

SECOND -- The participation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. General Assembly as the member representing the territory over which it exercises effective jurisdiction;

THIRD -- The participation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council as a permanent member.

I want to make it clear at this point that the solution we envisage is in no way intended to imply the existence of two Chinas. Both the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of China firmly adhere to the concept of one China and it is not for the United Nations to propound concepts which are at variance with the hopes and aspirations of the people of a member state. This is an internal matter which is for the Chinese people to resolve and from which the United Nations, in accordance with the clear dispositions of the Charter, is bound to stand aside.

Some eleven years ago my delegation was instrumental in helping to break the deadlock which then debarred a substantial number of States from being admitted to membership in the United Nations. The action we took at that time was prompted by our concern for the principle of universality which was so eloquently commended to us in the memorable address given in this Assembly last year by His Holiness Pope Paul VI. In his words:

"Once more We repeat Our wish for you: go forward. We shall say more: strive to bring back among you any who may have left you; consider means of calling into your pact of brotherhood, in honour and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it. Act so that those still outside will desire and deserve the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting it."

We are under no illusion that a more genuinely universal organization will necessarily be able to solve all the problems to which solutions have stubbornly eluded us so far. On the contrary, we do not exclude the possibility that the injection of new and perhaps radically different points of view may -- in the short run at least -- retard rather than accelerate the momentum of our work.

But there are advantages in the concept of universality which we cannot discount. Even if a more broadly based U.N. is not able to find solutions to some of the crucial problems of peace and security which confront us in the world today, it will at least have established a much better claim to bringing these problems within the framework of its discussions. Moreover, it seems to me that if the United Nations is to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of common ends, as the Charter intended it to be, then it must be concerned to bring into its deliberations at least those nations which are bound to have to assume a major share of the responsibility.