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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 102

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

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling upon the first speaker on my list, I wish to remind members of the Assembly that the list of speakers will be closed at 3.30 p.m. Once again, therefore, I ask representatives who wish to speak to place their names on the list as soon as possible.

2. Mr. AJAVON (Togo) (translated from French): May I first of all, Mr. President, tell you how glad the Togolese delegation is to see you once again in our midst. My delegation was greatly distressed about the unfortunate accident which deprived us of your presence at the head of this Assembly, for it realizes how much we all need your wisdom to guide our work and to bring it to a successful conclusion. With all its heart my delegation wishes you an early and complete recovery.

3. Once again the Assembly is faced with one of the most difficult problems it has ever had to examine. Needless to say, it is also a problem which is most likely to give rise to controversy. For more than sixteen years the question of the representation of China has been before the United Nations. It is only since the sixteenth session that this question, which had been systematically kept off the agenda, has been dealt with seriously. The question is so important that in resolution 1668 (XVI) the General Assembly, after noting the serious divergence of views among Member States concerning the representation of a founder Member and recalling that the matter has been described as vital and crucial, decided "... in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question".

4. From the outset, the General Assembly not only has regarded this question as of major importance but has avoided applying to the People's Republic of China the procedure which is usually followed in connexion with the admission of a new State. This has quite naturally led to the problem being presented in a form which, in my view, common sense would

rule out: "The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". Thus we are being asked today to decide by a two-thirds majority—since the question is regarded as vital—whether Nationalist China or the People's Republic of China is legally representative in the United Nations.

5. Some very worthy arguments have been put forward from this rostrum and the fact that they have sometimes clashed violently has not yet made it possible to find the most valid solution, much less the legal truth. Depending on their preferences, representatives challenge the existence of Taiwan as a State and, basing themselves on the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, they claim that the island must be regarded as an integral part of the People's Republic of China.

6. By way of illustrating that argument, the representative of the Soviet Union stated in the General Assembly:

"Imagine for a moment that at the end of the Second World War the allied troops which liberated France had let General Pétain escape and he had crossed over to Corsica with the remnants of his troops. Would it ever have occurred to anyone to claim that there were two Frances?" [1068th meeting, para. 68.]

7. Without particularly stressing the fact that the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations were made during the war, when Formosa had been under Japanese domination for fifty years, those who supported the opposite view claimed that "the Chinese Communist régime is un-Chinese in origin and un-Chinese in nature and purpose" [*ibid.*, para. 89]. According to this argument, it is an imported régime imposed by force on the Chinese people, who have thus far never had the opportunity of expressing their approval either through a plebiscite or through free elections.

8. In support of this argument, the representative of Nationalist China, speaking at the same meeting, quoted Mao Tse-tung:

"... The Chinese Communist Party was born with the help of the Communist International; it grew up under the guidance of the Communist International, and the Chinese revolution developed under the guidance of the Communist International." [*ibid.*, para. 90.]

9. The representative of Nationalist China went on to quote the following statement made on 17 August 1949 by Kao Kang, Secretary of the Manchurian Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, at a public conference: "The reason why the people of China

are able to achieve such signal victories is because of the aid extended to us by the international group . . ." [*ibid.*, para. 102]. He then referred to an article published on 1 September 1949 in the Cominform Journal under the signature of Chu Teh, who stated that the communist victory in China would have been impossible without "the most sincere fraternal and friendly help of the Soviet Union" [*ibid.*, para. 103].

10. In addition, the representative of Nationalist China said:

"In the first five years of their rule, in order to consolidate the power, the Communists liquidated 20 million people whom they considered counter-revolutionary." [*ibid.*, para. 107.]

11. Finally, referring to the true will of the Chinese people with regard to the representation in the United Nations, he said:

"On this point, the will of the Chinese people has been made clear. It has been expressed through the Chinese prisoners of war in Korea, of whom about 75 per cent, or 14,000, chose of their own free will to be repatriated to Taiwan and not to the mainland of China. It has been expressed through the Chinese people who have fled and who are fleeing daily from the mainland to freedom and food in Hong Kong and Macao." [*ibid.*, para. 108.]

12. I have referred to these quotations for the sole purpose of showing the complexity of the problem that we are discussing and of warning the Assembly against taking too hasty a decision.

13. The facts are, however, well known: on the one hand, there are 600 million people who, it seems, are subjugated by a régime which has not yet been endorsed by the popular will. On the other hand, there is a Government in exile but based on a constitution and on free elections and recognized by the majority of nations as representative, as was the case with many Governments which Hitler's war forced into exile and which hoped to return to their countries.

14. My delegation is of the opinion that the African countries have no special qualification to defend either of these conflicting arguments. We have too much to do to liberate our continent from the tyranny of a Verwoerd or a Smith to allow ourselves the luxury of becoming involved in a world-wide dispute which is more the concern of the two major Powers of the day.

15. Since, however, the problem has been brought before us and since the African States have established various relations, some with Nationalist China and some with the People's Republic of China, my delegation feels that it would be useful to state its Government's views on this matter.

16. To begin with, I should like to make it quite clear that the position of the Government of the Togolese Republic with regard to the major international problems is based solely on its constant desire to maintain friendly relations with all Powers, without exception, and therefore to adopt an absolutely neutral attitude in respect of the two competing blocs, thus practising a true policy of non-alignment. Above all, my Government's position at the international level is based on its concern for logic.

17. In view of the fact that the United Nations is becoming more and more universal, the Togolese Government is always in favour of the admission of any State which has attained international sovereignty, provided that that State unconditionally accepts the provisions of the Charter.

18. Togo is a small country with an area of 55,000 square kilometres, a population of 1,600,000, and for the moment no important natural resources that could give it the attributes of a great Power. Yet it is a Member of the United Nations.

19. The jurisdiction of the Government of Nationalist China covers an area of approximately 36,000 square kilometres and is exercised over 12 million people. Thus Taiwan and its dependencies are more extensive and have a greater population than many States Members of the United Nations. Economically, Nationalist China is one of the most highly developed countries in Asia. And yet certain Member States demand its exclusion from the United Nations. Where, then, is the truth to be found? Where, then, is fairness?

20. Until proof to the contrary is forthcoming, the 12 million inhabitants of Taiwan are not, as far as I know, asking to be placed under the control of the People's Republic of China. Nor are they asking to be placed under a communist régime. To the best of my knowledge, they are satisfied with their Government and with the socialist type of régime which is promoting their economic development and thus raising their level of living. I would add that the economic experience of Nationalist China has been so rich in spectacular achievements and promise that the Chinese Government has for the last few years been making the technical knowledge of its specialists available to many African countries within the framework of their economic development.

21. The Togolese people maintain the best relations with the Chinese people of Taiwan. Its relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation have not, however, prevented my Government from expressing here, through the Togolese Minister for Foreign Affairs, its desire to see the People's Republic of China seated in our midst as a sovereign State, provided, however, that it first subscribes to the provisions of the Charter. This position is in keeping with the general principles of my Government's foreign policy. We wish to remain faithful to our own logic.

22. Logic also imposes upon us the imperative duty to oppose any decision which would exclude Nationalist China from the Organization. The statement made from this rostrum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo is categorical in that respect:

"...my delegation favours the admission of the People's Republic of China but my Government will defend this position only in so far as it will not result in the exclusion of another Member State, namely Nationalist China.

"Togo remains faithful to its friends but it also considers that the universality of our Organization is incompatible with ostracism and exclusion. The admission of a new State enriches and strengthens the Organization; the exclusion of a Member weakens

it, and makes it poorer." [1357th meeting, paras. 108 and 109.]

23. For years the question of the representation of China has been placed regularly before each session of the General Assembly. At first, the new régime which had just imposed itself on the people of the great land of China needed to assert itself at the international level, especially through the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The successive delays finally irritated the Chinese communist Government and apparently made it give its foreign policy a different direction. As a result, there is now a state of antagonism between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the United Nations. Some statements by Chen-Yi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and certain publications appearing in the People's Republic of China provide eloquent proof in that regard. Moreover, is the way in which the Chinese communists view the question of war and peace at the present time consonant with the provisions of the Charter?

24. My delegation must recognize, however, that these statements and publications which are hostile to the Organization are perhaps attributable to the state of irritation and annoyance to which the delay has finally driven a people of 600 million.

25. In any event and in all good faith, which of us is able to assert today that the People's Republic of China would agree to come and sit in our midst if, by a vote, we were to ask it to do so? Let us be careful not to be more royalist than the king and, above all, let us guard against seeking to make people happy at all costs, in spite of themselves.

26. Although my delegation is prepared to vote in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China, it is equally determined to oppose any decision that would have the effect of expelling Nationalist China. It is in the light of this unequivocal position that my delegation will vote on the draft resolution which is to be submitted.

27. Mr. PONNAMBALAM (Ceylon): The subject of China appears to have been discussed before this Assembly over a period of more than a decade, and in coming to the rostrum this morning I have a certain sense of hesitation that I may not be able to add anything useful to the various suggestions and views that have already been expressed. However, I should like to state that I am speaking on this subject for the first time on behalf of the new Government of my country, a Government that changed after a period of nine years, and I wish to make our position clear. I would not like to give a silent vote on this subject.

28. I think it will be conceded that hardly any country in the world, and certainly no country in Asia, today can afford to ignore the emergence of the People's Republic of China as a powerful and growing State in Asia. As a non-aligned country, Ceylon maintains friendly relations and trade relations with the People's Republic of China, and we should like therefore to make our position clear.

29. I should like to state that I approach this subject not with any partisan view, and, as I ventured to state when I spoke before this Assembly in the

general debate, we as a body should view the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China as a possible means of increasing the strength of the United Nations and making it a more potent instrument for the establishment of international solidarity and peace. It is, let me assure you, with that solemn conviction that I venture to address a few observations on this subject.

30. Various objections and views have been expressed as to why the People's Republic of China should not be seated in this Assembly. May I very briefly deal with them and go on to a most important matter that has been mentioned by the representative of the United States in the present debate. As I see it, the first point that has been made is that there has been, or there is in being, a continuing revolution in China, or in that part of Asia; that the revolution is not ended, and it would therefore be difficult for us to decide which is the Government that is really exercising sovereignty over that vast part of Asia. May I say only this, that that statement has but to be made to be dismissed. I do not think that, de facto, any Member State of this Assembly can seriously consider or accept that contention.

31. I pass on now to another argument that has been advanced, namely that the Charter of the United Nations refers to the Republic of China, and that there is a Republic of China existent in the island of Formosa, or Taiwan. I would respectfully submit in this regard that membership of the United Nations is conferred on a State and not a Government. The reference in the Charter to the Republic of China, in my submission, is to the physical entity of the Republic of China rather than to those who are holding power over that geographical entity. There can therefore be no question that if membership is equated with a physical area, the particular authority that might exercise sovereignty at a particular time is irrelevant. What is relevant is the existence of such an authority, exercising power and control and commanding the allegiance and obedience of the people who inhabit that area. By that test, I would submit that the argument based on the mention of the Republic of China in the Charter fails.

32. A third argument, as I understand, has been advanced, to the effect that the seating of the People's Republic of China might embarrass or compromise a number of Member States that up to now have thought fit not to recognize the People's Republic of China. By way of answer to that argument I would submit that an individual State is fully competent, by the exercise of its prerogatives, to recognize or not to recognize a given State. In this international Assembly the seating of the People's Republic of China, in my view, need not compromise or embarrass any Member State which has, perhaps quite rightly, in the exercise of its sovereignty, not recognized the People's Republic of China.

33. I now go on to what I believe to be the fourth argument advanced, the argument relating to the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. I do not think it would be seriously advanced or contended that we should achieve this objective of universality irrespective of the inclinations, of the principles and international policies of a State.

My submission would be that if a country—and that a very powerful and growing Power in the world—is prepared to subscribe to the principles of the Charter, that it would be entirely outside our power—indeed, we would be stultifying ourselves—to deny to that Power membership of the United Nations.

34. In this regard, I should very humbly like to observe that nothing is gained by attributing motives to those who are opposed to or who support the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations. I view the remarks made by the representative of the United States in the light that they were made with the utmost sincerity and seriousness, that they were animated by a profound and genuine desire that the admission of the People's Republic of China should not weaken this Assembly. In support of that contention, the representative actually referred to a number of dicta allegedly reported in newspapers and over the radios of various countries. I would submit that surely no one should be judged in absentia. However, we may, for a limited purpose, take cognizance of the fact that certain uncontradicted statements have been made by responsible leaders of the People's Republic of China. My submission would be that world opinion would be satisfied and we should have done our duty by the body to which we are all so proud to belong, if we gave China a chance to apply for membership in the United Nations. In so applying China would necessarily be implying that it would adhere to and be faithful to the principles of the Charter. If such an application were made, I do not think that we should go beyond the application and seek to inquire what motives may possibly impel China to apply for membership.

35. If such an application is made, may I, on behalf of my Government, state that we would be pleased to vote for the admission of China to membership of the United Nations.

36. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The French delegation has listened attentively to the numerous statements that have been made since the beginning of this debate. It would now like to sum up the situation.

37. It seems to me that a clear distinction can be made between two types of attitudes taken by the Governments opposing the restoration of the lawful rights of China: some would find such restoration legally acceptable but politically inopportune; others consider that there are unquestionable political advantages in Peking's presence but that legal considerations militate against it. There is of course a third group of Powers which seek to show that from both points of view a positive decision is impossible.

38. The legal problem, to take that aspect of the matter first, is beclouded by a confusion which is more or less deliberately maintained. Without saying it in so many words, people argue as though the question concerns the admission of a new Member to the United Nations and at the same time the recognition of a Government. From that they draw the conclusion, by analogy, that the matter must be decided by a two-thirds majority and that the vote must be based on an appraisal of the qualifications of the People's

Republic of China on the principle—a mistaken one, in our opinion—that diplomatic recognition must depend on a political decision.

39. This seems to us incorrect on two counts. First, the People's Republic of China does not represent a Power that is a candidate for admission to the United Nations; on the contrary, it represents a country, China, which already belongs to our Organization and is one of its founder Members. I should like to point out in this connexion that it is inaccurate to state that it was a régime, "the Republic of China" as it existed in 1945, that took part in the establishment of the United Nations, for the Charter refers, not to régimes, but only to States. In providing that China would assume the special responsibilities incumbent upon a permanent member of the Security Council, the Charter did not intend to confer rights and obligations upon a Government. Those rights and obligations were to be assumed by a State, taking account of all that that State represented and the weight it carried in the world balance of forces. In other words, the exercise of these rights and the assumption of these obligations devolve upon the Government which has effective control of the territory, which has charge of its resources and which represents the people in question. It is therefore the Peking Government alone which, having achieved and maintained the unity of the country, is able to speak and act on its behalf.

40. Secondly, the United Nations, which is nothing more or less than the sum of the States of which it is composed, is not called upon to recognize Governments—that is the sovereign privilege of each of its Members—but only to assure itself that the representatives which present themselves in the name of a Member State are duly accredited for that purpose. China is a Member State and, as I have just pointed out, no one can contest the fact that its Government is the Government of the People's Republic of China.

41. The conclusion to be drawn from these two observations is a simple one: from the legal point of view, all that the General Assembly is called upon to do is to ensure that the representatives of the People's Republic of China take their rightful place in the United Nations, that is to say the seat of China, and in addition to take a decision on the credentials of those representatives. Indeed, to adhere strictly to the law, the latter decision should be the only one taken. It so happens, however, that the course of events has resulted in this problem coming before the General Assembly in unusual circumstances. Accordingly, the least the Assembly can do, in all justice, is to settle it by a simple majority vote since, I repeat, this is neither a question of admission nor an important decision within the meaning of the Charter. I need scarcely add that, in our view, this should in any case be the reasoning of all the States which have recognized China and whose actions would be difficult to explain if they were to take a position here different from the position they have taken in bilateral relations. The French delegation considers that the subject of our debate is too serious for it not to be approached with the greatest clarity and without any artifice.

42. The political problem is quite a different matter and is naturally open to many different interpretations. This problem is in fact to determine whether the absence from our Organization of the representatives of the Peking Government—supposing for a moment that this is legally conceivable—is justifiable. After the statements that have been made from this rostrum, it seems to me that it would be more useful for me to endeavour to explain the reasons why we think the presence of China is not only desirable but necessary, rather than to comment in detail on the arguments that have been advanced in support of that proposition. These reasons, in the French Government's view, derive from one fundamental observation: how can it be maintained that it is in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations that the Organization should be deprived of one of the world's greatest Powers, whose people account for a quarter of the world's population, which has an immense territory and tremendous actual and potential resources, and which is geographically situated in the immediate proximity of the regions which are today the most disturbed? Lastly, China is a nuclear Power.

43. Such is, in the words of General de Gaulle, "the weight of evidence and reason" which has prompted France to establish official relations with the People's Republic of China, without that decision implying any judgement whatever on that country's internal régime. Those are, we think, the considerations that should guide the General Assembly's decisions.

44. Moreover, what did those countries which were determined to seek a settlement for the problems of South-East Asia do in 1954 and again in 1962? Disregarding the status of their diplomatic relations with the Peking Government, they met at Geneva with the representatives of that Government and signed with them the agreements which had been drawn up during the negotiations which have so often been cited as an example and during which the representatives of China observed the rules and conduct necessary for their success. Can any one today imagine that, in the last analysis, the painful conflict dividing two great Powers on the same continent can be settled once and for all without the participation of China? On the contrary, everything serves to confirm the fact which the French Minister for Foreign Affairs stressed from this rostrum on 29 September, when he said: "...the problems of...[Asia] cannot be settled without the direct participation of the largest Asian Power" [1341st meeting, para. 99].

45. The problems of that continent, however, are not the only ones with which we are concerned. The question that is par excellence a universal one and that dominates all the others is the question of disarmament. In this Assembly, as throughout the world, there is no longer any doubt that a real settlement of the problem of disarmament can be brought about only through negotiations in which the five nuclear Powers, including of course China, will be the main participants.

46. Similarly, who can fail to see that the action of the Security Council, which is vitally important to the maintenance of peace, is becoming increasingly hampered by the fact that the seat of China, one of

the five permanent members, is not occupied by the true representative of that country?

47. In this situation, which directly impedes the attainment of universality by the United Nations, should we allow ourselves to be deterred by this or that statement by the Chinese leaders which is harsh or critical of our Organization? What Government, if it found itself in the same circumstances, kept out of the United Nations for so many years, could be expected to show kindly feelings towards the United Nations?

48. Generally speaking, while certain statements and reactions are admittedly disconcerting, we feel that judgement on them should be suspended until China has been enabled to resume its place among us, that is, until it has ceased to be the victim of an ostracism which cannot fail to engender bitterness. Since there has been some discussion of the qualifications necessary for membership of the Organization and since reference has been made to certain Articles of the Charter, such as that laying down the circumstances in which a Member may be expelled, my delegation wishes to put the following question, which, by the way, it is not alone in asking: what would happen—what, indeed, would have happened—if the reasons which some put forward for closing the doors of the United Nations to China—which is tantamount to excluding it—were to be advanced and given effect whenever there was a majority that considered any particular State or group of States guilty of acts or intentions running counter to the principles of the Charter?

49. Lastly, some delegations have drawn our attention to the difficulties that might be caused by the presence in the Assembly and in the Security Council of a delegation representing a country which on certain important matters vigorously upholds principles that are contrary to those held by a great many Member States. We are not blind to these difficulties. We know that, until solutions are found for the main problems dividing the world, with the representatives of China among us the discussions in the United Nations will often take an acrimonious turn, will be marked by numbers of incidents and will sometimes encounter obstacles that will be difficult to overcome. But we also know that, until the representatives of China join us, many of these discussions will become increasingly unrealistic and, even if they are calm in tenor, they will not lead to any serious result. Lastly, we see that, if this event is still further postponed, the very future of our Organization, which has already given rise to some concern during the last two years, will be seriously jeopardized.

50. The observations which I have just made leave no doubt that, to quote the words of Mr. Couve de Murville, "the time would inevitably come when the People's Republic of China would represent that great country in the General Assembly and the Security Council and would participate in the discussion of world affairs" and, Mr. Couve de Murville continued, "by trying to persist in excluding it, we simply run the risk of seeing it continue to take its own initiatives on its own behalf" [1341st meeting, para. 99].

51. Why, then, delay the outcome, now a foregone conclusion, of a debate that has been going on for

so many years? The absence of China from the United Nations is in itself prejudicial to the interests of the Organization and of its Members. It is especially so at a time when the critical situation in Asia is so fraught with danger to the peace of the world.

52. Mr. TRONKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The position of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been stated repeatedly at previous sessions of the General Assembly. Together with all States whose foreign policies are based on political realities, we are in favour of immediately ending the utterly absurd and abnormal situation whereby the seat of China, a great country and a permanent member of the Security Council, is occupied in the United Nations by persons who have long had nothing in common with the Chinese people. The Ukrainian SSR regards the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of that great people.

53. In 1949, the Chinese people won a complete victory in the civil war over the corrupt régime of Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist protectors, delivering the whole country from it except for the island of Taiwan, which is temporarily occupied by Chiang Kai-shek and his followers under the protection of United States armed forces. The new Chinese State, the People's Republic of China, has been in existence and has been developing for sixteen years now, and the fact that it has not been represented in the United Nations and its organs during that entire period is an example of flagrant discrimination against the people of that great Power, discrimination which has an adverse effect on all the activities of the United Nations.

54. Since the recognition of the People's Republic of China by France, the United States alone among the permanent members of the Security Council has stubbornly continued to close its eyes to obvious facts. This attitude of the United States Government, which so often speaks of the need to strengthen the United Nations, is the cause of China's still not being represented in the United Nations, to the certain detriment of the fundamental principle underlying the activities of the United Nations—its universality.

55. It is quite obvious that the Chinese people, numbering in the hundreds of millions and occupying a vast territory almost equal in size to the continent of Europe, must be represented in the United Nations and that it can be represented only by persons appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is quite obvious that to ignore the rights of the People's Republic of China is to ignore the rights of one quarter of the world's population, to trample underfoot the rights of one of the permanent members of the Security Council and founding Members of the United Nations, and flagrantly to violate the United Nations Charter.

56. United States politicians speak hypocritically of the "aggressiveness" of the People's Republic of China. But is it not the aggressive policies of the United States and its brutal military intervention

in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic which is threatening the peace and security of all peoples? We have heard very convincing statements to that effect by the representatives of many countries.

57. Far from Chinese aircraft and ships violating the frontiers of the United States, the fact is that since September 1958, the Government of the People's Republic of China has on some 400 occasions noted provocative intrusions by United States military aircraft and warships in the air-space and territorial waters of the People's Republic of China.

58. It must also be borne in mind that the actions and provocations of the aggressive imperialist forces in that part of Asia are encouraging the Chiang Kai-shek clique to engage in various rash ventures which threaten the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

59. The sole reason for the absence of China from the United Nations is the hostile policy of the United States Government towards the Chinese people and its State, and the pressure it exerts on a number of States Members of the United Nations whenever the representation of the People's Republic of China is discussed.

60. In our view, the "arguments" advanced by the United States to justify its position on this matter are completely unfounded, besides being entirely irrelevant to the question of who, under the United Nations Charter, has the lawful right to represent China in the United Nations. How long will the United Nations continue to tolerate a clearly abnormal situation where the policy of the United States towards another country determines that country's participation in United Nations activities?

61. There is only one China in the world—the People's Republic of China—and the island of Taiwan is part of that great country. The uncontestable fact that the island of Taiwan and other islands seized by the Chiang Kai-shek clique form part of China has repeatedly been recognized in many international documents which, incidentally, also bear the signatures of representatives of the United States. The concept of "two Chinas" is merely a clumsy device to perpetuate United States occupation of the island of Taiwan and to keep the so-called representatives of the United States puppets in Taiwan in the United Nations.

62. There is no need to describe the role played by the People's Republic of China in international affairs. No one has any doubt as to that role. Much has been said from this rostrum on that subject. Is it not a recognition of the importance of the role which the People's Republic of China plays in resolving international problems that the United States and certain other opponents of the restoration of its lawful right in the United Nations have agreed to its participation in the work of the international conferences on Indo-China and Laos? Even statesmen of the United States are forced to admit that the absence of the People's Republic of China has been delaying the examination and solution of such vital international problems as general and complete disarmament.

63. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic hopes that the United Nations will rectify

at last this flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter which has been going on for sixteen years, and will no longer tolerate the presence in its ranks of the so-called representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, who have no moral, political, legal or any other right to speak for China.

64. The position of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on this matter is firm and unalterable. We demand the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations at this session, thereby redressing a shameful wrong done to the great people of China.

65. Mr. Anjad ALI (Pakistan): Mr. President, my delegation is very happy to see you back in your chair to preside over the deliberations of this Assembly. It was your sense of duty and your dedication which made you return before you were fully recovered. My delegation hopes and prays for your complete recovery at a very early date.

66. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been the subject of annual debate ever since the People's Government took power in that country. Pakistan's position on this matter was stated clearly by the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan when, addressing the fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly on 25 September 1950, he said:

"Much stress has been sought to be laid on whether that Government is peace-loving or not, and whether it is able and willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter. This is the language of Article 4 of the Charter itself, but those who have sought to base themselves upon it appear to forget that Article 4 relates to the admission of new Members and not to the validity of representation, with which alone we are here concerned. China is not applying for admission to the United Nations. It is a Member State, a permanent member of the Security Council, one of the Big Five." [283rd meeting, para. 175.]

He went on to state:

"The sole question is: who is entitled to represent China, a Member State, in the Assembly?" [Ibid., para. 177.]

67. Pakistan's position has thus been made clear and has been consistent from the beginning. The only Government which can effectively represent the 700 million people of China, and is therefore entitled to represent China in this Organization, as one of its founders and a permanent member of the Security Council, is the Government which effectively and legitimately exercises power in China. In no other case has it happened that a change of government, by whatever means it may have been brought about, has prevented the effective government from taking over the representation of the country in the United Nations. There is no other case in which, fifteen years after losing power, an émigré régime continues to enjoy the privilege of representing the people of a country on the grounds that its political beliefs or conduct are more correct than those of the Government actually in power.

68. Let us be clear about this. The question we are considering is not the representation of the island of Taiwan but the representation of China, of which, by common consent and in law, Taiwan forms an integral part. It is argued that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question and; therefore, can be decided only by the vote of a two-thirds majority of this Assembly. Consistent with its position that this is a matter which concerns not the admission of a new Member but the credentials of the delegation of a State which is, and has been since the beginning, a Member of the United Nations, Pakistan cannot agree that the question of Chinese representation is important in this purely technical sense. The great size and population of China, the vital role which it must play in any over-all settlement in Asia and in the world, the tensions which have been created as a result of its isolation from the mainstream of world politics and the impossibility of achieving the goal of general and complete disarmament without its participation and agreement—these are factors which make the participation of China in the United Nations vital for the peace of the world and the continued effectiveness of this international Organization. It is in this sense that it is imperative that there should be an early settlement of the long-standing question of who has the right to represent the great Chinese nation in this Organization and all its organs. It is a question with which is bound up the very future of this Organization and of the establishment of an enduring peace and a workable system of international security all over the world.

69. Permit me to cite another passage from the statement made in 1950 by the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan. He said:

"This question of the representation of China is important in itself, but it is even more important as indicating the chances that the gulf that at present divides some of the great Powers and prevents understanding between them may be bridged at an early date. The consequences of this gulf widening or remaining unbridged would be vast and incalculable and are terrifying to contemplate. There may yet be time, through a sober and realistic approach towards this and other cognate problems, to avert the deadlock which threatens to overtake the functioning of the United Nations Organization. We humbly and earnestly plead for such an approach." [Ibid., para. 180.]

70. From this rostrum today, we repeat that plea. The time has not yet passed when a new corner may be turned in the search for peace and world-wide security. In Asia today there is war and conflict. It is in these Asian conflicts, unrelated to the bitter "cold war" of past years, that may lie the seed of disaster. Let me conclude by quoting what the present Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, stated in this Assembly on the subject seven weeks ago:

"No discussion of the scheme of things in Asia and Africa would be complete without a reference to the People's Republic of China. In fact, the lack of Chinese participation lends a distinct air of unreality to our deliberations even in this world

Organization. In these crucial times, when developments are taking place which might well prove decisive to the entire future of humanity, it is highly regrettable that China has been excluded so far from the United Nations; but, if this exclusion continues, the United Nations will find itself powerless to apply itself effectively to international problems, particularly to those in Asia. At a time when the need for strengthening the United Nations is advocated, it is ironical that the one logical and most important step in that direction, namely the seating of the representative of the People's Republic of China in this Organization, has yet to be taken. Our experience in recent years has proved conclusively that the United Nations without the People's Republic of China is as incomplete as a triangle with two sides. Either the United Nations moves forward towards greater effectiveness or it is bound to be overtaken by events. If the world continues to stand by and allow this to take place, it will in fact be guilty of unpardonable shortsightedness." [1339th meeting, para. 98.]

71. China, comprising a land mass of more than 4.2 million square miles and supporting the largest population in the world, has been making exemplary progress throughout the last fifteen years. It is evident that whether it is a conference on population, or a meeting of ECAFE, or negotiations on the banning of nuclear tests, or parleys about the non-proliferation of nuclear bombs, or talks about the establishment of a nuclear-free zone, or a summit conference on disarmament, the absence or non-participation of the People's Republic of China lends an element of unreality and an atmosphere of evasion to the efforts of the United Nations and deprives them of fruitful results. We believe that the United Nations should move forward and remain bogged down in perennial stalemates. We therefore believe that this Organization should give priority to ensuring the representation in it of the great people of China through their only accredited representatives, namely, those of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

72. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which the General Assembly is now discussing for the seventeenth time, is the most vital problem of our day. There is an ever-growing realization of the fact that the time has now come to make the United Nations an effective international body for the promotion of international peace and security. My delegation feels that in order to develop international understanding and co-operation for international peace and security, for which this world body came into being, it should be so streamlined that it could act as a unity in diversity, thereby adapting itself to the dynamic changes and evolution of international conditions. With this idea in mind, Nepal, ever since its admission to the United Nations ten years ago, has been constantly urging on this body the need to undo the injustice against the People's Republic of China, whose authentic representatives are debarred from taking part in the deliberations of the United Nations. The absence of the People's Republic of China has, indeed, weakened the United Nations in its fuller

realization of the objectives of the Charter. We are convinced that the presence of the People's Republic of China would definitely help to enhance the prestige of the United Nations and give more strength to our decisions. In fully asserting the need for the proper representation of the People's Republic of China, His Majesty King Mahendra said at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations at Belgrade in 1961:

"It has been our view that by refusing to accept China in the United Nations, the world Organization has lost much of its effectiveness. Whether in the United Nations or outside, China remains a world Power and not to have this Power in the world body is harmful to it and irritating to China."

73. Speaking on the question of the People's Republic of China from this rostrum in the course of the general debate on 5 October 1965, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister, Mr. Bista, observed:

"The continued absence of the Government of the People's Republic of China gives an air of unreality to all decisions and deliberations of the United Nations... there is one China and that is the People's Republic of China; and a refusal of its rightful claim to be within the United Nations today is completely contrary to the realities of the present day world." [1349th meeting, para. 150.]

These statements represent our stand and by doing justice to the People's Republic of China alone, we shall be able to create better conditions for the achievement of the ideals and objectives of the United Nations for the future of mankind.

74. Nepal is a non-aligned country, fully committed to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; and, as such, it regards this world body as the sentinel of peace and freedom. Nepal has always wanted it to grow in such a manner as would inspire the confidence and belief of all nations, irrespective of their size, political affiliation or social or economic systems, so that the United Nations could really become the altar of peaceful coexistence among all countries. We therefore earnestly wish this Assembly to give its thoughtful and serious consideration to this vital question.

75. I have noted that some of the previous speakers have drawn our attention to the Declaration of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last year in Cairo, which recalled the recommendation of the earlier conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade and asked this General Assembly to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations. This recommendation contains the request of fifty-seven countries, including forty-seven non-aligned countries, which have well recognized the importance of the People's Republic of China in world affairs.

76. At this moment, we should also take into account the fact that three permanent members of the Security Council—the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom—are in full favour of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

77. When we talk of Viet-Nam or of disarmament issues such as the complete prohibition of nuclear tests, general and complete disarmament or, even, of a world disarmament conference, circumstances have impelled us to see the imperative need of the participation of the People's Republic of China in our deliberations in the United Nations. This is a fact. I think nobody would disagree with me on this question.

78. While dealing with this question, let me recall the statement made by my Foreign Minister, who said:

"Whether in the question of general and complete disarmament or in the political settlement of the South-East Asia problem, the participation of the People's Republic of China is one of the prime necessities for attaining peace in the world."
[1349th meeting, para. 50.]

79. Nobody can ignore the fact that China is a nuclear Power, a country with a large military potential. China is one of the biggest land masses of the earth, having 700 million inhabitants who constitute one-fourth of the world's population. By keeping such an enormous world Power outside the United Nations, the problem of disarmament and other fundamental problems of our time cannot be solved.

80. To those who still maintain the view that the Republic of China is the legal Government, we should like to tell them very politely that they do not understand the course of history. It has been proved that, for sixteen years, the whole territory of mainland China has been under the effective and normal control of the Government of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the absolute allegiance of the Chinese people. How, therefore, can the Taiwan Government, which by no standards can maintain great Power status, be properly regarded as one of the Big Five? It is simply ridiculous.

81. The so-called representative of Taiwan, who claims to be the representative of the great Chinese people, even refrained from speaking the Chinese language, a language recognized by the Charter as one of the five United Nations languages. We have heard representatives of the Big Four speaking in their own languages, but we did not hear the other day the so-called representative of Taiwan speaking in

Chinese. It seems that they are accustomed to speak for others in the language taught to them.

82. I believe that most of you will agree with me that the revolution of 1949 has already uprooted the Chiang Kai-shek régime from mainland China and has installed the People's Republic of China with which most of the countries have established diplomatic, social and economic relations. It is the Government of that People's Republic of China which is the legal Government—and the only legal one—and not Kuomintang China.

83. We have scores of Governments similarly established represented here. Why, then, do we see such injustice and discriminatory treatment with regard to the People's Republic of China, when a large number of African, Asian and Latin American Governments which have come to power through popular revolutions under similar conditions are seated here? Why then is a two-thirds majority sought with regard to the People's Republic of China? This, need I say, is a concocted procedural stratagem and nothing else, to thwart the legitimate claims of China. As we consider the participation of the People's Republic of China to be of vital concern to all for the cause of world peace and also for the maintenance of the balance of power within the United Nations as envisaged by the San Francisco Conference, we should take it as a simple procedural question of substitution which should be decided by a simple majority.

84. Nepal has a common border of more than 1,000 kilometres with the Tibet region of China, a border which was under dispute for 150 years. We have amicably settled this border problem to the entire satisfaction of both Nepal and the People's Republic of China. This convinces us that until now we have found their international code of conduct with us most correct.

85. In conclusion, the vexatious treatment and discrimination which the People's Republic of China has suffered so far constitute a mutilation of justice to which we must put an end as soon as possible in our bid to make the United Nations a saviour of mankind. Any delay in the settlement of this question will not contribute to our quest for the immediate solutions to the problems with which we are most concerned today.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.