

September 1971, was sponsored by the following 22 States: Australia, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, the Gambia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, New Zealand, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Swaziland, Thailand, the United States and Uruguay.

By this text the General Assembly, recalling the provisions of the United Nations Charter, would have the Assembly decide that any proposal in the General Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations was an important question under Article 18 of the Charter.¹

The third draft resolution, also submitted on 29 September, was sponsored by 19 States, namely: Australia, Bolivia, Chad, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Fiji, the Gambia, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, New Zealand, the Philippines, Swaziland, Thailand, the United States and Uruguay.

By the preamble to this text, the General Assembly would note that since the founding of the United Nations fundamental changes had occurred in China. It would take into account the existing factual situation and then note that the Republic of China had been continuously represented as a Member of the United Nations since 1945. It would express its belief that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations, recall that according to the Charter the United Nations was established to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, and finally express its belief that an equitable resolution of the problem of the representation of China should be sought in the light of the above considerations and without prejudice to the eventual settlement of the conflicting claims involved.

By the operative part of the draft resolution, the General Assembly would: (1) affirm the right of representation of the People's Republic of China and recommend that it be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council; (2) affirm the continued right of representation of the Republic of China; and (3) recommend that all United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies take into account the provisions of this resolution in deciding the question of Chinese representation.

During the debate four more draft resolutions were submitted to the Assembly, one by Saudi Arabia and three by Tunisia.

Saudi Arabia, expressing the view that the whole question revolved around the right of self-determination and that the Assembly had neither the right nor the power to compel the people of Taiwan to merge with the mainland, also introduced amendments to the 23-power text.

The representative of Tunisia said that as a result of developments since 1949 the Republic of China had acquired rights which were now challenged. If the Republic of China had to free China's seat for the People's Republic of China, that should not prejudice the future of Formosa which—in accordance with the right of self-determination—might wish to be represented in the United Nations as a separate entity. Such a possibility should not be rejected out of hand. To facilitate the solution to that problem, the Tunisian delegation had submitted three separate proposals.

The Saudi Arabian draft resolution, by its preamble, among other things would have the General Assembly: affirm that no State nor any coalition of Member States had the right under the Charter to divest any people of its own right to self-determination; consider that the Republic of China, "i.e. the people of the island of Taiwan," constituted a separate political entity; recognize that it was economically viable; and consider that any decision which disposed of the right of a people to self-determination against its will would lead to suppression and conflict while one of the main purposes of the United Nations was to maintain international peace.

By its operative provisions, the Saudi Arabian draft text would have the Assembly decide that the People's Republic of China should assume its rightful place in the United Nations and be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council and that it should also be represented in all the organizations related to the United Nations. At the same time, the Republic of China, "i.e. the people of the island of Taiwan," should retain its seat in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it until its people were enabled by plebiscite or referendum under the auspices of the United Nations to declare themselves on the following three options: (i) continued independence as a sovereign State with a neutral status defined by a treaty recorded by the United Nations; (ii) confederation with the People's Republic of China, the terms to be negotiated by the two parties concerned; or (iii) federation with the People's Republic of China, subject to protocols negotiated by both parties.

The Saudi Arabian text would also have the Assembly appeal to the magnanimity of both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, "i.e. the people of the island of Taiwan," to consider the proposed options as a basis for, if not a final solution to, a political dispute among Asian brothers.

By the first Tunisian draft resolution, the Assembly, considering the urgent need for partici-

¹ For text of Article 18 of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.