

a grave injustice and to an unacceptable and dangerous situation which had been perpetuated in order to fulfil a policy increasingly repudiated. This meant the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek régime from the seat which it unlawfully occupied in the United Nations and its affiliated bodies.

In the explanatory memorandum accompanying its request of 17 August 1971, the United States said that, in dealing with the problem of the representation of China, the United Nations should take cognizance of the existence of both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China; it should reflect that incontestable reality in the manner in which it made provision for China's representation. The United Nations should not be required to take a position on the respective conflicting claims of the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China pending a peaceful resolution of the matter as called for by the United Nations Charter. Thus, the memorandum added, the People's Republic of China should be represented and at the same time provision should be made to ensure that the Republic of China was not deprived of its representation. To succeed in its peace-keeping role and in advancing the well-being of mankind, the United Nations should deal with the question of the representation of China in such a just and realistic manner.

In a letter of 15 October 1971 the representatives of 22 States—Albania, Algeria, Burma, Ceylon, the Congo, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Romania, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia—requested the Secretary-General to distribute, as an official Assembly document, a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China dated 20 August 1971. In this statement, made in response to the United States letter of 17 August 1971 and its accompanying explanatory memorandum, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that the United States proposal was a blatant exposure of the Nixon Government's scheme of creating "two Chinas" in the United Nations. There was only one China, the People's Republic of China. Taiwan, it added, was an inalienable part of Chinese territory and a province of China, which had already returned to the motherland after the Second World War.

For over 20 years, the statement continued, the United States Government had arbitrarily inserted in the United Nations the Chiang Kai-shek clique—which had long been repudiated by the Chinese people—to usurp the seat of the People's Republic of China. The relationship between the Chinese people and the Chiang Kai-shek clique

was entirely China's internal affair. The United States was plotting to separate Taiwan from China and was wildly attempting to force Members of the United Nations to submit to its will.

The Chinese Government declared that the Chinese people and Government firmly opposed "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan" or any similar absurdities, as well as the fallacy that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined" and the scheme of creating "an independent Taiwan." Should any such situation or any other similar situation occur in the United Nations, the Government of the People's Republic of China would have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations.

The statement further called for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations and all its organs and for the restoration of all the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization.

Discussion in the Assembly took place at 12 plenary meetings between 18 and 26 October 1971, with 73 Members taking part in the debate.

At the beginning of the debate, the General Assembly had before it three draft resolutions.

The first draft resolution, submitted on 25 September 1971, was sponsored by the following 23 States, including the 17 States which had joined in placing the question on the agenda: Albania, Algeria, Burma, Ceylon, the Congo, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

By the preambular paragraphs of this draft, the Assembly would recall Charter principles, make the point that restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China was essential both for the protection of the Charter and for the cause the United Nations must serve under the Charter, and recognize that the representatives of the People's Republic of China were the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and that the People's Republic of China was one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

By the operative paragraph of the text, the General Assembly would decide to restore to the People's Republic of China all its rights, to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the seat which they unlawfully occupied in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

The second draft resolution, submitted on 29