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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 97

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to consult the Assembly about two matters which I mentioned yesterday. First, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on the item under consideration be closed on Monday, 16 November, at 12 noon. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to my proposal.

It was so decided.

2. Secondly, I propose to set Tuesday, 17 November, at 6 p.m. as the time limit for submitting draft proposals or amendments. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to my proposal.

It was so decided.

3. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a recurrent item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

4. In the light of the stock-taking at the commemorative session of the results and failures of the United Nations, the issue gains a special importance, pointing to the growing responsibility arising from the fact that the world Organization has not yet recognized the rights of the People's Republic of China.

5. This situation has from the very outset had an adverse effect upon the work of our Organization and has also overshadowed this year's twenty-fifth anniversary session.

6. Ever since this question first arose some Member States, with stubborn manoeuvres indicative of political short-sightedness, have deliberately and consis-

tantly been striving to prevent the Government of the People's Republic of China, the only lawful representative of the more than 700 million Chinese people, from occupying the seat which it should have by right in the Organization.

7. The People's Republic of China since its formation has played an important role in international politics. Today the People's Republic of China is a great nuclear Power and is steadily developing, irrespective of the intentions of those who hinder the enforcement of its rights in the United Nations. The negation of facts or opposition to them cannot, as is well known, alter the facts themselves. Probably guided by an awareness of the political realities, some Member States which have thus far failed to recognize the People's Republic of China and its rights in the United Nations are now beginning to settle their relations with its Government.

8. It is evident that our Organization cannot effectively carry out its tasks without the participation of the People's Republic of China, and that many major problems of our age cannot be solved if the People's Republic of China does not take part in the search for ways and means to solve them and implement those solutions. That is why the arguments which the Powers in question have advanced for more than 20 years to oppose the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are not only false and illogical but also legally untenable. It is impossible and inadmissible to let subjective political interests determine the membership rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.599 are now again attempting to do.

9. It is also impossible to accept arguments which were voiced yesterday morning by one of the speakers in the debate on this question. The argument that this question is one of adding to or subtracting from our present membership is completely false. It is clear that the real issue before us is that, so far, a country of more than 700 million people has been—to use the speaker's term—subtracted from the family of nations of the United Nations. It is also completely wrong to say—and thus the argument should be rejected—that the proposal contained in document A/L.605 is “both unwise and unjust” [1902nd meeting, para. 86]. We can say that this type of argument, this type of policy, which up to now has caused one of the main failures of our Organization can be called both unwise and unjust, if I may use such mild words in this connexion.

10. The position of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, which has been stated clearly and

* Resumed from the 1902nd meeting.

consistently in past years, is unchanged. Hungary, as is known, maintains a many sided relationship with the People's Republic of China, follows with friendly feelings the socialist creative work of the Chinese people, and recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of the Chinese people, as the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations and other international forums.

11. In our opinion the efficiency of the Organization is also conditional on the recognition of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

12. We are convinced that the United Nations by restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization could take a long overdue step towards enhancing its authority and effectiveness. That is why my delegation is in favour of draft resolution A/L.605 and will vote against draft resolution A/L.599.

13. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): One of the most important developments in Canadian external relations in recent years has been our agreement with the People's Republic of China on mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations. That agreement came into force on 13 October. The Canadian Government believes that the Government of the People's Republic should occupy the seat of China in the United Nations. We look forward to the day when the People's Republic will be seated in this Assembly and in the Security Council. We will accordingly vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605.

14. Over the years that the question of the representation of China has been considered in the Assembly, Canada has voted in favour of various draft resolutions similar to that contained in document A/L.599. The question of who shall speak for 700 million people—indeed the question of whether they are to be represented at all in the United Nations and its principal organs, including the Security Council—is obviously of the utmost importance. The exclusion of the representatives of the People's Republic has hampered the United Nations in fulfilling its role as a centre for harmonizing the action of nations. From statements made over the years it is obvious that the consensus of the membership is that the question is an important one. Canada's vote in the past has not been a procedural tactic designed to frustrate the will of the majority of the membership. Our purpose in supporting this draft resolution has been to ensure that a decision on a question which is important *per se* does indeed reflect the considered judgement of a significant proportion of the membership.

15. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.599. I wish to make it clear, however, that if, in our judgement, continued support of such a resolution could in future frustrate the will of the General Assembly, my Government will change its position.

16. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The restoration of the lawful rights of the

People's Republic of China in the United Nations is unquestionably one of the most important issues which for many years have concerned this Organization and which have ranged the peace-loving Member States on the one hand against the United States and its supporters on the other. This struggle is certainly inseparable from that which is being conducted against imperialism and colonialism by sovereign peoples and nations, of which the great People's Republic of China is the unshakable bulwark and the most powerful nation.

17. For 21 years now, ever since the triumph of the historic people's revolution in China, the peace-loving Member States have been carrying on a continuous struggle for the reparation of the unprecedented anomaly created in the United Nations when the place of the People's Republic of China was usurped by the remnants of a venal band, rejected for ever by the Chinese people, a band that took refuge in the island of Taiwan under the protection of the United States armed forces which occupy that island. However, the situation in this connexion still remains unchanged. And that is so purely and simply, because that is the determined desire of the United States of America. This testifies both to the policy of deep hostility and aggression of American imperialism against great socialist China and to its crude obstinacy in persevering in its designs to use this Organization as a tool in the service of its plans for aggression and world hegemony.

18. The overwhelming majority of Member States condemn this unwonted and intolerable situation, including a good number of States which, because of pressures of all kinds from the United States, do not consider themselves in a position to take the stand which their conscience and the interests of international peace and co-operation dictate to them, and which is also dictated by their desire to contribute to the rehabilitation of this Organization and to ensure that it can play the role entrusted to it by the Charter and satisfy the profound aspirations of peoples to freedom, independence and progress.

19. But can one allow oneself to be led down this road once again? Can one any longer allow such flagrant violations of the Charter and the rules and practices of international custom in this field to continue and I refer here also to the practice followed heretofore in this Organization in similar cases concerning a number of Member States? We consider that it is inadmissible, contrary to the elementary rules of morality and equity and contrary to the dignity of each self-respecting State to tolerate any longer this gross violation of the Charter and this unprecedented discrimination against the greatest State of the world, that is, the People's Republic of China. The elimination of this dark blot on the United Nations is an imperative task in keeping with the need to consolidate this Organization without delay, to enable it to act effectively in a manner truly consistent with the interests of the cause which it should serve in accordance with the Charter.

20. On the occasion of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the great majority of Member States reaffirmed their will to respect the Charter, to fight resolutely for respect for its fundamental principles and for setting the Organization on the course marked by these principles which are in accord with the supreme interests of sovereign peoples and of nations.

21. My delegation considers—and we did not fail to emphasize this in our statement at the commemorative session [1876th meeting]—that one of the indispensable conditions, or rather I should say the primary prerequisite, for any possibility of progress in this direction is the unrelenting and continuous struggle to throw off the exceedingly harmful influence exercised over the United Nations by the United States and the anti-popular collusion of this imperialist Power with Soviet imperialism. If the peace-loving States, which here make up the overwhelming majority, do not carry on a firm and uninterrupted struggle to this end, if they do not denounce and do not strongly combat such influence, whether it affects them directly or not, if their delegations present here do not freely and energetically defend what they know full well serves both the interests of their own countries and those of peace and true international co-operation, then one can expect nothing really positive here from the United Nations. On the other hand, if we act effectively in the sense of rejecting the pernicious influence of the two “super-Powers”, the situation of this Organization will be quite different and the possibilities for working in conditions more favourable for the accomplishment of its tasks are obvious.

22. One specific and immediate test in this connexion is the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. The immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would mark beyond question a very important step in the struggle for the liberation of this Organization from the nefarious grasp of United States imperialism and its revisionist Soviet partners. Such a step would be not only an important manifestation of the force and determination of peace-loving States to act in the light of their convictions and their true interests, it would not only be a telling blow to the tendency of the two imperialist Powers to lay down the law here, but it would at the same time constitute an effective contribution to reviving the United Nations and giving it the impetus necessary for its consolidation, in order to increase its authority in the eyes of the peoples of the world who entertain deep sympathy for and have great confidence in the great country of Socialist China, the inexorable defender and impregnable fortress of their sacred cause.

23. It is by now widely conceded that no important problem of our era can be given a valid and equitable solution without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Member States cannot fail to realize the capabilities and the vast role of this powerful socialist State in the world. Accordingly, they cannot allow this Organization to be deprived any longer of the collaboration of this great world Power, of its wisdom

and its just policy based on principle, firmly supporting the struggle of peoples and countries that love peace and freedom against the greedy designs of the imperialists and the colonialists, against the aggressive policy of the two imperialist Powers and their interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States.

24. No one could deny the fact that the presence of the People's Republic of China side by side with the countries that are fighting in the spirit of the Charter and for the application of its fundamental principles, in the defence of the legitimate claims of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and racism, for international co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, would help greatly to consolidate this struggle, to set the activities of the United Nations on the right course, and to make its activities more effective. The concerted efforts of the People's Republic of China and that of other peace-loving countries would be able to cope even more effectively with the control of the Organization and the plots hatched by the United States and revisionist Soviet Union. That is precisely what these two great imperialist Powers fear and *inter alia*, this is one of the things that explains their determination to oppose the restoration to China of its lawful rights in the United Nations.

25. The great Chinese people, courageous, hard-working, talented, closely united around the glorious Communist Party and to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has astounded the world by its brilliant achievements, by advancing at such a rapid and steady pace from victory to victory along the glorious path of the revolution and the building of socialism. In the course of these past twenty-one years the Chinese people, who number more than 700 million strong, by their creative work have radically changed the face of China. They have transformed it from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial backward country into a prosperous and independent country venerated and respected by the peoples of the entire world. China has become a powerful socialist State endowed with a modern and developed socialist industry and a mechanized and flourishing socialist agriculture, a proletarian culture and art of an advanced type which are the pride of the vast working masses. Science and technology have developed at an exceedingly rapid pace and have attained, and even exceeded in certain sectors, the highest levels of science and technology of the modern world. The great Chinese people have an invincible defensive potential. They are ready at any time to defend their socialist homeland and to crush any aggressor or coalition of aggressors who would dare to attack China.

26. The fact that the People's Republic of China possesses nuclear weapons and that on 24 April 1970 it successfully launched its first artificial earth satellite make that country an atomic and space Power and testify to its great successes in the field of science and technology, and at the same time they are a severe blow to the policy of the United States and Soviet imperialists whose design it is to have a monopoly on nuclear and strategic weapons.

27. The progressive peoples and countries of the entire world greeted joyfully and enthusiastically the

launching of the first Chinese artificial earth satellite, as indeed they greeted the possession by China of nuclear weapons, for such achievements in the field of science and technology by that powerful socialist State and its possession of such means of defence constitute a factor of vast import in favour of their sacred struggle for freedom, independence and progress and against the policy of nuclear blackmail of the two great imperialist Powers. We should recall that the Government of the People's Republic of China has declared more than once that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons and that it is developing them solely for defence purposes.

28. Proceeding with a firm and resolute step down the glorious path of independence, marked by a succession of outstanding victories in the building of socialism, and relying on its own strength the great Chinese people, far from being isolated as its imperialist and revisionist enemies try to pretend, has broken and reduced to dust all of the plots, blockades and embargos of its enemies. The flourishing of the People's Republic of China on the path of revolution and socialism and its ever-growing economic, political and cultural ties with many countries—and the number is increasing steadily—have rejected and caused the total failure of the imperialist embargo against China.

29. The outstanding success won by the Chinese people in all the fields of socialist construction is living proof of the justice and force of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese Government. In particular, the magnificent victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, unleashed and directed by President Mao Tse-Tung in person, which shattered the plot of the Soviet revisionists and the United States imperialists to take the Chinese citadel from within, and which gave fresh impetus to the revolution and the building of socialism, are proof of the strength of Marxism-Leninism and are of historic importance not only for the destiny of socialism in China but also for the cause of the revolutionary liberation struggle of all the peoples of the world.

30. At present, and in particular since the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, the vast Chinese people as a whole, overflowing with enthusiasm and mobilized as one man for the achievement of the important tasks set by that Congress, winning ever greater victories on all fronts in the building of socialism, are constantly accelerating the development of industrial and agricultural output, the building of their infrastructure, and science and technology. The plan for the national economy for 1970, and the Third Five-year Plan which comes to an end this year, are about to be fulfilled and even exceeded in many sectors.

31. The People's Republic of China, by its very nature as a socialist State born of the great people's revolution of October 1949 and plunged since then in the struggle on all fronts for revolution and the building of socialism, has constantly followed a foreign policy of Marxist-Leninist principle, a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, of unreserved support for their revolutionary liberation struggle against imperialism,

colonialism and reaction. On the basis of the principle of proletarian internationalism, it has developed relations of friendship, mutual assistance and brotherly co-operation with the socialist countries; it works tirelessly for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, in accordance with the five principles of which it is one of the sponsors: namely, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-intervention in domestic affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence.

32. Consistently pursuing that policy, the Government of the People's Republic of China has made an effective contribution to the settlement of important international problems and has developed normal and friendly relations with many countries throughout the world. China has given and continues to give sincere and unselfish assistance to the development efforts of a great many countries of Asia and Africa, always abiding by the principle that everyone should above all draw on his own resources, and doing its best to promote this revolutionary concept of vast import as concerns the struggle of the developing countries to consolidate their economic and political independence against the neo-colonialist designs of imperialism.

33. Faithful to the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, the People's Republic of China has constantly backed the cause of peoples and countries that love peace and freedom, and has firmly opposed the policy of pressure and blackmail, of intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States, of military escapades and aggression pursued by the two great imperialist Powers, as well as all their counter-revolutionary rapacious plots and plans within the framework of their global strategy aimed at partitioning and ruling the world.

34. Suffice it in this connexion to recall, *inter alia*, that the Chinese people and its Government have constantly given their determined support to the heroic struggle of their brother peoples in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia against the United States imperialist aggression, and that they consider it their internationalist duty to give those three peoples of Indo-China their support to the end, until the final victory over the Yankee aggressors. They have effectively supported and still firmly support the just struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression, just as they support the struggle of other peoples of Asia against the imperialism of the United States and its allies. China resolutely backs the legitimate struggle of the Palestine people and other Arab peoples against the imperialist Israeli aggression. It energetically condemned the aggression of the Soviet social-imperialists against Czechoslovakia.

35. The People's Republic of China has always been and remains the unshakable and powerful bulwark of the peoples of all continents against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination. By its firm internationalist position and its continuing struggle for the cause of the peoples, it has won the affection and the deep respect of all the progressive forces of the world, which see in great socialist China their true and invincible shield.

36. The Albanian people are linked to the great Chinese people by a close and indestructible revolutionary friendship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on their common ideals and common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. They rejoice whole-heartedly in the brilliant victories won by the brother Chinese people in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in China, and regard them as their own victories.

37. The continuous aid and support of the People's Republic of China have been and continue to be of great importance to us in the building of socialism and the uninterrupted strengthening of our country's defensive power. The economic and trade agreements concluded last month between our two countries are fresh evidence of the strength of the great friendship which binds our two peoples and a fresh manifestation of the authentically socialist nature of the relations between our two countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

“China, the great and beloved ally of socialist Albania, is growing stronger every day as our great friendship grows stronger. China and Albania are two brother and friendly countries and there is no force in the world that can separate them. Who touches Albania has touched China; who touches China has touched Albania. We are bound by the same ideals, the same objectives, by the same common struggle against the same enemies. We are bound by socialism, communism, Marxism-Leninism. Our two countries are successfully and rapidly constructing socialism. We help one another unreservedly and in everything. China, and Mao Tse-tung personally, are giving enormous and unrestricted internationalist assistance to the development of our economy and we thank them from the bottom of our heart.”

38. The great historic victories of the People's Republic of China over these past twenty-one years, and particularly the victories won with the triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, have radically changed and several times strengthened China, which has now become a great world nuclear and space Power with incomparably high prestige and authority. The eyes of all revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples are turned towards great people's China which is their greatest and most sincere friend, the powerful mainstay of their just struggle and the great citadel which has foiled and will always foil the plots and the insane anti-popular plans of the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists aimed at world hegemony.

39. Today more than 50 countries have established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and quite a few allies of the United States, aware of the undeniable fact that the Chinese colossus is a great world power, are one after another establishing relations with China and recognizing the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only Govern-

ment of China. This is an irresistible process dictated by the gigantic, constantly increasing strength and the immense role on the world stage of great socialist China, which must necessarily lead to the isolation and total failure of its fanatical imperialist enemies.

40. There is scarcely any need to say that the outstanding position of the People's Republic of China, its great success both at home and in international relations, its prosperity in every regard, and the sympathy and affection it enjoys from all progressive mankind, are the best possible reply to all the false accusations and all the slanders of the United States imperialists and the Soviet revisionists which are levelled against it and its irreproachable foreign policy. Together with the representatives of many other Member States, we have repeatedly demonstrated here that these campaigns of brazen slander are completely unfounded, and we do not think it necessary to go back over this. The obvious facts concerning China's incomparable success at home and abroad are the best illustration of the greatness of socialist China in every respect.

41. These false accusations are the more absurd as they are made by two great Powers that bear the heavy responsibility for a whole aggressive and expansionist policy, for a whole series of acts of aggression, plots and bloody repressions against peace-loving peoples, interference in the domestic affairs of other peoples, threats and aggression against sovereign countries in various parts of the world. Is it really necessary to mention all the facts relating to the policy of aggression and war of those two imperialist Powers, such as the plots and acts of aggression in Indo-China, in the Middle East, in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, their pacts and aggressive blocs, their military bases in foreign territory, their arms race and their preparations for war, and other notorious facts? Above all, is there any need to recall their criminal plans for encircling the People's Republic of China and preparations for war against that country, for those purposes assigning a special role to Japanese militarism? All these facts are quite obvious and peaceful peoples and countries know how to go about judging the policy of aggression and world hegemony of the two great imperialist Powers and their brazen campaigns against great socialist China.

42. As to the proposal put forward once again this year by the United States, Japan and certain other States in document A/L.599, to the effect that the question of China's representation in the United Nations should be considered an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, at previous sessions we have repeatedly demonstrated, with many other delegations, that it is devoid of all foundation and contrary to the Charter. It is in fact a fraudulent manoeuvre devised by specialists in the American Department of State to ward off the danger of a majority vote in this Assembly in favour of the proposal demanding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

43. As we have several times pointed out, China is one of the founder Members of the United Nations

and it is even a permanent member of the Security Council. China's seat in the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in all the bodies and organizations attached to the United Nations, belongs by right to that country which, with the people's revolution of 1949, became the People's Republic of China. The question of a country's régime is exclusively for that country's people to decide. No State and no international organization has any right to interfere in the affairs of other States, affairs which are exclusively within the national jurisdiction of each State. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter makes this an explicit obligation for our Organization. In the case now under consideration, it is thus not a question of admitting a new Member, but rather the question of the representation of a State which has been a Member since the foundation of the Organization. This therefore is a simple question of procedure, a mere question of credentials, and requires only a simple majority of the General Assembly for its solution.

44. There is only one China in the world, only one Chinese State, and that is the People's Republic of China. Its Government, and it alone, is qualified and has all the prerogatives to represent that country in international relations and at international conferences and organizations, including the United Nations. The fallacious theory and all the efforts of the United States and its henchmen to sustain the fiction of "two Chinas" or of "one China and one Taiwan" are futile and doomed to failure. Taiwan is a Chinese province; it is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. That is confirmed even in international documents which we have often quoted here. The Chinese people is resolved to liberate that part of the national territory from the military occupation of the American imperialist aggressors, and it will assuredly do so. The military chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army of China, Houang Yong-cheng, in a statement made on 27 June 1970 at Pyongyang, in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, on the occasion of the people's assembly for the condemnation of the occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan by American imperialism, said among other things:

"The 'two Chinas' plot is resisted by the entire Chinese people. The more bankrupt that plot becomes, the more openly American imperialism collaborates with the forces of reaction in Japan in rigging up a so-called 'independent Taiwan'. In so doing its aim continues to be to detach Taiwan from China. . . . The province of Taiwan is an integral part of China. China possesses Taiwan in full sovereignty. The liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is entirely within the domestic affairs of China, and no one has the right to interfere with it. Any plot to detach Taiwan from China, be it that of 'two Chinas' or of 'one China and one Taiwan' or of 'independent Taiwan' is resolutely resisted by the Chinese people and has no chance of success . . . Taiwan will be liberated. In persisting in its occupation of Taiwan, American imperialism will only raise a stone which will fall back on its own feet."

45. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the urgent historical need to decide immediately to restore the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. We have already emphasized in this statement the urgent necessity for this Organization, from every point of view, to have great Socialist China in its midst. Besides, it is quite clear to everyone that it is not the People's Republic of China that needs the United Nations, but rather the United Nations that needs China.

46. We do not underestimate the ever-growing resistance and struggle waged here by peaceful Member States against the harmful influence of the two great imperialist Powers in this Organization. However, the present state of affairs in the United Nations and the international situation itself require that those States redouble their efforts in this regard, that they advance more rapidly and more resolutely along this road, particularly when it is a matter of key issues concerning respect for the fundamental norms and principles of international law and of the Charter itself and directly affecting the strengthening of the United Nations and its future.

47. Time is short. The peaceful Member States must surely see that there is no other way out for this Organization. And they now have an opportunity to act before it is too late. The decision by those who have not yet made it, to support the proposal [A/L.605]—now sponsored by 18 countries, including Albania—calling for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its rightful seat in the United Nations is, above all, in accordance with their interests as sovereign States, for such a solution, as is proved by the successive recognition by many States of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only Government of China, cannot be called in question and will undoubtedly be achieved. However, it would be regrettable if certain States which for well-known reasons have hesitated thus far to take the decision dictated by their conscience and their beliefs as regards justice and equity, and by their own interests and those of the United Nations, were to be the last to take a decision to this effect. We express the hope that those States will avail themselves of the opportunity which is once again presented to them to take this decisive step.

48. The adoption of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605 will not only make good a flagrant and scandalous international injustice which has continued for 21 years, but will at the same time be—for all those who support that draft resolution—an important common victory over the overt or covert enemies of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the strengthening of this Organization in accordance with the will of the peoples and their legitimate struggle for liberation from imperialist enslavement and exploitation, for a free, worthy and happy life.

49. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation is encouraged by the fact that an increasing number of States in this Organization are beginning to realize that it is

illegal, unjust and detrimental to the cause of world peace that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should have been prevented for the past 21 years from taking their rightful places in all the organs of the United Nations.

50. The illegality of this situation becomes obvious if one considers the simple facts apart from the maze of red herrings and the fog of procedural expedients which have been used over the years to confuse the issue.

51. What are the facts of the matter? In October 1949, after a civil war between the forces of the Chinese Communist Party and those of the Kuomintang, the latter were defeated and withdrew to the island of Taiwan, where their political existence from that time has been maintained through the military and economic support of the United States. The Chiang Kai-shek régime controls approximately 10 million people in the 14,000 square miles or so covered by Taiwan and other small offshore islands. On the other hand, the Government of the People's Republic of China is, and has been for 21 years in effective control of the whole of the vast Chinese mainland with a population of some 750 million people.

52. The question which the United Nations had to consider in 1949 was not that of the admission of a new Member, since the State of China was, of course, a founding Member of the United Nations. The question was one of deciding which of the two Governments claiming to represent China was the legitimate government of the Chinese people. The answer to that question could have been in doubt only if partisan politics rather than principle was to be the basis for action.

53. The new Government of China informed the United Nations, as it was entitled to do after it emerged as the victor in its revolutionary struggle, that it repudiated the representatives of the Nationalist Government and had designated its own representatives. It thereby indicated by that act its willingness to abide by the Charter and accept its responsibilities as a member of the world community. There should have been no more difficulty in seating the new delegation than has been the case in other instances of a change of government either by revolution or by peaceful means. Instead, there began the series of procedural stratagems which have maintained the fiction that the Taiwan Government represents the people of China in the Security Council, the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations.

54. Those stratagems have included opposition by the United States and its allies to the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council, the engineering of a moratorium on the question in the General Committee and the current device of considering the issue in the General Assembly as an important question, within the terms of Article 18 of the Charter and requiring a two-thirds majority. It can be said of the current procedure that, in the first place, Article 18 is irrelevant to the question of China's representation since China is not a new

Member, and in the second place, that the issue is not an important one in the procedural sense. Its importance, at the present time, lies in the magnitude of the injustice that has been done in keeping the rightful representatives of the People's Republic of China from their place in this Organization. The course which has been followed to date clearly ignores established principles of international law.

55. Now, if it was not immediately clear in 1949 or 1950 that the Government established by the Communist Party of China was in effective control of the Republic and had a reasonable expectancy of permanence, it should have been clear by 1951 or 1955 or 1960. But doubt about effective control was never the real issue. The real issue has been the unwillingness of those who support the Taiwan régime to view the question with objectivity.

56. I should like to state here my Government's position on the two-China formula. We take note of the fact that both the lawful Government of the People's Republic of China and the Taiwan régime are categorically opposed to a two-China solution and both regard Taiwan as an integral part of mainland China. We consider that since that proposal has been put forward by outside interests, is not accepted by either of the parties directly involved and contains insurmountable legal difficulties, it can only be viewed as another of the irrelevancies that have bedeviled this question since it came before the United Nations.

57. I have said that the refusal of this Organization to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China is illegal, unjust and detrimental to the cause of world peace, and have dealt so far with its illegality. My Government considers that this action is unjust because it implies a condemnation of the lawful Government of China on ideological grounds; it represents a prejudgement of its possible conduct as a Member of the international community by States which are themselves guilty of transgressions against the letter and the spirit of the Charter. In this context it should be noted that the accusation of Chinese involvement in Korea has been used to justify the course taken over the past 21 years even though the obstruction of Communist China's seating in the United Nations had begun nine months before the Korean war. And if we consider the American involvement in South-East Asia or Israel's disregard for the elementary principles of international law and the authority of this Organization on the Middle East question, or if we consider South Africa's *apartheid* policy, condemned only two weeks ago by the General Assembly as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, we can indeed say, let him who is without blame cast the first stone.

58. I do not need to, nor shall I, labour the point that it is both illogical and politically inexpedient to exclude from this Organization which aims at universality, a nation whose population is one quarter that of the population of the world; to exclude a nation which is a nuclear Power when the survival of mankind depends in all probability on general and complete dis-

armament; and to exclude a nation closely involved in the question of a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in South-East Asia. All those points have been made repeatedly by Member States which view the question before us with objectivity.

59. My delegation would like to remind Member States that a short while ago, during the commemorative session, we were chalking up on the credit side of the United Nations ledger of achievements the fact that it has been a constant forum for discussion and quiet diplomacy and that the experience of working together and seeing our actions measured against the goals and principles of the Charter has been a salutary one. To continue to exclude the representatives of the People's Republic of China from the experience of fellowship in the international community can only hamper the cause of international peace and security.

60. Finally, we must not overlook the fact that the People's Republic of China maintains friendly relations with a large and indeed an increasing number of States Members of this Organization, and its generous contributions to the social and economic development of developing countries in Africa and Asia is evidence of its interest in and concern for international co-operation. It is committed to political, economic and social justice for all. Let us not repeat the blunder of the past 21 years, and this year let us restore that great country to its rightful position in the councils of our Organization.

61. Mr. ANAS (Afghanistan): Once again the General Assembly is discussing the question of the representa-

tion of China in the United Nations. We believe that the People's Republic of China is the legitimate Member and that its rights should be restored. Yet today, more than 14 years after the matter was raised in the Assembly in its present form, that Government has still not been allowed to take its rightful seat in this world community of nations. The fact that the People's Republic of China continues to be deprived of its rightful seat is not in conformity with the norms of universality and mutuality which regulate relations among nations. Let us decide ourselves, once and for all, on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, based solely on the principles of the Charter and the realities of the situation, devoid of sentiments based on political differences and disagreements. By eradicating this anomaly, the effectiveness of this Organization as an instrument of international co-operation will once again be restored. I should like to reiterate the position of my delegation on this question: that it is only the Government of the People's Republic of China that truly represents the entire Chinese people.

62. The PRESIDENT: Before the meeting is adjourned, I should like to remind the Members of the fact that the Assembly decided at the beginning of this morning's meeting to close the list of speakers on this item at 12 noon on Monday, 16 November. It was also decided that no amendments or proposals could be accepted later than 6 p.m. on Tuesday, 17 November.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.