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*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. Mr. EL-ERIAN (United Arab Republic): For two decades, the General Assembly has grappled with the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The failure of the United Nations to take the right and necessary action in this respect has constituted, and continues to constitute, a grave injustice to the people of China. This injustice not only denies one of the great founding Members of the United Nations, and a permanent member of the Security Council, its right to take its legitimate seat in the world Organization, but it also deprives the Organization of the vital role which can be played, and the substantial contribution which can be made, by China in the regulation of international problems and the solving of international crises.

2. The bearing of this problem on the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of international co-operation was pertinently reflected in section IX of the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964. That section of the Declaration, which is entitled "The United Nations: its role in international affairs, implementation of its resolutions and amendment of its Charter", contained the following statement:

"Recalling the recommendation of the Belgrade Conference, the Conference asks the General Assembly of the United Nations 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."<sup>1</sup>

3. The delegation of the United Arab Republic has consistently and steadfastly supported the restoration of

the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Its position has been determined by basic considerations of both law and politics.

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

5. Secondly, recognition of the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations is urgently necessary in order to strengthen the authority, enhance the role and ensure the effectiveness of the Organization.

6. A recurrent theme in the general debate of the present session of the General Assembly has been the need for reappraisal and reassessment of the state of the United Nations. The discussion of the item on "the strengthening of international security" in the First Committee revealed a consensus on the urgent need for strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. Is it in conformity with such objectives to isolate from the world Organization a country accounting for one quarter of the world's population?

7. Is it permissible to exclude the People's Republic of China, a great nuclear Power and a country with vast human and material resources? Is it realistic to do so and expect the United Nations to be in a position effectively to contribute to the solution of the grave crises and complex problems which confront the present-day world?

8. In the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General refers to the "highest importance" of the role of the "five nuclear Powers" in the solution of the problem of disarmament. He pertinently draws our attention to the fact that "the full participation of all the nuclear Powers in all efforts to contain the nuclear arms race and to reduce and eliminate armaments would not only be beneficial, but is indeed indispensable for a full measure of success" [A/7601/Add.1, para. 45].

9. In the light of these basic considerations, the United Arab Republic delegation supports the draft resolution sponsored by Albania and other delegations [A/L.569], by which the Assembly would decide "to restore all its rights

<sup>1</sup> See document A/5763.

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". My delegation will also vote against the draft resolution submitted by Australia and other delegations [A/L.567 and Add.1-4].

10. My delegation cannot subscribe to the proposition that the question before us is a substantive one within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. We share the view expressed by many delegates that the question is one of verification of credentials. In this respect, it is noteworthy that in the course of its history the United Nations has had several similar cases of revolution, and political changes in Member States which have nevertheless retained their seat in the United Nations. To consider the question a substantive one, as advocated by some delegations, is therefore discriminatory and should be rejected.

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

12. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): The delegation of the Sudan is proud to be amongst those who have stood before you, those who have stood before this Assembly for eight years now, to plead the cause of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Our advocacy is not to appeal to the universality of this Organization since we do not consider the concept of universality as particularly relevant in the case of the representation of China at the United Nations. We do consider the idea of universality as pertinent to the question of the representation in the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Germany for example, and of certain other States, not now members of this Organization; but this is a different matter.

13. For us, the starting point of the discussion of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China lies in exposing the policy of the United States which has been directed for twenty years towards the containment and isolation of the People's Republic of China. The policy of containment and isolation that has been relentlessly pursued by the United States has found expression in military encirclement through the establishment of bases and pacts around the People's Republic of China. It has also found expression in economic boycott, in trade embargo, as well as in determined attempts at political and diplomatic isolation.

14. At the United Nations the United States has, for the past twenty years, championed the cause of the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the Organization, using whatever tactics seemed expedient. However, despite some desperate acts of sabotage within the Chinese mainland, despite harassment of shipping and attempts at blockade and intimidation, the United States has had but a limited measure of success in its effort to strangle the

People's Republic of China economically and to isolate her politically and diplomatically. At the United Nations, however, the attempt by the United States to exclude the People's Republic of China has been singularly successful. It first succeeded in getting the Assembly to resolve "not to consider the question of the representation of China". It later came to advocate and to sponsor the procedural ruse that has continued to guarantee that two thirds of the Members of this Organization would not support the seating amongst themselves of the representatives of 750 million of the great Chinese people. For many years the Assembly has resolved that the question of "the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" was an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

15. The representation of the People's Republic of China is indeed an important question; it is important in the sense that it concerns the representation of one quarter of the inhabitants of this earth, important in the sense that it is the representation of a great Power with enormous capacity and potential, important in fact in every way except in the purely formal procedural sense assumed in draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1-4. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is not related to the question of admitting a new Member to this Organization. There is no new Chinese State seeking admission to the United Nations. Indeed, the very title of this item reveals that we are dealing here with restitution and not with innovation. Does not the word "restore" mean to re-establish, to bring back to normal or original condition that which has been denied or destroyed or taken away? This is clearly what restoration means: the rights of the People's Republic of China to occupy its place have been taken away and denied and we are concerned here with the restoration and restitution of those rights.

16. To maintain that Article 18 of the Charter is relevant to the question we are now discussing is to fall into contradiction. The contradiction arises from the fact that the representative of Chiang Kai-shek claims to be the representative of all the Chinese people including those who live on the mainland of China. If it is proved therefore that this claim is false, as has been patently and undeniably established, the Government that is in effective control of the Chinese mainland would not be a new State seeking admission to the United Nations, and the provisions of Article 18 of the Charter would therefore not apply. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is not in this sense an important one.

17. The debate of the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has taken many turns, but it seems to my delegation that none of the arguments advanced for keeping the People's Republic of China out of the Organization has been as specious or as deceptive as "the aggressive communist China" argument. There are many variations of this argument, often embellished with quotations taken out of context from the speeches of Chinese leaders, but it is essentially based on the premise that the People's Republic of China is aggressive and warlike. Yet, although this has been the main argument of those who seek to exclude the People's Republic of China from the

United Nations, none of those who advanced it have been able to go beyond the claim of attributing aggressive designs to the Chinese Government. They have conveniently ignored the fact that no Chinese soldiers are now engaged in fighting a war beyond the borders of the People's Republic of China; the People's Republic of China does not have any bases beyond its shores or any armed forces stationed in foreign lands.

18. Need one point out that no continent on this earth is free from the bases and armed forces of the Government of the United States? Need one recall that the continued occupation of South Korea by the armed forces of the United States and the involvement of that Government in the abhorrent and destructive war in Viet-Nam have been due to the policy of containment which the Government of the United States of America has pursued against the People's Republic of China for the past twenty years?

19. The delegations which have submitted draft resolution A/L.569 are convinced that this policy of the United States is grievously and dangerously erroneous. We should hope to persuade this Assembly that it is in the best interests of this Organization—that it is in the best interests of peace—that the nations of the world should endeavour to end the containment of China by the United States. We are convinced that the constant provocation presented by the single-minded pursuit of this policy by the United States is one of the greatest threats to world peace in our time.

20. Another argument that has often been advanced in this debate has sought to demonstrate that the People's Republic of China was itself reluctant to join this family of nations. In this regard, let us recall that this Organization does not present itself to the People's Republic of China as a bastion of peace. The people of China have not forgotten that their first contact with this Organization took place when alien armies approached the borders of their country with aggressive intent under the banner of the United Nations.

21. Let us also recall—for the Chinese people have not forgotten—that in 1950 United States troops, under a United States General, advanced, in the name of the United Nations, to the banks of the Yalu River. Let us ponder—because the Chinese people are acutely aware of this fact—that since the year 1950 the campaign for the isolation and exclusion of the People's Republic of China has been led by the United States within the United Nations. In 1958, the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, did not hesitate to proclaim:

“The United States holds the view that communism's rule in China is not permanent and that one day it will pass. By withholding recognition from Peking it” [*the United States*] “seeks to hasten that passing.”

Statements about the bad faith of the Government of the People's Republic of China towards the United Nations should take these factors into account.

22. In spite of the fact that the United States has pursued an aggressive and unjust policy towards the People's Republic of China, the first approach towards normalization of the situation did not come from the United

States—as some of its representatives would have us believe. Premier Chou En-lai, as far back as 1950, declared in the Conference at Bandung<sup>2</sup> that the Government of the People's Republic of China was not averse to entering into negotiations to normalize relations between the two countries. He stated that the Chinese feel no animosity towards the American people; and it was to the benefit of both Governments that normal relations should be established between them. This approach was met with rebuff and rejection.

23. Even more important, however, than the reaction to the friendly approach made by the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China was the consistent and unrelenting animosity that the Government of the United States has continued to express in word and in deed, in proclamations of successive presidents, in the establishment of aggressive pacts and in the encouragement of acts of aggression by the Chiang Kai-shek régime against China.

24. Thus, in spite of the earlier commitment of the Government of the United States to abstain from any aid to the Taiwan régime, at the outbreak of the war in Korea President Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet to defend Formosa and thus effectively established the commitment of the United States to the defence of Formosa. This commitment was, of course, later formalized by President Eisenhower.

25. In 1964, President Johnson said: “It is not we who must examine our view of China, it is the Chinese communists who must examine their view of the world. . . . Nor can anyone doubt our unalterable commitment to the defence and liberty of free China.” What is called “free China” is the Chiang Kai-shek régime in Formosa which has as a basic tenet of its policy the liquidation of the communist régime on the mainland.

26. Faced with this collusion of sworn enemies bent on its destruction, how can the Government of the People's Republic of China be asked to re-examine its view of the world? The picture of the world which the United States has endeavoured to present to this Government has been very bleak and very hostile. It is therefore nothing short of miraculous that, in spite of all these circumstances, it has endeavoured not only to inspire the confidence and loyalty of its own people but also to build up its economy, to expand its trade and to win the admiration and friendship of many countries.

27. It is significant that as early as 1949 the leaders of the Chinese Revolution could proclaim the intention of the Government of the People's Republic of China to be “to protect the independence, freedom, integrity and sovereignty of the country, to work for lasting international peace and friendly co-operation between all countries and to establish cordial relations with foreign Governments whose attitudes were friendly”. They have succeeded in establishing these friendly relations with many countries in spite of the United States policy of blockade and confrontation. The People's Republic of China now enjoys thriving trade relations with over 100 countries, the value of which is in excess of \$2,000 million.

<sup>2</sup> Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.



28. As for the United Nations, there are records of communications between the People's Republic of China and the United Nations expressing the hopeful attitude of the new régime towards the Organization. But it has not been possible since those early days, since the involvement of the United Nations in the Korean war, for the People's Republic of China to regard the United Nations except as a tool of United States imperialism. Perhaps it is not difficult to see, in view of the adamant resistance to the restoration of its rights, why the Government of the People's Republic of China has held this view.

29. Some of us, however, have enough hope for the Organization—hope that prompts us to endeavour to prove that it is not anyone's tool. That is why we have persisted year after year in advancing the draft resolution now before us for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

30. It was stated here the other day that the United States was willing to relax some of its strictures on certain aspects of its dealings with the People's Republic of China. That was proclaimed with an air of magnanimity as a gesture that should elicit a favourable response. The United States, it was said, was willing at last to substitute negotiation for confrontation. But that gesture on the part of the United States has not failed to recall to our minds President Johnson's remark that it was up to the People's Republic of China to re-examine its view of the world—and then he added the rider that the United States was committed to the defence of Formosa.

31. Recently the view has been expressed with increasing frequency that the time has come for the United Nations to consider seriously the "two Chinas doctrine". But how are there two Chinas?

32. We consider that the claim that the China envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations has been succeeded by two States cannot be admitted, since it has not been determined by any legal means that the island of Formosa was not part of China. Even the United States declared, together with the United Kingdom, at the Cairo Conference in 1943, that "all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria Formosa and the Pescadores shall be returned to the Chinese Republic".

33. Today the effectiveness of the rule of Chiang Kai-shek depends on American military might and a combined army and police force of about 1,200,000 men. But that régime, although its very existence is anachronistic, has not claimed separate status. Paradoxically, it also maintains that Formosa is inseparable from China. If the United States should decide to withdraw its support, the régime in Formosa would collapse like a house of cards, and then only one China would remain.

34. Perhaps it is pertinent to mention here that both the People's Republic of China on the mainland and the régime in Taiwan are agreed that there is only one China. It is only the United States that has maintained that there are two Chinas—what it calls "free China" on Taiwan and "communist China" on the mainland. But they also maintain that the only legitimate Government of China is the one on the island of Formosa.

35. One can see how dangerous that fiction can be when one considers the commitment of the United States and the ever-present threat to the peace of the world that is the inevitable outcome of that commitment. It is indeed the United States that must re-examine its view of the world and substitute negotiation for confrontation in fact rather than in rhetoric.

36. *The New York Times* made that point most succinctly and effectively in its editorial of 8 November 1969, under the heading, "Two-Headed Policy on China":

"If the Nixon Administration really seeks to bring Communist China out of 'its angry, alienated shell', as Under Secretary of State Richardson says, it should stop helping to bar the United Nations door. In the current General Assembly debate, however, Washington has again flatly opposed China's entry while hoping piously that the Peking régime will shake off its isolationism."

37. It is the task of the Organization to remind the United States—even if it takes twenty more years—that the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored. To that end my delegation commends to the serious consideration of the Assembly draft resolution A/L.569.

38. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): Once again we have before the Assembly a question that has been proposed for our consideration year after year. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly the so-called Albanian resolution was defeated by a significant margin of votes—as indeed it has been every year since the draft resolution came before the General Assembly. It is also noteworthy that the margin last year was slightly better than in the previous year. In any event, the voting has been consistently illustrative of the tenor of world opinion and the conscience of mankind on this important issue.

39. The delegation of Thailand has not the slightest doubt that the result of our deliberation this year will be no different from the record of the past. The reasons why States Members of the United Nations have refused time and again to seat the Peking régime in the family of nations are not difficult to seek.

40. Since its assumption of the reins of Government on the Chinese mainland, the Peking régime has conducted a continuing and vicious campaign against this world body. It has defied the United Nations by acts which contravene the letter and the spirit of the Charter. The People's Republic of China has, by word and deed, demonstrated its unwillingness to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, as prescribed by Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter.

41. Moreover, far from being prepared to abide by the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 5, which obligates all Members to "give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter" and to "refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action", the Peking régime has shown utter contempt for the Charter by its actions in the Korean war and in

giving aid and continuing encouragement to the North Korean régime in its present harassment against the United Nations forces in Korea.

42. It may be recalled that this Assembly condemned the Peking authorities for the part they played in North Korea's aggression against the Republic of Korea, which the United Nations was then taking action to defend from communist onslaughts.

43. The ruthless suppression of fundamental freedoms and human rights in Tibet perpetrated by the Peking régime shocked the conscience of mankind. It is indeed a sad commentary on contemporary Asian life that use of force in pursuit of conquest and subjugation has not yielded to the doctrine of constructive co-operation and mutuality of interests.

44. Thailand, which is a peace-loving country located on the periphery of the Chinese mainland, is made more than aware of the aggressive proclivities and expansionist tendencies of the People's Republic of China. Peking and its sister communist régime in Hanoi have been directing and assisting an insurgent war against the Thai people for the past several years. A guerrilla war was declared against Thailand almost five years ago, and it was not a mere threat. Since the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party convened at Peking in 1968, the policy of carrying on "wars of national liberation" against the neighbouring countries has been reaffirmed, to judge from the bellicose pronouncements of the leaders in Peking. The communist insurgents, with the direct and active assistance of Peking and Hanoi, are pursuing their invidious, subversive and terrorist activities in certain parts of Thailand, but their attempt to rally the support of the Thai people and to create large-scale insurgency in our country has not met with success.

45. In neighbouring Laos, the Chinese communists and their North Viet-Nameese brethren have long taken over two Laotian provinces, Sam Neua and Phang Saly, in violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954<sup>3</sup> and the Declaration of 1962<sup>4</sup> of which both countries are signatories. At the present moment the North Viet-Nameese, with Chinese communist support, have about 50,000 regular troops in Laos and have increasingly conducted war operations against the Royal Laotian Government—the legitimate and neutral authorities which assumed power after the Geneva Conference of 1962.<sup>5</sup>

46. Peking also has its fingers in other pies as well, as is evident from its intervention and assistance to the Naga tribesmen in India—where the memories of the Chinese communist armed invasion across the Himalayas in 1962 still linger—and to the minority groups in Burma, as well as to the remnants of the Communist Party of Indonesia which failed only by the narrowest of margins to take over Indonesia with the backing of Peking not many years ago.

<sup>3</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed 20 July 1954.

<sup>4</sup> Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed 23 July 1962.

<sup>5</sup> Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

47. More recently, the world's attention has been drawn to the activities along the northern border of the People's Republic of China. The armed skirmishes and bloodshed among fellow communists, the subsequent truculent stand and war frenzy, serve to warn all of us of the likely consequences of allowing such an irrational and violent régime to enter our midst. According to *Pravda*, in an editorial published on 28 August 1969 entitled "Peking's adventurist course":

"The Maoists do not even want to hear about a relaxation of international tensions. Quite the contrary, at moments of international crisis they play an instigatory part and call other nations to settle their problems 'with the rifle'."

48. In the course of the debate on this issue we listened to a few lectures on the history of China: how it was exploited, abused, and bullied by Western Powers. Numerous passages were quoted from books written by senators, former government officials and journalists who, for one reason or another, found it expedient to be apologetic about Peking's inexplicable and inexcusable policies and activities around the world. Even granting the fact that Peking's ills arose out of its preoccupation and obsession with the past injustices done to it by Western Powers, there can still be no adequate explanation or excuse for Peking's aggressive and illegal acts against India, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Viet-Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. None of these countries is a Western Power with a past record of guilt. All, with the exception of Thailand, were themselves victims of Western imperialism; and injustices and abuses were meted out to them all, without exception. Why then is Peking bent upon undermining the legitimate authorities of these independent Asian countries? The answer, of course, lies in the Peking régime's long-held ambition and determination to dominate and control the destinies of these countries. In spite of its professed adherence to the Bandung Declaration, Peking has no wish to coexist peacefully with its neighbours and other States. It wants to expand, by force and violence, its sphere of influence—a concept which has become increasingly outmoded and unacceptable to self-respecting nations of the world. This is a reality with which we, the neighbouring countries of mainland China, in Asia, are forced to live.

49. Representatives who advocate the seating of the People's Republic of China have singled out the reality of the 700 million people who live in mainland China. We, who are constantly subjected to Peking's provocations and interventionist acts, need no reminder of that fact. We ignore neither the reality of one-quarter of the human race nor the unwillingness of the leaders in Peking to subscribe to the basic obligations of a peace-loving State as prescribed in Article 2 of the Charter. Furthermore, as I stated in 1968:

"The aim of universality, however desirable in itself, is not of paramount importance to the United Nations. Neither the size of the country nor its nuclear capability is the final determinant of its representation in the world Organization. They may be pertinent considerations but they have to be considered in the light of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter." [1724th meeting, para. 84.]

50. In contrast to the hostile behaviour and inflexible policy of the Peking régime, we have witnessed the constructive role of the Republic of China in the international community. It should be remembered that the Republic of China is a founding Member of the Organization and has made positive contributions to its activities and operations. Its representatives who have sat on the various bodies comprising the United Nations Organization have gained the respect of their colleagues for their reasoned approach to the assorted problems and burning issues facing the world.

51. The Republic of China has a competent and progressive Government which has made remarkable progress in nation-building and has participated in many peaceful co-operative efforts for the stability and prosperity of the region as a whole. The Republic of China has been recognized by a great majority of countries, many of which have become independent nations during the last decade and are therefore in a position to know what freedom is and what it takes to defend freedom against a tyrannical foe.

52. It should be observed that the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.569 do not stop at the desire to admit the Peking régime into the world forum, but also demand the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. This proposition does not appear to have any logical basis; for to deprive over 13 million people of the representation which they have long enjoyed in the world Organization is, to say the least, unreasonable, as well as illegal, even to many of those who might support the presence of the Peking régime which holds the bulk of the Chinese people under a yoke of terror and oppression.

53. I reiterate our firm belief, as stated in previous years and again in 1968, in the importance of the question under discussion, for the impact of our decision will be considerable and far-reaching, and the importance attached to the issue has been noted by all the speakers who have spoken before me. The proposal to change the representation of China is important to the Chinese people. It is important to the rest of the world and it is also important to the United Nations. On this basis, the delegation of Thailand has joined with fourteen other delegations in co-sponsoring draft resolution A/L.567 and Add.1-4. We deem it fitting and proper that the question be regarded, as in the past, as an important one requiring a two-thirds majority within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

54. I should like to conclude by saying that the determination of this issue will be based, as far as the Thai delegation is concerned, on the dictates of common justice and the rule of international conduct governed by the laws of the family of civilized nations. The Thai delegation also expresses its confidence that the weight of world opinion, which clearly rejects the idea of rewarding violence and aggression, will be brought to bear on the States Members of the United Nations, which will proceed, as a result, to reject the proposed seating of the Peking régime in the world Organization.

55. In the final analysis, it should become patently clear that (and here I should like to quote the words of the

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China in his statement on 3 November 1969):

“The right to determine who should represent China in the United Nations belongs to the Chinese people and to no one else. It is not for any Member of the United Nations to encroach upon a matter which is in the exclusive domain of the Chinese people.” [1798th meeting, para. 123.]

56. My delegation concurs with this view and regards the question as an internal matter for the Chinese people to resolve. Solution to the China question can never be found through the interference of a third party, or by any one-sided effort of those spokesmen who tend to underestimate its complexities, and particularly to misjudge Peking's intentions and mood. The Thai delegation will therefore vote against draft resolution A/L.569, sponsored by Albania and others.

57. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): While believing as we do in the universality of membership—we should have preferred to see the Republic of China remain seated in this Organization—my delegation feels very strongly in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

58. At the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, the Mauritian delegation abstained on the Albanian draft resolution and voted for the important question resolution. At this session, my delegation has decided to give unqualified support to the views of the United Kingdom delegation as expressed by Lord Caradon. We shall therefore vote accordingly.

59. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (*translated from French*): The question of the representation of China in our Organization has now reached a stage where the General Assembly must accept its responsibilities in the face of certain trends which have emerged during a long and impassioned debate, because of the undeniable importance of the question of altering the representation of China by what some people call “the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations”. What is the issue, in precise terms?

60. In the first place, it is necessary to recall the principle whereby “whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations, and this question becomes the subject of controversy in the United Nations, the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case” [resolution 396 (V)].

61. The country which bears the name of China is a Member of the United Nations. On the strength of this, the Peking Government claims to be the Government entitled to represent China, a Member State, in the United Nations, while quite clearly the Taiwan Government, which for more than twenty-four years has occupied the seat of China, also claims to be the Government entitled to continue to represent that same China, a Member State of the United Nations. As can be seen, there is more than one authority



which claims to represent the Member State known as China. Hence the controversy with which we are familiar.

62. In the second place, what is involved is a consequence of the principle which we have just recalled and according to which, in conformity with Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to modify the representation of China is an important question. There is, in fact, a proposal to change the representation of China by the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek. Hence the controversy, especially since "more than one authority"—the Peking Government—claims to be the Government entitled to represent China.

63. Accordingly, it has become unmistakably clear that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations not only involves, in the eyes of certain Member States, a modification of its representation, but continues to give rise to controversy, which indisputably makes it an important question. That is why, after having rejected at the preceding session the request to seat Peking China as a Member in the United Nations, the General Assembly is once again called upon to consider whether it is appropriate or not to restore to the People's Republic of China what some call its lawful rights.

64. Hence there can be no doubt that the question should be examined in the light of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the circumstances peculiar to each case. Distinguished speakers have already stressed that point. The delegation of the Central African Republic, for its part, would like to make its modest contribution to the records of a case which concerns us all.

65. On the continent of Asia, Peking China is of course characterized by the immense expanse of its territory, by the amazing and unparalleled density of its population, by the dynamic organization of its political and social system and by its capacity for creative work, which has been the driving force of its technological genius. Those are undeniable and real facts which are inevitably of a nature to raise the People's Republic of China, sooner or later, to a level when it will compete with those nations which to our knowledge possess nuclear weapons. Intellectual honesty therefore compels us to recognize that the People's Republic of China constitutes a living reality.

66. That is why, in the name of realism, but also and more particularly in the name of the universality that we should assure to our Organization, it is being urged that we should obtain at all costs the effective representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And in support of this constantly reiterated demand, it is argued that our Organization does not have to recognize Governments but rather assure itself that the representatives who present themselves on behalf of a Member State are duly accredited to that end.

67. An attempt is being made to reassure us by pointing out that the effective presence of the People's Republic of China as a Member of the United Nations would make it possible for our Organization to bind the Republic by recommendations or decisions of world-wide scope, adopted by common accord, particularly in the vital area of the maintenance of international peace and security; for, it

is argued, Peking's co-operation within the Organization would contribute beneficially to the establishment of the long-sought balance of the forces which at present divide the world.

68. The new request which we are now considering concerning "the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China" is therefore based on both human and legal considerations, but above all on political considerations.

69. The Central African Republic, as we have already stated, hopes that the intelligence and efforts of all will be united, both in order to eliminate threats of war once for all and to promote universal civilization. In other words—and we have already made this clear—if we are not careful, the rivalries and quarrels among peoples and nations may, sooner or later, transform into reality the dreadful prospect of a whole world atomized and deprived of human life.

70. The Government of the Central African Republic and its people, like many others, are therefore deeply concerned to strengthen universal peace and thus to banish wars of destruction for ever. It is consequently indispensable that, in spite of our Organization's universal mission, its moral authority should be jealously preserved as an instrument for international peace and co-operation. Indeed, Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter explicitly provides that:

"Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

71. What does this mean, except that the candidate State should be a peace-loving State; that it should accept the obligations contained in the Charter; and that it should, in the judgement of the Organization, be able and willing to carry them out? Accordingly, we should consider whether the People's Republic of China is a peace-loving country in the true sense of the term. In that case, would the People's Republic of China accept the obligations of the Charter? If so, does the United Nations consider that the People's Republic of China would be able and willing to carry them out?

72. These are the questions which the Charter of our Organization solemnly puts to each candidate State wishing to join the family of the world community, with a view to wider and fruitful co-operation based upon a strict respect for the purposes and principles which governed the establishment of our Organization. All of us who are men of goodwill must accept those prior conditions on our own account and must present them with clarity and objectivity to other States that are waiting to attain the status of Member States.

73. The delegation of the Central African Republic is gratified that many Member States have replied clearly from this rostrum to the questions which define the conditions to be fulfilled. We have, in fact, heard a wide range of divergent replies; it is our personal impression that more were in fact in favour than not in favour of requiring fulfilment of the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter.

74. In any case, the position of the Government of the Central African Republic has not changed since last autumn and, with your permission, I should like briefly to restate it, while trying to reply, for our part, to the three questions which I formulated a moment ago in the light of the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter.

75. The People's Republic of China is not and cannot be a peace-loving State. In the Central African Republic we permit and encourage a desirable degree of tolerance whereby each sovereign and independent country may adapt itself to the political, social or economic régime it has freely chosen for itself. Thus His Excellency General Jean Bedel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic, recently laid stress on "co-operation with all States and the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their ideology or political or economic system".

76. However, we think, and we have already said, that those who wish to contribute to the preservation and strengthening of the vast universal peace between peoples and between nations must first of all, on their own national soil, cultivate, in complete and constant order and equality, the peace which governs daily relations between fellow citizens. Unfortunately, it is difficult for us to believe that the order which Peking China would like to establish throughout its territory, on the fallacious pretext of a cultural revolution, has had as its major concern the establishment of full equality between the children of that vast country and the respect for human dignity which a sincere and constant sense of brotherhood should foster. Quite on the contrary, the course of those events of which we still retain such a sad memory has provided irrefutable proof that a precarious internal peace prevails in the People's Republic of China because this cultural revolution

"... has taken the form of a truly perfidious and evil persecution which penetrates into the most intimate recesses of the human mind, in order to attack all men's beliefs and customs dating back for thousands of years, as well as their moral principles, which it is sought to uproot by violence and all kinds of physical punishments."

77. Definitely, then, the People's Republic of China is not a peace-loving country on its own national soil. It can still less be a peace-loving country abroad, where, directly or indirectly, it is seeking to transplant the seeds of violence to Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa—wherever hospitality is offered to its nationals, wherever its embassies are given shelter throughout the world.

78. In order to convince ourselves of this fact once again, let us hear what *Le Monde* had to say on 10 June 1969 in connexion with the notorious Sino-Soviet conflict:

"After reducing their economic relations with the socialist States to a minimum and refusing to co-operate with those States, the Peking leaders have engaged in acts of armed provocation on the frontiers of the USSR. At the same time, Peking is sending appeals to the people of our country, inciting it to engage in a new revolution to change the social structure of our nation".

*Le Monde* went on to say:

"Chinese propaganda is publicly undertaking the task of raising the banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideas over the terrestrial globe".

79. One can therefore understand that, even within the huge Communist family, Peking China has the reputation of a nation which "utters threats of war". It should also be recalled that "... the Chinese people"—of Peking, of course—"is firmly opposed to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons". That statement appeared in the *People's Daily* of 13 June 1968. Lastly, attention should again be drawn to the solemn refusal of the Peking Government, on 25 June 1968, to participate in the work of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States.

80. It follows logically from what I have just said that the People's Republic of China would not accept the obligations of the Charter. The People's Republic has, in fact, more than once made the following statement about our Organization:

"The United Nations must rectify its errors and undergo a complete reorganization and reform. It must acknowledge all its past errors and remedy them. In particular, it must repeal its resolution condemning China. . . . The Charter must be jointly revised by all countries, large and small, . . . all imperialist puppets must be excluded from it".

This statement is dated 29 September 1969.

81. It is therefore clearly established, at least in our view, that for its part the People's Republic of China up to now has not changed its attitude of contempt for our Organization and that the latter, as far as it is concerned, is not yet prepared to meet Peking's demands, namely: a disavowal of itself by the United Nations, a far-reaching revision of the Charter, etc.

82. In conclusion, the People's Republic of China is still hostile—ferociously hostile—to the United Nations, whereas the United Nations has not yet, at least as far as we know, granted what it demands, particularly in its declaration of 29 September 1965, which has since become famous. That is the situation with regard to the relations existing between our Organization and the People's Republic of China.

83. In the light of these criteria, therefore, the delegation of the Central African Republic does not think it could honestly be claimed that the People's Republic of China would accept the obligations of the Charter, and still less, in our opinion, that it would be ready and willing to carry them out.

84. In any case, it would be necessary and sufficient that the People's Republic of China should itself agree, in full freedom and sovereignty, to present its candidature if it so desired. The delegation of the Central African Republic wishes to state that, so far as it is aware, no document containing an authentic application by the People's Republic of China has been submitted to the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the restoration of what its partisans call its lawful rights in the United Nations. On the contrary, the delegation of the Central African Republic is well aware—and I quote the *People's Daily* of 30 November 1967—that "the Chinese"—Peking, of course—"are not at all anxious to become members of the United Nations." In other words, the People's Republic of China is not willing to join the United Nations.



85. Moreover, in spite of the contempt which the People's Republic of China unceasingly displays towards the United Nations, the latter, through its Secretary-General, U Thant, has tried to associate it with a vital world activity for the benefit of mankind, the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States. We remember the discourteous refusal of the People's Republic of China to co-operate with the United Nations on that particular occasion. Not only is the People's Republic of China unwilling to become a Member of the United Nations, but it refuses to co-operate with it and continues to declare that it expects nothing from it. The People's Republic of China daily reveals its intention of putting into effect a plan of action whose elements imply interference and intervention in the domestic affairs of other States and aspirations to hegemony. It is therefore not surprising to find that the People's Republic of China refuses to join us in the collective task of building a world of stable peace and equal happiness for all peoples of the world.

86. In referring to the representatives of the Republic of China, speakers have called them "the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek" and have asked and are still asking the delegation of the Central African Republic to associate itself with a decision aimed at their immediate expulsion. The Republic of China, of Formosa, it should be clearly recalled, is that which separated itself politically from the mainland years ago and which, internally, has set itself up as a distinct political entity, while externally it has asserted itself as an indisputable and uncontested juridical personality under international law. That is enough to establish it definitely as a sovereign and independent State.

87. Article 6 of the Charter reads as follows:

"A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council".

The Republic of China, however, is a Member of the Organization and, what is more, a member of the Security Council. We know that it has scrupulously observed a policy of genuine, peaceful coexistence and that in this dual capacity it has always adhered to the purposes and principles of the Charter. To put it briefly, it is a full Member of the United Nations. The delegation of the Central African Republic deeply regrets that it must respectfully point out that the file in its possession contains no copy of any recommendation (which, under Article 6 of the Charter, only the Security Council is entitled to make to the General Assembly) requesting the expulsion of a Member State which is considered to have failed to meet its obligations.

88. The expulsion of the Republic of China, which we have been asked to approve, would, if obtained, constitute, in the first place, an unprecedented violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter, and, in the second place, a flagrant injustice to a Member State with which my country, like many others, maintains excellent relations based on strict mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty.

89. It is solemnly stated in draft resolution A/L.569 that "the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is essential both for the protection of the Charter of the United Nations and for the cause that the United Nations must serve under the Charter", and that consequently "to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek" would give the desirable and desired assurances. Therefore, with your permission, Madam President, we venture to ask where the safeguarding of the Charter begins and ends. Where does the cause which the United Nations is meant to serve under the Charter begin and end? Would some people have us believe that both begin with the admission of the People's Republic of China and end at the same time with the immediate expulsion of Nationalist China? Should we in this Organization, which is *par excellence* an instrument for peace and co-operation, replace *détente* with tension, co-operation with subversion, and substitute war, which divides peoples through hatred, for a peace which fosters the brotherhood of mankind and brings peoples closer together?

90. This is the dilemma with which we, men of goodwill, are confronted in every case. Either it is necessary to preserve the universal character of the United Nations because that is the price of maintaining international world peace and security, and if so, we in this Organization must, to the detriment of Nationalist China, associate the People's Republic of China with international co-operation in all fields, which would greatly weaken the moral authority of the United Nations. Or we must preserve the moral authority of the United Nations against the contempt of the People's Republic of China, which is thirsting for subversion, and then the 12 million Chinese which have Taiwan as their capital must continue to be represented in the United Nations, so fully ensuring the representation of China.

91. It is therefore clear that any attempt to change the representation of China in the United Nations constitutes an important question and, as such, calls for the application of the appropriate procedure provided for in Article 18 of the Charter. At its twenty-third session, the General Assembly had recourse to a similar procedure in order to settle this controversial question. However, since this question has remained unresolved, why should not the General Assembly once more resort to this same procedure?

92. That is the conclusion which, in all honesty, the delegation of the Central African Republic has felt it must draw from this complex and delicate question, which concerns us all.

93. The PRESIDENT: We have now heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 101. We shall hear rights of reply tomorrow at our next meeting.

94. I would ask those speakers who wish to explain their votes before voting on the draft resolutions to be prepared to speak if they are called upon to do so.

*The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.*