

Albania and the Admission of the People's Republic of China to the OUN. Albanian Proposal to the UN in 1963

Etleva Nita

Abstract: *In the framework of International Relations of the Cold War, after the break with the Soviet Union in 1961, the direction of the Albanian foreign policy entered in a new stage, making a very pragmatic choice toward remote Communist China. The generous help of the PRC, by loans or grants, was a very suitable solution to survive for Peoples Republic of Albania. This help was paid back with the involvement and commitment of the Albanian diplomacy as a representative for the PRC in OUN. The Albanian diplomacy during 1960-1970, a period of a very good cooperation with China, was fully concentrated to a single goal—The admission of Peoples Republic of China in OUN. The debate on re-establishment of the legal rights of PRC on OUN, according to Albanian diplomacy, was itself a harsh accuse for the US policy against China. This diplomatic activity of the Albanian mission, leaded by official Tirana, coordinated with Beijing, started its activity with the proposal of 1963 to set in the daily agenda the issue of PRC admission in OUN, presented in the XVIII session of the General Assembly of OUN. But how would this proposal be expected and in what extend would it be influent in the Albanian diplomatic mission up to 1971!*

Introduction

The purpose of my study "Albania and the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN. Albanian proposal to the UN in 1963," is that in an objective manner based on the diplomatic activity of the Albanian Mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, studied under the possibility of browsing the archival resources of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the authors' analysis of this period, handle diplomacy contribution given to the issue of accession of China to the United Nations Organization in the context of the Cold War. Starting with the 1963 proposal, the grounds and premises used for this contribution was significantly. Using archival sources from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former Central Committee of the PLA are the possibility to understand: 1) Activity, tasks and orientations predefined by the government of Albania; 2) The reasons for the great commitment and dedication to diplomacy and Albanian mission of this geographically small country on the issue of China's admission to the UN's largest; 3) As the mission in New York coordinated with official Tirana used complex conjunctures and circumstances of this lengthy process. 4) To help you understand how all this affected the activity in one of the most protracted and most discussed of the Cold War.

Cold War touched every aspect of international activities, fear of communism and the war against it seemed good at the UN. As the largest organization in the world which has meant international security, economic development and social equality, failed to avoid the Cold War. United Nations which was formed in 1945, winning initiative of the states of World War II, for many years it will develop its work in an atmosphere of tension between the two superpowers. Over the past two decades "peace forum" will be on the "rule" of the U.S., which with the voting mechanism of the Assembly impose their views making a series of decisions that only serve American interests. In every session of the UN General Assembly's will be treated a number of problems arising as a result of aggressive policies against the people. One of the critical issues discussed at the UN during these years was the question of accession of new states, but those who were left out because of their regime. As a result of bipolar division and American and Soviet discriminatory policy, the issue of membership in the UN states, was conditioned by "sympathetic" to the American and Soviet states. At first, UN was joined only from the neutral and winning states of the Second World War, but afterwards other states joined such as Germany, Japan and others. Greater influx of UN membership, it was during the years 1950-60, when the old colonies were liberated and formed independent states.

For nearly 22 years People's Republic of China was left out of the UN. Republic of China was one of the founding members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. As a result of civil war between Communist forces and Guomindam, Republic of China established in 1912, was divided into the Republic of China (RC), led by Chan - Kan Shek, which withdrew to the island of Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) led by Mao Zedong.

Difficult international circumstances of the People's Republic of China appeared in the beginning of its creation. The victory of communism and the declaration of the People's Republic of China, led by Mao Zedong, troubled America. Taking the Pacific from communism would undermine the balance of power. Truman administration in these conditions creates an overall plan against Chinese and Soviet communism. Placement of U.S. troops in Korea marks the beginning of the strategy against communism in Indochina. U.S. government never recognized the People's Republic of China, not

only this but also prevented the People's Republic of China to participate as members in the sessions of the UN General Assembly and as a permanent member of the Security Council. Acceptance of PRC at the UN, was a long and complicated international relations built during the Cold War, which swept in a range of stakeholders. The issue of representation of the People's Republic of China to the UN, was matter of restoring the legitimate rights of PRC in this organization and not a matter of entering as a new member. Its place in the UN and the Security Council had taken, the representative of Nationalist China Chan Kai Shek.

In international relations of the Cold War, foreign policy of the Albanian State will be conditional by communist ideology Labor Party that ran the country Albania. In this context they were to strengthen unity with the socialist countries within the block where located. Albania during the Cold War, as a geographically small country with economic problems, problems with neighbors, as necessity requires the support of an economic power, ensures the longevity of political power in Albania. By the year 1961 will be supported and guided by the BS. After the final break in 1961 with BS, the orientation of Albanian foreign policy marked a new stage in making a pragmatic choice of the remote toward Communist China, which defended the PLA as Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the world revolutionary struggle. Generous support of the People's Republic of China as well as free loan would be a solution for the survival of the People's Republic of Albania. Assistance that will be rewarded with commitment and dedication of the Albanian diplomacy as a spokeswoman for the UN PRC.

Albania's diplomatic activities in the UN from 1955 to 1960 will be withdrawn. Would be limited only in some speeches of heads of the Albanian delegation to the charges against American imperialism. Albanian political and diplomatic activity during the '50-s, be consistent in implementing foreign policy set by Moscow.

Deterioration of relations between Albania and the Soviet Union marked the closing of Albanian diplomacy dictates from outside the period of Albanian foreign policy. The new phase will start in international relations will be characterized by the reduction of tensions between the two superpowers of Khrushchev called themselves as "peaceful counterrevolution." Albanian diplomacy, it will be the stage when its foreign policy will be directed towards China. Albania will enter a new phase of its diplomacy that will bring new challenges and difficulties. Its prioritization with China will ignore the great geographical distance and cultural relations between two countries and two peoples. The difficulty of relations between the two countries would be evident and would make co-fetched. Albania with this relationship will leave even more with the West. Diplomacy during the years of cooperation with PRC will be primarily engaged in the role of spokesperson of Beijing in multilateral diplomacy. Unlike the first phase of diplomatic activity will have international resonance and marked the peak of its diplomatic activity in the international relations of the time.

Albanian mission's diplomatic activity led by official Tirana, in coordination with Beijing, finalized the years her commitment and dedication to Communist China on October 25, 1971, upon receipt of PRC at the UN.

The position of the People's Republic of China to the UN

People's Republic of China formally requested the United Nations membership and made constant efforts to accession to the UN during the years '50-'60. Its involvement in the Korean War on 26 November 1950, as well as Chinese counterattack against the forces of the United Nations was seen as a counterattack by the forces of aggression.

United States of America in reviewing this important problem arose from purely political considerations. U.S. with their policy of privileged positions in the AP and the UN Security Council held an anti-Chinese stance and to prevent the solution of the problem of representation in the UN PRC strategies used in various forms. U.S. using the voting mechanism did not allow for many years membership of Communist China in the UN.

The issue of representation of the People's Republic of China to the UN was asked repeatedly by Chinese diplomacy, starting from 1949, the year the People's Revolution. Her request, conditional upon expulsion from the UN Chan Kai Shek: "*China's Communist government asked the UN to expel from Chan Kai Shek and deployment of UN Organization legitimate representative of the Chinese people.*"¹ The issue of acceptance of Communist China to the UN for the first time in 1950 was admitted to the Security Council, which passed the General Assembly for consideration. From the fourth session up in 1961, was proposed by the USSR, the countries of the socialist camp and the African-Asian countries. XIV Session of UN General Assembly, issue of Chinese representation in the UN was asked to put on the agenda at the request of the representatives of India. After the conflict in Sino-Indian border in 1960, demand the restoration of the

¹ AMPJ, reports and speeches on the works of the 17th UN session prepared by the Albanian mission in New York. Correspondence of the Ministry with a Mission in the 17 session of the UN, since 1962, file No.-503, pg-67

rights of China in the fifteenth session of the UN AP proposed by the Soviet Union. Session convened on September 20, 1960 when Soviet-Albanian relations were not good. In this session should go first secretaries of the Party, Enver Hoxha did not participate. The Soviet delegation led Khrushchev himself who was convinced that the 22 African countries the situation may change. PRA delegation will be headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu, who supported the USSR proposal for the issue of representation in the UN PRC.

PRC issue of UN representation for the first time placed on the agenda for the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the UN, on September 19, 1961 until February 23, 1962, proceedings were held in a tense international atmosphere. The Albanian delegation was chaired by Minister of Foreign Affairs Behar Shtylla, Deputy Minister Halim Budo. U.S. was forced to accept the establishment of the issue on the agenda. A number of states require the issue of accession to the UN PRC, even its ally England.

Albanian Proposal 1963

After winning the popular revolution and immediately after the formation of government, in 1949, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania recognized the government of the People's Republic of China and established diplomatic relations with it on November 23, 1949. However, the orientation toward foreign policy and diplomacy of Communist China began shortly after the break with the Soviet Union. Relations between the two countries have histories dating back to the mid-1950. Economic relations began in 1954, with arrival in China the government delegation to the fifth anniversary of the liberation of PRC and the Chinese government delegation, arrived in Albania at the invitation of the Albanian government for 10 years of liberation. Economy was very heavy, PRC only economic aid would change the situation in the country. First visit of Enver Hoxha, in September 1956 showed the first interest of the Albanian leadership to this great country of communist remote and secondly, the need to support the Albanian State policy and economic exchanges. The two countries supported each other at the time of their separation from the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Their collaboration would have symbiotic character; in the historical context both communist countries needed each other.

In the framework of relations of cooperation and "*fraternal friendship based on the teachings of Marxism Leninism and proletarian internationalism*"² and her loyalty to China, Albania won a series of economic aid, military and much needed for its internal situation and external.

In the context of breaking relations with the USSR, PRC would look to her spokesperson diplomacy in the international forum of peace, and its relationship with Europe. One of the objectives of PRC in the international arena was admission to the United Nations Organization. In the above context, after breaking up with BS, the only European communist ally was Albania member of the UN. Diplomacy would use the intertwining conjuncture in the international arena to realize the goals were: to strengthen relations with China, to gain support economic and national security and strengthen its position in the international arena.

Albania, in its foreign policy, during the period of rapprochement with China, aimed at expanding international relations and the strengthening of diplomatic activity, helpful for the admission of PRC. The main tasks that were set by the Albanian government for the year 1963 were;

- Strengthening the coordination of common positions on international issues with the People's Republic of China,
- Strengthening relations with its allies; RDP Korea, RD Cuba and Vietnam.
- To continue the policy of friendship and cooperation in international organizations directly to the Arab and Afro-Asian

In this way the main conjunctures used diplomacy in international relations in relation to PRC, thus starting diplomatic activities of its most important. First step proposal took Mehmet Shehu '63 Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In a meeting with Ambassador of PRC, Lo Shi Gao on 5 August 1963, takes the initiative and ask that requests approval to accept the matter of PRC on the agenda of the eighteenth session of the UN AP proposed by PRA. The Chinese Government agrees that the Albanian side to present the UN in putting AP on the agenda the issue of restoration of the right of representation of communist China.

² AMPJ, Documents on Relations between the two countries, since 1968, folder 64, pg-116

In September 1963 diplomatic mission led by Behar Shtylla, for the first time in his diplomatic activity in the UN compile and submit a draft resolution "the issue of accession of China to settle on the agenda." Diplomatic activities undertaken by the Albanian government starting in 1963, for receipt of PRC at the UN, would be a very difficult undertaking. This issue will be one of the most difficult sessions of the UN's because it was integral to the contradictions of the Cold War. Strongest opponents of this issue, but also the diplomatic mission, will be American diplomacy and after '62 it Soviet. But should not be overlooked even diplomatic activities of their allied states. Of relations with the Soviets, the activity of the diplomatic mission would be more difficult as US-Soviets tried to isolate the mission. We must not forget the fact that Albania would infringe on an unfamiliar road, she had won the right of UN member only in December 1955, and for the first time in 1963 will submit to the Secretary General of the UN U Thant PRC case for accepting the UN as a matter to be discussed as part of the agenda.

XVIII Session of UN General Assembly opened on September 16, 1963. Issues most important to her were the issue of Charter change, and secondly the acceptance of PRC at the UN. Two of issues closely related to each other. With increasing number of new states in the UN, the composition of major organs did not respond to the new UN structure, as new countries not represented in its main organs. In these conditions, the Asian-African countries were presented with a request for representation in UN bodies. U.S. and Soviet Union tried to exploit the situation in their favor on the issue of not accepting China. U.S. to solve this problem sought modification of the Charter. BS asked that this modification be made in unanimity with 5 great powers, but on condition of restoring the right of Communist China in the UN. However after the break with China 1963 with the aim of the BS was directed to African countries against PRC on the grounds that it was her request to prevent the expansion of the UN structure. On the other hand, the government declared PRC; "...UN must be extracted out of Chan Kai Shek from all its bodies and completely restore China's legitimate rights. Distribution of seats ... now in the major organs of the UN is not fair and reasonable for the Asian-African countries. China says firmly against this discrimination".³

On September 16, 1963 delegation led by Behar Shtylla Foreign Minister of PRA sent a letter to Secretary General U Thant, through which, by order of the Albanian government has asked that the agenda of the session 18 ordinary Assembly put the issue of "Restoration of legitimate rights of PRC in UN" (UN doc. i A/5498, 16 September 1963)⁴. "In order RPSH government, in conformity with Article 15 of Regulation AP interior, I have the honor to request the implementation on the agenda of the eighteenth ordinary session of the General Assembly as important and urgent issue, the question that follows; "restoration of the lawful rights of the UN PRC " Behar Shtylla Minister of Foreign Affairs PRA. Tirana on September 16, 1963"⁵

The proposal to lay the matter on the agenda was the last day and last hour and this in order not to leave space to justify the Soviet party "see, Albanians has not left us"⁶. This event echoed in the American press and proved once again that there were differences between Communist China and Albania on one side and the Soviet Union on the other.

After the speech of Foreign Minister Behar Shtylla who presented the matter to the Assembly, the delegate's speech was Chan Kai Shek. He rejected the proposal of the issue of Communist China's accession to the UN. Soviet delegate not responded to Taiwan's representatives and supported only by a formal issue. Attitude of the Soviets in this session was very withdrawn and formal. The attitude of the Soviets in the eighteenth session, Enver Hoxha says "The Soviets once again showed their hostility against China, reaches so far as to hold the hand of Americans accept Kai Chan Shine in the UN and leave aside the issue of China"⁷

With the approval of the General Assembly the question was put on the agenda (dokum.A/BUR/SR.153, dated September 23, 1963)⁸. The issue of China in the eighteenth session, became a major issue. In this session noted that the UN organization was in a difficult situation, because the issue of acceptance of PRC in the organization. Americans and other sessions were against acceptance of PRC at the UN, because it feared greater impact on African-Asian countries. In the same position were the Soviets. In connection with the problem of restoring the rights of China's UN delegation prepared the draft resolution and dissolved it in 21 Afro-Asian countries and Cuba in order to become co authors so the resolution would be supported from a certain number of countries. For the co-Albanian draft resolution only Cambodia was expressed.

³ AMPJ, information meetings with the Chinese Ambassador to the various problems associated with the UN, 1963, file 233, fl-5

⁴ AMPJ, materials related to the discussion of the problem for China's accession to the UN in session 18, 1963, file 662/26, fl-19

⁵ Ibidem

⁶ Ibid, 1963, file-233, FL-8

⁷ Enver Hoxha, Journal of international affairs, for internal use 1964-1965, London: 8 November 1982, 696

⁸ AMPJ, discussion of the problem of China to the UN, 1963, folder 662/6, fl-62

In this session there was open debate and backstage. The Albanian delegation was tried and did meetings with delegations of corridors which might support their resolution, in this respect played an important role of the Cambodian delegation.

Americans and Soviets tried to sabotage the issue of restoration of China to the UN. So on October 18, president of the Cuban delegation announced that Tunisia would need to be voted separately, the first point of the Albanian resolution, which had two points: **a) Chan Kai Shek expulsion from the UN** and **b) admission to the UN the PRC**. According to the Tunisian goal back which was American diplomacy; point of view be rejected by the AP, that it would approve the position of Chan Kai Shek at the UN. The second point for the receipt of PRC may be approved and so would accomplish the American plan "two Chinas" with the help of the Albanian resolution. After numerous talks with the delegation undertook Tunisian and Algerian delegation decided that if Tunisia will lay this matter, the Albanian mission would withdraw the resolution, not allowing to vote. After the call made Algerian delegation of Tunisia, it withdrew the proposal.

On October 21 was passed in a vote whose outcome was; 42 delegations voted in favor, against 57 delegations, abstained 12. The voting result was as in the seventeenth session. Admission of PRC issue on the agenda at the UN General Assembly resolution Albanian might be considered as a success for reasons that:

- The issue of Republic of China was a difficult issue, nearly 14 years,
- Soviet Union and India were tried and only in 1961 the issue was put on the agenda,
- Albanian mission's diplomatic activity was a challenge to U.S. and Soviet diplomatic activity against China.

We should consider the fact that although Albania was a small state without much diplomatic experience, diplomatic mission held a difficult activity and did a great propaganda. Using diplomacy of "corridors" it has tried to attract as many allies on the issue of acceptance of PR China to the UN. The result of the 1963 proposal of the mission undertaken by the Albania might be considered successful even though the number of countries that were against was great. Presentation by Albania in the session the issue of restoring the rights of China to the UN was necessary because in the historical context of international relations, no state had any intention to submit a question. Albania was the only place that made the request for the implementation of the issue on the agenda, while presenting the draft resolution was joined by Cambodia.

The proposal of 1963, the diplomatic mission PRA for placement on the agenda the issue of accession to the UN was a different matter, the diplomatic activity of its delegation for the first time took the initiative to help a large country like China in UN peace forum, will boost its prestige secondly, it will prepare for future sessions, and this activity will be issued the tasks for the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Albanian mission's proposal in 1963 would serve to strengthen relations between Communist China and PR of Albania. Shortly after the proposal the Foreign Minister of China, Chen Ji sends to the Ministry and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of PR of Albania Mr. Behar Shtylla a congratulatory telegram which states: *"at session of UN General Assembly this year's delegation headed by you made a determined fight for the removal of Chan Kai Shek from the UN and for restoring the lawful rights of China and came from the political standpoint victory large [...] I on behalf of Chinese government and people would like to send to you and through you to the Albanian government and people heartfelt thanks"*⁹

Albanian international echo of the proposal in the eighteenth session of UN General Assembly's

In the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, was filed nearly 80 points, one of the most important was the issue of accession of China to the UN. This was one of the issues that made the most fuss, because the first was filed by the Albanian delegation and second Albanian proposal was interpreted as another sign on the expansion of the gap between Moscow and Beijing. Albania sided with China in the ideological dispute within the world communist movement. The Albanian government, through the mission noted early, the full unity of its views with the Chinese government. Review of China's representation at the United Nations began with morning speech by Foreign Minister of Albania Behar Shtylla and head of its delegation in New York who said that: *"Communist China is held outside the United Nations through the "systematic obstruction" of the U.S."*¹⁰. Behar Shtylla in his speech before the American side accusing the AP of the disarmament issue, because according to him composed *"a dangerous attempt, which was intended to limit and weaken*

⁹ MPJ, thanks for helping the Chinese Ambassador that Albania has given China to the UN, 1963, folder 234, fl-7

¹⁰ AMPJ, related materials discussing the receipt of RPK at the UN, 1963, file 662/26, fl-89

the protective ability of the socialist countries and to divide and undermine the unity of the socialist camp"¹¹. According to him, the U.S. feared the power of the PRC and possession of nuclear weapons from China - "So they make all efforts to prevent China in these kind of weapons possession and its non approval to the UN"¹².

Albanian government showed that its proposal was fully agreed that without the official participation of the PRC and without the signatures of its representatives, any international agreement for disarmament and international agreements would have no binding force for China. Albanian Minister comes out against U.S. diplomacy and accuses for their anti Chinese propaganda which was due to the fact that, according to his opinion, Americans "lost market and Chinese sources."¹³

The 1963 proposal will be considered as a diplomatic action challenging the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism. The diplomatic action was considered by the American press as an act "brave" the Albanian government, thinking that Albania was only a small country "over the Adriatic". A new member of the United Nations, which was accepted into the organization in November of 1955, and dare accuse the two major powers. U.S. Ambassador Stephenson accuses the mission and Behar Shtylla for "demagogy of the Cold War, and called Albania "spokesperson of the PRC."¹⁴ . Even he considered Albania a "peaceful" country in his speech sounded his American concern, strongly worded it says "what the atmosphere will occur and the effectiveness of United Nations if Communist China to become a member of the UN"¹⁵

Albanian mission's proposal of 1963 surprised diplomacy worldwide. While the two great powers had decided to develop their work peacefully, leaving out the debates of the Cold War, this country Albania "marplot" proposes to Communist China in the UN. According to news reports, the United Nations Assembly will be opened in an atmosphere of harmony. Newspaper "Post" dated 17/9/63 describes the situation softened between two great powers on the eve of the eighteenth session of UN General Assembly's. According to archival documents show that the peaceful opening of the Assembly had previously predicted that the U.S. Ambassador Stevenson had a conversation for an hour and a quarter with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromiko, about trying to keep out the Cold War debates of the session XVIII. A U.S. spokesman described the meeting as very friendly, "where everyone was well disposed."¹⁶ He says "Mr. Stevenson is hoping that the issue of the Cold War and the controversy will be kept out of this session"¹⁷ his meeting which was attended by delegates and Americans, became the Soviet mission. At a time when representatives of two great powers held negotiations, Albania, China's ally in fighting ideological Red Communist China's proposed accession to the UN and the exclusion of Nationalist China.

Proposal to Communist China for 17 consecutive years was made by the Soviet Union and India. During these years took India once, and when it did not take the proposal made by the BS. Albanian proposal would be a surprise to the Assembly. According to archival documents, in the eighteenth session, socialist power had made no plans to propose the admission of China to the UN because after the break with China, the USSR sought to leave China out of the UN. While India would not think of nothing to make a proposal in favor of Communist China, because of conflict of Sino-Indian border. But despite the expansion of the gap between the two communist giants, Russia will support the Albanian proposal because according to her strategy was planned for the issue of China not to appear openly in its approach but operated through Machiavellian policy. According to the mission - "As the Soviet ambassador had agreed on the proposal Federenko Albanian Communist China to become a member of the United Nations, but never called the Beijing regime as peaceful and not directly accused the Western powers to block the path of Communist China in the UN".¹⁸

For many years it seemed as if Beijing had not been much interest in the UN. In fact the overwhelming competition with Moscow for conducting "anti-colonialist struggle" best arena to develop an active propaganda and diplomatic campaign to be aimed to support its position in the Afro-Asian world would be the UN. Newspaper "Post" dated 18/9/63 titled "Red China and the UN" states "It is perfectly reasonable to think that the more Moscow seek to isolate the more Beijing Red China wants to come to the UN" This may create the basis for new initiatives¹⁹.

¹¹ Ibidem

¹² Ibid,pg-62

¹³ Ibidem

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid,pg-60

¹⁶ AMPJ, 1963, folder 662/26, pg 50

¹⁷ ibid

¹⁸ ibid

¹⁹ AMPJ, Albanian Telegraphic Agency Foreign News Tirana, July 14, 1961, 1963, dosja-662/26, p-52

Albanian action was in itself a challenge to the BS. Many UN observers considered "Albanian step and Soviet silence" ²⁰ as a sign that showed the depth of contention between Beijing and Moscow and the opportunity for a full breakdown and fast between them.

According to American press Beijing was free to enter the UN, only if it accepted the obligations of UN member, who had to abandon the use of force. Regarding his request for their inclusion of Taiwan under its UN would be a significant victory for world peace. Diplomatic sources shows that there was very confident that this proposal would have succeeded.

The importance of the Albanian proposal to the UN was not the issue of Communist China was put up for discussion but because Albania took the initiative and not the Soviet Union. In this context, the Albanian diplomacy will benefit from the favorable conjuncture. For him, the conditions created in international relations and its relations with China, would create the opportunity to enhance its position in the international arena and to gain economic benefits from the military-political from PRC.

But was that the real reason of China's admission to the UN? Given that, the issue of China was a political issue of the Cold War, did Albania have such influence for this kind of decision? In fact, given that Albania's diplomacy in the years of communism was more pragmatic and focused on the pursuit of Marxist-Leninist ideology in international relations, is a bit difficult to think that a goal can be accomplished so hard for time. How much weight will be the activity of Albanian mission in New York, on the issue of acceptance of the People's Republic of China to the UN starting with 1963?

The Albanian proposal of 1963 led by official Tirana, in coordination with Beijing was great because it set the ground for an active diplomacy activity of Albanian mission to finalize the years of its commitment and dedication to Communist China on October 25, 1971, upon receipt of PRC at the UN.

The diplomatic activity, with a great coordination of the stakeholders, had a crucial role. Mission experience and prestige in diplomatic circles of the time, would absolutely help in case of China. The application of that time conjunctures testify about the professional growth of the Albanian diplomacy of these years. Albania's diplomatic activity would not be effective without the complex circumstances in which this 22 years old process took place. Policies and conjunctures followed as well as the reach activity working every single detail helped the Albanian mission to realize the ultimate goal "The China's Accession to the UN".

References

Archival resources

Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AMFA)

Archive of former Labor Party Central Committee Archives Albania at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Other sources

Books

Author

Duka, Valentina. *History of Albania 1912-2000*, Tirana: Kristalina-KH, 2007

Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*, Tirana: Laert, 1999

Partos, Gabriel. *The world that came from the cold*, Tirana: Çabej, 1998

Hoxha, Enver. *Notes for China Diary 1962-1972 by political*, London: 8 Nëntori, 1979

Hoxha, Enver, *1964-1965 Journal of international affairs for internal use*; Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1982

Hoxha, Enver, *1968-1969 Journal of international affairs for internal use*; Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1982

Bashkkurti, Lisein, *The diplomacy of self-isolation*, Tirana: Geer, 2004

Bashkkurti, Lisein. *Albanian diplomacy in the early Cold War 45-61*, Tirana: Geer, 2003

Bashkkurti, Lisein, *International rights and international organizations*, Tirana: Geer 2004

P. Huntington, Samuel, *Clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*, Tiranë: Logos-a, 2019

Bernard, Lory, *Balkan Europe nga 45 deri në ditët tona*, Tiranë: Dituria, 2007

Kaba, Hamit. *Albania in the course of the Cold War*, Tiranë, Editionspx, 2007

Varoshi, Liman. *Cold War in Eastern Europe*, Tiranë: Naimi, 2010

Gaddis, John Lewis, *We now know*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997

Smirnova, Nina, *History of Albania in the course of XX*, Tiranë: Ideart, 2004

Co-Authors

Poulton, Richard, *A history of the modern world*, Oxford University Press 1988

²⁰ ibid, fl-51

John J Harrigan, *Politics and the American Future*, Hamline University, Random Hous New York, 1987

The history of Albanian people, *IV Albanians during World War II and its aftermath*, 1939-1990, Editions Toena York: Toena 2008

Jeffrey Porro with Poul Doty, Karl Kaysen and Jack Ruina, *The Nuclear Age reader*, New York, Alfred A.Knopf, 1989

Lectures

Dibra Pranvera, *Geopolitical positioning of the Balkan countries after the war*

Periodical

Newspaper "Zëri i Popullit", "*The restoration of the legitimate rights of China*", October 7 1971, No-239

Newspaper "Zëri i Popullit", "*The issue of China to the UN*" October 20 1971, No-250

Newspaper "Zëri i Popullit", "*The admission of China to the United Nations Organization*" October 27 1971, No-250.

Interviews

Petraç Pojani retired career diplomat. Former negotiator on the issue of China to the UN (70-71), interviewed by Etleva Breshani Nita, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 2011

Web-bibliography

http://www.wikipedia.com/org/lufta_ftohtw

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwavs/coldwar>

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/cold-war.htm>

http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/china_and_the_United_nations

http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_General_Assembly_resolution_2758

http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations

<http://www.undemocracy.com/A53-154.pdf>

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nowknow.htm>

<http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/soviet.exhibit/coldwar.html>

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/coldwar>

<http://www.albdiploacademy.com/publikime.html>

<http://www.voanews.com/albanian/new/a-30-2006-12>

<http://www.youtube.com/AdlajStivensonUnitedNationsaddress>