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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. RYDBECK (Sweden): What is the issue that confronts the Assembly under item 93 of the agenda? The issue is clear and simple: it is to decide which of the two Governments claiming to represent China is to be considered as the legitimate Government of that State. China is an original Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. There is only one China. We are thus concerned neither with the admission of a new Member, nor with the expulsion of a Member. It is a question of deciding whether we accept Peking's claim, or Taipei's claim, to represent China.

2. The answer to that question is and always has been obvious to the Swedish Government: the sole legitimate Chinese Government is that of the People's Republic of China. It is that Government which should now, at long last, take the Chinese seat in the Assembly and in the Security Council and in all other United Nations organs.

3. If draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, the proposal calling for the so-called dual representation of China in the United Nations, were to be adopted, it is evident to my Government that this would create a situation which would be both unconstitutional and dangerous—unconstitutional, because the Charter does not permit dual representation; dangerous, because its adoption would set a precedent of far-reaching consequences. It would undermine the very basis on which we today judge questions of credentials. All Member States, not least the smaller nations, have a vital interest in defending the letter and the spirit of the Charter. We should therefore oppose all proposals leading to dual representation. It is also necessary to oppose any move designed to cloud or confuse the simple and straightforward issue confronting us.

4. We are convinced that the participation of the People's Republic of China is essential in order to enable the United Nations to serve effectively, and on a universal scale, as the main instrument for furthering the cause of international peace and security.

5. In accordance with that view the Swedish delegation will consistently oppose any proposal, whether procedural or substantive, which would delay the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

6. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): In the past year or two the world has witnessed the erosion of a myriad of myths, carefully nurtured and maintained over the last two decades, concerning the nature, the policy and the intent of the People's Republic of China. It was alleged that the Central People's Government of the Chinese mainland was in power only temporarily and that it did not enjoy the support of the Chinese people. The policy of that Government was said to be warlike and not peaceful, a policy which was not designed to develop a constructive relationship with the community of nations. As regards the intent of the Chinese Government, we were told that the sole aim of the People's Republic was to destroy the United Nations and not co-operate with it. Consequently, the People's Republic of China was thought to be quite unfit to assume the responsibilities and obligations of a United Nations Member, let alone those of a Member having a permanent seat on the Security Council. The greatest myth of them all was that China's place at the United Nations could—and should—be occupied by Taiwan without doing violence to the basic provisions of the Charter and without damaging the United Nations system.

7. My delegation is one of those delegations which have over the years consistently pointed out the fallacies of those arguments and advocated the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all other related organizations.

8. I do not wish to go over the well-trodden path of our arguments again, because in the consideration of this question this year there has been a radical change in the views and policies of several Member States—to such an extent that the desirability of the presence and participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is no longer an issue of controversy. Several factors have contributed to this state of affairs. First and foremost among these is, of course, the great progress achieved by the Chinese Government in the development of the country and the expansion of its international relations. The second important factor is the vote, at the last session of the General Assembly [1913th meeting], of a clear majority of Member States for a draft resolution calling for the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China.¹ Due to a technicality, that draft resolution was not considered adopted; but the will of the international

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

community in the matter was loudly and unmistakably clear.

9. All important sections of the membership now realize that many of our frustrations and failures in the past have been directly related to the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. We also agree that this state of affairs should not continue and that the situation should be rectified. To that extent we have reason to be satisfied. But when it comes to the manner in which we go about rectifying the situation, sharp and fundamental differences of views divide the membership. I intend to limit my statement to this aspect, and try to show that there is only one logical and legal way to deal with the matter.

10. In this connexion let us at the outset examine briefly the various draft proposals which crystallize the conflicting views of delegations. I shall take up those proposals in the order in which they have been presented. There are, first, draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by 23 delegations including my own; second, draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by the United States and 21 other delegations; and, third, draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, read out the other day by Ambassador Bush, on behalf of 19 delegations including his own.

11. The first draft resolution is based on the fact that there is only one China and on the principle of the indivisibility of a nation. It is based, furthermore, on the incontrovertible legal proposition that the Government which effectively governs the people of a State is entitled to exercise the external sovereignty of that State and should be allowed to represent it in the United Nations and other international organizations.

12. The United Nations is an organization of States, and the Charter has given special status to China not as a Government of a particular type or variety or designation, but as a State which is a permanent entity. Whoever rules that State is entitled to the role, the place and the status set for it under the Charter. The People's Republic, having replaced the Kuomintang régime in China, is, and has been since 1949, in possession of power and authority in the country; and like it or not, that régime is the one and only China, an original Member State with a permanent seat on the Security Council. Our draft resolution is designed to secure the rightful representation of China in the United Nations. We have not proposed to bring in a new Member State, nor have we sought to expel an existing legal one.

13. On the other hand, the United States proposal, reflected in the second and the third draft resolutions is designed in effect to deny to the People's Republic of China its due and proper place at the United Nations, and thus to perpetuate a situation which the authors of the proposal themselves have publicly recognized as simply not tenable any longer.

14. The substance of the United States proposal is, as all of us know, to invite the People's Republic of China to take a permanent seat on the Security Council, while at the same time retaining for the Taiwan régime membership in the United Nations. We are told that this arrangement not only

will be ultimately agreeable to all concerned, but will also be in accord with the reality of the international situation as well as with the concepts of equity and the universality of our Organization. And we are warned that the path of expulsion is perilous, and that to open it for a Member in good standing will be to open it for others. In support of the proposal, examples of the Charter's having accommodated solutions of unusual situations in the past have also been cited, namely, the separate membership in the United Nations of the Byelorussian and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics.

15. Those arguments are, in our view, fallacious. They would be valid and in order if, in the first instance, the People's Republic of China and the Taiwan régime claimed to represent two separate peoples, two separate nations and two separate States. But that is not the case here. Both claim to speak for the same people, the same nation and the same State. We have only to determine whose claim is right and whose is spurious. In the second place, the precedent cited to show the similarity between the representation of the two Soviet Republics and that of Taiwan does not at all apply in this case. All Soviet Republics belong to the same political and social system and Byelorussia and the Ukraine became Members of the United Nations at the time of the signing of the Charter as a result of agreement, in particular the agreement of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The comparison therefore, is extremely misleading. The matter should be decided by the Chinese Government by itself; and we know from recently published reports that it has already denounced the proposal.

16. In those circumstances what, we may ask, is the absolute and stark reality of the situation. What must our basic sense of equity lead us to do? In the name of universality, should we, by our action, separate a people, divide a nation and dismember a sovereign State? For I submit that that is what, in the last analysis, the United States proposal would have the General Assembly do.

17. At the risk of being repetitious, I should like to state that the reality of the situation is that the people we call Chinese and the State which we call China is one and only one and that the territory we know as Taiwan is not a separate, but an integral, part of China, so recognized in solemn international instruments. A further reality is that the authorities which claim to speak in the name of China were expelled and driven from the mainland by the Chinese people themselves way back in 1949 and have been and continue to be there today only because of the protective umbrella extended by a powerful foreign Power. They are not a Government in good standing with their own people. Having been expelled by their own people, they do not need expulsion at the hands of the United Nations. That should be automatic; that is the law of the State system of the United Nations, to which only a State can belong as a Member.

18. It speaks volumes for the peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China that it has not seen fit to liberate the territory of Taiwan—its own territory—by force of arms. That the Government in Peking has desisted from this perfectly legal and legitimate course of action is shining testimony to the high order of its statesmanship and to its perseverance and moderation in a matter involving the

sovereignty, political independence and indivisibility of the country, and, above all, its pride as a great world Power.

19. In reply to the contention that the proposed arrangement concerning dual representation would ultimately be agreeable to all concerned, I wish simply to say that, because of Taiwan and because of outside interference in its internal affairs, the People's Republic of China stayed out of the United Nations for 22 long years. It was not prepared to pay the price of giving up sovereignty over a part of its own territory in order to come to this Organization. As the statement of the Chinese Government of 20 August shows—a statement which, I may add, has been circulated as an official General Assembly document, under the symbol A/8470, at the request of 22 delegations including mine—that Government is still not prepared to pay that price. I invite my fellow representatives to search their hearts. Would any self-respecting sovereign State represented in this Assembly pay such a price for anything? I believe that the answer is a clear “no”.

20. We all know that the authors of the so-called dual representation draft resolution have been at pains to explain that their proposal is not based on the concept that there are two Chinas and also that their proposal does not seek to prejudice the solution of outstanding problems in the future. Frankly, my delegation has failed to comprehend the logic of that explanation. At a time when the United States is seeking a normalization of its relations with the People's Republic of China with a view to the reduction of tension in the world, particularly in the Far East, it is sad indeed that it has committed its immense name, prestige and resources to a proposal whose only effect would be to aggravate that tension and to bar the People's Republic of China permanently from the United Nations. The General Assembly is being called upon to give its stamp of approval to the freezing of a situation which we all desire should be corrected. More significantly, the General Assembly is called upon to be a party to an act of gross interference in a matter which is exclusively within the jurisdiction of a sovereign State, a violation of the most fundamental principle of the Charter.

21. Governments and régimes come and go, sometimes as a result of peaceful elections and sometimes as a result of domestic revolutions which may or may not be peaceful. But the Charter properly prohibits the United Nations from interfering in these matters, which are the sole concern of the people themselves. Now, for the first time, the Assembly has been asked to take action on a proposal seeking to retain a separate seat in the United Nations for a régime which has already been rejected—and rejected decisively—by the people concerned. That is what we call a perilous and dangerous path for the United Nations to open. The General Assembly cannot be a party to an act of dismemberment of a sovereign State, much less a direct agent of such an act. If the United Nations intercedes on behalf of a régime of no standing today, there is no knowing where this path will lead us, except to the dismemberment of the Organization itself.

22. On behalf of my delegation, therefore, I address an appeal to the General Assembly, to everyone present here, to view the various draft proposals in their correct perspective and in the light of their final implications. If the

matter were one involving the admission of a new State or the expulsion of an existing legal Member, all the draft proposals, including the one co-sponsored by my delegation, would be out of order in terms of the provisions of the Charter because the Charter prescribes entirely different procedures for both admission and expulsion. We have fully recognized this, and to the extent that they have now conceded that the People's Republic of China could be invited to take its seat as a permanent member of the Security Council by a simple majority vote, it appears that the authors of the other two draft resolutions have also partially recognized that the matter before us is not one of admission or expulsion. In this situation, when they accept that the rights of the People's Republic of China can be restored by a simple majority vote by the Assembly, the proposal requiring a two-thirds-majority vote to deprive Taiwan of its seat as a Member of the United Nations [*A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2*] is simply not receivable in the Assembly under the Charter. A State does not grow in a vacuum, out of nowhere and all of a sudden. Either it existed before as a State or it did not. If it did, and represented the Chinese people, the question of replacing it as one of the permanent members of the Security Council by the People's Republic of China should not have arisen. But this is not the situation here. If it is proposed that it can be expelled from the Security Council by a majority vote in the Assembly, it is logical to say that it can similarly be expelled from all other organs, because it pretended to be the State of China but was in reality never that State.

23. The only legal and rational course of action open to the General Assembly in these circumstances is to reject all distracting and illegal proposals and to approve a proposal aimed at securing the lawful representation of China in the United Nations and all other international organizations.

24. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): It is our hope that this debate on agenda item 93, “Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations”, will at long last open the way for the People's Republic of China to take its seat in the United Nations.

25. Denmark has persistently and actively supported the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations ever since the Government of Denmark on 9 January 1950 recognized the Government of the People's Republic.

26. My Government welcomes the present development for many reasons. It will put an end to an anomaly which has existed for more than 20 years—in our view to the detriment of the United Nations and of the international situation in general, and it will be an important step in the direction of the full universality of our Organization.

27. On the concrete question before us, we have to decide who is the rightful holder of the seat of China in the United Nations.

28. In the organs of the world Organization there is only one seat for China—a fact which is accurately reflected in the heading of our agenda item. What is at issue is not the expulsion, within the meaning of that term in Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, of a Member State from the United Nations. What is at issue is the question of

recognizing which Government has the right to represent China in the world Organization.

29. In accordance with the consistent policy of the Danish Government, we strongly recommend the recognition by this Assembly of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations and, as a matter of course, the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

30. We shall accordingly cast our vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2.

31. In our view, the General Assembly is bound under the United Nations Charter to consider the issue of representation only as a question of which Government is qualified to occupy China's seat. Furthermore, any attempt to convert this issue into an issue of expulsion would not, in our opinion, serve the real interests of the United Nations.

32. The position of the Danish Government with regard to all other proposals—be they of a procedural or of a substantive nature—which do not further the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will be determined in the light of these remarks.

33. The Danish Government will look forward to welcoming the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. We believe that the addition of the voice of the People's Republic of our counsels will give our Organization greater relevance in dealing with the manifold problems before us.

34. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I do not think that the special circumstances of the debate this year should divert our attention from the one simple question which has been before us for too long. Do we want to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China with all the attendant consequences?

35. I can see no better way of bringing our attitude into line with the importance of the coming event than to reply in the affirmative, with sobriety and without vain discussions, preliminaries or conditions.

36. Who could ever imagine that China, great China, would accept the kind of membership which would demean it or that it would agree to give up its unity and submit to conditions which are incompatible with its dignity and are, furthermore, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations?

37. Who has not felt for years that the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China was becoming politically more and more indispensable, that is, that it was finally becoming inevitable? There are, here and elsewhere, few important political questions which are discussed without China's opinion and power being mentioned. How much our debates—whether they are about peace, disarmament, nuclear affairs or development—would have gained in significance had China been fully able to participate in them by sharing its ideas and expressing its interest!

38. In 1970, at the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization, most of us met at last to ask that illusions

and dreams be dispelled and that reality and justice be allowed to prevail. Let the reality of China be recognized because the presence of that country older than history—as General de Gaulle described it in 1964—by its mass, value, needs, size and future has shown itself to be indispensable to the interests of the entire international community. Let justice be done to China because the People's Republic is quite clearly the only entity empowered to exercise the responsibilities which fall to it, in the Security Council, in the General Assembly, and in the specialized agencies.

39. Since then, and we have been pleased to see this, what was first an obvious necessity for a growing number of countries has since become a right, has become a reality, and has kindled hope. In less than a year, more than 10 capitals have opened diplomatic relations with Peking.

40. During the general debate a few days ago, the number of speakers in favour of the restoration of its rights to the People's Republic of China, who have been long in isolation but have grown finally to become a majority, has suddenly swelled to become an irresistible force.

41. So much logic, patience and hope can no longer be disappointed. People would not understand how our General Assembly could fail to live up to an almost universal expectation by resorting to procedures whose purpose or effect would be to postpone the inevitable. Enough time has been lost; one cannot have it both ways; one cannot in principle support the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in fact impose demands which prohibit or postpone its entry.

42. We, for our part, have clearly faced our responsibilities. In our view, for one Member State, China, there should be only one representation, and this must be designated by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Consequently, we will vote against any draft resolution which would provide for dual representation, for we believe that such a proposition is obviously contrary to the Charter. We will oppose any equivocal motion, any draft resolution which, by creating new obstacles, might delay an event whose inevitability has been clearly made apparent by the diplomatic initiatives under way.

43. Why would one refuse to extend to the whole international community a dialogue which was successfully begun on a bilateral level? As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France stated from this same rostrum, there is only one road "that leads from Peking to New York" [*1942nd meeting, para. 66*].

44. There is only one single draft resolution, which has long remained unchanged, that takes into account the rights and reality of the People's Republic of China. It asks us to recognize, by a simple majority, that China is the People's Republic of China, and alone qualified in that capacity to occupy the seat which for 25 years has been reserved for this State. It is to this draft resolution that our vote will go.

45. To vote otherwise would be to disavow the vast attempt at a rapprochement which has been gaining ground since last year; it would be to assail, through artifices ill-suited to serve the reputation of our Organization, the unity and the rights of China. It would be—a more

frightening consequence—to mortgage the future; to jeopardize the co-operation which must be established between the future Chinese representation and all the delegations of the United Nations; it would be, finally, to refuse to see the world as it is, with China; to refuse to bring peace to the world, with China.

46. We ask the Assembly to respond with dignity, by a simple and massive vote, to the hopes which have been placed in it.

47. Mr. AULAQI (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen):² The United States of America, with its imperialist policy, has imposed the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the United Nations as the representatives of China, for more than 20 years, ignoring the real representatives of China and its great people.

48. The circumstances of yesterday that helped the imperialist policy of the United States to impose its will by creating such an abnormal situation have now changed. Nations have risen; socialist systems have emerged; and national liberation movements countering imperialism and colonization have increased their strength. During this period the People's Republic of China has realized many magnificent achievements and has become, along with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries, a support for struggling nations against colonization and imperialist domination. Once then, scores of countries have achieved their independence through their national struggles and with the support of all socialist nations.

49. The participation of the People's Republic of China in human advancement and the struggle against colonization does not need proof. The influence exercised by the People's Republic of China has spread beyond its 700 million people. The People's Republic of China has indeed had a world-wide influence because of the successes realized by its people during its quarter of a century of struggle and socialist construction.

50. Difficulties and obstacles are still being placed in the way of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. The United States of America continues to exert pressure and pursues a policy of interference in the affairs of other nations. It still insists on separating Taiwan from the People's Republic of China in order to keep Taiwan under its domination and to use Taiwan as a base for its aggressive actions.

51. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as the sole representative of China is one of the most vital issues seriously concerning the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, not only because the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen enjoys strong ties with the People's Republic of China, or because the People's Republic of China supports the struggle of the Arab nations, but because this is the just and natural situation. The existence of the People's Republic of China, this great nation, outside this Organization is an abnormal and unacceptable situation.

52. It must be emphasized that there is only one Chinese Government which represents all the Chinese people. All the world knows that the People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of the Chinese people. That has proved realistic even to the most sceptical. Anything else is a falsification of fact. Thus the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights as the sole representative of China would necessarily result in the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Any attempt to search for another solution is unacceptable to us, to the People's Republic of China and to the Chinese nation. As Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, it follows that the issue of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is inextricably bound up with that of the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

53. The People's Republic of China has declared that it will accept admission only as the sole representative of the Chinese people, with Taiwan being but one of its provinces. That lawful and firm stand of the People's Republic of China predetermines the destiny of all the proposals put forward by the United States of America. That stand of the People's Republic of China receives the support of all the peace-loving nations of the world. Thus any alternative proposals by the United States can have only one aim—to keep the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations, by imposing unacceptable conditions for membership.

54. The continued existence of the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations demeans this Organization, which must in reality justly represent the whole world. At the same time it also undermines the function of this Organization and paralyzes its programme for advancement and world peace.

55. This continuing situation, which is due to the pertinacity of the United States of America, creates a great risk. It threatens all endeavours to achieve the better world conditions that will emerge when the People's Republic of China is admitted to the United Nations.

56. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in adhering to its belief in the right of the People's Republic of China to have its rights restored as the sole representative of China, has submitted, along with other member nations, a draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2]. It considers that only that draft resolution recognizes justice and right and can preserve world peace. At the same time the draft meets the demand of the great Chinese people and its only lawful Government—the Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking.

57. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): For the twenty-second time the Polish delegation wishes to express Poland's support for measures which would bring the representatives of the People's Republic of China into our Organization and exclude forthwith those who for 22 years have been illegally occupying China's place in the United Nations. Thus for over 20 years there has been a hard uphill struggle against those who sought to isolate the Chinese People's Republic and tried to impose upon the United Nations an unrealistic disregard for the revolutionary changes which swept China in 1949 and resulted in the establishment in

² Mr. Aulaqi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Peking of a Government which, first, exercises its authority over the whole territory of China; second, carries out all the international functions and obligations arising out of that authority; third, is being widely recognized by other States having normal diplomatic relations, wide political links and extensive commercial contacts with People's China; and fourth, is the only Government with which other States have to deal when approaching problems of any kind of co-operation with that country.

58. One should also enumerate the many international declarations and historical undertakings which since the end of the hostilities of the last war have unequivocally and without reservation restated and confirmed that Taiwan forms an undisputed entity with the mainland. It is Chinese territory: it is China.

59. The question which now stands squarely as the main topic of our deliberations therefore concerns solely the fact—if I may speak figuratively—of who should sit in our midst behind the white-and-black sign bearing the single word "China". We submit, as we have consistently submitted over the last 22 years, that it is the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China which is entitled to do so. Indeed, at the very moment when we finally vote, as we should—as we shall—to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the gentlemen now sitting behind the sign "China" will have to leave the premises of the United Nations. They will have to leave, even more so, because, in contradiction to the argument of the United States representative, they even do not lay claim to represent solely the 14 million inhabitants of Taiwan but they still—and we have seen that here many times—usurp the right to speak on behalf of 800 million Chinese.

60. A draft resolution is before us, called the "dual representation draft resolution" [A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2], which, while agreeing to recognize the right to representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, recommends the General Assembly's acceptance and reaffirmation of the continued right to representation of the so-called Republic of China. I am not trying to be frivolous, but may I be excused for saying that this is the best illustration of the proverbial desire to eat one's cake and have it too—which cannot be done. There cannot be in one hall the rightful representatives of People's China and at the same time those who assume for themselves the right to represent precisely the same authority.

61. Let us consider realistically the unbearable situation which the dual representation draft resolution pushes us into. The Polish delegation will vote against both draft resolution A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and draft resolution A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, as well as against any other motion aimed at keeping in the United Nations those who are at this very moment occupying the seat which lawfully belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

62. Whatever we have heard here, whatever we may hear in our discussion, to us the authoritative opinion on the issue before the Assembly remains the statement made as

recently as 20 August 1971 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. It reads:

"... the Chinese people and Government firmly oppose 'two Chinas', 'one China, one Taiwan' or any similar absurdities, firmly oppose the fallacy that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined', and firmly oppose the scheme of creating 'an independent Taiwan'" [A/8470, p. 4].

The statement goes on to say:

"Should a situation of 'two Chinas', 'one China, one Taiwan' or 'the status of Taiwan remaining to be determined' or any other similar situation occur in the United Nations, the Government of the People's Republic of China will have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations" [*ibid.*].

63. The issues are therefore crystal-clear. One does not need to add to this exposition of views any objectionable remarks about third countries, as was done by the speaker who opened our debate [1966th meeting], in order to grasp the responsibility that rests with all of us in taking the right decision on the subject in question.

64. It has been contended here that the decision to exclude the Taipei representatives from the United Nations is a so-called important question, and that it therefore requires a two-thirds-majority vote. But were it not for the seriousness of the situation arising from over 20 years of opposition to the representatives of People's China, the question of who should occupy the place marked "China" in all United Nations bodies could and would have been decided long ago by a simple procedure used over the last two decades in more than 150 cases involving the representation of new Governments that have taken power in Member States by means, let us say, other than constitutional. It would also seem interesting to recall that the United States delegation itself once treated the question of the representation of China as a simple procedural matter. On 12 January 1950, when the Security Council was considering a USSR draft resolution to unseat a certain Mr. Tsiang, Ambassador Gross, the then United States representative, made the following statement:

"I should like to make it clear that the United States Government considers that the Soviet Union draft resolution presents to the Council a procedural question involving the credentials of a representative of a member. Accordingly, a vote against the motion by my Government—the United States Government—"could not be considered as a veto, even assuming that seven members of the Council vote in favour of the resolution. I wish to make it clear that my Government will accept the decision of the Security Council on this matter when made by an affirmative vote of seven members."³

65. Much has already been said during the current General Assembly session about the growing trend towards *détente* and greater co-operation, towards recognition of the interdependence of States, and towards the necessity for

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 2*, 460th meeting, p. 6.

strengthening international peace and security. The world community has the right to expect an all-out effort for more co-operation and for the strengthening of peace and security on all continents. That applies also to Asia. The Asian peoples certainly need peace and security, for it is there in Indo-China that people are dying daily in hostilities wrecking their countries. Foreign troops are stationed in Korea, thereby maintaining the division of the peninsula against the wishes of the Korean people. Millions of refugees elsewhere in Asia are living in misery and squalor inflicted upon them by the results of policies that operate on the principle of "divide and rule". Any political move in that area should therefore be judged by its effect on the conflicts existing in that region. It should be guided by the desire to put an end to tensions and to treat with respect the wishes of the peoples of those regions, and not by any dark goals of the global game of playing one people against another.

66. We feel confident that the time will come when the representatives of the true China, the People's Republic of China, will join us in our search for working solutions and an effective settlement of the most important problems besetting the human race: in strengthening international peace, in the implementation of world-wide disarmament, in efforts to curb the arms race, in banning the testing of nuclear weapons and, of course, their proliferation.

67. The more universal the United Nations becomes, the more hope there will be for our Organization to be transformed into a better and more effective instrument for the implementation of the purposes of its Charter. But that goal can be achieved only by straightforward decisions, not by evasive actions blurring the issues that confront us.

68. In that understanding, my delegation declares that our vote in taking the decision on the proposals before us will be guided by the following considerations.

69. First, the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be admitted forthwith to all the organs of the United Nations and to the United Nations family of organizations.

70. Second, they should take the place in the Security Council due to them as the representatives of a major Power, a founding Member of the United Nations.

71. Third, all rights should be withdrawn from the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek group, illegally occupying seats in the United Nations.

72. Fourth, the decisions connected with the solution of this problem should be taken by a simple majority vote and there should be no shield from defeat by artificial procedural devices, once the United Nations is resolved to do away with this issue that has hounded United Nations debates over the last 22 years.

73. That is the position of the Polish delegation.

74. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China has figured as the most urgent issue on the agenda of our Organization for the past 22 years. There is a general consensus that this

question, because of the changing international situation, has now become even more acute than ever before, since it has a direct impact upon the vital issues of peace, stability and development in the world. An increasing number of Member States have acknowledged this reality and expressed the conviction that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—the rights of which the people of China have been unjustly deprived—would have a positive effect not only upon the role and efficiency of the United Nations, but also upon the entire complex of international relations. That was confirmed by the majority of Member States in the voting during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [1913th meeting]. The recently convened consultative meeting of foreign ministers and heads of delegation of non-aligned countries has also unequivocally expressed the position that the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China constitutes a vital factor in the strengthening of the United Nations.

75. The history of this issue in the United Nations is well known. The building of artificial barriers to the realization of the inherent and legitimate rights of the Chinese people constitutes one of the negative postulates in the over-all performance of the United Nations. It is difficult to deny the fact that the United Nations, owing to the absence of the People's Republic of China, is in great measure restricted, and in some instances even paralysed, in the realization of its primary role. The present international development, which is characterized by more resolute opposition to the policy of retaining the world within the realm of the *status quo*, dominated by blocs, and in which there are more strongly expressed aspirations for equitable participation by all peoples and States in international life, renders extremely untenable—I would venture to say, even absurd—any further exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations.

76. The increasing role of the People's Republic of China and its affirmation in the international arena have demonstrated that the People's Republic of China has today become one of the vital factors in international relations, not only in terms of its size, its population and its economic potential but, above all, in terms of what it is capable of offering humanity in an equitable and free exchange in all areas of international activity. The People's Republic of China maintains relations with more than 60 States, and in the course of this year alone 15 States have established diplomatic relations with it.

77. It has already been demonstrated that it is illusory to attempt to build a world of peace and stability by excluding the largest country from the international community and from the sharing of responsibility for world developments and without taking into consideration its needs, capacities and interests. Furthermore, it is unrealistic to expect the world to make substantive progress in the field of disarmament without the co-operation of the People's Republic of China, a country which has joined the ranks of the nuclear Powers. Awareness of that has been further confirmed by the recent initiatives and proposals in the field of disarmament. The enormous human, material and other potentials at the disposal of the People's Republic of China are of vital importance to every comprehensive policy of development. The universal secu-

city defined in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which was adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, is inconceivable without the direct participation of the People's Republic of China; nor is the solution of the present world conflicts possible without the co-operation and participation of that country.

78. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life, an imperative need of our time, can be realized only if the People's Republic of China occupies a seat in the world Organization and makes its contribution to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China would not only contribute towards having the United Nations more realistically reflect the realities of the world but would transform this Organization into a more effective instrument for promoting democratic international relations. With the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations would gain the essential dimension built into the Charter itself but so far absent from the work of our Organization.

79. The development of international relations, one of the vital positive factors of which is the recognition of the reality of the role of the People's Republic of China, whose presence is felt in this house also although it is formally absent, cannot be ignored even by those Member States that until now have chosen to shut their eyes to this reality. The initiation of a dialogue between the United States and the People's Republic of China is the best illustration of the fact that the course of world developments cannot be shaped according to the subjective wishes of individual countries, regardless of their power, but must be shaped according to the realities and the need of the present-day world to recognize the right of all countries to participate on an equal footing in the international community. The pending visit of President Nixon to Peking actually confirms the fact that the People's Republic of China is a reality which must be taken into account. For this very reason, even more unacceptable are the efforts to use artificial barriers and fictitious arguments with a view to obstructing the only realistic and justified solution, based upon restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, who have until now illegally and unjustly usurped the representation of China in the United Nations.

80. The proposal contained in the draft resolution of which Yugoslavia is one of the sponsors [*A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2*] offers the only realistic basis for a solution of this problem. It is necessary frankly and clearly to perceive the essence of the problem facing us, without befogging it with futile rhetoric and new procedural tactics. The question the General Assembly is asked to decide is very simple: should the People's Republic of China be in the United Nations or should it not; should the Government of the People's Republic of China, the legitimate representative of the Chinese people, be accorded the rights which no one any longer denies belong to it?

81. Yugoslavia has resolutely opposed and will continue to oppose the political and legal fiction of the existence of two Chinese States which should be simultaneously seated in the United Nations. That thesis, which is intended to

serve as a semblance of compromise, not only represents an attempt to postpone the solution of this crucial issue, but would lead the United Nations into the dangerous course of violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the Chinese State and nation. There is no need to prove that the United Nations has no right to do this. Such an action would be a precedent which could lead our Organization into dangerous by-paths in the future.

82. Obviously it is not only a question of correcting a gross injustice but also one of eliminating an absurd situation which is being used to prevent the realization of the right of the representatives of more than a quarter of the world's population to take their legitimate place in the United Nations. The persistence of this abnormal situation would also undermine the very foundations of the Organization itself. Attempts to isolate the People's Republic of China from the full-fledged Members of the United Nations are in essence in contravention to the provisions of the Charter and are creating a climate in which the assertion of its fundamental principles becomes difficult.

83. Contemporary developments have already contradicted the validity of arguments favouring the continuation of the existing situation. Therefore, efforts are now being made to intimate that the substance of the problem does not lie in the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, but in the expulsion of a Member of the United Nations. It is unacceptable to have the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China beclouded by another question which basically does not exist as a problem for the United Nations: whom does the régime on Taiwan represent and what is its status? This is even a greater paradox since it has already been confirmed by many international acts that Taiwan is an integral part of China. The General Assembly is therefore not competent to decide how China should solve this internal problem. This matter should be left to the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people.

84. The existence of one China only—whose component part is Taiwan—is not denied even by the opponents of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. According to the Charter, China, which is one of the founders of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, is entitled to only one seat. Therefore, every analogy now offered as a compromise is unfounded. The most recent proposal to settle this question on the basis of "dual representation" actually conceals the already known "two Chinas" position, or, even though this is not admitted openly, the "one China, one Taiwan" position.

85. The essence of the problem is, as already recognized, to put an end to the right of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek régime to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations and to entrust this mandate to the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people, that is, of the Government of the People's Republic of China. There is neither a legal nor a political dilemma as to who represents the Chinese people. Therefore, it is not a matter of expelling a Member State but simply of having the Government truly representing the Chinese people take its seat in the United Nations. In other words, one cannot speak about the application of Article 18 of the Charter,

since a decision is not pending on the expulsion of a Member State but on the restoration of the lawful rights of a Member State, the Government of the People's Republic of China. Consequently, what is involved here is not a precedent which would be harmful to the future of our Organization, but a decision which can only strengthen it.

86. Actually, a further absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations would sanction the impermissible precedent whereby the people and the State are represented by a régime which historical events—that is to say, a successful revolution in China—have defeated and degraded to the status of an emigré régime which continues to exist only by reason of the protection and support of an outside Power.

87. As one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, the Yugoslav delegation is of the opinion that a solution of this question should be sought on a realistic and Charter-based premise: the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese people, with the simultaneous expulsion of the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. The United States draft resolution, document A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2, calling for a two-thirds majority in its substance, constitutes an effort not only to postpone the solution of this central question, but also to impose on the United Nations the unacceptable concept of dual representation of a country. Therefore, this draft resolution cannot be accepted as a procedural one. The United States proposal contained in document A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2 also has the same goal. It is clearly founded on the "two Chinas" concept, which is not only contradictory to the letter and spirit of the Charter, but implies an attack upon the integrity and sovereignty of a State.

88. Therefore, the Yugoslav delegation will not only resolutely oppose the adoption of the draft resolutions contained in those two documents, but will oppose every procedural attempt designed either to postpone or to prevent the solution of the basic issue facing the United Nations: the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

89. The Yugoslav delegation hopes that at this session feelings of reality will prevail over prejudice and narrow interests, and that the General Assembly will take a decisive step in the direction of removing artificial barriers which for more than two decades have been obstructing the solution of this question. The General Assembly holds the key not only to correcting injustice but also to making the United Nations capable of playing an effective role in the solution of pressing international issues.

90. The acceptance of the equitable proposals in draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2 and the rejection of the two United States draft resolutions would not mean the defeat of any individual country, but a victory for the principles of the Charter, a victory for the United Nations, and more specifically a major contribution to the stabilization of international relations.

91. Mr. DOSUMU-JOHNSON (Liberia): But for the importance we attach to this question I would have been very brief. The United Nations is called upon to make the

most momentous decision in the 26 years of its existence. We are being asked to expel a founding Member and a founding father of this Organization on purely ideological grounds because of the preponderance of the practitioners of that ideology in this Organization, the United Nations. That is one of those disadvantages that small States are heir to in the arena of world politics.

92. The so-called rightful place of China in this Organization can be claimed only by, and belong to, the Republic of China. It was the Government of that State which signed China into the United Nations; it was that China that was accepted as a democratic State by the Allied Powers at the end of the Second World War. It was regard for its leaders as leaders of a democratic China that induced President Roosevelt to press acceptance of China as a permanent member of the Security Council. As those leaders still live and administer a portion of China with 14 million people, any attempt to expel them, without cause, from an Organization which they suffered to establish, would be a travesty of the principles of justice. Whether there are 14 million people or 2 million or 1 million, as long as those leaders administer a territory *de facto* and *de jure*, they are considered to rule a State and it is begging the question to say that they do not rule all of Formosa.

93. This novel and revolutionary attempt to expel a sovereign State without due process is an infringement of the internal affairs of that State. Any intervention in any form, by propaganda, by subversion, by diplomacy, by ideology or by boycott, is illegal. The Republic of China, having satisfied the requirements of the international community, is entitled to the support of every Member of this Organization in the maintenance of its national and sovereign continuity.

94. As we attempt to expel one of our number for ideological and/or economic considerations, we must bear in mind that there are no fixed positions in statecraft and much less in diplomacy. Today it is Taiwan, tomorrow it may be your State. It is a precedent that will undermine the Charter of the United Nations, which is the Magna Carta of all African and small States against the encroachments of big-Power politics.

95. Knowing that there is not a Member here who would wish the State he represents to be expelled for any reason whatsoever from this Organization, we should therefore act in no way contrary to our conscience and good judgement and establish any precedent to our future detriment.

96. The trouble with the United Nations today is that justice and truth have been subordinated to ideological expediency and to economic considerations, and Members without conspicuous or arrogant ideological beliefs are often too shy to speak out lest they lose their friends.

97. I implore you to do unto others as you would that they do unto you. A few years ago many of us were head over heels in friendship with the Republic of China. That country gave aid and assistance to many States here today. I do not want to mention their names for delicate reasons. Today, you are saying, "Crucify them! Down with Taiwan!" But you forget all that Taiwan has done for you in the past. But how immoral can men become? What-

soever you sow, remember, so shall you reap, sooner or later.

98. We are committed to the solution of an important socio-political problem, but in our opinion no problem can be resolved in an arena of ideological inconsistencies, if today we are one thing and tomorrow another.

99. There comes a time in every international organization when members become tired of *cliché* agitators and long for peaceful progress and security. They then must take measures to consolidate and secure their organization against troublemakers. This institution, the United Nations, can survive only so long as each Member strives to preserve its collective responsibility for justice and fair play. Some people are prone to parade their weaknesses as if they were virtues. Some of us are moved by every wind of caprice that blows and thus mortgage our dignity and respect.

100. All of us here know that expulsion within the meaning of the Charter is an important question. It is so important that only the politically inept will trifle with it.

101. The Republic of China was here before many Members here gained independence. It voted for the admission of many of them; it also voted for the many organs, commissions, and committees now functioning under the umbrella of the United Nations. If its presence here is illegal and illegally maintained, as you are wont to say, then all its actions since its membership are presumed illegal and therefore the Members whose admission it has voted for and all the commissions and committees validated by its vote are null and void and must therefore cease to function forthwith. All Members which are not founding Members of this Organization that Taiwan voted for are here illegally and must therefore be expelled forthwith. "When you draw rope, rope will draw bush" is a cogent African adage. Let us beware the ides of March.

102. The proponents of expulsion are asking the General Assembly to undermine the security of the United Nations, and by precedent to lay the foundation for further expulsions of any one of us. To expel the Republic of China without any justifiable cause and only on grounds of ideological or economic national interests would be to establish a precedent whose gravamen transcends our present standard of sense. An uncritical acceptance of this projected ideological expulsion will arrest the peaceful continuity of this Organization. The motive, being purely punitive, is consonant neither with logic nor with our sovereign national interests. In this connexion, let me implore representatives to dispel from their minds all previous conceptions and prejudices, until they have made an accurate assessment of the implications of the expulsion of a sovereign State from this Organization—and, then, and only then, come to a just and independent conclusion.

103. We are confident that all reasonable Members will treat this strange principle of expulsion in a spirit of detachment from ideological affinity, with historical understanding, and with scholarly perspective, and will declare it an important question, which it is and will remain unless Members are under some form of duress.

104. The question of China's representation at the United Nations is one of the perennial issues before the General

Assembly. But the signs are that it may soon become history. The delay in resolving this question for almost 25 years has been due to ideological imbalance. The People's Republic of China is Communist controlled, supported by and within the Communist bloc, despite recent rifts in relationship. The Republic of China, on the other hand, is democratic within the Western bloc and is strongly supported by the United States. Here you have the whole issue of this question—socialist imperialists versus capitalist imperialists.

105. The People's Republic of China has a population of about 700 million and has been in virtual control of the mainland since the civil war. The Republic of China controls the island of Formosa with a population of 14 million. Notwithstanding the disparity in size and population, the Republic of China continues to occupy, lawfully, the seat that has been assigned to China at the United Nations for over 25 years. Situations in the governments coming to power through a military *coup d'état* that some representatives have referred to are not analogous to the China situation. The attempt to equate them is a fallacy, and perhaps a fallacy *ad hominem*.

106. The most significant aspects of this question are the following. First, Formosa, it is argued by the proponents of expulsion, is a province of China, and *ipso facto* a part of China. Second, the Republic of China is still on Chinese soil. Third, China was divided by a civil war into two diametrically opposite social and political systems—one communist and the other democratic-republican—and by this fact now consists of two separate and distinct States, like the two German States, the two Korean States and the two Viet-Nameese States—one country divided into two by civil war. This is the same thing that happened in China; civil war divided the country. One side went over here and the other side went over there. Fourth, the Republic of China has met all the requirements of State sovereignty and of the international community. Fifth, it has achieved phenomenal growth since it became a Republic. Sixth, it is exporting to and importing from many States. Seventh, it is a signatory of many international treaties and has diplomatic relations with many States, and has given substantial aid to many States in this Organization, which now turn against it in its hour of need. Eighth, because the Republic of China will not yield to the so-called *embourgeoisement* theory of communism, the Assembly is being asked to expel it from this Organization. If it were communist, none among those who now try to expel it would have lifted a finger against it.

107. Times have changed. It is now clear that an Organization whose goal is universality cannot rest content to bar one fourth of the world's population from its membership—hence some form of compromise is needed.

108. The question—mark my words—is not which Chinese Government should represent China at the United Nations. The Republic of China is already in the United Nations, and only power politics and injustice can put it out of this Assembly.

109. The decision to support the admission of the People's Republic of China is an unavoidable consequence of reality. The People's Republic of China is both populous and of

great power and commercial potential. The only bugbear in the question is the attempt made by some Members to sacrifice the 14 million of Nationalist China, which has legally occupied its seat in the United Nations since its allocation and has remained a peace-loving democratic State, supporting all the provisions of the Charter without blemish. If you were in its position would you want to be expelled from this Organization? The friends of Peking would make our task very easy if they separated the admission clause from the expulsion part of their draft resolution. We are all agreed to have Peking here—there is no question about that—but not at the expense of the Republic of China. We must have both of them here to complete the deal for all time and thus move from polarism to pluralism.

110. The concession by all to admit Peking without expelling Taiwan is one of those things, a compromise dictated by bigness and a sense of reality. We are willing to go along with this. But if legality is the desideratum, as some of Peking's friends have indicated, they must first make application to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion as to which China had the rightful claim at the time of the adoption of the Charter in San Francisco, before final action can be taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council. There is much to be gained by a *quid pro quo*.

111. The argument that two Chinas are contending for one United Nations seat is a subterfuge to carry the point for expulsion. We are at a loss to see how people who advocate universality can in the same breath advocate the expulsion of 14 million people. The 131 members of this Organization are its masters. By their votes they can make any provision for two Chinas, each having a different political system, by any variation of procedural modalities they think reasonable in the circumstances. We can call one Mainland China and the other Island China, or we can say Mainland People's Republic of China and Island Republic of China. We can call them whatever we want; we are the masters of this Organization and we can do anything we want to do with it.

112. The assumption that Peking will not come in if Taiwan is retained as a Member is beside the point. We shall cross that bridge when we come to it. There is a great danger in allowing any State to dictate its own terms of admission to this august body. If tomorrow it should refuse to meet its obligations under the Charter, it could not be compelled to do so because it is here on its own terms. Peking alone cannot overwhelm 131 States including the United States of America and the Soviet Union, whatever its stockpile of bombs.

113. Let us think seriously of what we are about to do. To expel the Republic of China would be to set the stage for another world war. From all the indications, the United States will not abandon its commitments to the defence of Taiwan. After expulsion, Peking might be tempted to invade Taiwan and some States would immediately go to its rescue to maintain peace in the area. In his recent message to President Chiang Kai-shek, President Nixon wrote, as reported in the Press:

"We will weaken no cherished associations; we will break no promises. Our defence commitment remains in

full force and we will continue to support the full participation of the Republic of China in the international community."

114. Throughout my political life I have been a firm believer in the principle of open diplomacy and the open society as a democratic way of life. I shall therefore be happy when statesmen adopt such a policy in their dealings with this world body. Prevarications and double talk which leave members in the dark as to what they will do if certain positions are pursued are immoral and dangerous, to say the least. The history of the Second World War tells us that if von Ribbentrop had been told by a certain great Power that it would go to war if Poland were attacked, Hitler would not have gone to war.

115. Slowly yet unmistakably the strains and irritations engendered by the so-called Buckley threat, which some of us say we do not like, are being accepted as the American way of life. It is a tempest in a teapot. The only serious threat to the United Nations is the attempted expulsion of China. Senator Buckley was being realistic. "If you put my friend out to bring in your friend, you must support your friend without my assistance": That is the logic of it. This has been the attitude of some Members of this Organization regarding the Congo, the Middle East and other questions.

116. This is a period of great diplomatic activity among great and renowned leaders of the world. The small States focus their attention on the United Nations for the amelioration of their disabilities, but the greatest problem we face is secret diplomacy and deceptive silence and polarization and big Power manipulations.

117. If the States which have withheld contributions for various reasons had made known their intentions in advance, when projects were being discussed, the Secretary-General would certainly not have gone ahead with those projects, and thus the financial insolvency which the Organization is in at the moment would have been averted.

118. The proponents of the "two Chinas" approach want to build a stronger United Nations. The expulsion group wants to break up the United Nations. On which side are you? On our side, I hope.

119. Therefore, as we contemplate the long and difficult road leading towards the financial solvency of our Organization, it behooves us to think constructively, and where possible, compromise on measures that tend to curtail the usefulness and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of international co-operation and peace. The Secretary-General, U Thant, tells us that we are in a state of hopeless insolvency, with debts totalling \$189 million and insufficient cash in sight to cover the next months' salaries. It will, in the opinion of my delegation, be very unwise to antagonize the sure, the tested and the certain for the untried and doubtful.

120. To keep Taiwan, the Republic of China, in this Organization while admitting the People's Republic of China will contribute immeasurably to the immediate solvency of the United Nations.

121. This Organization particularly serves the interest of the small nations in their survival. Let us not allow pride, or

ideological attachment or dull-mindedness, or commercial interest to induce us to sacrifice the integrity and solvency of this Organization, man's only hope for survival in our time. The United Nations provides us with a forum to air our displeasure and solicit collective guidance in periods of stress and strain. The great Powers, on the other hand, do not need this Organization for their defence. They see it as an impediment to their freedom of action in some areas of the world and are gradually trying to opt out of it. Walter Sullivan tells us, in an article entitled "East-West Nations to Set Up Center on Technology" in the 14 October issue of *The New York Times*, that eight nations—the point is for us Africans to see how close together they are, that is why it appeals to me—the United States, the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Poland are setting up an International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis under an American director and a Soviet deputy director somewhere in Vienna. Do you realize what this means? We must do nothing to hasten their convergence outside of this Organization. The expulsion of China will offer a pretext to that end.

122. The Republic of China is not a government in exile, as some of us are inclined to say. It is not a liberation movement based somewhere outside of China. It is a sovereign State with full authority over that part it now holds and over which it exercises external authority. Any person to and from there must travel with its *imprimatur*.

123. For many years since the Communist revolution and the civil war which brought the People's Republic of China into being, the two States accepted their division as an accomplished fact, and existed side by side in the eyes of the whole world as distinct sovereign entities.

124. After 26 years of active membership in this Organization of States, how can these gentlemen now tell us that the Republic of China is not a State within the accepted norms of international law? I think their redress lies with the International Court of Justice, in an advisory opinion.

125. My elementary studies way back in the 1920s tell me that the Republic of China meets the requirements to be a State. I will refer some of my friends for refresher to Raymond Gettell, one of the leading exponents of political science and government, for an idea on this.

126. My delegation is one of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/L.632 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.633 and Add.1 and 2, not because of China *per se* but because the United Nations is dear to our hearts, and we shall vote for these draft resolutions in this frame of reference and as a matter of national self-interest.

127. I implore you my friends—even you, my enemies, if there are any among you—to vote for the so-called "two Chinas" draft resolution, and also for the "important question" draft resolution. Having voted the admission of

the two Chinas, your task is ended. The People's Republic of China will find its way into this Organization out of the coldness of isolation.

128. Compromise, gentlemen. I say, compromise is necessary. Half a loaf is better than none. It is the rule of civilized diplomatic practice.

129. Now, the expulsion of any Member is an important question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, expressed in unmistakable language. It requires a decision by a two-thirds-majority vote of the Members present and voting. We have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Republic of China was, and is, a sovereign State, notwithstanding the sophistry of its detractors.

130. As a compromise, let us vote the admission of Peking, and vote against the expulsion of Taiwan.

131. We must oppose vigorously any attempt to expel Nationalist China. Abstention is tantamount to being absent.

132. If, after overtures with the proponents of the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2], the expulsion clause is tied to the admission part of that draft, we must not only abstain but vote against it as a matter of benevolent self-interest.

133. Let not history record that the representatives to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations were the architects of a third world war which, as I have pointed out, is bound to follow as a consequence of the expulsion of China from the community of nations—a war in which there will be no winners but all will be losers.

134. The values and the peace we envisage cannot be achieved by the wholesale slaughter of 14 million men, women and children, but by negotiating a system of coexistence that will ultimately lead to the peaceful unity of the whole Chinese people.

135. With your permission, Mr. President, I beg to end this statement with two examples of the didacticism of Alexander Pope:

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
Man never is, but always to be blest."

"Honour and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all your honour lies."

136. Let us give hope, faith and love to the people of Taiwan. By this shall all men know that you are interested in the welfare, the solidarity and continuity of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.