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**President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).**

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**Adoption of the agenda (*concluded*)\***

**THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL  
COMMITTEE (A/8100/Add.2)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first consider this morning the third report of the General Committee [A/8100/Add.2], in which it recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-fifth session of an additional item entitled, "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories" [A/8089] and further recommends that the item be allocated to the Special Political Committee.

2. Does any representative oppose this?

3. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): I wish to explain the position of my delegation on the third report of the General Committee relating to the request by Iraq for the inclusion as an item in the agenda of a matter which has already been discussed in the Third Committee and which is now recommended for the Special Political Committee as an item of an important and urgent character.

4. Making all reservations once again at the procedural manipulations which are characteristic of the handling of this matter, I wish to state that my delegation's position regarding the unconstitutional and illegal and biased Committee of Three has been placed on record on several occasions in the past, and I would refer specifically to the statements made by my delegation at the 1748th plenary meeting on 19 December 1968 and at the 1782nd meeting of the Third Committee on 9 November 1970. I also wish to recall our letter of 13 November 1970 to the Secretary-General [A/8164]. We have rejected that Committee; we have rejected its terms of reference, and we reject its report. There is nothing to justify the placing of another item

on the overcharged agenda of this session of the General Assembly, especially as it could have been disposed of within the framework of the item in which it has already been discussed in the Third Committee.

5. The PRESIDENT: It is understood that that was a formal declaration on the part of the Israel Government which, as in the case of an explanation of vote, does not imply a demand for a vote on this item.

6. May the President then take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendation of the General Committee that this item should be included in the agenda?

*It was so decided.*

7. May I also take it that there is no objection to allocating this item to the Special Political Committee as recommended by the General Committee?

*It was so decided.*

8. The Chairman of the Special Political Committee will be informed on the decision just taken.

**AGENDA ITEM 97**

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

9. Mr. ISMAIL (Southern Yemen): Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is indeed a great misfortune for this Organization that a founding Member is being denied the legal right to occupy its rightful seat.

10. It is beyond any shadow of doubt that the United States of America has, since 1950, utilized all manoeuvres and delaying tactics in order to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its place among us.

11. The Assembly has been entertained so far by some statements from those countries that are frightened by the mere idea of the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. My delegation finds itself unable to be persuaded by such unfounded allegations against the peace-loving great nation of the People's Republic of China.

12. No one in this hall can dare to question the credentials of the People's Republic of China as a great nuclear and space Power. No one present in this hall, representing a country with a few million inhabitants, can be so ignorant as to think that the country which has a great percentage of the human family should not have the right to be represented in this international Organization.

\* Resumed from the 1860th meeting.

13. It is my delegation's firm conviction that this abnormal situation can be solved only through realizing and recognizing the reality, which is that there is only one China—the great Socialist China. Anything which falls short of that fact is an exercise in futility.

14. It is paradoxical how great a gap exists between the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and its practices. We find, on one hand, the principle of universality which is being irresponsibly violated by the non-participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We find further the lucid language of the Charter which states in its first sentence, "We, the peoples of the United Nations". On the other hand, we see almost 800 million people of the human family being deprived of its just right to be represented in the United Nations.

15. Thus, it is amply clear that there is a great difference between the spirit of the Charter and the practice of discrimination against and disregard of the heroic people of China.

16. It is indeed high time for the United Nations to stop beating around the bush vis-à-vis the participation of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. Now is the time for the United Nations to act responsibly and courageously by restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations without further delay.

17. This session, which coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, should serve as an occasion for reflection and self-criticism with regard to the successes and failures of the past 25 years. Such soul-searching and reviewing of the record of the past could create the conditions for embarking upon a new and fresh course for self-improvement.

18. It is widely agreed that one of the major failures of our Organization is the non-participation of the People's Republic of China, with its great capacities and rich culture, in this Organization. Perhaps this occasion will inspire the United Nations to recognize its faults and make sincere attempts to correct them. Lip service and eloquence in speeches are not what this Organization desperately needs. It needs, rather, awareness and recognition of the realities of our time, and one of those realities is the socialist State of the People's Republic of China.

19. The peoples of China, therefore, should be represented by their legal Government, and the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique should be expelled from the United Nations. This puppet régime, which exists only because of United States support, has been rejected by the peoples of China.

20. It is wishful thinking to believe that the United Nations can effectively solve the major problems of the world in the absence of the People's Republic of China.

21. It is equally evident that the United Nations is losing the benefit which it would derive if the People's

Republic of China played an active role in the Organization, and is suffering greatly from this loss.

22. The heroic peoples of China have scored many successes in all fields. They have, under the popular leadership of their socialist Government, achieved a very outstanding industrial position in the world. Chinese society has been transformed from the status of underdevelopment to the status of a nuclear Power, and that has occurred within less than two decades.

23. The role which the People's Republic of China has been playing in international co-operation and in assistance to the third world, so that it might stand on its own feet economically, is indeed a worthy example to be hailed.

24. My country is among the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605. It is an honour to co-operate with the other co-sponsors of that draft resolution, for we consider that the restoration to the People's Republic of China of all its lawful rights in the United Nations would be of great significance to our Organization, now more than ever, because the three most cherished slogans of the commemorative session—peace, justice and progress—will remain empty phrases, their value undermined by the absence of the People's Republic of China.

25. In conclusion, my delegation is opposed to the tactics used by the United States of asking for a two-thirds majority in the voting upon the draft resolution.

26. Mr. KUFUOR (Ghana): My delegation considers that as we begin a new decade of the United Nations, we, the Members, have a duty to make a determined attempt, for the sake of humanity, to rid the Organization of old and rigid postures and prejudices which only serve to harm the Organization and instead try to do only that which will promote new approaches which alone can restore the efficacy and credibility of the Organization. The necessity for this fresh outlook is best appreciated when the China question is considered as at present in this hall.

27. The position of the Government of Ghana on this question is based not only on the precepts of international law governing the succession of States, but also on considerations of realism and practical policy, as well as on the principles of the United Nations Charter. We discern in the principles of the Charter a spirit of compromise and harmony, not one of uncompromising bipolarization.

28. But what are we presented with in the two resolutions now before us? They are nothing but two age-old resolutions signifying two extreme frozen positions, neither of which, we contend, affords the Organization the opportunity to effect a wholesome and equitable solution in the circumstances.

29. Ghana is not unaware that the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China each assert their exclusive entitlement to succeed in full to the China of before the 1949 civil war. My delegation, however,

cannot quarrel with either of them in their pretensions, legal or otherwise. And we wonder if the United Nations is seized of the authority to deny either of them their right to make these claims. Indeed, we do not believe the Organization has such authority. On the contrary, we believe that the Organization cannot, and should not, be used to create or write off the existence of States. Neither is the United Nations a court of law to determine which side has a better title. The factual and legal existence of States enjoys an independence that the United Nations may not be able to do much about. In fact, my delegation fears we may not be serving the cause of peace, nor even justice, if we should try to arrogate such a role to the Organization in this particular case.

30. The basic belief of my delegation is that the two Chinas of which we talk now each enjoys separate, viable and independent existence as a State, at least for the time being, and that they equally are offshoots of China before the civil war. In fact, we see their case as one of multiple succession, a situation which is perfectly viable in international law, and of which there are examples throughout history. Consequently, we hold that the People's Republic of China has, at least, as good a claim as the Republic of China in the matter of representation of their predecessor in this world Organization.

31. It is on this basis that the delegation of Ghana would call on this Assembly to ensure that it is not hoodwinked into adopting any measures that would tend to obstruct the People's Republic of China from coming to sit with us, as a successor of that China which was a founding Member and signatory to the Charter of our Organization. The procedural argument contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1 may be such an obstructive measure. Indeed, this argument has persistently been used over the last decade or so in this China question without any change of form or substance.

32. My delegation must explain that it appreciates the declared concern of the protagonists of this procedural argument for the protection it gives to continued membership of this Organization. But we maintain that the China question has two sides—a positive side of seating the People's Republic of China as a matter of right and without the stiff test of a two-thirds majority; and the passive side of resisting any attempts at expelling the Republic of China, which expulsion my delegation agrees, must come about only in terms of Article 18 of the Charter.

33. Hitherto, the procedural argument has been suspect, and perhaps rightly so, when the history of the whole question is considered of cleverly, but wrongly, seeking to apply Article 18 to obstruct the seating of the People's Republic of China. This year, the protagonists of that argument have made a remarkable shift by openly stating that it is not their desire to keep the People's Republic of China out of the Organization. Unfortunately, however, the draft resolution as contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1 still suffers from its obstructionist defect. My

delegation does not believe that the seating of the People's Republic of China can any more be delayed, it therefore cannot support draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1.

34. On the other hand, and as explained already, my delegation believes that the two Chinas are both successor States and that the United Nations membership of the one should not be to the exclusion of the other. Draft resolution A/L.605 which is admirable for the positive lead it gives towards seating the People's Republic of China unfortunately, and perhaps unrealistically, would have us eject the Republic of China in the same breath. That is not how Ghana sees the solution to the problem. However, for want of a better resolution and since we believe the People's Republic of China must be seated without further delay considering the immense influence it will bring to bear on the future of this Organization, Ghana could be prepared to vote for that draft resolution; but would first call on the sponsors of that draft resolution not to seek absolute victory, which has been very hard coming and may probably not come as early as necessary, but rather drop—in fulfilment of the principle of universality and as a mark of the new trend desirable for the second quarter century of the United Nations—their demand for the expulsion of the Republic of China. In this, Ghana calls on the United Nations and all its peace-loving Members, especially those which have been most involved in the China situation, to work to get the sponsors of the two draft resolutions and the two Chinas to come to terms with the realities of the situation.

35. The permanent Security Council seat should, of course, go to which of the two Chinas commands the attributes of a world Power—in this case, it is our belief that there can be no quibbling as to the entitlement of the People's Republic of China.

36. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): The United Nations needs the People's Republic of China and that is why we consider the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as an important and urgent question. We have noted that there has been a change of emphasis during this debate on the part of the Government of the United States, which has been the most adamant and enthusiastic ally of the Chiang Kai-shek régime.

37. I am happy to report that, guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, my delegation has decided to pursue the only right course, namely, to work ceaselessly for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. To my country, this is a matter of fundamental principle which cannot be sacrificed or compromised.

38. Arguments have been advanced in the course of this debate to the effect that the question before this Assembly is not that of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. It has been argued that that country has not had such rights in the United Nations framework. The facts of history cannot be altered. The present Chiang Kai-shek régime in Taiwan

was a decadent group that was driven from the mainland in the course of national liberation. We all know that the puppet régime in Taipei has only survived this long because of the protective umbrella of the United States, which has shielded it against the fury of the Chinese people. The present debate has been going on since 1950, and I believe that all the arguments which need to be advanced have been advanced over and over again.

39. The present mood in the Assembly would indicate that a large number of countries that have opposed the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, mainly under pressure from the United States, are beginning to realize how ridiculous that position is. Obviously this is a heartening development, and ours is the hope that many other countries will realize that whatever their considerations may be, it is impossible to hide the truth. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has held up progress on a number of important problems affecting humanity as a whole. It is also important to realize that no genuine progress can be expected on matters of peace and security in the world without the full participation of the 800 million great Chinese people. In all their international intercourse we are satisfied that the Chinese people have scrupulously observed the norms of international law. They have clearly demonstrated their belief in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States—unlike some of those which are now pointing an accusing finger at them. If the People's Republic of China has been critical of the performance of this Organization, it is not alone in that regard.

40. I have not heard any single representative in this Organization who at one time or another has not been critical of certain aspects of the United Nations. The People's Republic of China, like a large majority of nations represented in this august Assembly, only seeks to enhance the status of the world body and make it a better instrument for harmonizing the views of nations, not merely an Organization where many nations are called, but only a few are chosen to make decisions on behalf of others. The question of peace and security in the world today is no longer the exclusive monopoly of a few States, it is surely the inclusive concern of all States, regardless of their ideological beliefs.

41. A number of speakers have said that the People's Republic of China is not interested in participating in the work of the United Nations. In our opinion this is a hypothetical question which is tantamount to putting the cart before the horse. We surely have an inescapable duty to play our part by voting to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, and we shall have answered our part of the question. We have no right to speak on behalf of the Chinese people because the People's Republic of China is capable of speaking for them when that time comes.

42. I reiterate my Government's firm conviction that the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is not only undemocratic, impolitic

and unrealistic, but also extremely harmful to the sacred interests of this Organization. For the compelling reasons I have stated above, my delegation hopes that an overwhelming number of States will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.605 which my delegation has been proud to co-sponsor together with seventeen other delegations.

43. As regards the draft resolution contained in document A/L.599 and Add.1, I believe that that proposal contained therein can at best be described as negative, prohibitive and unworthy of any serious consideration. It is like old wine in old bottles. We therefore appeal to the sponsors of that draft resolution to recognize the reality of the situation and abandon their old myths in the face of new realities. Lastly, we are compelled by the force of justice to urge all Members to join us and energetically reject that draft resolution with all the contempt it more than deserves.

44. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): In the course of his address at the commemorative session on 15 October last, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia summed up the policy of the Malaysian Government of the Chinese representation question as follows:

"I should only wish to state here the view of my Government that, taking into account the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination, a right which surely States Members of this Organization cannot deny to any people, China should be properly and fully represented in this Organization. The exclusion of China from this Organization and from the mainstream of international activities is unrealistic and short-sighted, and benefits no one." [1868th meeting, para. 17.]

I should like today to reaffirm that policy statement.

45. My delegation shares the view that China should be properly represented in the United Nations by representatives of the People's Republic of China. The absence of the People's Republic of China reflects a serious gap in the universality of our Organization. By its exclusion, the largest country in Asia and the most populous in the world, containing a quarter of the world's population, is denied its rightful place in the United Nations. To say that China's exclusion is self-imposed is to put the matter too simply. In my view, unless the door of the United Nations is open for its participation, the United Nations can be said to impose isolation on the People's Republic of China, and it cannot be said that we are promoting the cause which the United Nations must serve under the Charter.

46. The absence of the People's Republic of China from our Organization is all the more serious in its implications in view of China's emergence as a powerful industrial and military Power. The denial to a big Power of its proper role cannot be conducive to the establishment of a stable and harmonious world order. It is the view of my delegation that the sooner the People's Republic of China can play its proper role in the United Nations, the better and more effectively



will the cause of peace and stability in the world, and especially in South-East Asia, be served.

47. The position of my delegation on the draft resolutions presented before the Assembly will be determined by the considerations I have set out. We shall give our support to a draft resolution that calls for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We shall not, however, be able to support a resolution that suggests a denial of the right of self-determination of the People of Taiwan.

48. Turning to the draft resolution in document A/L.605, my delegation is in agreement with it except for the second part of the operative paragraph which calls for the expulsion of the representatives from Taipei. That part of the draft resolution, in our view, constitutes a denial of the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination and membership of the Organization. For that reason, my delegation will not be able to go all the way in support of draft resolution A/L.605. However, in view of our support for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, my delegation will not vote against this draft resolution.

49. Mr. MONDJO (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Before referring to the substance of my intervention, Mr. President, I would crave your permission to bow with sorrow, on behalf of the African Group, at the cruel affliction that has befallen a Member State, Pakistan. On behalf of the friendship that has always linked the members of the Afro-Asian Group, I would wish here to reiterate our deep feelings and sincere condolences to the delegation of Pakistan, to its very worthy people and Government.

50. This cruel affliction has struck as though to remind us that man, despite his undeniable progress in the upper universe, has still not been able fully to control the elements of this lower world. The hope that I would voice here on behalf of the African Group is that we will see international solidarity go beyond mere words and become specific acts, for in the afflicted area thousands of families need moral comfort, food, housing, medical assistance and first aid and these requirements create distressing problems every day. I trust that the ties of solidarity and brotherhood will lead the United Nations to do all in its power to help to ease these wounds and the hearts of the people of Pakistan.

51. Although the absence from our midst of the true representatives of one of the greatest nations of our planet has filled this hall with angry thoughts, today I do not come to foretell the storm, since we all know that the Chinese, a most heroic, proud and creative people, one filled with dynamism, are also a people with a deep love of peace.

52. For a number of years, as everyone knows and is aware, some countries, and not the least important, following their short-sighted plans, have stuck to their blind stubbornness to enclose the People's Republic of China in a ghetto. However, we know that all those

tricky manoeuvres, the deviousness of that sorry plan, have today all the hallmarks of period furniture. Do we in fact have to recall that the voice of reason and of fact, the irresistible currents of history, have prevailed over the dreams of the great strategists of ostracism and aggression? The circle of friends of the People's Republic of China has grown yearly and has thrown into disarray those who tried to hamstring the Chinese revolution in order to perpetuate the exploitation of the great Chinese people. This is one of the most encouraging facts of which the international community has a right to be proud, but it is too early to celebrate. We have not as yet been able to exorcise all the spectres from our debates. Many delegations before me, after thorough analyses of the question, have come to the conclusion that there still exist in the minds, as well as in the air, certain manoeuvres. Thus, this year again we see the recurrence of the same old procedures designed, by abusing the good faith of a number of delegations, to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as a Member of the United Nations.

53. I do not intend to expatiate on the impotence of our Organization in the face of this vast plot, not only directed against the People's Republic of China but, when all is said and done, against the Organization itself, which it is constantly sought to anaesthetize and keep in a state of congenital infirmity.

54. The consistent position of the People's Republic of the Congo in this matter is well known. It has been repeatedly and perfectly clearly stated. Despite the desperate efforts of the United States of America and of those it has managed to involve in this dismal and sombre enterprise we must again state that the handful of puppets rejected, scorned and thrown into the sea by the people, artificially maintained by the military aggression of the United States in the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, does not represent the great Chinese people.

55. This year, after having suddenly become aware of the new situation created by the undeniable and uninterrupted successes of the Chinese revolution in both the domestic and the international fields, the new theory of the two Chinas is impudently thrown at us. What nation would accept the pruning off of part of its territory to be offered as tribute to the international community for the recognition of one of its own inalienable rights? The People's Republic of China does not ask for charity. Each and every one of us knows full well that it is completely unimaginable that the Chinese people could some day condescend to such a narrow view of its future, a view that eloquently reflects the dismal plans of United States imperialism and of those who in that part of Asia wish to recreate the military crusade that they are carrying out by keeping the island of Formosa, in a colonial status for the United States to use as a jumping-off place against the peaceful peoples of Asia.

56. It is, furthermore, clear, and without wanting to get into base polemics, that the aim of the enemies of the Chinese people and of the peoples of Asia is to increase the obstacles, to set up a smoke-screen

in order to delay the entry of the People's Republic of China into this Organization, where it is called upon to play a determining role in the interests of peace and of the small nations thus far despised and oppressed. Need I explain these sordid manoeuvres? Draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1 is their most obvious manifestation. What else can we say of those who come here to weep crocodile tears, to lull us over the so-called future of the so-called Government of Formosa and who, in their lyric flights, are already crying at injustice? What are we to say of this feverish agitation that we see here, there and everywhere in the corridors of this glass palace in Manhattan, to enroll the nations of the third world in a cause that has been condemned by common sense and history? Do we need to answer any of these questions? Rather than stubbornly continuing to behave as traitors to the Chinese people, these persons, whom none need pity, are Chinese citizens and, as such, should a long time ago have recognized that the true people's government is the revolutionary Government which was chosen by the sovereign Chinese people guided by and under the orders of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As you see, it is illusory to try to lull us into untimely sleep. The United States draft, which unfortunately includes a number of other States, only seeks that end, and it is for this reason that, although surrounded by all the attraction they have extracted from Article 18 of the Charter, this draft resolution should be pitilessly rejected out of hand by our Organization, not in order to embarrass the United States—it is difficult, I admit, to tame the Minotaur—but to help the international community to get out of the rut in which it has been bogged down for twenty years and to start off anew.

57. Is this what frightens the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.599 and Add.1? Without further ado, we can give them all the safeguards they want, if they need them. The People's Republic of China does not nurture any desire to undertake punitive action in the United Nations. Respectful of the sovereignty of other countries because it is so zealous of its own independence, achieved at the cost of millions of sacrifices, the Chinese people only wishes to place at the disposal of the international community, which will thus have achieved its true dimensions, its human, economic, scientific and very appreciable cultural potential.

58. I should like to take the opportunity provided us by this debate to say how gratified the Congolese people are at the daily increasing ties of friendship and co-operation which, thanks to the revolution of 13, 14 and 15 August 1963, the Government of my country has enjoyed with the People's Republic of China. This co-operation is carried out without subjection of any sort, without any misunderstandings or underlying motives, with full and well-observed respect for our mutual sovereignty and a common desire to enrich each other with our experience, for the People's Republic of China, as is the case with all countries that suffered from colonialism and exploitation, knows full well that co-operation, to be fruitful, must obey certain criteria. In no case, unless it is to be precarious, can it be a type of political or economic blackmail and this must be said to some of the birds of ill omen, to those who use calumny and slander as their slogans.

59. It is for all these reasons and for those already given by delegations friendly to the Chinese people that the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo has co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.605, presented by Algeria, Albania and other countries of Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, a draft which without any doubt will allow our Organization to recover its full authority and will make it a true instrument for friendship, peace among peoples and progress.

60. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The horrible disaster that has struck the courageous people of Pakistan has been a shock to the whole world. The delegation of Haiti would like to ask the delegation of Pakistan to accept its most sincere condolences. We are convinced that Pakistan will find in universal solidarity solace for its terrible pain.

61. It is not the territorial dimensions of a country nor the number of millions of its inhabitants that make it important or great; it is rather its avocation for freedom, for respect of the rights of citizens as expressed in the terms of its fundamental constitution, in its determination to be free, in its staunch patriotism, in its struggle to ensure respect for its rights and in its resolution to die rather than accept enslavement by a foreign country. Such is the case with China. The heir to a civilization that began six thousand years before Christ, shaken for thousands of years by the various dynasties that governed it and divided it, until the triumph of the great Chinese philosopher Sun Yat-sen, who made of the country a unitary republic in 1911, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who succeeded him.

62. China was fighting to maintain its unity and to repel various foreign invasions, to protect its independence and its territorial integrity. This China of Chiang Kai-shek took part in the Second World War and underwent all the hardships of that world war. It was victorious and it signed the Charter of San Francisco in 1945. It is for those reasons that the Republic of China has been a Member of the United Nations ever since.

63. Through insurrection a Chinese group professing communist ideology was able to seize a large part of the territory of China and to install a government which is not lawful, since no plebiscite or regular election has ever entrusted the reins of power to the Maoist government. This usurpation was never approved by the majority of the people. The Republic of China exists. It has a legal constitution as a State. It cannot possibly be expelled from the United Nations. The argument that continental China, with its 700 million inhabitants and its 11,418,000 square kilometres, is the only one entitled to represent China is a specious and illegal one, because that China is a reactionary China which does not respect the principles of the Charter of this Organization. As a matter of policy, it spreads revolution in the world under the aegis of a revolutionary army, which calls itself an army of national liberation, which is contrary to the principles of tolerance enshrined in the Charter.

64. Communist China ignores the teachings of Confucius, amplified by Mencius, which stress ethics and human dignity. Confucius and Mencius, who are regarded as the founders of Chinese humanism, defined the fundamental concepts of Confucian thought, which is one of love for human beings and of the principle of association among men and of man's obligations to other men.

65. In other words, if we love our brethren and fulfil our obligations to them, we shall have accomplished our duty to society. But Mao's China ignores all these moral and human principles enjoining it to live in peace with its neighbours and to devote its strength to the service of international security.

66. After the vicissitudes of the Second World War and the internal fight against international communism, the decision was taken in 1945 to restore the sovereignty of China over Taiwan and the P'eng Hu islands.

67. Since the Chinese mainland fell into the hands of the communists, hundreds of thousands of Chinese have become true slaves, tens of millions have been murdered and the best Chinese traditions have been destroyed.

68. The so-called question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been raised, under various guises, at every session of the General Assembly since 1950. Every time, the Assembly has rejected all proposals to admit the Chinese communist régime into the United Nations.

69. In 1969, the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly not only reaffirmed that "any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question" [*resolution 2500 (XXIV)*] under Article 18 of the Charter, but also rejected the draft resolution by which Albania asked for the restoration of the lawful rights of the Peiping régime in the United Nations. Nothing has happened since then to justify any change in the attitude of the General Assembly.

70. Those who advocate the admission of the Peiping régime implicitly start from the premise that that régime effectively controls continental China and that it alone has the requisite authority to represent the Chinese people. They therefore allege that its exclusion from the United Nations is tantamount to depriving the 700 million Chinese of any representation in the United Nations.

71. That argument would be valid only if the Mao régime actually represented the Chinese people, if it could legitimately speak in its name in the United Nations. But that is far from being the case. Anyone who has closely followed developments in mainland China knows that it is absurd to claim that the communist régime is the true spokesman of the Chinese people.

72. The so-called great proletarian cultural revolution, which upset everything in mainland China, was officially ended by decision of the Ninth Party

Congress in April 1969. But disorders have continued unabated and the purge that started in 1967 has continued non-stop and will probably do so indefinitely.

73. On the other hand, draft resolution A/L.605 speaks of the principles of the Charter and states 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". But the Charter is being violated by the behaviour of mainland China. Mao's communist China has never presented any request to the General Assembly for admission to the United Nations.

74. The question of the restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and of recognition of its Government as the only lawful representative of China in the United Nations, as well as the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the seat which they unlawfully occupy in the United Nations—all this comes from the nations of the third world. They allege that People's China must be restored to this Organization. But this is illogical because one can only re-establish that which has been, for instance restore a seat to a State that has been expelled. But Communist China has never been a member of this Organization. The best proof is that since the question of the representation of Communist China has been under discussion in the General Assembly—that is to say about 20 years—the matter has always been considered as an important question, and gave rise to resolution 1668 (XVI) of 15 December 1961, according to which, under Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question. Finally, the Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations, and the attempts to admit if its place the so-called People's China would bring about a change in the Organization within the meaning of the Charter.

75. This is why my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.605.

76. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Allow me, Mr. President, before making the observations of my delegation on the matter before us, to say how deeply distressed our people and our Government are at the shocking news of the unspeakable disaster which has befallen our brothers in Pakistan. As the number of casualties and displaced persons increases, the ravages widen and the threat of disease menaces more and more, the anxiety of the whole world increases. This is a solemn moment of prayer, but also of hope that the international community will find the speediest means of assisting our valiant brothers in their grief and distress. Words are indeed inadequate to express our sorrow and sympathy. Perhaps our attention and our concrete help will ameliorate the results of the cruelty of nature and the immensity of the loss.

77. As I take the floor to speak on the subject of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, in trying to define the essential meaning of this debate, I cannot

but recollect—especially now, 25 years after the founding of this world Organization—some of the sentences with which Charles Dickens began *A Tale of Two Cities*. He said:

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us . . .”

78. This pithy judgement applies remarkably to the situation of our Organization today. These times are replete with problems, crises and dangers for the world and for our Organization. But they are also pregnant with opportunities and with calls for a brighter and more meaningful future, if we were only to free ourselves from the crippling residual handicaps of the past to look in serenity and objectivity into the realm of the future.

79. For almost 20 years now the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China has been under discussion. But the world has not stood still during these last two decades. The struggle of peoples for national liberation and self-realization has been gaining momentum. The number of independent States which have become Members of the United Nations has increased. The African, Asian and non-aligned world has come into the foreground. Thus, the item that we are discussing is no more a question of cold war, but one of safeguarding the very integrity of this frail instrument which we call the United Nations.

80. Our attitude is well known, too well known to need reiteration. It is not dictated by expediency, but by principle; not by sophistry, but by real anxiety to put the provisions of the Charter into practice; not by allegiance to this or that Power, but by the imperative need for an international order based on universality, on law, on justice, on equilibrium.

81. First of all, the founders of the Charter did not intend to allot the seat of a great Power to a tiny fragment of China, but to China as a whole; China, that represents 780 million persons—and this figure is taken from the *United States Department of State Fact Book of the Countries of the World*<sup>1</sup>—a people that forges ahead along the road of progress, greatness and the emancipation of its masses from the ugly legacy of colonialism, backwardness and foreign interference.

82. Had the authors of the Charter foreseen the lamentable occupation of the seat of China as a great Power by a faction backed by the bayonets of an imperialist Power sowing destruction in Asia, they might have preferred to give the seat to a State such as India or Pakistan, Indonesia or Japan, Nigeria or Brazil. Consequently, the balance of power which they sought to establish is fundamentally upset by the

absence of that component Power whose role in the United Nations is not played, whose people are not represented, whose views are not heard, whose interests are not recognized. This is sheer blindness to the facts of history and the lessons of past failures. It is the perpetuation of a disequilibrium in the United Nations which saps its very foundations.

83. Secondly, China's régime is the concern of no one but the Chinese people. When 780 million Chinese have chosen the régime suitable to their needs and their revolution, neither the United States nor any other Power is entitled to judge them.

84. The United Nations recognizes sovereign States but does not interfere in the form of government they choose. That is up to the peoples themselves. That is solely within domestic jurisdiction.

85. As for whether China is a peace-loving State or not, the least that one can say is that it is not for an imperialist Power—the one that wages an immoral, barbaric war in South-East Asia and in Western Asia; uses the Mediterranean for purposes of intimidation, supports aggression and the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination, and in the Security Council vetoes sanctions against the protagonists of *apartheid*—to come to this rostrum to judge the merits of China as a peace-loving State.

86. If anyone is accountable before the United Nations it is that Power, for its imperialist designs, its warlike behaviour and its superiority complex, which it is inculcating in its satellites also. It is the American empire-builders and their war crimes that have become the nightmare of the world and who are being condemned—and not least by great masses of their own people.

87. Thirdly, China is one and not two. China has not reached the stage of moral degeneration at which it must pay the price of its territorial integrity in order to occupy its seat at the United Nations. For it is the United Nations that is in need of China, and not the contrary. An invitation from the United Nations to China to resume its role in the Organization should be absolute. If it were accompanied by a demand to yield sovereignty over that part of China called Formosa, that would be not only an act of shameful illegitimacy but, indeed, an act of short-sightedness and folly.

88. The great revolution of China has not sustained all its human sacrifices in order to play into the hands of thirsty imperialists who want to impose the rule of force on the Asian continent from beginning to end.

89. Fourthly, the vote on the restoration of China's rights does not require a two-thirds majority because the question is not one of admitting China to the United Nations or of allocating a seat to it; its seat is there and recognized, but it has been usurped by illegitimate representatives with the help of an imperialist Power that has been imposing its will on the majority of the United Nations membership. Things are changing, however. Even a two-thirds majority will be forthcom-

<sup>1</sup> New York, Crown Publishers Inc., 1970.



ing one day. But the fact is that juridically speaking a vote by a simple majority is sufficient to register the fact that the rule of law should be restored and the rule of *diktat* reversed.

90. Some reflection is needed on Mao's doctrine of "Asians will occupy Asia" and President Nixon's doctrine of Vietnamization of the war in Indo-China. The first springs from a background of colonial humiliation, from the onslaught of the Western Powers designed to dominate Asia from the south-east to the west. It means the liberation of the Asians, respect for their integrity and independence. China has no tradition of ever having been involved in an undignified scramble for colonies and markets. Vietnamization, on the other hand, has only meant, and means, dividing the Asians, whether it be in South-East Asia, or, under a different name, in Western Asia, splitting the countries, setting brother against brother and ultimately producing untold human suffering and misery.

91. Finally, it is of great significance to recall here and now that the last non-aligned Conference, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970 and attended by 53 States Members of the United Nations from Africa, Asia and Latin America, and by 12 observers from Latin America and Europe, adopted, among other resolutions, the following:

"The Heads of State or Government declare that for the United Nations to be more effective Member States must recognize and accept the principle of universality in terms of its membership. In this regard they stressed the urgent need of restoring to the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the Organization."

That was, indeed, but a reaffirmation of similar resolutions adopted in Belgrade, and later in Cairo, in 1964, asking 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.

92. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): May I begin my statement by adding the voice of my delegation to that of the Chairman of the African Group, who, on behalf of our group and therefore on behalf of my delegation also, expressed the Group's sincere condolences to the delegation of Pakistan? We would hope that the feelings of human solidarity already evident will be of some comfort to the Pakistani people in its time of sorrow.

93. On 29 September 1969, the head of the Congolese delegation, speaking in the general debate of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, stated:

"No lasting peace in South-East Asia can be established without the participation of the most populous country in the world, a country with considerable economic potential. Moreover, continental China, whether or not this is accepted, has become a nuclear

Power. Reality dictates that this fact be not overlooked. The universality toward which our Organization strives would gain from associating the People's Republic of China in the work of this august body." [1770th meeting, para. 51.]

He went on to say:

"Furthermore, in the opinion of my delegation the ultimate entry of continental China into the United Nations cannot be to the exclusion of Nationalist China. It does indeed appear paradoxical to us that those who wish to impose upon the international community the recognition of the eastern part of Germany as an independent political reality, refuse to accept that Nationalist China, a Member of the United Nations, undeniably constitutes an independent and sovereign political reality." [Ibid., para. 53.]

94. On 16 October 1970, the Special Envoy of the President of the Democratic Republic of Congo, addressing this Assembly, said the following:

"To any State which meets those conditions, to any Government which refrains from undermining our national independence, which respects our institutions and which abstains from interfering in our domestic affairs, our Government is ready, here or elsewhere, to open the door to friendly co-operation. But no country which refuses to respect our sovereignty or engages in subversive action against our institutions can expect any support whatsoever from our country either here in the United Nations or elsewhere. This is how we intend to give practical effect to the principle of universality contained in the Charter of the United Nations." [1870th meeting, para. 97.]

95. Here are two very clear statements which underlie the policy of my Government regarding the question entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". It is obvious that my Government, as well as many others, would want the views of 700 million inhabitants to be heard in this hall, and to have them expressed by the voice of those who truly represent them. It should be clear from those statements that my Government would also want 14 million inhabitants of Nationalist China to be heard in this hall. Finally, it should also be clear that my delegation can co-operate in the achievement of those goals only when the Governments of those two States display a respectful attitude towards the sovereignty of my own Government.

96. Therefore, it is not an ideological difference or a difference of social systems, as such, that dictates the attitude of my Government. Also, it is not, as some might interpret it, a question of the existence or absence of diplomatic relations with my Government that would determine our attitude towards the problem of the full participation of a Government in the work of the United Nations. The many countries with which we enjoy diplomatic relations, on the one hand, and those with which we co-operate in this Organization, on the other, would constitute a formal denial of such an interpreta-

tion of our attitude. Our attitude, as defined by the Head of the Congolese delegation, is only dictated by our desire only to give our Government's co-operation in the form of a vote to those Governments whose behaviour in no way threatens our sovereignty. In the specific case before us, there is no need for my delegation here to prove the attitude of well-known hostility on the part of the Government of Peking towards the sovereign institutions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is also unnecessary for me to stress the material assistance given by that Government to a handful of men who through violence endeavoured to overthrow the legitimate powers of my Government, thus inadmissibly interfering in the domestic affairs of the Congo.

97. In these circumstances, my delegation cannot support any recognition of the claims of the Government of Peking while it continues to follow a policy that violates the sovereignty of the institutions of my country.

98. The Government of Taiwan is one with which my Government enjoys diplomatic relations. In that way we show the determination of our two Governments scrupulously to respect one another's sovereignty. Therefore, my Government could not be asked to support an act which would deprive the Government of Taiwan of its right to participate fully in the work of the United Nations, as it has done so far.

99. With regard to the claims of the Governments of Peking and Taiwan to one another's territory, my Government does not intend to interfere, even in the form of a resolution of the General Assembly.

100. It is on the basis of these reasons that my delegation will determine its attitude with respect to the draft resolution bearing on the question entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

101. Some delegations may find it difficult to explain our intransigent attitude towards the People's Republic of China, now that my country has normalized its relations with many States whose assistance was a determining factor in bringing help to the rebel movement.

102. We do not gainsay that fact, but neither do we overlook the formal commitment by which all members of the Organization of African Unity, at the second session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, bound themselves when unanimously adopting at Accra, in October 1965, the declaration on the problem of subversion. Nor do we overlook the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution 2131 (XX) regarding the inadmissibility of interference in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty.

103. The will of the States that subscribed to that document to fulfil its provisions in good faith in their mutual relations constitutes an indispensable condition for the normalization of our international and bilateral relations.

104. We must recognize that this will is lacking in the policy of the People's Republic of China towards my country. To that hostile will, my delegation cannot respond with an act of friendship here or elsewhere.

105. The PRESIDENT: As no other delegation is ready to speak at this morning's meeting, I might make one practical suggestion for later debates. It is quite clear that the plenary meetings of the General Assembly have lost several hours of working time because representatives have asked to speak at a particular moment instead of just inscribing their names on the list. By our having to wait for representatives all the time, the meetings have been much shorter than they should be, which may have prevented some Committees from meeting. If this session is to have any hope at all of terminating at the time decided by the General Assembly some time ago—namely, on 15 December—we cannot afford to waste time in any way; so I would suggest that for future debates delegations should just write down their names and be called upon according to their place on the speakers' list, and not be able to hold up the whole work of the Assembly by choosing specific times at which they want to speak. This is a practical suggestion which I hope Members will be kind enough to adhere to in the last part of this session.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*