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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. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): Throughout the general debate of this twenty-fifth session, including the commemorative session, one persistent theme which emerged from the statement of various delegations was support for the principle of universality of the United Nations and the vital importance of making such a principle a reality, and the importance of this for the effective functioning of our Organization was stressed repeatedly by the spokesmen of one nation after another. They all believed that principle to be essential for the successful functioning of our Organization, for the promotion of world peace and for international co-operation. Consequently, a large number of delegations have called for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The grave implications of isolating from the world Organization a people accounting for one quarter of the world's population were also explained repeatedly.

2. The Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970, reflected such sentiments in its statement on the United Nations, paragraph 4 of which reads:

"The Heads of State or Government declare that for the United Nations to be more effective Member States must recognize and accept the principle of universality in terms of its membership. In this regard they stressed the urgent need of restoring to the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the Organization. It is also imperative for the United Nations to examine the modalities of enabling all countries which are still outside the United Nations, including those which are divided, to participate in the activities of the Organization and its agencies."

3. For two decades the General Assembly has grappled with the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. The failure

of the United Nations to take the right and necessary action in this respect has constituted and continues to constitute a grave injustice against the people of China. That injustice not only denies one of the great founding Members of the United Nations, a permanent member of the Security Council, its right to take its legitimate seat in the world Organization, but also deprives the Organization itself of the vital role that can be played and the substantial contribution which can be made by China to the regulation of international problems and the solution of international crises.

4. The delegation of the United Arab Republic has consistently and repeatedly supported the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Its position has been determined by basic considerations of both law and politics.

5. First, the right of the great Chinese people to be properly represented in the United Nations is a right which they have attained through their great sacrifices which have been universally recognized and appreciated. The denial of their rights, therefore, violates the Charter and undermines the principle of universality, which is one of its basic principles. To deny the lawful representatives of China their seat in the United Nations is discriminatory and is not only a grave denial of justice but also inconsistent with one of the essential principles of the Organization to which we have referred—universality.

6. Secondly, recognition of the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the sole representatives of that country in the United Nations is urgently necessary in order to strengthen the authority, enhance the role and assure the effectiveness of the Organization itself.

7. In the light of these considerations, the United Arab Republic delegation supports draft resolution A/L.605 sponsored by the Albanian and other delegations in accordance with which the Assembly would decide "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China".

8. My delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 submitted by the Australian and other delegations. We cannot subscribe to the proposition that the question before us is a substantive one within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. We do not want to participate in an obstruction action meant to prevent the Assembly from expressing the will of its majority.

9. We share the view expressed by many delegations that the question is one of verification of credentials.

In this respect it is noteworthy that, in the course of its history, the United Nations has had several similar cases of revolutions and of political changes in Member States which have, nevertheless, retained their seats in the United Nations. The attempt to consider the question a substantive one as advocated—not for legal considerations—by some delegations should, therefore, be rejected.

10. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the solution of the question before us lies in the redress without delay of the injustice committed against this Organization, as well as against the People's Republic of China. Any delay in righting that wrong and redressing in the injustice can only aggravate the problem and undermine the authority and effectiveness of our Organization.

11. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria): I should like first of all to associate my delegation with those that have expressed their grief at the disaster which occurred in Pakistan last weekend. We have been deeply shocked at the colossal loss of human lives occasioned by the cyclone and would like to convey, through the delegation of Pakistan, to the Government and the entire people of Pakistan our deepest sympathy at this tragedy.

12. This annual debate on the restoration of the rights of membership of the People's Republic of China is a feature in the proceedings of the General Assembly which must bewilder enlightened opinion everywhere. For the past 20 years, this Assembly has proved unable to find the solution to the question of the proper representation of China in the United Nations. As the perennial discussion of this question becomes protracted, the basic issues involved also get increasingly blurred. We must cut through the maze of ideological considerations, political prejudices, misrepresentation of facts and of legal norms, if we seriously mean to find a valid and just settlement to this problem.

13. My delegation believes that a lasting solution of the question of Chinese representation in this Organization should be based on strict respect for the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, and should be in conformity with the goals of international stability and progress which the United Nations has set itself to achieve. The restoration of the rights and privileges of membership of this Organization to the People's Republic of China need not be subjected to the consent and permission of any one Member State or group of Member States.

14. China, as a State, was an original Member of the United Nations. The question which arose with the establishment of the People's Republic of China—and which has curiously remained unresolved in this Assembly—was one of how to settle the rival claims for the rights of the membership of China in the United Nations as between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the former administration which is now based in Taiwan. In other words, the question of the representation of China at the United Nations could be posed as follows: should

China continue to be represented here by a refugee administration exiled to a province of the country, or by the Government which has become firmly established and is in effective control of the vast territory of the country and of its massive population, constituting one quarter of the world's population?

15. Membership of this Organization is reserved for States and not for any particular government or individual which rules the country at the time of enrolment. Thus, the fact that the Head of Government of China who signed the Charter has since left the mainland does not mean that the China of 1945 has ceased to exist or that it exists only where the former régime, now in exile, is based. Several States Members of this Organization have, since the experience of China, undergone changes—revolutionary or otherwise—and the governments that have emerged have automatically assumed the rights and privileges of membership reserved for their countries. If changes of government, by revolution or other means, are acceptable in other parts of the world, they should be equally acceptable in the Chinese situation.

16. Thus, the question involved is simply a matter of credentials; it is a matter of determining what government is entitled to the original Chinese seat. To my delegation the answer is obvious.

17. The posture of those who approach this debate as if what is involved is a question of the admission—as stipulated under article 4 of the Charter—of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is clever misrepresentation. If there is any consideration of admission to membership at all it is conceivable only in respect of the territory now under the administration based in Taiwan. From the present claims of the Taiwan Government, that consideration has not arisen. That Government claims that it is the legally-constituted Government of China; that it commands the allegiance of all Chinese people including those on the mainland and elsewhere; and that it is therefore the administration entitled to represent China at the United Nations. My Government can neither concede nor recognize those claims.

18. Assertions that the Peking Government is not peace-loving in its intentions or that it pursues policies which offend against purposes of the Charter are, in our judgement, subjective. An ever-growing number of States have been strengthening their bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China. Apart from the large number of countries of the East European group and of the third world that have established diplomatic relations with China, there has recently been an increase in the number of Western countries which have gone a step beyond their commercial relations by also establishing diplomatic relations with that Republic. In the circumstances, my delegation believes that the People's Republic of China has sufficiently demonstrated its commitment to peaceful coexistence.

19. Nor will it suffice to raise objections on grounds of the political complexion of the Government of China, or the manner in which the Government was estab-

lished. This is an assembly of nations which embraces sharply divergent political and social systems and a plethora of constitutional structures and régimes which human ingenuity has devised. No one can ignore the reality of the People's Republic of China or deny that international life stands only to benefit from the industry, talents and achievements of the 800 million people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization. It is an illusion to assume either that the major contemporary issues of international peace and security can be resolved or that the impact of United Nations efforts in promoting international stability and co-operation can be made truly global without the full participation of the People's Republic of China.

20. The double standard being adopted by certain delegations on this and several other important issues that are before the United Nations is becoming as glaring as it is irritating. Only a few days ago some Members, the majority of which are the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1, argued, as if with conviction, against the amendment proposed by some African countries to the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee. We were told in effect that though the policies of the Government of South Africa run contrary to the purposes and principles of this Organization, we should not disturb the membership of that State. We were told also that it is essential to keep South Africa—which, for its governmental theory and practice, should be treated as an international outcast—in this Organization so as to maintain a dialogue with it. We were also told that it is contrary to the Charter to seek to censure, in the only positive manner short of using force, a Member whose every action constitutes a provocation to international confusion. To our utter amazement, the group of States which used those arguments is the same which on the present item tells us that the People's Republic of China should not be represented in the United Nations because it is not peace-loving and will violate the Charter. If powerful Members of this Organization continue to defend South Africa, which has consistently violated the Charter and has shown conclusively by its rejection of the Lusaka Manifesto<sup>1</sup> that it is in fact not interested in peaceful coexistence; if those who should be the custodians of the Charter are prepared to connive at its violation so long as their immediate interests are not concerned; if those of us who are Members of this international body do not play the game according to the rules, who can blame the People's Republic of China if it has not shown excessive enthusiasm about asserting its rights?

21. The Nigerian delegation will cast an affirmative vote for the draft resolution in document A/L.605. We shall do so in the conviction that adoption of this resolution will not in any way prejudice our firm commitment to the principle of the universality of membership of the United Nations. My Government has no interest in standing in the way of or objecting to the admission to membership of this Organization of any State which,

in our judgement, fulfils the requirements for the admission of new Members which the Charter lays down in Article 4. The proposal will not, in our opinion, have the effect of derogating from the rights and privileges of an existing Member State or of expelling any such Member from the Organization, since Taiwan is not now, by that name, a State Member of the United Nations. Consequently, we cannot support the other draft resolution on this question, contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1.

22. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): One of history's worst natural disasters has struck Pakistan. You, Mr. President, on behalf of the entire Assembly, have already expressed our deep feelings of sympathy to the people of Pakistan on the great loss they have suffered as a result of the recent cyclone and tidal wave in East Pakistan. The severity of the calamity, however, impels me to make use of this opportunity to extend to the delegation of Pakistan the profound feelings of sympathy and condolence of the delegation of Nepal. Words cannot describe the sense of shock and horror with which the people of Nepal received the news of the disaster. My countrymen have always had neighbourly sentiments of friendship towards the people of Pakistan. As the number of the dead and the homeless multiplies with each passing hour, our sense of solidarity with Pakistan grows.

23. My delegation shares the views expressed by many other speakers who have preceded me that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China should need no further discussion. This question, which should be confined to the simple formality of accreditation, has been not only exhaustively debated over the past several years but subjected, year after year, to unreasonable delay and distortion. It is a matter of United Nations record that except for the People's Republic of China no Member State has ever been required to leave the Organization just because the people of that country had chosen a new system of government to fulfil their rising expectations and aspirations. The arbitrary exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has not only violated the principle of justice but seriously undermined the effectiveness of the Organization itself. No one here in the Assembly needs to be persuaded that the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the confidence of the 750 million Chinese people, which has over the years given them identity, unity and pride as a nation, is the only and true representative of the great Chinese people. It is that régime which commands the habitual obedience of the people, and not the one which has been rejected by them, that should be entitled to represent them and speak on their behalf. My delegation wishes to point out that during the course of the debate on this item, now or in the past, no delegation has ever questioned the effective authority the present régime exercises over the territory of China as a whole. Those who have been opposed to the Chinese representation in the United Nations have instead sought to sidetrack or confuse the issue by bringing in false and fabricated allegations against the People's Republic. Sometimes they suggest that the People's Republic of China is not willing to

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

share the obligations and shoulder the responsibilities under the Charter. Sometimes it is alleged that it is not peace-loving and harbours aggressive designs against other countries. Both charges have over the years been proved false and without foundation.

24. As early as 1949, after the overthrow of the Kuomintang régime, the present Government of China is on record as having communicated to the then Secretary-General, signifying its desire to continue the membership of the United Nations. Had the People's Republic of China not been willing to carry out the responsibilities prescribed under the Charter, it is clear that it would have addressed no such communication to the Secretary-General. If it has not renewed its claim to membership year after year, it is because the question has been treated in a most cavalier manner from the beginning. No self-respecting nation, much less a great Power like China, could be expected to wait outside the corridor when its lawful rights are usurped and exercised by a régime rejected by the people but created, sustained and protected by a foreign Power. We know from our experience and we know from the communiqués that are issued when the Heads of State or Government of friendly countries meet with the leaders of the People's Republic of China—and most recently during the visit of Mr. Mohamed Yahya Khan, the President of Pakistan—that the People's Republic of China is willing to assume its rightful place in the United Nations and play a meaningful role within its framework.

25. It is equally misleading and malicious to suggest that the People's Republic of China is not a peace-loving nation. Since the revolution of 1949, the People's Republic of China has had no other concern or commitment except social and economic development at home and support for the cause of peace, progress and justice abroad. Although militarily a significant world nuclear Power, it does not maintain even a single soldier outside its territory. The irony of the situation is that it is accused of being aggressive and expansionist by those very Powers which pursue a policy of politically isolating and militarily encircling China.

26. To substantiate their wild allegations, China's adversaries take pains to quote Chairman Mao and other Chinese leaders out of context. However, such hawkish exaggeration can no longer mislead the world, for China has, over the past 21 years, given sufficient testimony to the fact that it is peace-loving, constructive and co-operative. We in Asia cannot easily forget the positive and peaceful part it played during the first Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955. Similarly, its constructive role in bringing about the successful conclusion of the two Geneva Conferences on Indo-China held in 1954 and 1962 is admired by all of us.

27. The People's Republic of China has entered into bilateral relations with more than fifty States, on the basis of Panchasheel, which *inter alia* recognizes the principle of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal matters, mutual co-operation and peaceful coexistence among nations. My delegation can confirm with some authority that, as

a neighbour, we have found the People's Republic of China to be most friendly, understanding and helpful. China extends economic assistance to a number of countries in four continents of the world. Its constructive role in the Zambia-Tanzania railroad is a most striking example in this regard.

28. Many Western countries which have had reservations regarding the peaceful intentions of China have now revised their policies and are beginning to establish diplomatic relations with it. In this context, mention should be made of the very welcome step recently taken by Canada and Italy, both members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

29. The continued denial of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China no doubt rests heavily in conscience, because it is arbitrary, illegal and unjust. But what my delegation is most concerned about is the setback suffered by the United Nations as a result of the continued exclusion of one of the major Powers. The Charter has entrusted five major Powers with a special role and responsibility regarding the maintenance of international peace and security. China, by virtue of its size, its population, its potentialities and its contribution to the allied cause, was considered one of such Powers within the United Nations system. However, since 1949, China remains unrepresented, rather misrepresented, in the Security Council and in all other organs and agencies of the United Nations.

30. The absence of this permanent Member from the United Nations has considerably weakened the Organization. Because of China's non-participation, the political effectiveness and the moral authority of our Organization has greatly diminished. The concept of universal collective security has remained only on paper because this concept presupposes unanimous views and actions on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council, and the continued absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has made such unanimity on any given project impossible. My delegation sincerely believes that without this great Power, the United Nations cannot for long remain active and effective. It is the effective existence of the United Nations that lies uppermost in our minds whenever we discuss the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, because for many of us, specially the smaller and non-aligned nations, which do not seek the protection of major military Powers, the United Nations represents, however imperfectly, a system of security.

31. There has been a growing realization now that no international problem could be meaningfully discussed, much less resolved, without the participation of the People's Republic of China. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations marks the beginning of the First Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade, as well as a serious effort to find ways and means to strengthen international security.

32. Any agreement on disarmament, development and international security will have to receive the con-

sent and co-operation of China before it can be effectively implemented. No programme for peace can be complete without the co-operation of that country, which is a space and nuclear Power in its own right. Similarly, no strategy for development could be global without the involvement of the one fourth of the human race that resides within the Chinese borders. This reality of international life is sharply brought into focus by the situation in Viet-Nam. Every Member here at the United Nations is deeply disturbed by the dangerous developments now obtaining in South-East Asia, yet the subject is outside the agenda of the United Nations. It is obvious that without the active co-operation of China the situation in Viet-Nam or Cambodia cannot be successfully resolved on a permanent basis. Therefore, when we talk of peace and development without the presence and participation of the People's Republic of China, we talk of uneasy peace and partial development. Although the Charter envisages the promotion of peace and development in a universal, global context, some of us are raising artificial barriers to obstruct the fulfilment of that goal, thus undermining the Charter and weakening the Organization.

33. Their arguments alleging disqualifications of the People's Republic of China having been exposed over the years, the countries which are opposed to the seating of that régime in the United Nations have in recent years taken recourse to a new strategy in order further to delay the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations. This strategy is based on what is called the concept of two Chinas. It is contended that the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China should not result in the expulsion of the representatives of the Taiwan régime. The territory of Formosa is an integral part of China. It has been so recognized in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945. Now, any attempt on the part of the United Nations to disintegrate a Member State and grant independent status to its territorial units would be legally wrong, politically unsound and contrary to the spirit of the Charter itself. Therefore my delegation categorically rejects the two-Chinas concept which is now being introduced into our discussion to mislead the Assembly. Such misleading techniques have often been adopted to deny and delay the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In this context, we may recall that the Chinese involvement in Korea has been used as a pretext to prevent China from assuming its rightful place in the United Nations, even though the policy of obstruction began immediately after the victory of the great Chinese revolution and almost one year before the Korean war.

34. I should like to state, by way of conclusion, that our position with regard to the two draft resolutions submitted to the Assembly has been guided by the foregoing considerations—considerations which are based on our desire to help strengthen the United Nations and uphold the principles of the Charter. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605, sponsored by Albania and seventeen other nations. On the other hand, we shall once again vote against the draft resolution con-

tained in document A/L.599 and Add.1 because, as I have already stated, all things considered, the question is one of accreditation and requires no decision in terms of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter. What is to be understood here is that the question is neither one of admission of a new Member State nor that of expulsion of a lawful one. Draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 is obstructionist in nature; it seeks to bend the machinery and processes of the United Nations to serve the interests of a few; it seeks to perpetuate an untenable situation; and, above all, it seeks to defeat the principles and purposes of the Charter by making use of a Charter provision in a wrong way. My delegation, therefore, urges that this draft resolution be decisively rejected.

35. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): First of all, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to associate myself with previous speakers in the expression of deep sympathy to my brothers and sisters of the Pakistan delegation on the very sad occasion of the terrible natural disaster that has taken place in the past few days in East Pakistan. Having ourselves been victims of numerous cyclones, we have a still greater understanding of the situation. I feel sure the international community will not hesitate to come to the help of Pakistan.

36. A number of speakers before me have already reminded the Assembly that the question before it is not that of the admission of a new State, a question of membership, and that therefore it is not an important question to be decided by a two-thirds majority, as provided for in Article 18 of the Charter. We agree with that point of view. Indeed, the question before us is that of the representation of the people of China.

37. At the beginning of this debate [*1902nd meeting*], the representative of the Republic of China told us that his Government was the one that participated in the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and that it was the same Government on whose behalf he was speaking. We contend that the Charter was signed 25 years ago on behalf of the people of China and that the 1949 revolution has resulted in the rejection by the vast majority of the Chinese people of the authorities that now govern Taiwan. Since the 1949 revolution, the Government led by General Chiang Kai-shek has forfeited the right to govern the great majority of the people of China on mainland China and consequently all claims to represent them legally. The new legally constituted Government of the People's Republic of China had so informed the General Assembly in November 1949.

38. There can be no doubt about the Government of the People's Republic of China representing the largest segment of the Chinese people. The General Assembly should, therefore, without delay, restore all its rights to represent China in this Assembly, in the Security Council and in all other United Nations organs and agencies.

39. Everyone now recognizes the People's Republic of China as a reality, a great nation which wields effective power over a quarter of the world's population.

After a long and historic struggle against feudal and foreign exploitation and oppression, it has consolidated its national independence and has striven successfully towards social and economic progress in the interest of its people.

40. Without the benefit of membership of the United Nations, the People's Republic of China is actively engaged in technical and economic co-operation with many countries, particularly in the third world. Some of the developing countries are in a position to appreciate how generous and effective the assistance of the People's Republic of China can be. The recognition of its legitimate rights will encourage the People's Republic of China to participate in our common endeavours, the most important being economic and social development. In addition, by restoring China's lawful rights in the United Nations, the General Assembly would greatly assist the Organization in solving the great problems of the present time, particularly that of disarmament and the maintenance of world peace.

41. The representative of the United States has expressed the interest of his Government in seeing the People's Republic of China "play a constructive role in the family of nations" [*ibid.*, *para.* 88]. We warmly welcome this attitude. We believe that it is only by associating that great nation in the work of our Organization that we can allow it to play its rightful and indispensable role in strengthening peace and security in the world. In spite of differences in ideologies, the People's Republic of China maintains peaceful and friendly relations with an ever-growing number of Member States. We have no doubt that China is committed to peace and progress and will carry out the obligations of membership under the Charter.

42. Mauritius is in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Our position is not only based on the reasons which I have just stated, it corresponds also to our profound belief in the principle of the universality of our Organization.

43. It is precisely because of that belief that we are opposed to the expulsion of the Republic of China.

44. It is our opinion that the United Nations should recognize the reality of 12 million people now living in Taiwan and that any government which represents them democratically and commands their allegiance should have its rightful place among us here. As with the people of any other Member State, it is for the people of Taiwan to decide who shall govern them and how they shall be governed.

45. At the last session of the Assembly we voted in favour of the draft resolution sponsored by Albania, Algeria and others to demonstrate how strong are our feelings in favour of the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

46. At this session, we should like to demonstrate how strong are our feelings against the expulsion of

the Republic of China from the United Nations. We shall therefore vote against the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605, submitted by Albania, Algeria and 16 other States, which would have this Assembly decide to expel the Government led by General Chiang Kai-shek.

47. Our position is clear: inasmuch as the Government of Taipei represents the people of Taiwan, it should remain a Member of the United Nations. But the sole representative of some 800 million people of mainland China is the People's Republic of China. Therefore, in the opinion of the Government of Mauritius, only the Government in Peking can claim to be the authority entitled to take the seat of China as a founding Member of the United Nations. It follows that we are unable to support the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1. We shall abstain when it is put to the vote.

48. We pray that the Government of the People's Republic of China will abandon the conditions it has imposed with regard to its representation in this Organization.

49. We also pray that in the near future the People's Republic of China will be greeted in this Assembly not only by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, not only unanimously, but by acclamation, if not by a standing ovation.

50. It would be rather pleasant to hear the representatives of Taipei and the representatives of Peking conversing in the corridors of this Organization in a friendly manner, and in Chinese.

51. Mr. OFWONO (Uganda): First of all, I should like to express the sincere sympathy of the Uganda delegation to the Pakistan delegation at the tragedy which has befallen Pakistan in the past few days. Its plight deeply touches our hearts and we sincerely share the sorrows of those who have been bereaved by this act of God.

52. It is with profound dismay that I take the rostrum to debate the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. For many years now this Assembly has been pressured by one major Power to reject the restoration of the seat of China to the People's Republic of China. Looking back, one wonders at the injustice that we have meted out to the people of China—800 million of them—by denying them representation in the General Assembly and the Security Council, although China is a founding Member of this Organization and a signatory to the United Nations Charter.

53. For some time now the General Assembly has been made to believe that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is a matter of grave importance—in fact, of life and death to the United States—requiring a two-thirds majority vote in the Assembly. Draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1, submitted by the United States and its supporters, gives the impression that the point

at issue is the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, which, according to Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, should be regarded or classified as an "important question". The United States is using this as a tactic to keep the seat of China for the puppet régime of Formosa. My delegation does not accept the United States reasoning and will not vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1.

54. It is quite clear that the point at issue is the restoration of the Chinese seat to the People's Republic of China, and therefore, in the view of my delegation, this is an issue of credentials, and not of admission, because China is not a new Member. The Chinese seat is already there, except that at present it is occupied by the representative of a great pretender, the Chiang Kai-shek régime in Taiwan, supported by the United States. It is that seat that this Assembly is being requested to restore to the rightful owners and proper representatives of China. This matter, therefore, does not fall under Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, which specifically mentions admission of new Members and expulsion of a Member State. I should like to emphasize again that this is only a procedural question, involving the credentials of the true representatives of the effective government of China.

55. It has been a fantastic anomaly to deliberately exclude so large and so gifted a portion of the human race from this world Organization. The United Nations as an institution will greatly benefit from the re-seating of the People's Republic of China, particularly at this juncture when Member States are concerned about the continuing disputes in South-East Asia.

56. It is also a well-known fact that the People's Republic of China is a nuclear Power, and to nurse hopes of complete or partial nuclear disarmament, we must bring to the conference table the People's Republic of China. Otherwise we will be deceiving ourselves to think that any understanding reached on the question of disarmament, or on the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, at the United Nations or bilaterally, will bind the Chinese people if it is not a party to the understanding.

57. We should therefore see the absence of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly in its true perspective. We have for a very long time excluded from our midst a great nation, a nation which has achieved greatness through its sweat, in spite of all the unbearable and neo-imperialist forces against it. The greatness of the People's Republic of China is not merely a question of power—military power or might—but rather of moral credibility, which is normally lacking in some Powers. It is the contention of my delegation, therefore, that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to the General Assembly and the Security Council will make the United Nations a much more representative world community. We cannot continue denying the 800 million Chinese people—forming a quarter of the world's population—its rightful place in this august Assembly.

58. A new school of thought in the United States is trying to sell us the idea that since the Taiwan régime is responsible for 14 million people we should allow the representatives of that régime to continue sitting here. In other words, they are advancing a face-saving device by advocating a two-Chinas policy. If that were accepted it would be a very dangerous precedent and contrary to the principles of the Charter.

59. My delegation finds that kind of thinking completely unacceptable, because the General Assembly has no power whatsoever to advocate a two-Chinas policy. What power do we have to divide China into two nations? We of course know the motivations behind the authors of that policy; their aim is to continue entrenching themselves economically, politically and militarily in Taiwan, a province of the People's Republic of China. My delegation rejects unreservedly this idea of dismembering a territory in order to sustain and satisfy the whims of a puppet régime.

60. I find the two-Chinas policy absolutely ridiculous. There have been revolutions in many countries, and yet régimes that have gone into exile have not received the sort of treatment that has been accorded the régime in Taiwan since 1949. If there were to be a revolution in the United States today, with the result that President Nixon were forced to flee with his henchmen to, say, Hawaii—or, for that matter, to Long Island, next door—would the General Assembly accept the representative of the Nixon régime in Long Island or of the new government in Washington which effectively controlled the whole of the United States? Would this Assembly, for that matter, accept a two-United States school of thought—one based on Washington, and the other on Long Island? This is a hypothetical example, but very pertinent to the question now being debated. If we accept a two-Chinas policy, the small, helpless nations will fall victim to this injustice and we will have gone a step backwards to the bygone days of divide and rule.

61. The foreign policy of a country is a reflection and extension of its domestic policy. It is a well-known fact that the source of American hostility to China is ideological. The United States Government thinks that it should resist the presence of the People's Republic of China here because China propagates a social, political and economic system which, in the capitalist eye, is intrinsically evil and which believers in the capitalist economic system see as a world historical challenge to themselves.

62. It is the view of my delegation that the General Assembly should not allow one nation's political, economic and strategic reasons—reasons of economic and practical advantage to the United States—to hoodwink the whole world into denying the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the family of nations. Our Taiwan brothers have been blindfolded into believing that the American mission in Taiwan, South Korea, South Viet-Nam and Cambodia is to redeem Asia from the moral evil of communism. I wish to submit unequivocally that the presence of the United States in Taiwan is solely for selfish reasons. To

illustrate the thrust of my argument, I should like to quote from the *Congressional Record*, which contains a paper presented to the United States Congress by the Honourable Donald M. Fraser. I quote:

“From the facts uncovered, it seems abundantly clear that we [the United States] support an unrepresentative and repressive government in Formosa as we have been doing in South Viet-Nam. Over the long run, however, the stakes in Formosa are much larger. U.S. policy toward Taiwan directly affects our relations with the People’s Republic of China.

“As we have seen, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek claims to be the sole legitimate government of China, even though it has actual physical control over only the population on Taiwan. His government doesn’t represent China and it doesn’t represent Formosa. Chiang’s government does not tolerate political discussion which raises the legitimacy of the present system or suggests changes in it. For twenty years the U.S. government has gone along with Chiang Kai-shek, helping to perpetrate the myth that he on Formosa represents the entire nation of China and Formosa.

“In one sense, we are faced not with a China problem, because it is quite clear who governs the 750,000,000 people of China, and they do not receive our support, either material or moral, for their efforts. But we *are* faced with the problem of the future status of Formosa, because we have long been involved in the present Nationalist Government’s affairs.

“ . . .

“Finally, the Nationalist Government does not represent China except in the tortured reasoning of its ideology. It deludes itself that it will return to reconquer and govern China. It is time for all parties to this complex political problem to face the realities of this situation.”<sup>2</sup>

63. It is discernible from this quotation that Congressman Fraser knows that the American policy in

<sup>2</sup> *United States Congressional Records, Proceedings and Debates of the 91st Congress, Second Session*, vol. 116, No. 151, pp. E7956 and E7957.

Taiwan is wrong, and many congressmen know this although they dare not let the American public know. It is probably as a result of Congressman Fraser’s research that the United States has, as may be seen from Mr. Phillip’s statement, indirectly implied acceptance of the seating of the People’s Republic of China if it does not mean expelling “from our midst a Government which effectively governs 14 million people” [*ibid.*, para. 90]. But the United States clearly knows that Taiwan as a province of China has no seat in the General Assembly.

64. The United States today finds itself in a profound moral dilemma. Profound, because it has rejected as outmoded the sacred principles on which its society was founded and has, innumerable times, violated the principles of equity and justice which it purports to stand for. This Assembly cannot condone the usurpation of a nation’s seat by a defeated régime just because a major Power wants it to be so.

65. All things considered, my delegation will vote for draft resolution A/L.605, which seeks to restore the Chinese seat to the People’s Republic of China, and, as a corollary, to expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations.

66. The PRESIDENT: Before we close this meeting I shall call on the representative of Pakistan who has asked to be allowed to speak on another subject.

*Statement by the representative of Pakistan*

67. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): I have asked for the floor to be able to express the deep gratitude of my delegation, my Government and my people to those delegations that have expressed their profound sorrow and sympathy over the calamity which has befallen the eastern wing of my country. If I do not name the delegations it is because they are too numerous for me to mention them all and I should not like to take up more time of the plenary at this hour. In particular, may I from this rostrum thank you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General, for your moving joint appeal to the Governments, specialized agencies and voluntary organizations throughout the world to mount an effort to bring relief and succour to the stricken people of Eastern Pakistan.

*The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.*