desirable that our Organization be as universal as possible, it is self-contradictory to advocate the principle of universality in support of draft resolution A/L.605, seeing that its adoption would have the effect of depriving the Republic of China and its people in Taiwan of its long-standing, loyal status in the United Nations.

57. For the reasons I have stated, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution in document A/L.605, submitted by Albania and other States, inasmuch as it cannot offer a satisfactory solution of the question of the representation of China.

58. Mr. BETANCES (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes to state its decision to associate itself with draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 sponsored by 19 countries. We have decided thus because the Government of the Chinese State as represented in the United Nation is scrupulously comply-

ing with the purposes and principles of the Charter that governs this international Organization, apart from the fact that in our judgement it is the one that best ensures world peace. Therefore, it would be to damage the legal principles of the highest international organ, and to forget the ideals of mutual understanding which the Dominican Republic respects, not to support all the points contained in the draft resolution I have mentioned, which reaffirms the legitimate participation of China in the United Nations.

59. For those reasons, the delegation of the Dominican Republic fully co-sponsors draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, which action is consistent with the position we have repeatedly stated when this matter has come up for discussion.

60. The Government of my country has maintained the best of diplomatic relations with the Government of President Chiang Kai-shek, and the delegation of the Dominican Republic expressly refers to this circumstance now because to fail to do now what we have always done in this case of the lawful representation of China in the United Nations, would be to create a basic contradiction and to flout our own principles for no reason.

61. In a word, the delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes to repeat its support for the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1, and for the reasons I have given will vote against the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605.

*The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.*