

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**1802nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 6 November 1969,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 101: Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (<i>continued</i>)	1

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 101

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

1. The PRESIDENT: First, I would like to express my very sincere thanks and appreciation to the delegation of Hungary for listening to the appeal which the Chair made yesterday to be here on time. The representative of Hungary was in his seat at 10.30 a.m., although we did not have a quorum to begin.

2. Mr. BÉNYI (Hungary): Last week the General Assembly discussed the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

3. During our debate representatives of a good many States emphasized that the United Nations could serve more effectively the interests of peace and security, and become a more effective forum of international co-operation, if it achieved universality. With respect to the principle of universality, the most serious shortcoming of the world Organization is that one of the founding Members of the United Nations, China, is deprived of its rights to be represented in it. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter.

4. The Charter ensures a permanent seat in the Security Council for each of the five great Powers. One of them is China—the People's Republic of China. Although the Charter assigns this important function to China on an equal footing with the other four great Powers, the Government of the People's Republic of China, representing a quarter of mankind, has for twenty years now been denied the exercise of its rights as laid down in the Charter.

5. During past sessions of the General Assembly the Hungarian delegation has supported firmly the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Our position has not changed. We have always been of the opinion that the present situation, forced upon the General Assembly by procedural manoeuvres, is politically discriminatory, legally absurd and in every respect an unfair and cynical denial of the realities. That is why the Hungarian delegation is opposed to the draft resolution submitted

again this year by Australia and sixteen other States [A/L.567 and Add.1-4].

6. It can be stated that all that has happened around this issue in the past two decades has had an undeniably negative influence on the development of the international situation. The responsibility for that rests with those who have prevented the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

7. The real reason for that attitude, however, is evident. It is hostility against the socialist system of society that is guiding some Governments in their efforts to reject the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China or to bar the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam from the United Nations.

8. We hold the view that the prestige of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its activities, the cause of peace and security, and the improvement of international co-operation cannot be separated from the realization of the principle of universality. The General Assembly can take a great step to promote that basic principle on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization by voting for draft resolution A/L.569.

9. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*translated from French*): For the last twenty years the Assembly has been ritually debating the representation of China, a question which in my delegation's view has from the outset been put in equivocal terms satisfying neither the legal rigour of the one side nor the concern for genuine universality of the other. We talk about the "restoration of lawful rights", but cannot ensure an objective debate by explaining the source of this lawfulness. There is much confusion between the principles of the Charter, the ideological options, and considerations which by their very generosity lend themselves to the broadest possible interpretation.

10. Hence, when confronted with the idea of "restoration", many thinkers rightly wonder whether our Organization is acting in accordance with Article 5 of the Charter. If that hypothesis is to be adopted, it is first of all necessary to accept the premises set forth in Article 5 and to draw the conclusion that restoration of rights and privileges falls within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

11. My delegation is of course deeply troubled by this confusion over jurisdiction, references and terminology; and this is one of the reasons why it is not content with the wording of this item, the more so as this wording appears to beg the chief question.

12. When we speak of "lawful rights", we should be able to give our references. Should we, therefore, refer to the

law, or should we take account of concepts such as justice and equity? Since we are acting within the framework of our Organization, we have no other choice than to refer to the Charter, or, in other words, to abide by the logical results of our acceptance of its pertinent provisions and of the General Assembly's decisions.

13. Far from rejecting justice and equity, we hope on the contrary that they will assist us to obtain a better understanding of what is required by the Charter—that is, will help us to observe both its letter and its spirit. Nevertheless, if we abide by these two concepts alone we shall be in danger of forgetting the force of law, since they are subject to different interpretations; and in a world which is eager for legal order we are unlikely to be reproached for endeavouring to ensure that the Charter of our Organization takes precedence over other considerations which are far from being alien to it but which, because of our lack of precision in speaking of them, may mitigate the rigour of basic principles.

14. Despite all the subtle arguments of which all of us here are capable, the representation of China cannot, for the reasons I have just set forth, be usefully discussed except in the light of Chapter II of the Charter; and my delegation will be guided in this debate by the provisions of Articles 4, 5 and 6, which quite unequivocally explain the rights and obligations of Members with respect to the Organization, and their limits.

15. Now that we are all seriously concerned with ways of strengthening our Organization and with questions of international peace and security, it may seem opportune to carry out an unbiased analysis of what contribution the Peking régime could make. Can it be said at this juncture that a profession of faith in revolutionary agitation is favourable to a *détente*? Can it be maintained that a philosophy based on maxims such as "Political power comes from the barrel of a gun" is capable of envisaging any form of understanding? What kind of co-operation can be expected of a régime which regards war as a "positive phenomenon of the historical process"? Must we agree that violence is to be made a fundamental principle and "the settlement of all problems by war" advocated?

16. If we still have any faith at all in the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of our Charter, it is our duty not to accept such a contribution without the greatest possible circumspection—assuming that we ought to accept it; since it runs counter to what we have sought jealously to preserve for a quarter of a century, namely world peace through non-recourse to violence, the peaceful settlements of disputes, friendly relations and co-operation among Member States, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

17. Another argument often put forward has been that nothing can be done about international security without the participation of the Peking régime. We are well aware of its truth; and we continue to regret that that régime, by its statements and its acts, has evidenced an over-sectarian approach disregarding the existence of ideas respected by the great majority and associated with another form of democracy.

18. Moreover, we conceive of international security in terms of the Charter; and it is not by doing violence to the Charter that we can save future generations from the scourge of war. Even if within this Organization we have different views concerning methods, we are all more or less agreed on the broad basis on which international security must rest; and if we try to accommodate ourselves to alien or contradictory views, we run the risk of recreating a dangerous atmosphere of insecurity. Let me repeat that we are in favour of international peace and security—but not at any price. International order means that those who think they have a positive contribution to make to it must begin by conforming to it; and true greatness is measured not by the number of inhabitants under control, the area of territory occupied or defensive or offensive power, but rather by respect for the values which the international community, despite its diversity, has accepted.

19. I should now like to put forward my delegation's views on the procedural question. We have heard a number of representatives state—in different terms and contexts, it is true—the historical, political and legal importance of the representation of China.

20. My delegation cannot endorse the argument that it is merely a question of credentials, since draft resolution A/L.569 calls *inter alia* for the expulsion of representatives of a Member State. In this regard Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter is clear and does not lend itself to any restrictive interpretation. Moreover, even assuming that the representative quality of the representatives of the Republic of China is contested, and that we might consequently decide on our own authority to change the representatives of a sovereign State, we for our part must uphold the validity of the decision taken by the Assembly in resolution 1668 (XVI) and subsequently reaffirmed at its twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-third sessions. Hence we maintain that this question is of vital interest for the future of the Organization and must be regarded as an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

21. We do not regard this as a simple exercise in interpretation but as a question which affects the representation of a Member State and consequently its sovereignty. I very much doubt whether anyone among us would agree that a right should be debated which is solely within the sovereign judgement of his Government. It is serious enough that we should be discussing it at all. It is still more serious that references should be made to the illegal presence of representatives of a Member State. To the best of our knowledge and belief the Republic of China is still a Member of the United Nations and no coercive or preventive measures against it have been agreed upon by the Security Council; nor has any measure of suppression or expulsion been taken against it by the General Assembly. The Republic of China is a full Member of the Organization, and the presence of its representatives conforms with the pertinent articles of the Charter and is therefore lawful.

22. We could hold a lengthy discussion on the concepts of legality and legitimacy; but what we cannot do as a political body is to attempt to wipe out twenty-five years of our Organization's history by a simple vote. During this period the Republic of China has made a valid contribution to

international life in terms of diplomatic relations between nations and co-operation between peoples. Since the Republic of China has discharged its obligations under the Charter, its status as a *bona fide* Member cannot, if only on these grounds, be challenged.

23. Let us assume for a moment that we expelled the Republic of China. On which Articles should we base ourselves? Is it not true that we should then be obliged to resort to Articles 2 and 6 of the Charter? In all conscience and honesty we cannot see any provisions in those Articles which could be applied to the Republic of China. We can hardly, therefore, speak of expulsion while brandishing the Charter of the Organization and at the same time invoking the principles it contains, whether explicitly or implicitly, to support the slightest of our arguments.

24. It is not lightly that we say that the question of the representation of China is of vital interest to our Organization. Politically, we all want to see the Organization strengthened so that it may play a more effective part in maintaining international security. We are not going to reach that goal, however, by weakening the Organization by allowing the purposes and principles of the Charter to be ignored or distorted.

25. In law, we cannot agree that the provisions of the Charter should be undermined by a resolution. One such concession will lead to others, and the international legal order to which we have all contributed will in all probability give place to chaos. If that is the new order proposed to us, we cannot accept it.

26. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (*translated from French*): Ever since 1950 the General Assembly has been called upon at each of its sessions to deal in one way or another with the question usually called "the representation of China". During those 20 years the Assembly has invariably rejected all proposals to give the Chinese Communist régime a seat in the United Nations.

27. There is nothing surprising in this. No topic before the Assembly is more fraught with dire consequences. The stake includes not only the legitimate presence of the Republic of China in the United Nations, but also the fundamental principles of the Charter and, in truth, the very future of the Organization. Hence no one can be unaware of the vital importance of this question or contemplate with indifference the outcome of this debate at the General Assembly's present session.

28. The capital importance of the question has been recognized by the Assembly ever since it was raised here for the first time in 1950. The Assembly formally declared at its sixteenth session by its resolution 1668 (XVI) that since the question of the representation of China was "vital" to the future of the Organization, "in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, . . . any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question". It subsequently confirmed that decision at its twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-third sessions.

29. As is recognized by all serious students of international affairs, the Peking régime incarnates policies that

are the very negation of all the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It has made force and violence an article of faith and has glorified war as "the highest form of struggle to resolve contradictions between classes, nations, States and political groups".

30. It has extended its subversive activities everywhere, from South-East Asia to the Middle East, from Africa to Latin America. Even the Western countries are not immune from its crafty intrigues. What is even more surprising is that it is now meddling in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. According to an article circulated by the official New China News Agency on 1 May 1969, "in the Soviet Union, revolutionary organizations have now emerged which represent the interests of the Soviet working class". After stating that "the Soviet working class is being subjected to increasingly wretched conditions as the Soviet revisionist renegade clique strengthens its fascist régime and restores everywhere the most virulent capitalism", the author of the article goes on to say:

"The impressive victory of the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution has tremendously encouraged the working class and other working groups in the Soviet Union. A Soviet worker has been heard to say that the 'Soviet Union needs a new revolution. We must take an example from the spirit of revolt of the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries, rise up against Brezhnev and Kosygin, and restore in the Soviet Union the socialist State of the dictatorship of the proletariat'. A lorry-driver was heard to say 'We must rise up against revisionism'; and an old worker said indignantly 'We are being trampled underfoot; sooner or later we shall bring down Brezhnev and his clique'."

31. Without going quite so far as to claim the whole merit of having organized a revolt in the Soviet Union, Peking has not hesitated to explain the alleged existence of dissident groups in the Soviet Union by Maoist imperialism.

32. In Asia the Peking régime has never ceased to cast greedy eyes not only on Viet-Nam but also on India, Burma, Cambodia, Malaysia and Thailand. In a dispatch from Delhi, *The New York Times* of 15 June 1969 pointed out that Mao Tse-tung's supporters were making headway in India. A new Indian Communist party, with a Maoist trend and openly encouraged by Peking, was trying to unite six groups of Naxalites in West Bengal under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts. It relied upon "the frustrated youth and the economically oppressed middle class population, a fact that accounts for its growing influence in the urban areas of West Bengal and Kerala".

33. Against the Government of Thailand, Peking has conducted a campaign of violence the crudity of which is equalled only by its relentlessness. Four and a half years ago, on 22 January 1965, Peking Radio announced the formation of the "Thailand Patriotic Front". On 7 January 1969 the official New China News Agency of Peking suddenly announced the official establishment of a "general staff" of the "Thailand People's Liberation Army", "founded under the direction of the Thai Communist Party, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, as a popular army of an entirely new type". On 11 January 1969 the

same press agency published a declaration of principles attributed to the Thai Communist Party, stuffed with quotations from Mao Tse-tung and praises of him.

34. Lin Piao has said that it is necessary to “dispatch to the tomb all that rabble of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries”. He emphasized that Peking was resolved to encourage and support revolutions and wars of liberation throughout the world, including the “struggle of the proletariat and workers of the Soviet Union”.

35. In the light of these statements by Lin Piao it is clear, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in a speech to the International Communist Congress convened in Moscow in June 1969, that the Peking leaders regard themselves as Messiahs predestined to remake the world in their image and are “accustoming their people to a climate of privation and preparations for war”. The Soviet leader recalled that at the Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties held in Moscow in 1957 Mao Tse-tung had, without blinking an eyelid, mentioned “the possibility that in an atomic war half the world would be destroyed”. He had added: “The facts show that Maoism calls for a struggle, not against war, but on the contrary for war, which it regards as a positive phenomenon of the historical process”.

36. A régime that regards war as “a positive phenomenon of the historical process” and which is accustoming its people to “a climate of privation and preparations for war” is clearly unworthy to take its seat in an organization the principal concern of which is to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, to “reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights”, to “establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained”, and to “promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”.

37. None the less, there are some who would not hesitate to set aside the fundamental purposes and principles of the Organization solely to oblige the Mao régime. They maintain that the world seriously needs to be expanded and that efforts should be pressed further at the international level to halt the thermonuclear arms race. Peking, they say, is already in the ranks. Also, according to them, we must find some way of giving a broader scope to multilateral communications concerning many problems which cause clashes between the interests of the Mao régime and the normal conduct of international affairs. This expansion of contacts is, we are told, also essential to prepare effective means of neutralizing the corrosive effect of the acts of international subversion which Peking might commit.

38. All these arguments, let us note well, are in the realm of conjecture. These are the false reasons adopted by those who apparently do not realize that they are dealing with people for whom reason—at least in the form known to the liberal intellectuals of the Western world—has no significance whatever. Some remarkable letters have been sent to the Editor of *The New York Times* by the well-known specialists on Chinese and Communist affairs, Professor Walter Galenson and Professor Ta-chung Liu of Cornell University. These gentlemen rightly hold that the vagaries and strange behaviour of the Chinese Communist régime cannot be explained by errors of judgement or by the

internal logic of some kind of mysterious imperative stemming from the history of China. Western sinologists have tried very hard to find parallels for the “great leap forward” of the 1950s and the “great proletarian cultural revolution” which entailed so much suffering for the masses of the people and so much confusion and disorder for the régime itself. Their efforts have been in vain. “It seems to us much more convincing”, Professors Galenson and Liu say, “to sum all this up in a word: unreason”. It is dangerous, therefore, to assume that displays of goodwill or gestures of cordiality will evoke in Mao Tse-tung and his supporters the type of reaction that the liberal intellectuals of the Western world would regard as eminently reasonable.

39. We cannot assume that the Mao Tse-tung who regards war as a “positive phenomenon of the historical process”, who is accustoming the Chinese people to a “climate of privation and preparations for war”, and who serenely contemplates the prospect of sacrificing half mankind in a nuclear war, would engage in serious negotiations on nuclear disarmament. It can hardly be assumed either that he will moderate his militant ideology because means have been found to give wider scope to multilateral communications and to expand contacts. It is equally difficult to see how it could be vital to admit a régime to membership in the United Nations in order to prepare effective means of neutralizing the corrosive effects of its possible acts of international subversion. It seems far more likely that broadening of contacts would provide the Chinese Communists with more frequent and more propitious opportunities of practising infiltration and subversion. The lesson to be drawn from contemporary history is that, wherever Peking maintains diplomatic missions, subversion and infiltration are thereby facilitated.

40. Thus the Peking régime does not deserve a seat in our Organization, because no one, even by the widest stretch of imagination, could call it “peace-loving” and because it is not only little disposed to discharge the obligations set forth in the Charter but is in fact ideologically incapable of doing so. If in fact that régime had been a Member of the Organization, it could very well have been suspended under Article 5 or expelled under Article 6.

41. It cannot be over-emphasized that the Charter is the fundamental code of the Organization. To alter this fundamental code would irreparably damage the Organization itself. Nobody can be seriously concerned to maintain international peace by the primacy of law while at the same time advocating a cynical violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which for the world of today is the nearest equivalent to an international legal order.

42. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is more than a legal question; it is also a moral one. The Charter is essentially a moral instrument, embodying the loftiest and noblest ideals of mankind which it has tried to realize throughout the centuries.

43. We hear a great deal about the “bankruptcy” of the League of Nations. But what went bankrupt was not the ideas or ideals on which the League of Nations was based. The League of Nations went bankrupt because its Members, during the critical period of the 1930s, could not show themselves worthy of the lofty principles and purposes

inscribed in the Covenant, and lacked the courage to rally under its standard against international fanatics and evil-doers. What happened to the League of Nations could very well happen to the United Nations also.

44. The United Nations is a voluntary association of free and sovereign States bound together by a set of common aspirations. To be viable, it is entitled to expect its Members to obey certain rules of conduct. The Peking régime has never failed to manifest its contempt for the United Nations. To vote it a seat would remove any right the Organization has to regard itself as a moral force in the contemporary world.

45. Other persons, while conceding the risk to the United Nations of such an act, nevertheless maintain that the advantages to be derived from granting a seat to the Peking régime outweigh its possible difficulties. Their arguments are in the main political: we are told how much influence Peking has as a great international Power; how important its participation would be in negotiations concerning the control of arms, and how urgent it is to make the United Nations truly universal. As for the declared policy of Peking in favour of violence, we are told that, despite all its militant statements, the régime has actually followed a relatively prudent, indeed a wary, foreign policy.

46. We have already touched upon arms control. Now on the question, so often asked, whether Peking is or is not a great Power on the international scene, a few words will be sufficient. Let us say at the outset that universality is truly a purpose that the United Nations should endeavour to attain. In fact the United Nations is already a universal organization, or nearly so. This principle of universality has, however, very little to do with the representation of China. Since 1945 China has been represented in the United Nations by the Government of the Republic of China. This is the only government which can lawfully represent the 700 million Chinese and genuinely express their wishes and aspirations, their hopes and fears. We note with satisfaction that the lawfulness of its presence in the Organization has been confirmed by the majority of the General Assembly for more than 20 years.

47. All the political arguments advanced by those who are trying to have the Peking régime admitted become pointless if it is realized that the presence here of Mao Tse-tung's representatives could well compromise the Organization's very existence. Evidence is not lacking that, if the Peking régime entered the international Organization, its purpose would be to disturb the Organization's work and force it to modify not only its structure but also the fundamental provisions of the Charter. Nobody is unaware that Mao Tse-tung and his supporters are by no means wildly enamoured of the United Nations as it is now constituted. They have for years been describing it as a discredited organization in which Yankee imperialists and Soviet revisionists pull the strings. They have repeatedly demanded that the United Nations "should be re-organized from top to bottom", that the dual domination of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be ended, that all the "imperialist puppets" should be expelled and past mistakes corrected. Such statements should be taken seriously. Judged by its past actions, Peking is perfectly capable of behaving in a very dangerous and disturbing way.

48. Before 1958 no one would have believed that one day Mao Tse-tung would break with the Soviet Union, denounce the Soviet leaders as renegades and traitors, allow relations with the Soviet Union to be poisoned to the brink of war, and provoke a schism within the international communist movement. Yet that is precisely what Mao Tse-tung has done. It was not without good reason that in a speech to the International Communist Congress of June 1969 Leonid I. Brezhnev attacked the Communist Chinese leaders in these words:

"Peking has unleashed a political offensive against the communist movement. That offensive has continued to spread and expand and to become cruder and more open. Having engaged in polemics with the communist parties, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have proceeded to provoke schisms, carry out subversion, and actively set the revolutionary forces of our era against each other. They begin by breaking all ties with the socialist countries. They then attack them. They begin by criticizing peaceful coexistence, then organize armed conflicts, and then follow a policy that undermines peace."

49. Since Mao Tse-tung and his clique have been able to unleash a political offensive against the Soviet Union and pursue subversive activities against the international communist movement, what would they not do to destroy the United Nations if we give them the slightest chance? The most elementary prudence seems to advise that to protect the Organization's future we should prevent the Peking régime from penetrating it.

50. In his political report, Lin Piao clearly emphasized that the cultural revolution had not yet ended and that the final victory remained to be won. The Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party only marked the end of the first phase in the struggle for power between the Maoists and the anti-Maoists. Liu Shao-chi and his supporters are prostrate but still far from impotent. Their influence is still felt. In the armed forces Lin Piao has been trying systematically since the summer of 1968 to purge dissident elements, but his much-vaunted success is more apparent than real. The "Peoples' Liberation Army" is humming with jealousies and rivalries. The local commanders do not always obey Peking's orders. According to an editorial in the *Chen Si* newspaper of 18 January 1969, "Leaders in certain units take the political guidelines lightly . . . They use the purge to put down their rivals while protecting evil members of their own group".

51. The keynote of the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was "unity". The communiqué published by the secretariat of the Presidium quoted the following words, attributed to Mao Tse-tung:

"We hope that this Congress will be the congress of unity and the congress of victory, and that, as soon as it ends, still more resounding victories will be won in the whole country".

The same communiqué states that the delegates to the Congress declared "unanimously and enthusiastically" that—

"Our party is united as never before, after reducing the bourgeois citadel commanded by Liu Shao-chi. Under

President Mao's personal direction our Congress is progressing without incident in magnificent unity; it is the congress of victory".

52. This obsession with unity is irrefutable proof of its absence. The fact that Mao Tse-tung, in his opening statement to the Congress, felt constrained to express his hopes for unity can hardly be reconciled with the repeated proclamations of victory over the anti-Maoist forces.

53. The appeal for the reconstruction of the Chinese Communist Party after its disruption was launched in an editorial published simultaneously in the *People's Daily*, the ideological daily *Red Flag*, and the journal of Lin Piao's Liberation Army for 30 June 1969, the forty-eighth anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party:

"The Central Committee of the Party, under the guidance of President Mao and his deputy, Vice-President Lin, elected by the Ninth Congress of the party, is the only centre of direction for the entire party, the entire army and the entire population of the country.

"The consolidation and reconstruction of the party mean that we must first consolidate and rebuild the party's ideology. . . . We must arm our party with the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine as developed by the creative thought of President Mao, and ensure that our party becomes even greater, more glorious and more orthodox."

54. In practical terms, the reconstruction of the Party means the reconstruction and strengthening of the "directive organs". To achieve this there must be formed a "solid nucleus of party *cadres*" in revolutionary committees at all levels: in provincial committees, municipal committees, autonomous regional committees and even committees of small villages and production units. Leaders Mao and Lin would like to see the power of the party reaffirmed through reinforcement of its structure so as to enable it to exercise more effective control than it could through the weak network of revolutionary committees. The formation of a solid nucleus of party *cadres* in revolutionary committees would of course be the first stage.

55. We may well question, however, whether this plan could be put into effect without a setback. It is a significant detail that the triple editorial emphasized that the reconstruction of the party would of necessity be a "progressive" task, and pointed out that each committee would have to take account of "particular cases". The men in Peking obviously realized that it would undoubtedly be dangerous to destroy the present precarious balance of forces in certain provinces by forcing reconstruction through too hastily and roughly. Nevertheless, the editorial warned, "we must be on our guard against sabotage by class enemies and must continue to criticize the reactionary theory of 'polycentralism', which is in fact a theory of 'acentrism'."

56. Therefore, even if the first phase of the struggle for power has been concluded, the second has obviously only just begun. It could prove even more ferocious and brutal than the first, since the armed forces are directly involved. It remains to be seen whether the Mao-Lin clique survive such a struggle politically.

57. In fact this struggle goes far beyond the framework of internal rivalries between pro-Mao and anti-Mao elements within the Communist Party. In a broader sense it is the struggle of the Chinese people against their oppressors. There can be little doubt that in the end the people will win.

58. Although the Peking régime's military force is gigantic compared with those of some of its weaker neighbours, it is not a great Power by any standard. Its nuclear-weapon programme is still elementary. It has still to perfect the delivery vehicles without which its weapon systems cannot operate. Its armed forces are torn by conflicts and dissensions. It is encountering a growing opposition among the masses of the people. Its economy has suffered irreparable upheavals. Having reduced its economy to utter disorder at the time of the "great leap forward" in 1958, it began again with the cultural revolution. It is in no position, therefore, to launch ambitious military expeditions abroad. That is why, as foreign observers have often remarked, the Peking régime, though very bellicose in words, is relatively prudent in its actions.

59. That, however, is no reason for complacency. In this day and age aggression rarely takes the form of a frank and open armed invasion of somebody else's territory. The strategy of the "people's war" expounded by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao does not necessarily call for direct military action or massive troop movements beyond national frontiers. Peking's part in that strategy is to stimulate, encourage, train and direct throughout the world revolutionary elements which will undertake subversion against established governments. The consequences of such an appeal to the "people's war" are sometimes more devastating than direct military intervention.

60. Thus in our time Peking is one of the main sources of evil. That régime has contributed more than its share to the sufferings of the world. As long as it continues to exist, there can be no peace in the world nor true security for the peoples of South-East Asia.

61. Moreover, the apparently prudent attitude of the Peking régime does not mean, of course, that if faced with insuperable domestic difficulties it would not seek to divert attention from the home front by embarking on a military adventure abroad, as it has already done in Korea and along the Indian frontier.

62. Exhausted by the repeated conflicts of our era and fearing nuclear war, men ardently desire to return to a normal life and to settle their problems once and for all. Throughout the world, therefore, we find leaders who seem prepared to pay any price whatsoever for peace. They are ready to do anything to find favour with Peking.

63. The supporters of appeasement evaluate the situation in terms of their own logic and their own reasoning. Since they themselves have such a strong desire to revert to a normal situation and to settle problems once and for all, they automatically imagine that Peking must of necessity want the same thing. Nothing is further from the truth. Maoism feeds upon conflict to the bitter end. Neither in the charter of the Chinese Communist Party nor in the political report by Lin Piao can anything be found to reassure men of good will. They justify neither optimism nor illusions.

64. Appeasement with a seat in the United Nations as a bait would be a particularly dangerous manoeuvre. It would give the Peking régime the false impression that the international community has neither the will nor the courage to resist its intransigence. It would corrupt both the spirit and the letter of the Charter. It would jeopardize the very future of the Organization.

65. Since its creation the Peking régime has been conducting a pitiless war against the Chinese people. Tens of millions of men have already died in that war. To give this unspeakable régime a seat now would be to confer upon it the seal of international approval and condemn the Chinese people to eternal servitude. That is contrary both to divine law and to human conscience. International morality is at stake.

66. The Republic of China is grateful to friendly governments for the support they have given it for more than twenty years. It is sure that, once again, it will enjoy that support at this session of the General Assembly. We hope that they will vote against any proposal to promote the cause of the Chinese Communists in the United Nations, including the establishment of so-called "study groups". The question of the representation of China should be regarded as one of "vital interest" for the future of the Organization and as an "important question" within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

67. Having regard to all these considerations, it devolves upon us to analyse the two draft resolutions upon which the Assembly is asked to pronounce. The operative part of draft resolution A/L.569, sponsored by Albania and by sixteen other Members of our Organization, calls upon the General Assembly—

"To restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it".

But China, a signatory of the Charter at San Francisco, is recognized by all the nations of the world. It is a founding Member and has its rightful place in the United Nations. The delegation of Haiti could never vote for such a draft resolution. It will vote for the more reasonable draft resolution in document A/L.567 and Add.1-4, sponsored by Australia and sixteen other States.

68. Mr. NKUNDABAGENZI (Rwanda) (*translated from French*): The question of China may appear to some people a simple one of procedure or credentials, but they forget that its debate raises some extremely complex aspects of both constitutional and international law. We are all perfectly aware that China is a founding Member of the United Nations, that it sits in the General Assembly and that, in accordance with Article 23 of the Charter, it is a permanent member of the Security Council. We are also aware that it fully discharges the obligations imposed by the Charter on all Member States. It is undoubtedly true that, between 26 June 1945 when the Charter was signed at San Francisco and today, a great deal has happened in

China. In particular the legitimate Government that signed the Charter has been fighting against the intrusion of the communist régime on Chinese soil; and in various forms this fight continues to-day.

69. In the face of this situation the United Nations has not remained silent. It has repeatedly debated the matter. General Assembly resolution 1668 (XVI) of 15 December 1961, referring to Article 18 of the Charter, is perfectly clear. The Assembly decided that "any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question" which requires for its solution a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

70. Rwanda still unreservedly supports this General Assembly decision, which is prompted by wisdom and a strict awareness of realities, and also draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1-4, in which the Assembly "*Affirms again* that this decision remains valid".

71. The question of the admission of the Chinese Communist régime to the United Nations is undoubtedly of great importance. How could it be otherwise, since for many years now it has given rise to controversy within the Organization and, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 396 (V) of 14 December 1950, must be considered "in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case"? Everything goes to show that the Chinese Communist régime is diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles of our Organization, since it imposes itself by tyranny, tramples underfoot the fundamental freedoms of the individual, exalts violence as a normal form of social life and organizes clandestine and subversive movements aimed at overthrowing legitimate governments by sowing subversion everywhere.

72. The doctrine of violence and subversion preached by the Peking Communist régime is clearly a permanent menace to a number of countries, the more so because it is preached by a régime which now has access to nuclear weapons. The security of us all requires us to maintain great vigilance towards such a régime.

73. My Government feels, however, that it would be regrettable if the division of such a great people, whose age-old culture gives it a peculiar renown, were to continue indefinitely. In that, however, Rwanda has, as in the past, every confidence in the genius and wisdom of the Chinese people and urges them to overcome their difficulties.

74. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*translated from French*): Seventeen Governments—with which my country, Romania, has the honour to be associated—have brought before the General Assembly a request intimately connected with the efforts to increase the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and consequently to strengthen international peace and security and develop friendly relations and co-operation among States.

75. This request is the subject of draft resolution A/L.569, under which the General Assembly is invited to decide—

"to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Govern-

ment as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it”.

76. In co-sponsoring this proposal the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania is guided by three basic considerations.

77. In the first place, the proposal is based on the need to put an end to the injustice perpetrated against the People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, for 20 years. For the last 20 years the great Chinese people, constituting almost a quarter of mankind, have been denied the rights and powers conferred upon them by the Charter in the United Nations and other international bodies. The seat belonging to China is still illegally occupied by persons who for several decades have had no authority to speak on behalf of the Chinese people.

78. The establishment of the great Chinese socialist State, which set the seal upon a lengthy and heroic struggle by the Chinese people for their national and social liberation, represents one of the most outstanding events of modern times. Free and master of its fate, the Chinese people has inaugurated a new era in the development of China, has effected profound revolutionary changes in all spheres of social life, and has embarked upon a creative endeavour of unprecedented scope in the age-old history of China.

79. After twenty years some people still try to ignore the deep significance of the Chinese popular revolution which has transformed China into the dazzling reality of a great socialist Power. In their hostility to the People's Republic of China they do not hesitate to commit acts of great injustice and discrimination against the Chinese people and its lawful right to be represented in the United Nations. In our Organization's history there have been many changes of government or régime in various Member States, but no one has disputed their right to be represented in the United Nations. Only against China has such an injustice been committed. Have the right of peoples to self-determination and the principles of the sovereign equality of States been forgotten in the case of China? Respect for these principles, on which the whole edifice of our Organization rests, required that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations be recognized forthwith.

80. We have also heard speakers claim that the Republic of China—a formula which covers the fiction of a State allegedly headed by Chiang Kai-shek—is one of the founding Members of the United Nations and has faithfully discharged its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter.

81. I must make an initial comment on that claim. It was not the former Republic of China but the Chinese State which was a founding Member of the United Nations. The change of the official name of China in no way affects or can affect its status as a founding Member of this Organization. If, for a variety of reasons, the official name of a State changes—an act which falls exclusively within the power and the prerogative of the people concerned—no one

can assume the right to decree or to establish whether or not that State should remain a Member of the United Nations or, worse still, to attempt to claim that that State should continue to be represented in the United Nations by persons who are no longer in power. Despite numerous cases of this kind, the Organization has been faced with such a claim only in the case of China.

82. As for the assertion that the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek have discharged the responsibilities and obligations which under the Charter are incumbent upon China as one of the great Powers, we regard this as an attempt to distort reality; since it is well known that, after being expelled from power, those who have been illegally and abusively maintained in China's seat in the United Nations have lost all authority to assume the slightest responsibility in the name of the Chinese people. This truth is particularly evident in the Security Council, where no one takes seriously the presence of Chiang Kai-shek's emissaries among its permanent members. That this state of affairs, profoundly detrimental to our Organization and particularly to the role and action of the Security Council, has been maintained to this day, is due solely to unilateral interests which have nothing to do with the true interests of the United Nations.

83. The strengthening of the United Nations, which has proved to be a major concern of Member States on the eve of the Organization's twenty-fifth anniversary, requires an adequate representation of China in the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the principles of international law.

84. That is why we have always considered that the only possible solution to the problem facing us is to eliminate the obstacles which have so far prevented the authentic representatives of the Chinese people from occupying their country's place in the United Nations. For the same reason we have constantly maintained that the question of restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is one of representation, to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of rule 28 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

85. That this question is exclusively one of representation is determined by the existence of only one China, of which Taiwan is an integral part though still temporarily under foreign occupation. This fact has been recognized by several international agreements concluded during and after the Second World War. The Cairo Declaration of 1 December 1943, signed by the United States, the United Kingdom and China, stipulated that it was the purpose of the three great Powers “that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be returned to the Republic of China”. The Potsdam Proclamation of 26 July 1945 expressly states that the “terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out”. The existence of only one China is also recognized in the Charter of the United Nations itself. Articles 23, 109 and 110 of the Charter expressly refer to China as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. There is no other China among the founding Members of the United Nations.

86. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is therefore by its

very nature a question of representation which must be settled in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. This entails the expulsion, long-postponed but inevitable, of those who are illegally occupying China's place in the Organization.

87. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is required, not only by the need to put an end to the injustice committed against the Chinese people, but also by the urgent need to ensure the participation of the People's Republic of China in the study and settlement of international problems. In all efforts to reduce through agreements and specific measures the danger of nuclear war, to prevent the militarization of the sea-bed and ocean floor or outer space, to strengthen security in Asia and throughout the world, or to develop international co-operation, the participation of the People's Republic of China is essential if such efforts and agreements are to be effective. If there is to be any prospect of effective and viable solutions, a realistic approach to the great problems of the contemporary world requires the participation of this great socialist State.

88. Can there really be any hope of real progress in disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, without the agreement and co-operation of the People's Republic of China? Can the United Nations, which has a major duty in this matter, permit itself the luxury of dispensing with China's participation any longer without jeopardizing the objectives it has set itself? How can the People's Republic of China be expected to take part in actions under United Nations auspices as long as its rights in the United Nations are transgressed?

89. Those who try to spread doubts of the peacefulness of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China should be reminded that in the very first years of that country's free and independent existence it played an outstanding role in formulating the principles of peaceful coexistence among States at the Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1955. Today the principles set forth fourteen years ago at Bandung constitute the declared foundations of the foreign policy of the great majority of States Members of the United Nations. Moreover, the People's Republic of China has always based its international relations on the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, of equality and mutual benefit, and of the settlement of differences between States by peaceful means.

90. It is pertinent to note that in fact China has no troops or military bases abroad. The peaceful policy of that great Power is also expressed in its Government's reiterated intent to try, in conjunction with other countries, to bring about the complete prohibition and total elimination of nuclear weapons. As recently as 4 October 1969 the Government of the People's Republic of China again renewed its solemn declaration that China will never in any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

91. Lastly, the Romanian delegation is deeply convinced that restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is essential for the

strengthening of this Organization and for enhancing its effectiveness and prestige throughout the world. Now that the Organization is called upon to play its role more effectively as an instrument for peace and international co-operation, attainment in it of universality is vital if it is to be able to achieve its objectives. It cannot genuinely and effectively discharge its world-wide duties—which inevitably requires the assistance and constructive contribution of all the world's States—while still deprived of the co-operation and support of one quarter of mankind.

92. We consider that the cause of the United Nations and the well-nigh universal concern to strengthen its role in the world of today are ill served by arguments against its universality. To my country, attainment of universality in the Organization is of decisive importance for all efforts to make it equal to the tremendous duties it is called upon to shoulder under the Charter.

93. In the words of the Secretary-General, U Thant, in the introduction to his annual report for the year 1966-1967, "no Organization with the comprehensive aims of the Charter can be successful unless all the diverse peoples, cultures and civilizations of modern life are represented in it".¹

94. Referring precisely to the need to ensure the participation of the People's Republic of China in United Nations activities, the Secretary-General expressed, in the introduction to his annual report for the year 1967-1968, a conviction which is widely shared in this Assembly. He said:

"It is obvious to me that inasmuch as one of the members of the 'nuclear club' stands outside the world Organization it is difficult to make progress on major issues of disarmament, for example, without achieving this universality".²

95. In our view in present conditions, the universality and the effectiveness of the United Nations are closely inter-related, the first factor determining the value of the second. If international political organizations—especially the United Nations—are to be able effectively to play the role devolving upon them in their efforts to diminish international tension, to solve conflicts and to develop co-operation among countries, there is a prime need, created by the realities of the contemporary world, that we should ensure their universality. The Chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, stated in a speech to the Romanian Parliament that it was high time the world understood that the great problems of international life could not be solved today by ignoring the People's Republic of China and other States excluded from the international organizations.

96. To conclude my observations on this point, I should like to emphasize yet again our conviction that the deepest interests of the United Nations urgently require the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization.

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/6701/Add.1)*, para. 161.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/7201/Add.1)*, para. 171.

97. As I have already had occasion to state from this rostrum a few days ago [1778th meeting], the Members of this Assembly would in our opinion display great wisdom if they acted to ensure that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should find it playing its part as a genuinely universal organization, as conceived in its Charter. Its present and future interests and the interests of international peace and security require the determination and courage to abandon all prejudices and to act for the restoration forthwith of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

98. Mr. SHAW (Australia): Once again this Assembly is faced with a draft resolution which demands the summary expulsion from the United Nations of representatives of the Republic of China and the extension of an invitation to the representatives of Peking to take their place. Once again, the first point at issue is whether or not this is an important question, decisions regarding which require a two-thirds majority in this Assembly, in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of the Charter. In our view, a proposition of the nature put forward by the delegations of Albania and others, as contained in draft resolution A/L.569, is self-evidently important. We do not agree with the argument that their proposals are simply procedural. If these proposals were accepted, there would be grave repercussions in the United Nations.

99. Indeed, those who support the draft resolution A/L.569 have argued that without a change in the representation of China this Organization cannot function as it ought to function. Those who oppose the terms of that draft resolution maintain that the change in the representation of China which is demanded involves profound questions both of principle and of practical politics. Representatives on both sides of the debate therefore—whatever their differences may be—agree that the question is important. Once that has been accepted, the procedures for dealing with such questions are clearly outlined in the Charter.

100. Turning to the substance of draft resolution A/L.569, we find that it contains once again a demand for the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China now sitting in the United Nations. That demand is made in pursuance of the claim of the Peking régime that they have the right to take over the people of Taiwan, whatever the views of that people may be, and if necessary by force. That proposition is unacceptable as far as Australia is concerned. The island of Taiwan contains almost 14 million people—which is more than the population of two-thirds of the States represented in this Assembly, including Australia. There is a high level of economic prosperity and political stability in Taiwan. There is no indication whatsoever that the people of that island wish to be subjected to the rule of the régime in Peking.

101. It has been argued by some that the rights of that people to membership of the United Nations should be denied, as the price required in order to bring the mainland Chinese into this Organization. That argument has a dubious foundation in principle, and in practice it would deny the national rights of a country of considerable standing.

102. The risks and dangers implied in the policies of the Peking régime are world-wide, but they fall most heavily on the numerous and diverse peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions. Great strides have been made by the independent peace-loving States of that area to develop, both individually and within such forms of co-operation as they decide are acceptable among themselves. They do not wish to live in an atmosphere of fear—fear of intervention, direct or indirect, from outside.

103. Throughout the region, however, the countries on China's periphery have had to divert their energies and efforts from peaceful projects of development to thwart and repel intervention and subversion inspired, aided and abetted from mainland China. India was confronted with an actual armed invasion.

104. As the Australian Minister for External Affairs said in the general debate on 22 September 1969:

“A big question mark in the region is posed by the mainland of China. By its very size and the impact of its ancient civilization and its geographical position, the mainland of China must always be a major factor to be taken into account by all its neighbours whatever their politics, race or culture.

“As my predecessor has said from this rostrum on more than one occasion, perhaps the biggest question facing us all today is how to fit the mainland of China into the international community. This is not a question to be solved by a single simple action such as admission to the United Nations or recognition of the régime of Mao Tse-tung. It is not something that is to be solved by handing over the 14 million people on Formosa to a régime which they do not want. That would be neither morally right nor would it effectively end the difficulties the rest of the world has with Peking. What is needed is an accommodation, which it is not easy to see being quickly achieved, to which the mainland of China itself must make some contribution. In particular, it needs to let its neighbours be assured that they will not be threatened or harassed or subjected to armed attacks. Peking is seen by many of its neighbours as a menace, either actual or potential. If its neighbours no longer see it in that light—and Peking itself has opportunities to indicate that it is not a menace—then we will all be on the way to a new and fruitful stage in relations with China.” [1759th meeting, paras. 101 and 102.]

105. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1-4 and against draft resolution A/L.569. We urge other delegations to do the same.

106. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): The position of the Government of Liberia on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has over the past years been clearly defined in various statements by our delegation since 1949. The apparent grave concern evidenced by some of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.569 compels the Liberian delegation to reaffirm once again its position, as nothing has changed our viewpoint. Draft resolution A/L.569 defines as the basis of their unrest that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful—and I

emphasize lawful—representatives of China to the United Nations; that failure to recognize that fact would jeopardize world peace and security; that the representatives of the legal China to this Assembly since its foundation should be expelled.

107. While representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations continues to be one of the great and urgent issues facing the world in its efforts to guarantee world peace and security, we must never lose sight of the recognized principles of freedom and justice, the right of peoples to live in freedom and to enjoy self-determination. Repeated references made in statements in support of the People's Republic of China's admission to the United Nations must never fail to recognize the underlying and accepted principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

108. The events which a number of nations are today forced to accept, either because of weakness or inability to defend themselves, have resulted in a sharp division of views on that question. As most of the sponsors of the draft resolution imply that grave consequences could result from our repeated delay in keeping the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations, my delegation would like to call attention to the real issues with which many nations, in our opinion, are troubled. The ideological differences in our respective areas are becoming a matter of deep concern and alarm and a constant threat to international peace and security. The setting of double standards has forced us into complex situations. In those critical situations the smaller countries have turned to the United Nations in the exercise of their right to be heard, in order to protect their rights. The principles of the United Nations Charter should therefore remain sacred.

109. It does seem quite reasonable, on the other hand, that those who seek to have the People's Republic of China admitted to the United Nations ought to take it upon themselves to encourage China to show some evidence of its preparedness by taking the initiative and giving this Organization some tangible attestation that it recognizes the United Nations and will be prepared to accept and abide by its principles and objectives. The People's Republic of China's ideological differences and its attempt to subjugate and dominate freedom-loving peoples in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world are, of course, matters of deep concern and alarm. It would be a great relief to many nations if, recognizing these objectives, China would now say to all those who year after year seek in this General Assembly the admission of China, that it is now prepared to give commitments and evidence of good faith by following the normal procedure in applying regularly for membership of this august body, but, emphatically, not at the expense of another great nation which has stood and still stands for justice and respectability.

110. The expulsion of the Republic of China would seem totally unrealistic, and using the reference of some of our colleagues, impolitic, undemocratic and certainly not in the interest of promoting international peace and understanding.

111. Liberia has always maintained, in its constant support for the Republic of China, that, upon analysis, what

the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.569 are seeking to do is to have those of us who are fully aware of what the legitimate Republic of China has done as a founding Member of the United Nations forget this and simply accept their contention that, since the People's Republic of China represents one third of the world's population, it should enjoy rights and privileges over all others. My delegation therefore feels it important to set the record straight.

112. The representatives of the Republic of China have occupied the seat of China since the founding of the United Nations, and the record of this Government has not only been consistent with the principles of the Charter, but it has been beyond reproach in the fulfilment of its obligations under the Charter. The mere suggestion to expel one China for another whose good faith has not been tested or tried leaves a lot to be desired.

113. Further, when the amendments to the Charter—providing for the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council in order to enable African and Asian Member States fully to participate in the work of those important organs of the United Nations—were introduced, the representative of China demonstrated great foresight and willingness to co-operate with the great majority of States Members of the United Nations in fulfilling the ideals, purposes and objectives of the Charter.

114. Moving outside the activities of the United Nations, China has given and is still giving great assistance to my continent, Africa, under China's programme of foreign aid. As recently as in this month's issue of the *Reader's Digest* there appears an article entitled "Free China gives Africa a helping hand", and on page 183 it will be observed that special reference is made to "President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia being the first African to sign a mutual co-operation agreement with the Chinese Nationalists". This was done in 1961. The article goes on to report that word of the Chinese success in Liberia spread and that Libya, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, and Sierra Leone also signed similar agreements; and by mid-1968, missions were also at work in Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gambia, Madagascar, Malawi, Togo, Upper Volta, Chad, Ghana, Ethiopia, and the Central African Republic.

115. Therefore, realizing that membership in this Organization depends upon the willingness and ability of an applicant State to accept and carry out the obligations of the Charter, my delegation believes that acceptance of the conditions set forth by the Government of Peking would tend to destroy our Organization and to repudiate all that for twenty-four years we have endeavoured to establish and perpetuate here at the United Nations, the only bastion of hope, security and the aspirations of peoples everywhere.

116. In consideration of all these facts and historical events, and because we want to put this whole question in its true perspective, and realizing that there are other conditions for the eventual participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—conditions which raise fundamental political problems—my delegation is once again unable to support any draft resolution that would call for the seating of the People's Republic of China as the

lawful representative of China in the United Nations until there is some evidence that it has the desire and will to amend or to change its policies and is prepared to accept the principles of the Charter.

117. With this very brief statement of the position of the Government of Liberia, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1-4 and, speaking on behalf of one of the oldest developing countries, I respectfully urge the delegations of this General Assembly to vote for it.

118. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): In the nine years since my country became a Member of the United Nations, the Somali delegation has always given its unqualified support to the proposal that the People's Republic of China should be restored its lawful right of membership in the United Nations. My delegation maintains that the exclusion of that great nation from this Organization is as illegal as it is unwise, that it is contrary to the international character of the Organization, and that it creates a serious impediment to the cause of peace and international understanding.

119. Much of the argument against the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China seems to centre on the political character and philosophy of the present Government and on a sentimental attachment to the Chiang Kai-shek régime. Some States, aware of the weakness of those arguments but determined to support the Taiwan régime, have mooted the two China formula. Such sentiments conveniently ignore the fact that the status of China within the Organization cannot be affected by the political character or ideology of the Government of the day. The Government of Chiang Kai-shek which happened to be the Government of the day when the State of China became a founding Member of the United Nations, ceased to be the lawful representative of the State of China in this Organization when it was ousted by popular resolution on 1 October 1949 and replaced by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

120. It is pertinent to note that China has not been the only State to change its Government by revolution. Many States represented in this Assembly have had their Governments changed by the same process, the latest of all being my own country, Somalia. Yet the new governments that have emerged from these revolutions have had their credentials accepted without question and their membership of the United Nations has continued as a matter of course.

121. For these reasons my delegation considers the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China unjustified and contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter. The simple facts of the matter are being deliberately complicated by a procedural device which wrongly regards China as a new member seeking admission to the Organization. The idea of a two China formula is not one that has been promoted either by the lawful Government of the People's Republic of China or even by the ousted Taiwan régime. It has been peddled by outside interests and is certainly not calculated to bring about an early solution of the problem.

The Taiwan régime is on record that it is categorically opposed to a two China resolution and that the island on which it has sought refuge is itself an integral part of mainland China.

122. In the opinion of my delegation there is only one China and the Government of the People's Republic of China is both the *de jure* and *de facto* Government of that nation. Earlier in my statement I remarked that the exclusion of the representatives of the great Chinese nation created a serious impediment to the cause of peace and international understanding. Permit me to elaborate on that view. The weakening of the authority of the United Nations is a reality which is causing concern to all of us who cherish the principles and purposes of the Charter. That authority, so necessary in a world which is plagued with war and injustice, cannot be exercised meaningfully or effectively if the principle of universality of membership is ignored and if such an important State as China is denied the opportunity of participating in this Organization's attempts to solve international problems, particularly those in which China has a specific role to play.

123. For example, in September 1969, in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1], our Secretary-General made reference to the mad momentum of the nuclear arms race and appealed to Member States of this Organization to make serious efforts to associate all the five nuclear Powers in all negotiations for disarmament in one way or another. China is one of those Powers.

124. The First Committee of this Assembly, to take another example, has discussed an important item relating to measures pertaining to international peace and security. It has begun the debate on Korea. It is currently discussing an item relating to the peaceful use of the ocean floor and sea-bed. Can we expect to bring such matters to a successful and meaningful conclusion without the participation of China? Can we ask China to respect the authority of the United Nations or to give us its co-operation in executing our decision when we exclude China from any form of participation in the decision-making machinery of our Organization?

125. I submit that the answer to these questions all point to the impracticability and unreality of the present situation. It is an encouraging sign to my delegation that in recent years the number of States which support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has steadily increased. It is our earnest hope that at this session of the General Assembly there will be a change of mind on the part of other Members and that we will be able to remedy a wrong that has been allowed to continue for too long.

126. The PRESIDENT: That exhausts the list of speakers for this morning. There are insufficient speakers for the session this afternoon and the meeting will have to be cancelled.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.