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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Diallo (Guinea),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 93

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

1. Mr. ESCUDERO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*):
In accordance with express instructions given to me by the
Government of Ecuador, I have the honour and the
privilege of explaining its official view on the representation
of China in the United Nations.

2. For eighteen years now, this item, of vital importance
to the fate of the world, has been vigorously and
aggressively debated in this Assembly, the great forum of
world opinion.

3. Two conflicting and irreconcilable positions have
emerged strongly from the debate: one for maintaining the
status quo by continuing to recognize the so-called Republic
of China established in the island territory of Taiwan or
Formosa, and its right to be represented in our Organiza-
tion; and the other for restoring that right in the United
Nations to the People's Republic of China.

4. In this connexion, I have certain essential preliminary
remarks to make. The Republic of Ecuador is an integral
part of Western civilization and practises its way of life and
the system of representative democracy with all its spiritual
values and free institutions, and therefore has nothing in
common with any of the patterns, forms or derivatives of
any communist philosophy. At the same time, Ecuador
exercises its rights, and fulfils with absolute fidelity its
obligations, as a Member of the United Nations and as a
member of the Organization of American States, which is a
regional body in conformity with the Charter of the United
Nations. In this second capacity, its ties of brotherhood
with each and every one of the members of the great
American family of States are imperishable and indestruc-
tible, and it has always endeavoured to follow this
prevailing thought.

5. However, in the exercise of the supreme rights of
sovereignty and independence, Ecuador considers that it
has the fullest freedom to decide what to think and how to
vote on this great problem of the representation of China,
while recognizing that other States enjoy the same rights
and the same freedom. I must also state that the Govern-
ment of Ecuador maintains normal and friendly diplomatic
relations with the Government of Taiwan, but this gratify-
ing circumstance will not prevent it, fortified by these
rights, from expressing its views, and deciding its vote
freely, impartially and objectively.

6. I shall endeavour, first, to correct an error that has
crept very frequently into this debate which has been going
on for years. That error is the regrettable confusion
between the concepts of State and Government. This
overlooks the fact that the State, as a legal entity and the
political organization of a human community, is character-
ized by its permanence in space and continuity in time,
unlike the Government, which exercises the right of legal
representation of the State and is characterized by its
mutability in time, since political régimes change by virtue
of the principle of legal or illegal succession. The latter is a
question which falls exclusively within the inviolable sphere
of the domestic jurisdiction of the State, and the United
Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are
essentially within such jurisdiction, as is laid down in
paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter.

7. Let us consider briefly the question of the identity of
China, a great nation with a civilization several thousand
years old and an inexhaustible source of human culture.
This great nation, from being an empire, became a republic,
and then as a result of the victorious revolution of October
1949, the communist régime instituted the People's Republic
of China which, for nineteen years, has been exercising
its rights of sovereign authority over its mainland territory
and population. In the meantime, the deposed Government
retained, and continues to retain, a small portion of Chinese
territory and exercises its authority over the island of
Formosa. These are the facts.

8. According to the figures given in the latest United
Nations *Statistical Yearbook*,¹ the territory of Formosa,
with an area of approximately 36,000 square kilometres,
represents scarcely more than one third of 1 per cent of the
territory of the People's Republic of China, which extends
to 9,561,000 square kilometres, while the 12,791,000
inhabitants of Formosa represent approximately 1¼ per cent
of the 710 million inhabitants who constitute the popula-
tion of mainland China.

¹ *Statistical Yearbook 1967*, (United Nations publication, Sales
No.: E.68.XVII.1).

9. It must not be assumed from our mention of this enormous numerical disproportion that we are challenging the legal axiom of the sovereign equality in law of all States, large, medium or small, but sound reason rebels at the idea that the representation of the whole of China in the United Nations should belong to the State which exercises its authority over a very small part of its territory and population.

10. Moreover, the serious mistake of confusing the concepts of State and Government to which I referred earlier has led to the illogical claim that the Government of China which, since 1949, has been confined to the tiny area of Formosa, was one of the founding Governments of the United Nations in 1945, and must accordingly continue to represent for centuries to come, *ad aeternum*, the whole of China in the United Nations and keep its position as a permanent member of the Security Council.

11. It was China as a State, and not as a Government, that was one of the founding members of the United Nations. The Government which signed the United Nations Charter, however, has been replaced by another Government in the whole territory of mainland China and exercises its authority over the overwhelming majority of the country. These arguments are the logical and legal foundation for the claim that the People's Republic of China represents the Chinese nation.

12. So for the Government of Ecuador there are not two Chinas but basically only one. And so the plea that Formosa continues to call itself the Republic of China, irrespective of any question of its sovereign right to do so, does not affect the validity of our argument, because the question is not just one of semantics but of the harsh facts of reality.

13. These views are expressed with all proper respect for the existence, the political personality and the international prestige of Formosa; any other attitude would be incompatible with the fact that Ecuador maintains and cultivates diplomatic relations with the Government of Formosa in a climate of the most genuine friendship.

14. Another obvious error is the suggestion that the problem would be solved if the device were adopted of simply admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, subject to its fulfilling the four requirements laid down for admission in paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter. This error becomes apparent when it is pointed out that there can be no question of admitting a State which itself had, has and will have the right to represent China internationally, as I have explained earlier, and which therefore can never be treated as a candidate for admission to the United Nations.

15. Over and above the legal aspects of the problem lies the imperative political need for the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Here, several grave questions arise which have been repeated innumerable times and which I cannot omit to mention. How is it possible to admit that a great nation of 710 million inhabitants, approximately one quarter of the population of the earth, should not be present in the United Nations?

16. I remember clearly that at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, where I had the great honour to be one of the Ecuadorian delegates, the view was unquestionably held that universality was absolutely essential for the Organization and that it should embrace all fully sovereign States without any exception whatsoever, in order that some day the great ideal might be achieved of having the whole of mankind represented in it.

17. How is it possible that a nuclear Power like the People's Republic of China should be left outside the United Nations and have no part in the all-important questions of disarmament and in the agreements concerning nuclear tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons?

18. I believe, moreover, that it is vital for the United Nations to have the People's Republic of China in their midst because, in its capacity as a Member State, it would be subject to the authority of the Organization, exercising its rights and at the same time fulfilling its obligations for the better and more effective implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and, above all, for the solution of the great problems which stir public opinion and affect the peace and security of the world, a peace and security that are, by their very nature, indivisible.

19. In these circumstances, my delegation feels that it is necessary to clear the ground for international understanding and concord in order that this protracted debate on the representation of China shall not be prolonged *ad infinitum* beyond the limits of human endurance, because, as I mentioned at the beginning of this speech, the question boils down to a clash between two conflicting and irreconcilable positions, a thesis and an antithesis, and what we have to do to solve this conflict is to adopt the methods of Hegelian dialectics and try to devise a synthesis of the two positions.

20. It is the opinion of the delegation of Ecuador that the draft submitted by the delegation of Italy and four other delegations [A/L.550] is constructive in spirit and conciliatory in approach and that it would therefore be unfair to repeat the charge that it is a delaying device to favour the present *status quo* to the detriment of the rights of the People's Republic of China. Nothing is further from the truth than this absurd charge, precisely because the essential merit of this draft is that it does not prejudice the issue to which it relates and steers an impartial middle course between the two opposing theses which the Assembly has been discussing.

21. This draft aims only at the establishment of a Committee of Member States representing all the trends in the Organization, with a mandate limited to exploring and studying the situation of the representation of China in the United Nations in order to make the appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session.

22. The letter and the spirit of this mandate would allow the Committee scope to ascertain the opinions of the parties directly concerned and then to try to dispel their doubts, persuade them to adopt a less inflexible position and produce one or more possible formulas for a solution to the problem.

23. This would involve negotiations, in the widest and noblest acceptance of the term in high diplomacy, but if we persist in the opinion that what is not negotiable cannot be negotiated, then we might as well include the question of the representation of China in the agenda for future sessions of the General Assembly, with the tragic warning inscribed, according to that brilliant genius Dante Alighieri, on the lintel of the gates of hell, "abandon hope".

24. There only remains to examine the question that has been raised by many distinguished delegations of reaffirming the resolution that any proposal designed to change the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, for the settlement of which a two-thirds majority of Members present and voting is required.

25. The question of the representation of China is not one of those covered by the exhaustive enumeration in paragraph 2 of Article 18. Moreover, paragraph 3 of that Article specifies that decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the Members present and voting and the question of China has not been included in any additional category of questions to be decided by a qualified two-thirds majority. It is necessary to differentiate carefully between "categories of questions", which are generic, and simple "questions", which are specific; the question of the representation of China is clearly individual and specific.

26. With regard to the draft submitted by Italy and four other delegations, it would be quite absurd to pretend that it should be considered as an important question as defined in Article 18 of the Charter because, in accordance with Article 22, the General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the purpose of its functions. For the establishment of such organs, obviously just a matter of procedure, a qualified majority is not required, only a simple majority; and it cannot be denied that establishing the committee provided for in that draft would mean establishing a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly.

27. In deciding how to vote on the drafts which have been submitted and on the related questions they entail, the delegation of Ecuador will be guided strictly by the reasoning and the views I have explained.

28. In conclusion, I entertain the hope that the great problem of the representation of China in the United Nations will be accorded a solution prompted by the spirit of justice, far removed from the murky battle of political interests, so that our Organization may affirm its universality, its strength and its efficacy in the supreme task of building the peace and security of the world.

29. Mr. WIGGINS (United States of America): As the General Assembly again takes up the question of the representation of China, its Members must have the melancholy sensations of pupils subjected to repeated instruction on a simple proposition that they have long comprehended. Three draft resolutions are again before us, identical in form and content with those of previous years. These are: first, the "important question" draft resolution

[A/L.548 and Add.1], sponsored by Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, New Zealand, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Thailand, Togo, and the United States. This draft resolution affirms the validity of the Assembly's long-standing decision that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question; second, the draft resolution presented again by Albania and others [A/L.549 and Add.1], which, at a single stroke, would bring into the United Nations representatives of Peking and expel the Republic of China from this Organization and all its related agencies; and third, the "study committee" draft resolution [A/L.550] offered by Italy and several co-sponsors.

30. The "important question" draft resolution [A/L.548 and Add.1] comes first, in order of submission and in logic, for it determines the procedure which shall be applied to the vote on the proposal that follows. Like its predecessors, adopted by the Assembly in the past three years, it affirms the validity of the decision which the General Assembly took in 1961, in its resolution 1668 (XVI), "that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question". By adopting this draft resolution we will once again make clear that any proposal brought before the Assembly to change the representation of China is subject to the two-thirds voting rule which Article 18 of the Charter requires for all Assembly decisions on important questions.

31. The facts can be quickly stated. Article 18 of the Charter provides: "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting." In this much-vexed question, one proposition on which all concerned, regardless of their views on the substance, should be able to agree is that a change in the representation of China would be an important matter. Indeed, after so many reaffirmations by the General Assembly, it is unfortunate that this point should even have to be mentioned again. The very heat and length of our annual debates on this issue strongly suggest that all sides agree that this is an important question in every common-sense meaning of the term.

32. Moreover, this common understanding of the matter is reinforced by the language of Article 18, which enumerates certain classes of questions as being among those subject to the two-thirds rule. Included in this enumeration are several which apply to the present case. Specifically, I would call attention to the following: First, "... the expulsion of Members...". Those who would change China's representation propose the expulsion of a Member—in fact, of a founding Member so named in the Charter. Surely this is and must be an "important question". Second, "the admission of new Members to the United Nations...". Surely, if the admission of any new Member is classed as important, a question pertaining to the representation of China cannot be considered unimportant. Third, "recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security from a proposal to expel from the United Nations the Republic of China and to put in its place a régime which claims the right to conquer and abolish that Republic by armed force. Fourth, the "election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council". Surely if the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council is an important question, a proposal to

change the status of a permanent member must likewise be an important question.

33. Thus the issue is not, as some would have us believe, a mere matter of substituting one set of representatives for another. A proposal to change the representation of any State which is a Member of this Organization carries enormous political consequences—as each of us would surely acknowledge if such a proposal were directed against us. Particularly is this the case in respect to the specific question now before us, the representation of China in the United Nations. It is a question with important political consequences for all Members; an important bearing on the future work and effectiveness of the United Nations; and important implications for international peace and security, particularly in East Asia.

34. What is at stake in this procedural issue is not the question of the representation of China alone, but also a broader issue—the integrity of the United Nations Charter and of our procedures. That the issue is seen in this light is demonstrated by the fact that, in past years, the substantial majority that has supported the “important question” resolution has included Members who hold various views on the question of Chinese representation itself. Some were for one China, some were for another, and some were for both; but they were all united in the position that such a manifestly important matter must be treated as an important question under the Charter.

35. A rule intended to apply to all “important questions” cannot safely be altered by construction to mean that it does not apply to a “particular” “important question” in which some Members are at the moment especially concerned.

36. Every Member of the General Assembly has an equal and continuing interest in faithful adherence to the broad rules on which the orderly transaction of our business depends. That delegation which finds in the two-thirds rule an obstacle to its hopes today may find that same rule a bulwark of its sovereign rights tomorrow. This is particularly the case in matters of membership and representation; for a General Assembly capable of impulsively and irrevocably altering the representation of one of its Members by a vote of one half plus one would be an Assembly in which the sovereignty and membership of many nations could be put in jeopardy. Therefore we urge every delegation, whatever its views may be on the substantive issue of Chinese representation, to vote for the “important question” draft resolution.

37. I come now to the Albanian draft resolution [*A/L.549 and Add.1*]. This resolution calls, in a single proposition, for the seating of representatives of Peking in the United Nations and for the expulsion of the Republic of China from this Organization and all related agencies. I call attention to the fact that these concepts are deliberately joined in a way which is designed to prevent the extrication of one from the other.

38. In fact the most central and distinguishing characteristic of the Albanian draft resolution is its demand to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. In order that there might be no misunderstanding of that fact, the

co-sponsors of this proposal two years ago recast the language previously used so as to ensure that any Member wishing to vote to admit mainland China must simultaneously, whether it wished it or not, vote to expel the Republic of China.

39. The proposal to expel the Republic of China—an integral part of the Albanian draft resolution—has been rejected by the General Assembly at every session and in every forum in which it has been proposed—and quite properly so, for the Charter reserves expulsion for those States which have consistently violated the Charter and are recommended for expulsion by the Security Council. The Republic of China does not answer any part of that description. It is a Charter Member of the United Nations and a Member in good standing. Its record of conformity with the Charter and of active co-operation in the constructive work of the United Nations bears comparison with that of any Member State. The population of some 13 million on Taiwan exceeds that of most Members of the United Nations. To single it out as the first Member in the history of the United Nations to suffer the extreme penalty of expulsion would be completely unwarranted, unjust and contrary to the Charter. It would, moreover, be completely inconsistent with the concept of universality which the co-sponsors insist underlies their approach. This provision alone, whatever views Members may have towards Peking's participation in this Organization, requires that the Albanian draft resolution be again rejected.

40. The basic reason why the General Assembly has consistently rejected the Albanian proposal to expel the Republic of China and to bring representatives of Peking into this Organization is not, of course, hostility towards Peking; nor is it a desire to isolate the people of mainland China from their neighbours or the rest of the world. The basic reason lies in Peking's own actions and policies, so bitterly hostile to the United Nations and so repugnant to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

41. All around the periphery of China, from Korea through Taiwan and South-East Asia to the Himalayas, Peking has continuously sought to resolve international differences not by the route of peaceful settlement laid down in the Charter but by armed force and subversion. Still today it insists on a right to invade Taiwan and overturn the Government of the Republic of China. Still today, when hopes for peace in Viet-Nam and South-East Asia hang in delicate balance, Peking gives every sign that it opposes a peaceful negotiated solution in that area.

42. As many Members here know, Peking's disruptive activities have not been confined to Asia. Under the false banner of anti-imperialism and so-called “peoples' wars”, and using its familiar weapons of subversion, it has done what it could—fortunately, not very much—to weaken and overthrow sovereign Governments as far away as Africa and Latin America. In this period when the Powers of the world, encouraged by the United Nations, have at last begun to make progress towards an end to the nuclear arms race, Peking's policy has been to condemn all these efforts, to spurn all suggestions that it join in them, and to pursue the atmospheric testing of its own nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, the fall-out from which encircles the globe.

43. Finally, in keeping with these harsh policies, Peking has shown nothing but hostility and contempt for the United Nations. Its leaders even speak of "transforming" the United Nations, of altering its membership and of rewriting its history before they will consent to take a seat here.

44. Surely, in the light of all these facts—none of which has essentially changed in the past year—it is impossible to argue persuasively that the participation of Peking in the United Nations at this juncture would contribute to the cause of peace or to the work of this Organization. Instead it would be a source of discord and disruption in the efforts of the United Nations to discharge its heavy responsibilities. Its presence in the Security Council, for example, would severely weaken the Council's ability to discharge its heavy responsibilities for international peace and security.

45. I am aware that some delegations disagree and maintain that the presence of Peking in the United Nations on virtually any terms would somehow benefit the United Nations by increasing its universality. However, if universality is their aim, the sponsors of the Albanian draft resolution have found the wrong vehicle, for their resolution is so worded that no Member can vote for the admission of the People's Republic of China without thereby also voting to expel the Republic of China on Taiwan. That expulsion, indeed, is the only certain effect of the Albanian draft resolution. Thus, in the name of universality, we could find ourselves less universal by one Member—and an admirable Member at that. The far-reaching proposals in the Albanian draft resolution are unacceptable. My country will again vote against this draft resolution and we urge that it be decisively rejected.

46. Finally, I come to the third proposal before the Assembly: the draft resolution offered by Italy and four other co-sponsors [A/L.550]. This draft resolution makes a purely procedural proposal, namely, that a committee be appointed to study various views on this question and make a report to the next regular session of the Assembly. Draft resolutions virtually identical with this were introduced in past years. My Government voted for them, recognizing that they did not in any way prejudice the outcome of the proposed study. On the same basis the United States will again vote in favour of the "study committee" draft resolution. Such are the views of the United States on the three draft resolutions now before us.

47. When considering the Albanian draft resolution in particular—its patently unacceptable terms, its arrogant and tendentious language, little changed from that which the Assembly has rejected year after year—one cannot help wondering whether its sponsors are serious or are merely going through an annual ritual for reasons best known to themselves. Still more is one forced to wonder whether the leaders in Peking themselves really look forward to entering the United Nations at any time or are content to have their advocates here harass this Organization with proposals couched in purposely offensive language and containing conditions that are known in advance to be utterly unacceptable.

48. Thus there is a certain flavour of unreality about the question of Chinese representation as it has been raised here

year after year. The reality lies elsewhere—in Peking itself—and evidently for the time being it lies beyond the reach of the United Nations. The real, underlying issue is whether and when the leaders in Peking will decide to permit their great people, with all their talents, achievements and potential, to enter into a peaceful and constructive relationship with the community of nations. Unfortunately, as I have indicated already, my Government sees little ground for hope of early progress in that direction; but we remain convinced that mainland China must ultimately—and the sooner the better—return to the family of nations.

49. For our part, we in the United States have sought for years, and we continue to seek, every prudent and appropriate way to foster such a development. We believe that this can be done, not by yielding to unreasonable and one-sided demands but by patiently and imaginatively exploring concrete possibilities for constructive contacts.

50. We do not accept as final the many rebuffs which Peking has dealt to our efforts in this direction in past years. On the contrary, we have continued to make new suggestions. Last May, our Government invited Chinese communist journalists to come and observe our presidential election campaign. We have also informed numerous non-governmental organizations that we have no objection to their inviting Chinese communist participants to meetings in this country, and that we are prepared to issue visas to such persons, subject to the same legislation that applies to other visitors.

51. All these initiatives, and many others that preceded them, have been rejected or ignored by Peking. But my Government intends to keep on trying. We are determined that whatever influence we may be able to exert on the intentions of the Peking authorities towards the outside world shall be in a constructive direction. We see no choice but to be firm against aggression, and patient and persistent in the search for better relations; for the ultimate outcome, we must rely upon the maturing and healing effects of time.

52. The great issue of communist China's future reconciliation with the world is not now before this Assembly. The immediate issue before us is whether a Government which has faithfully fulfilled the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations should be expelled. My Government believes firmly that such action would not contribute to a resolution of the larger issue of communist China's future reconciliation with the world and that it would violate the basic principles on which the United Nations was founded. It is perhaps not within the power of any nation, nor of the larger community of nations, now to deal constructively with that larger issue, for it is an issue whose time will come only when Peking is prepared to move towards reconciliation.

53. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*translated from French*): For many years now, a sustained and uninterrupted struggle has been going on in the United Nations between, on the one hand, American imperialism and its partners, who wish to use the Organization as a tool for the furtherance of their policy of aggression and domination of peoples and, on the other hand, those Member States, upholders of freedom, justice and progress, which insist on respect for the

fundamental provisions of the Charter and their correct appreciation, in conformity with the deep-seated aspirations of peoples, their inalienable rights and the cause of international peace and security. It is a reflection of the struggle being waged by the peoples of all continents against imperialism, colonialism and their lackeys. This conflict between the two groups of States extends to all areas of United Nations activity and touches upon all the problems—political, economic and social—with which the United Nations has to deal.

54. Of all these questions, the one that arouses the most violent opposition between the two trends is the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This, of course, is explained by the fact that the question is bound up with the great world-wide anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement of which the People's China is the staunchest and most powerful defender, and also by the fact that on its solution depends, to a very large extent, the possibility of creating the essential conditions for the rehabilitation of the United Nations itself and for setting it on the right track. Hence the great importance of the present debate and of the struggle being waged for that purpose by the peaceful Member States.

55. Is there any need to explain why such a question continues to this day to come before the United Nations and why it has been under discussion for nineteen consecutive years without reaching a solution?

56. Is there really any need to state and to explain here that the entire responsibility for this situation rests with the United States of America, which has artificially created this problem and is doing its utmost, by every possible means and every perfidious trick, to prevent the great People's China from participating in this Organization.

57. Obviously there is no need for any such explanation. Everyone is well informed about it; everyone knows perfectly well why in the United Nations there was created and has persisted so long such a sordid and unprecedented situation, such a scandalous state of affairs which offends the feelings and the dignity of all honourable men, namely, that in this hall, the seat of the greatest State in the world, socialist China with its 700 million inhabitants, is usurped by the dregs of a venal clique rejected finally and for ever by the Chinese people since the triumphal day of their great popular revolution.

58. The real reason for this abnormal and odious situation, so prejudicial to the United Nations, and one of the main causes of its decline, is known not only to those who, from this rostrum, proclaim it and raise their voices in the most vehement protest, but also to other Members which, for various reasons, do not feel themselves in a position to express their sentiments publicly even to those which, as a consequence of the manifold perfidious pressures of American imperialism, find themselves obliged to support the latter's untenable position on this issue.

59. It is therefore obvious to all, without any exception, that this abominable situation is the result of the aggressive policy of counter-revolution and world dominion being relentlessly pursued by United States imperialism, a policy

shared in recent years by its new partners, and worthy partners they are, the Soviet revisionist clique, these new imperialists who have arrived too late on the world stage.

60. Many have been the subterfuges, the various manoeuvres and the calumnies of every kind to which over the years the United States has resorted for the purpose of continually creating fresh obstacles to the sincere efforts of Members genuinely interested in the question and preventing any possible solution.

61. Not to go too far back into the past, I need only mention the absurd theory of the "two Chinas", so-called, which reveals the very essence of American imperialistic aims in the matter, or the alleged question of procedure the purpose of which is to prevent the General Assembly, contrary to the relevant provisions of the Charter, from pronouncing on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of China except by a two-thirds majority.

62. It is well known that all the cynical pretexts and all the ignoble subterfuges that have been used one after the other by United States Governments have been ignominiously unmasked and repudiated by those Members which uphold justice and are wedded to the principles of the Charter; they have been severely condemned by all the peoples of the world and thus have served only to discredit the American imperialists still further in the eyes of international public opinion, but at the same time at the cost of undermining still further the authority of the United Nations itself.

63. All these facts have amply demonstrated the illegal, fallacious and intolerable character of the position of American imperialism on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, as well as the aggressive designs of its anti-Chinese policy. Over the years this has provided an accumulation of irrefutable evidence of the Machiavellian and brutal policy of the American imperialists—these most highly qualified representatives of fascism and nazism in our age—in their frenzied determination to maintain their fundamentally hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China and all peoples struggling against imperialists and colonialists and their henchmen for freedom, self-determination and independence.

64. The hostile and aggressive activity displayed by the United States of America in all fields against the People's Republic of China, including their arbitrary and ignominious position with regard to its legitimate rights in the United Nations, is the continuation of the old policy of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of China, a policy which ended in most dismal failure in 1949 when, in the Tien An Men Square in Peking, artillery salvos announced to the world the triumph of the great socialist revolution in China, an event which marks a milestone in the thousand-year history of the Chinese people and has been of immense historical importance to the revolutionary forces of all continents and to the destiny of progressive mankind as a whole.

65. All the aggressive activities carried on since then by the American imperialists and their collaborators against the People's Republic of China—the conduct of subversion, of their policy of provocation, of acts of aggression, plans

for the economic blockade and strategic encirclement of China and so forth—have irremediably and ignominiously failed in the face of the iron will of the Chinese colossus, of the invincible power of great socialist China which has never ceased to move forward at a gigantic pace, striding from victory to victory on the path of revolution. In its struggle against the designs of its enemies, the People's Republic of China has enjoyed the sympathy and the full support of all revolutionary peoples which see it as the consistent and unshakable defender of their national and social liberation movement against the aggression and oppression of the imperialists and their allies, old and new.

66. Thus, our struggle here over the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is indissolubly linked with the struggle on a world scale which is being pursued by all the progressive forces against the dark enslaving forces headed by United States imperialists and the Soviet-American conspiracy to rule the world.

67. Alongside all its fraudulent efforts, its various expedients and all its pretexts and fallacious attempted justifications, alongside the resolutions it has imposed on the General Assembly in flagrant violation of the Charter, the United States has the impudence, for the purpose of its obstructionist aims regarding the rights of China, to engage at every session in all kinds of the most shameless slanders against China, slanders which have every time been repeatedly rejected by many Member States. The United States representatives in the United Nations, unrestrained by any scruple, have even had the effrontery to accuse socialist China, which is recognized by all the peoples of the world as the supremely peaceful country, of following an aggressive foreign policy. And the United States representative did not fail to do so once again in the statement he has just made. The height of cynicism is the fact that, finding itself completely out of arguments on this subject, the United States does not hesitate to attribute to China the aggressions for which it is itself responsible, such as, among others, the barbarous aggressions by the United States in Korea and Viet-Nam. Clearly, the American imperialists as a result of following a policy of international gangsterism, of intervention of every kind in the domestic affairs of other States, including armed intervention, of the most savage and atrocious aggression and outrage against freedom-loving peoples and countries in all continents, have got themselves into such a state of aberration and frenzy that they do not realize what nonsense they are talking and do not hesitate to resort to all kinds of senseless fabrications to hide their monstrous crimes against humanity, so utterly incapable are they of realizing how ridiculously they are behaving.

68. Is it really necessary to speak here of the aggression in Korea and of the authors of that aggression? Who does not know that it was the United States imperialists who perpetrated against that country one of the most barbarous aggressions in the period that followed the Second World War? Is there any need to remind you here that the heroic volunteers of the Chinese people came to Korea to support their Korean brothers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in their struggle, in legitimate self-defence, against imperialist American invaders from thousands of kilometres away? Everyone is well aware that the Korean War is one of the best illustrations of the policy of war and aggression of the American imperialists, of the barbarism of which

they are capable in carrying out such a policy. The assistance lent by the Chinese people to their brother Korean people is a striking example, of historic significance, of the policy of proletarian international solidarity of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people taught the American aggressors a good lesson in showing them what the great socialist China really is, how indestructible is its power and how loyally it applies its internationalist policy on behalf of peoples struggling against imperialist aggression.

69. And we must remember that, immediately after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement of 1953, the volunteer forces of the Chinese people withdrew from North Korea, while the United States of America, in flagrant violation of the provisions of that Agreement, not only maintained its military occupation of South Korea, but also further strengthened its forces and transformed the territory into a colony and an armed camp in accordance with its aggressive plans against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China.

70. But is there any need to state here also who is the aggressor in Viet-Nam? Is there any need to speak of the barbarous war that the Yankee aggressors have been waging for years in that country? Of course, all the delegations here will say that there is absolutely no need to do so and that the United States accusations about the Viet-Nam war are simply absurd. Nevertheless, strange as it may seem, the American imperialists do not hesitate to resort to such absurdities in order to accuse China of being the aggressor. They do not hesitate to launch the most absurd accusations against the People's Republic of China when it is they who are relentlessly pursuing against that very country a radically hostile and aggressive policy, extending from every kind of provocation to acts of aggression, to plots and aggressive plans, drawn up in concert with the Soviet Union revisionists, for the establishment of a strategic cordon round China and the preparation of a war against it. Who is unaware of the aggressive intrigues of the American imperialists against the People's Republic of China, their frequent violations of its territorial integrity and air space and the provocations of the American Seventh Fleet? It is no secret to anyone that the United States of America has established around China a great network of military bases—land, sea and air—including nuclear bases, and has even occupied militarily and transformed into a base for aggression the Chinese province of Taiwan, in addition to the territories we have just mentioned, such as South Viet-Nam, South Korea and others.

71. Is there any need to go on describing the innumerable criminal activities of every kind indulged in by the United States of America in the four corners of the world? Is there any need to list all the aggressions it has perpetrated, either alone or in concert with other partners and accomplices in every area of the world, such as the Middle East, in particular, the latest American-Israeli aggression of 5 June 1967 against the Arab countries; in Africa, the aggression against the Congo; in Latin America, the aggressions against Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and still others? The list of all the bloodthirsty deeds of the United States of America against peoples, of all its barbaric aggressions and all its atrocious and monstrous acts during the period following the Second World War, is inexhaustible. Today, the United

States of America is the enemy number one of the peoples, it is the most savage imperialist and colonialist Power, the principal defender of the other colonialist Powers and bears the principal responsibility for the maintenance of the abhorred system of colonial enslavement of peoples, for their oppression and barbaric exploitation. All these facts are patent and known to all. And despite all this, the United States imperialists still have the impudence to accuse socialist China of pursuing an aggressive policy, when it is well known to one and all that there is not a single Chinese soldier outside China's frontiers, not a single Chinese military base on foreign soil and that no country has ever been attacked by the People's Republic of China.

72. The threat to the peace and security of peoples constituted by the policy of war and aggression of the United States of America has been further aggravated in recent years by the support which this policy has found from the Soviet revisionist clique which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and transformed the Soviet Union into a new imperialist Power. A counter-revolutionary imperialist "holy alliance" now binds these two Powers, which have managed to co-ordinate their positions and their criminal behaviour as part of the world strategy of this alliance and of their insane plans for the division of the world into zones which, according to them, should be under the influence, or better, under the domination of one or the other.

73. Confronted with ever-growing internal and external difficulties, crippled by an economic and political crisis, panic-stricken and prostrated by the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the whole world for national and social liberation, these two Powers, despite their imperialist contradictions, are daily consolidating still further their counter-revolutionary alliance and intensifying their aggressive activities for the purpose of suppressing and subjugating the peace-loving revolutionary peoples. Today, when one of these Powers is the direct author of the crime, the other is the accomplice, or vice versa. This is particularly true of the barbaric aggression of the American imperialists in Viet-Nam which has been going on for years, of the American-Israeli aggression last year against the Arab countries, and the treacherous aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia.

74. The main target of this collusion between the two Powers is of course the People's Republic of China, for it constitutes an insuperable barrier to the attainment of their sinister designs of world domination; it constitutes the impregnable bastion for the defence of the freedom of peoples and of their struggle for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and racism.

75. The aggressive activities of the American imperialists against China which we have just mentioned are now being pursued in concert with the Soviet revisionists and with their active co-operation. This is borne out, *inter alia*, by the co-ordinated efforts of the two Powers to strengthen their ties with reactionary cliques and governments in the countries of Asia and the Far East, and by their attempts to bring these countries into a military alliance against the People's Republic of China in pursuit of their plans for the strategic encirclement of that country. The Soviet revisionists have taken it upon themselves to complete the military encirclement of China by concentrating large military

forces along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolia borders. They have committed armed provocations against China and have recently intensified their violations of its air space, as is indicated in the note dated 16 September 1968 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

76. Thus, it is quite obvious that it is not China but you imperialists and you revisionists who are pursuing an aggressive policy, not only against China but against all the revolutionary peoples of the world; it is not China but you who follow, and in the guise of various formulas and "doctrines" have transformed into a system the policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, of aggression and oppression against peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples. There is no Chinese fleet standing off the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of the United States or those of other countries, and there are no Chinese aircraft flying over the territory of the United States or the Soviet Union; the United States Seventh Fleet, on the other hand, is committing provocations and engaging in piratical activities along the coasts of China and in its territorial waters, just as United States and Soviet fleets are operating in the Mediterranean and engaging in provocative acts as a means of threatening and bringing pressure to bear on the peaceful peoples and countries of that region, as part of the aggressive plans of the two Powers. It is likewise your aircraft which are committing provocations and violating the air space of the People's Republic of China. It is not China but you who have established land, sea and air military bases on foreign soil in various parts of the world, bases which constitute a direct threat to the peace and security of the countries in which they have been established as well as to general peace and security. Lastly, China has not occupied any foreign territory or any part of the territory of the United States of America, such as Long Island, for example, but the United States long ago invaded Taiwan and now occupies it militarily in pursuit of its imperialist and aggressive plans against China.

77. It is therefore not China but your policies of counter-revolution, war and aggression, your world-wide conspiracy against the freedom of revolutionary peoples, your criminal activities of every kind, that are a threat to international peace and security and that have incurred the profound hatred and vigorous condemnation of the peoples of the entire world, as evidenced in particular by the lively demonstrations outside your embassies in a number of countries, where cries of "Yankee go home" and "Russians go home" are to be heard.

78. All the frantic activity of the American-Soviet bloc, all its criminal actions are part of the concerted world strategy of the two Powers directed against the world movement of peoples for national and social liberation and, primarily, against the People's Republic of China, which is a powerful bastion blocking the implementation of their sinister plans for counter-revolution and world domination. It is of course obvious that all the anti-Chinese plots and plans of the imperialist-revisionist bloc are doomed to ignominious failure and if the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists dare to launch a military attack against the People's Republic of China, the 700 million Chinese people will undoubtedly inflict upon them a crushing defeat and will destroy them once and for all.

79. The American-Soviet conspiracy against the People's Republic of China and all the anti-Chinese activities are undoubtedly a reflection of the weakness of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism and of the fear inspired in them by the growing strength and rapid expansion of the great socialist China in all fields.

80. The brilliant victory which has just been won by the Chinese people in the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally launched and directed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, is of historic importance not only for the fate of the revolution and of socialism in China, but also for the cause of revolutionary forces throughout the world, which find in it an unfailing source of inspiration and encouragement in their struggle for national and social liberation. The setting up of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, autonomous regions and towns of China—with the exception of the province of Taiwan, still occupied by the American imperialists—marks the triumph of the ideas and of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung over the reactionary line of Liu Shao-Ch'i, that Khrushchev of China, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism in China over revisionism and imperialism.

81. For the enemies of the people—American imperialism and Soviet revisionism—the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution constitutes the most crushing and mortal blow; for it has destroyed once and for all their counter-revolutionary plots and has dashed their vain hopes of capturing the Chinese stronghold from within by means of so-called “peaceful evolution” and of thus restoring capitalism in China. This explains their rage and their barefaced smear campaigns against the great proletarian cultural revolution, which they have conducted without interruption over the past two years using all possible means, such as radio broadcasts from Moscow and the United States and all kinds of anti-Chinese publications and propaganda material, including material which the organs and delegations of those two Powers have had circulated here in the United Nations on the very eve of the debate in the General Assembly on the question of the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations.

82. The very fact that these sworn enemies of the people will stick at nothing and make all kinds of false allegations to obscure and distort the true significance of the historic victory won by the Chinese people in its great proletarian cultural revolution is one more proof of the correctness of the course followed in that revolution, of its Marxist-Leninist authenticity, of the irresistible force which it represents and of its historic significance for socialism in China and for the revolution and struggle of the peoples of the world for freedom and independence against the world-wide imperialist-revisionist conspiracy to dominate the world.

83. The victorious development of the great proletarian cultural revolution has increased ten-fold the revolutionary strength and vitality of the Chinese people. The fervent and stimulating atmosphere created by that revolution has unleashed a marvellous new creative impulse among the talented working masses, thus giving an unprecedented impetus to the development of the People's Republic of China in all spheres. In the new atmosphere of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the unprecedented en-

thusiasm and momentum generated by that revolution, the great Chinese people, basing themselves firmly on the revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and on his watchword “Forward with the revolution and step up production”, have secured outstanding results in all branches of production. This is shown in particular by the successes achieved in industrial production, higher agricultural yields and the excellent crops harvested this year.

84. The great People's Republic of China has astounded the world by the tremendous successes it has achieved in the socialist construction of the country. China is today a powerful socialist State, possessing a modern industry, advanced socialist agriculture, a genuinely proletarian culture and education, and a high level of living. It has attained the highest summits of science and technology in the world today, it is equipped with a defensive force comprising the most modern weapons, such as atomic and hydrogen bombs, guided missiles and other instruments of war, capable of destroying in all circumstances any possible aggressor.

85. China's possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs has broken for ever the nuclear monopoly of imperialism and revisionism; this fact has been welcomed with great enthusiasm by all revolutionary peoples, because nuclear weapons in the hands of socialist China are a factor of immense significance in their struggle for freedom and independence against imperialist and revisionist threats and blackmail. It should be recalled that, in developing its nuclear arsenal, China has stated on more than one occasion that in no event will it be the first to use atomic weapons.

86. China has always been, and remains, in favour of the prohibition and elimination of all nuclear weapons, the complete destruction of all existing stocks of such weapons and a final ban on their production. It has rejected the tripartite Moscow Treaty of 1963 which legalizes underground nuclear weapon tests, as well as the infamous Soviet-American treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the purpose of which is to impose the two-Power nuclear monopoly on non-nuclear countries.

87. In the present international situation, when the consequences of the Soviet-American counter-revolutionary plot are becoming more apparent every day and represent an increasingly serious threat to international peace and security, the role of great socialist China and its revolutionary foreign policy have a particular impact and significance and throw a new light on the development of the world situation.

88. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is that of a Power which has carried out a great popular revolution of historic significance and which remains faithful to the high internationalist principles of that revolution. Accordingly, the People's Republic of China follows a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, a policy of good neighbourliness and international co-operation based on the principles of the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States and mutual respect. In all its relations, China adheres strictly to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, of which, as is well known, it was one of the promoters and defenders. China's strict respect of those principles is in

sharp contrast with the policy of intervention and aggression pursued by the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists. Manifestations of national egoism and great-Power chauvinism are completely alien to the People's Republic of China.

89. On the basis of these principles, socialist China maintains normal and friendly relations with a large number of countries throughout the world. At present, it has established diplomatic relations with about fifty countries and maintains trade relations with more than 120 countries and territories, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. It should be stressed that China contributes greatly, and very sincerely, to the efforts of the new countries of Asia, Africa and elsewhere to promote their economic development and strengthen their political independence. In this field, China's guiding principle is that every country should rely primarily on its own energies and Chinese assistance is intended only to foster this idea. This is an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolutionary principle of immense importance for the future of peoples, and for their economic and political independence.

90. The People's Republic of China uses its power, its vast economic resources and its international prestige to support and advance the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence and for international peace and security. It is steadfastly opposed to the policies of aggression and war of the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists, and resolutely supports the anti-imperialist and the anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples and the world revolutionary movement for a free, independent and prosperous life. One need only recall in this report its proletarian internationalist solidarity and its authentically Marxist-Leninist position with regard to its brother people of Viet-Nam, a victim of American imperialist aggression; its resolute denunciation and severe condemnation of the Israeli imperialist aggression against the Arab countries and of the aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia; its unshakable condemnation of colonialism in all its forms and of the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the United States of America and its partners, the racists of southern Africa and others.

91. Great socialist China today is an invincible Power and the impregnable stronghold of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. Thanks to its steadfast Marxist-Leninist position and its untiring support for the cause of the peoples of the world, it has won the sympathy and faith of progressive mankind as a whole. The great proletarian cultural revolution has enormously strengthened and consolidated its power. The great Chinese people, armed with the Marxist-Leninist creed of Mao Tse-tung, will be even better placed to display its internationalist spirit and give still more effective support to the struggle for liberation of the peoples of the world.

92. In this connexion, Prime Minister Chou En-lai, in his address of 18 June 1968 at a banquet in honour of President Nyerere, said, in particular:

"As far as we are concerned, we shall not disappoint the hopes our friends have placed in us. Proletarian internationalism is the supreme guiding principle of our foreign policy. We shall continue vigorously to develop relations with friendly countries on the basis of the five

principles of peaceful coexistence. We shall tighten our bonds still closer with the peoples of the world, to continue to the end the struggle against American imperialism and its lackeys, and against modern revisionism."

93. The relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China constitute a striking example of what can be the relations of close friendship and solidarity and of co-operation and brotherly assistance between two socialist countries guided by the same Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist principles. The People's Republic of China has always found itself side by side with the Albanian people, both in the good days and in the difficult times we have known as a result of the efforts of the revisionists and imperialists to try and prevent the building of socialism in Albania. The People's Republic of China has at all times given our people brotherly and invaluable assistance in support of our task of building socialism in our country.

94. The message which Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chou En-lai addressed on 18 September 1968 to Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, in which they expressed the resolute and unshakable support of the great Chinese people for the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their fatherland, in face of the aggressive threats of the Soviet revisionists and the imperialists, provides new and striking evidence of the brotherly ties of friendship between our two socialist countries, of their force and their fighting spirit, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our two peoples, guided by their Marxist-Leninist parties, are firmly resolved to preserve and further strengthen friendship between Albania and China, in the interests of the two countries and of our common cause.

95. In his statement of 30 September 1968, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking of Albanian-Chinese friendship, said:

"The Albanian people is happy that a true revolutionary and fighting friendship, a friendship pure and strong as steel, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, binds our two parties, our two peoples and our two socialist countries together. This friendship, born and tempered in the common struggle for the cause of revolution and socialism, and put to the test in the storms of revolution and in heroic battles against the common enemies—imperialism and modern revisionism—is indestructible. It will endure through the ages for the good of our peoples and in the interests of the great cause of communism which unites us. No storm is capable of shaking its foundations of granite."

96. The deprivation of the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations is one of the darkest stains on the annals of this Organization. It constitutes the most flagrant and shameless violation of the Charter and of the fundamental principles governing relations between States, and is at the same time the clearest evidence of the pernicious way in which the United Nations is manipulated by the United States of America and is, therefore, a most terrible blow to the Organization's authority and prestige. It constitutes a most ignoble discrimination against the greatest State in the world—great socialist China—and history knows of no greater scandal for an international

institution like the United Nations, which under its Charter is supposed to aim at universality. And this scandal has been going on for nineteen years, despite the sincere efforts made over the years by Member States genuinely attached to the principles of the Charter and desirous of turning the Organization into an effective instrument in the service of the peoples of the world and for the cause of freedom and international peace and security. The overwhelming majority of Member States repudiate this hateful situation, and their delegations are grieved and profoundly indignant at the fact that the place of powerful socialist China with a population representing one fourth of mankind is usurped by the elements of a clique of renegades, that rotten clique of Chiang Kai-shek which represents no one. Nevertheless, this state of affairs, however blameworthy, still persists, because of the *diktat* imposed by the United States of America upon some of the Member States.

97. There is no need to say or to explain here that there is only one China in the world, that there is only one Chinese State: the People's Republic of China. This is well known by everyone and no one is in a position to deny it. No one can question the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China—and that Government alone—has the authority and the necessary attributes to represent China and the whole of the Chinese people in international relations and in all international conferences and institutions. That Government—and that Government alone—is empowered to exercise the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. The social régime that the revolutionary Chinese people have adopted is their own affair; it is a question that concerns them alone and no government—and certainly not the United Nations—has the right to intrude in the domestic affairs of China.

98. As the whole world knows—and this is further confirmed in international documents that we have often quoted here—Taiwan is a Chinese province and constitutes an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. It is useless for the American imperialists, their partners and their lackeys to endeavour by various means, to defend the fallacious theory of the "two Chinas". All their efforts and all their ruses are doomed to total failure. The heroic Chinese people will succeed in liberating from the Yankee imperialists that part of its national territory which is called Taiwan.

99. All the abject schemings of the United States of America, all the pressures it has exerted upon Member States, all the fabrications and fallacious manoeuvres to which it has resorted over the years with a view to preventing the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations, have also helped to expose the aggressive character and brutality of the policy of that imperialist Power, and its profound hatred of the Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China. All these hateful acts of the United States of America and its collaborators—old and new—can in no way harm China, which is prospering and becoming stronger every day despite the United Nations and those that lay down the law here. They have harmed only the United Nations, its prestige and its ability to fulfil its role in accordance with the principles of the Charter. It is not China that needs the Organization, but rather the United Nations that has an imperative need to see this great Power take its rightful place here and make its valuable

contribution. Indeed, the whole world knows perfectly well that without the great country of China none of the leading problems of our time can find a meaningful solution. The majority of Member States not only recognize the vital necessity of China's presence in the Organization but desire it whole-heartedly, having regard to the present international situation and the urgent problems calling for a solution. They desire it all the more since, in addition to the hold of the United States over the Organization, now American-Soviet collusion has turned the United Nations into a bargaining shop, at the expense of the popular cause, of the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of Member States and of international peace and security.

100. The restoration to the People's Republic of China of the seat which rightfully belongs to it in the United Nations would not only constitute the redress of an unprecedented and intolerable injustice to the great Chinese people, but would at the same time mark a very important first step towards correcting the shortcomings and deviations and righting the wrongs so often noted here with respect to the Organization's activities towards bringing it once more into line with the will of the peoples and the purposes and principles of the Charter.

101. We and many other delegations have repeatedly demonstrated in the past that the fraudulent manoeuvre of the United States of America—repeated once more at this session in draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1—is unlawful and contrary to the Charter. We do not feel it necessary, therefore, to embark on another detailed discussion of the totally unfounded character of this untenable claim of the United States. The draft resolution purports to present the question of the restoration of China's rights as a question of the admission of a new Member—which requires a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly for its solution—a claim which is totally false and inadmissible.

102. China is a Member of the United Nations; it is in fact one of its founding Members and at the same time a permanent member of the Security Council. The question here is not the admission of a new Member but merely the recognition of the representatives of a State that is already a Member, namely the People's Republic of China.

103. Everything then boils down to a mere verification of credentials, to a procedural question, the settlement of which requires no more than a simple majority in the General Assembly.

104. As long ago as 1949, the United Nations should have taken note of the historic event of the triumph of the Chinese people's revolution, and should have immediately given China's seat in the United Nations to the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China and at the same time expelled from this Organization and all its organs the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has been overthrown and rejected for all time by the Chinese people. This has in fact been the practice followed by the Organization in a number of cases of countries where there have been changes of government or régime. Member States cannot tolerate any longer the discriminatory position contrary to the Charter, which the United States of America has so far imposed upon the General Assembly.

105. As to the renewed proposal by Italy to set up a committee to study the question [A/L.550]—a proposal which has already been rejected by the General Assembly at its past two sessions—the Albanian delegation, for the same reasons given at those sessions, categorically opposes any such move, which is designed to save the face of American imperialism in its absurd and brutal attitude on the question now under discussion and to defer solution of the problem from year to year, and at the same time to further the American plot of the “two Chinas”, which is irretrievably doomed to failure.

106. The Albanian delegation considers that the time has come for the small countries, the developing countries and all peace-loving countries—which constitute the overwhelming majority here—to realize that this scandalous situation regarding the lawful rights of China can no longer be tolerated. This is demanded by all peoples fighting for freedom and independence against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is in keeping with the vital interests of the majority of Member States and is an essential requirement for correcting the errors of the Organization and setting it once more on the right path; this is more imperative than ever today, when the Organization is so weighed down by the American-Soviet conspiracy, which is specifically directed against peaceful peoples and countries, their vital interests, their freedom and their independence.

107. We who constitute the great majority all fully recognize the imperative need for the presence of socialist China in the Organization and do not underestimate its enormous importance and the great positive role it can play, at our side, against the imperialist-revisionist bloc and its criminal conspiracies. This is so obvious that, even in the absence of China from the United Nations, whenever an important world problem arises today, the delegations of Member States, all United Nations circles and all those working for the Organization are anxious to know China's

point of view and position, because China follows a wise and far-sighted policy and represents one fourth of all mankind. The position of the People's Republic of China on such problems thus serves as a guide to freedom-loving peoples and countries. Without that great world Power, there can be no true and meaningful solution for the vital problems of our times.

108. The Albanian delegation expresses the hope that the majority of Member States, fully aware of the present international situation, of the state of affairs now obtaining in the United Nations and of the duties incumbent upon them in this respect, will decide to shoulder their responsibilities and put an end to this harmful and intolerable situation, which does no credit either to the Organization or to its Member States.

109. The adoption by the General Assembly of draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1, sponsored by Albania and fifteen other countries, will mark a very encouraging step of great significance for the future of the Organization and, I may say, a very positive turning-point in the history of the United Nations.

110. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to ask representatives who wish to participate in the debate on agenda item 93 to be so good as to add their names to the list of speakers, which I propose to close at 1 p.m. tomorrow, Wednesday, 13 November 1968.

111. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly accepts this proposal

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.