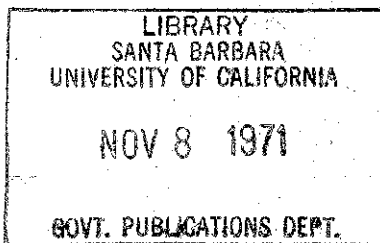


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CHINESE REPRESENTATION IN THE
UNITED NATIONS -

PRO AND CON

A SELECTION OF MATERIALS



MARJORIE ANN BROWNE
Analyst in International Organization
Foreign Affairs Division

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CHINESE REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

PRO AND CON

The following materials have been selected for their usefulness in providing arguments in support of and in opposition to the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We have also included materials which will provide arguments against the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations.

I. Debate in the United Nations General Assembly

A. United Nations Monthly Chronicle, December 1969, pages 3-12.

Representation of China**ASSEMBLY DECISION**

The General Assembly, on 11 November, adopted an 18-Power resolution under which it reaffirmed its previous decision that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question, requiring a two-thirds majority vote under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter. The resolution, adopted by a roll-call vote of 71 in favour to 48 against, with 4 abstentions, was sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Gabon, Haiti, Japan, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo and the United States.

The Assembly rejected a 17-Power draft resolution which would have had the Assembly "restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China in 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 organizations related to it". The vote on this proposal was 48 votes in favour to 56 against, with 21 abstentions. It was sponsored by Albania,

Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, and Zambia. (*For details of roll-call vote, see page 11.*)

The request for the inclusion of the item "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" was made on 8 September by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Romania, Southern Yemen, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, and Zambia. The explanatory memorandum accompanying the request stated that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was more vital than ever for the future of the Organization. Furthermore, the persistent refusal to restore to the People's Republic of China the seat which rightfully belonged to it was not only an extremely grave denial of justice, but it was also inconsistent with one of the essential principles of the United Nations, namely, that of universality. With a population of more than 700 million, China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, had since 1949 been refused by petty artifices the

right to occupy the seat which had always belonged to it. The Government of the People's Republic of China had always followed a policy aimed at settling by peaceful means all disputes which might exist or arise between independent States. China's scrupulous observance of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Indo-China and those of 1962 on Laos, to which it was a signatory, was the best possible example of this policy. China had demonstrated and continued to demonstrate that it earnestly desired peace and peaceful coexistence with all countries on a basis of equality and mutual respect. It had always expressed support for the peoples struggling against colonialism in all its forms in order to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The United States, by opposing the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, had rejected the principles of peaceful coexistence, violating the principles and purposes of the Charter. The "quarantine" policy which certain Powers had pursued for many years with regard to the People's Republic of China was unrealistic and dangerous, because it was recognized that no important international problem could be solved without the participation of that country. It was impossible simultaneously to recognize, on the one hand, the international role of the People's Republic of China and to dispute, on the other hand, its lawful place in the United Nations whose main purpose was a common search for solutions to world problems. Such a position was logically and practically untenable. The reality of the existence of the People's Republic of China could not be changed to suit the myth of a so-called "Republic of China", fabricated out of a portion of Chinese territory. It was well-known that the unlawful authorities installed in the island of Taiwan remained there only because of the permanent presence of the armed forces of the United States. The fundamental interests of the United Nations demanded that it promptly put an end to this unacceptable and dangerous situation which some continued to seek to impose on the international community, in defiance of all

principles, in order to fulfil and implement a policy which was being increasingly repudiated. Furthermore, this attitude, through the unhappy precedent which it created, could not but give rise to uncertainty regarding the future of the national and territorial unity of many Member States.

Consequently, the sponsoring Governments were convinced that the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations and in all its subsidiary and affiliated bodies, and the recognition of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations was absolutely and urgently necessary in order to strengthen the authority and prestige of the Organization. This implied the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's clique from the seat which they unjustly occupied in the United Nations and in all the bodies affiliated to it.

Views of Delegations

The representative of Cambodia, a co-sponsor of the 17-Power resolution, stated that it was an honour to open the debate on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. For years Cambodia and other peace-loving States had been ceaselessly denouncing the injustice committed against the people of China—the most flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter—instigated by the successive Governments of the United States. The question was not that of admitting a new Member, since China was already a founding Member of the United Nations. It was one of representation. Was the representative of China the People's Republic of China, which controlled the vast continent of 10 million square kilometers, or was it the so-called Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek, which had taken refuge in the Chinese province of Taiwan under the military protection of a foreign Power? Since the creation of the United Nations, several Member States had had changes in their political and social régimes and popular revolutions. Those countries nevertheless

remained Members of the United Nations. China, like the great majority of the United Nations, had known humiliation and exploitation by the imperialist West; it was the duty of the formerly oppressed people to fight against the discrimination and injustice instigated by certain imperialist Western Powers against the Chinese people. The present régime of the People's Republic of China was an emanation of the aspirations of the Chinese people, and the so-called Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek was corrupt and had been rejected forever by the Chinese people.

Many United States statesmen had recognized that China did not constitute a danger to the world. But certain Governments, in order to oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations, continued to claim that China was warlike and that the United States was peace-loving. However, the truth was that the so-called peace-loving countries shamelessly used their military power against those who were attempting to recover or to maintain their independence, or who were merely defending their territorial integrity. The deliberate effort to keep China out of the United Nations did more harm to the Organization than to China. The representative of Cambodia appealed to all delegations to reject the draft resolution sponsored by the United States and others and support the 17-Power resolution.

The representative of Albania, also a co-sponsor, asserted that it was impossible for the United Nations to solve the important world problems facing it without the participation of the People's Republic of China. The reason for its absence was the hostile policy of the United States. The legitimate place of great China in the United Nations was usurped by the remnants of a band of traitors in the pay of the United States, who had been rejected by the Chinese people after the triumph of the people's revolution 20 years ago. This was one of the main causes that had brought about the decline in the Organization. The proposal of the socio-imperialists of the Soviet Union for the establishment of a collective security system in Asia and the cynical draft ap-

peal to all States were the product of their dealings with the United States imperialists, designed to repress revolutionary movements in Asia and to apply common plans of encirclement and aggression against socialist China. The collusion of the United States and the Soviet Union was dangerous for the effective operation of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council. It was essential for the recovery of the United Nations to free the Organization from the sinister collusion of the two Powers. China had startled the world by tremendous successes in all fields, and it was developing nuclear weapons solely for defensive purposes and in order to break the nuclear monopoly, although it would never be the first to use those weapons. From the very day of its existence, the People's Republic of China had followed a policy of peace, friendship, good neighbourliness and non-intervention. The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists saw it as the main obstacle to their plans for world hegemony. As to the propaganda campaign accusing China of aggressive designs, those were vain efforts which could deceive no one. The peoples of the world knew about the policy of aggression of the two Powers, including the barbarous war in Viet-Nam, the American-Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, and the armed aggression of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia. In contrast, not a single Chinese soldier could be found outside the frontiers of his native land and no Chinese military bases existed on foreign soil. The question before the Assembly was not one of admitting a new Member, but merely a question of recognizing the representatives of a State which was already a Member.

The representatives of Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Yemen and Zambia, also sponsors of the 17-Power draft resolution, held that the issue was not an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter, but one of credentials to be solved by a simple majority vote. They pointed out that the People's Republic of China was a great nuclear Power, which was maintaining friendly re-

lations with many States in the international community, and that without its participation in the work of the United Nations, such important problems as disarmament and those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security could not be solved. In their view, there was only one China and that was the People's Republic of China.

The representative of Zambia stated that the opponents of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations were the same ones who would like to exclude the micro-States from membership, who have been proven enemies of the principles of the Charter by trading with South Africa, maintaining clandestine diplomatic relations with Rhodesia and have armies of aggression in South East Asia.

The Chiang Kai-shek régime could only survive under the protective umbrella of imperialist forces, and the Communist régime was able to drive it out of the mainland only because it had the backing of the people. There was no question of admission of a new member because, both in law and in fact, the People's Republic of China had been in existence for two decades. Far from representing a threat to international peace and security, the tensions that existed between the People's Republic of China on the one hand, and the United States and the USSR on the other, were based on the contrary on the isolation and encirclement of China.

With regard to the border disputes with the USSR, a dialogue had begun between the two parties and Zambia was satisfied that neither party "for the purposes of these issues, certainly not China, would wish to see a conflagration". In the case of the People's Republic of China, the United States Government had rejected the normal criterion for membership in the United Nations, namely, that it is open to all States. The accusation that China was not interested in the cause of peace was baseless. The United States in particular accused the People's Republic of China of having contempt for the United Nations in not seeking membership whereas the People's Republic of China had criticized past actions of

the United Nations and called for reformation of this Organization. No conciliatory attitude from the Chinese people could be expected while the United States kept military bases in a number of countries close to the Chinese border.

The representative of Yugoslavia emphasized that further attempts at preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its place in the United Nations would have a negative impact on international relations and were bound to affect the position of the Organization. This view was shared by the representatives of the United Arab Republic and Nepal, who said that to delay the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China would undermine the strength and efficiency of the United Nations. The representative of Ceylon declared that his delegation had observed on a previous occasion that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China was not merely a matter of representation of the people of China, but of the representation of the people of Asia. The question was a purely procedural one and his delegation would therefore vote in favour of the 17-Power draft resolution. The representative of Somalia pointed out that China had not been the only State to change its Government by revolution. Many States represented in the General Assembly had had their Governments changed by the same process, the latest one being his own country. Yet, the new Governments that emerged from these revolutions had had their credentials accepted without question and their membership of the United Nations had continued as a matter of course.

The representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland, in supporting the 17-Power draft resolution, called also for the inclusion of the German Democratic Republic on the grounds of universality. The representative of Hungary mentioned in addition the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

The representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation would vote in favour of both resolutions before the General Assembly. There was no doubt

that the question of the representation of China was an important one within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. The seating of the People's Republic of China was important for the people of China as well as for the world Assembly. His delegation looked forward to the day when the Assembly, by the necessary majority required by the Charter, would invite the People's Republic of China to take its place in the Organization. His Government believed that all efforts should be directed not to keeping the People's Republic of China out, but to persuading it to come in and "to share with us our search for international understanding, international co-operation and international authority". To perpetuate the exclusion of the representatives of the immense country of China from international association could benefit no one. On the contrary, it might do great harm and it should be ended. It was time that the People's Republic of China was brought into the international community. The representative of Mauritius recalled that at the last session, his delegation had abstained on the question. However, this time it would give unqualified support to the views of the United Kingdom delegation.

In expressing the view of his delegation, the representative of France declared that the People's Republic of China was being unjustly kept out of the United Nations. China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, could be legitimately represented in the United Nations only by the People's Republic of China. The question was one of vital interest to the Organization. However, to recognize it as such did not mean to say that it was important under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter. The problem under discussion was not the question of the admission of a new Member to the United Nations, since China was already a Member. The question did not come under Article 18 and it could therefore be dealt with by a simple majority. For that reason, his delegation would vote against the draft stating that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question, requir-

ing a two-thirds majority vote. It would vote in favour of the 17-Power resolution which, despite his delegation's reservations regarding certain terms in the operative part, was in accord with the French position of principle.

The representative of Iraq, a new sponsor of the substantive draft resolution dealt with the constitutional aspects of Chinese representation. Only representatives of the authorities which governed the State could lawfully represent that State. Representation did not depend on the opinion of other States. Furthermore, the question was one of credentials which was considered a procedural question, *per se*, regardless of the State involved. Therefore, the procedural draft resolution calling for a two-thirds majority might be considered discriminatory or incompatible with the fundamental principle of the Charter: the sovereign equality of States.

In urging that the 17-Power draft resolution be rejected, the representative of the Republic of China said that, since the General Assembly rejected the proposal to seat the Chinese communist régime in the United Nations last year, nothing had happened to warrant a reopening of the same debate. The communist régime remained, as it had always been, the enemy of the Chinese people, of world peace and of everything the United Nations stood for. Year after year, Albania, Cambodia and other countries of their ilk had seen fit to put forward proposals which sought to seat the Chinese communist régime in the United Nations. It was the height of absurdity to call this "the restoration of lawful rights". The rights of the Government of the Republic of China in the United Nations extended in an unbroken line from the time when the Charter was framed and put into effect to the present day. It was unthinkable that these rights could be taken away from their legitimate owner and given to the oppressors of the Chinese people. The fact was, that the Government of the Republic of China was a Chinese Government on Chinese soil; it stood as a beacon of hope for the enslaved millions. Were it not for his Government, the woes, hopes and aspira-

tions of the masses on the Chinese mainland would not be heard in the General Assembly. The communist régime in Peiping had never had the moral consent of the Chinese people. It had kept itself in power through torture and terror, surveillance and intimidation. It would be tragic if the United Nations, oblivious of the true wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people, should yield to the clamour of those who pressed for the seating of Peiping. As to the argument that it was unrealistic to ignore the existence of 700 million Chinese people, the representative of the Republic of China maintained that this was a spurious argument. In fact, it was precisely because the interests of the 700 million people should not be ignored that the seal of international approval must be withheld from a régime which had committed so many heinous crimes against them, which had deprived them of every freedom, and which had denied them even the most elementary of human rights. The Chinese people and the Chinese communist régime, far from being one and the same, were in fact distinct and mutually hostile entities. The interests of the Chinese people and those of the communist régime were different and contradictory. Therefore, the communist régime could not represent the Chinese people; it represented only a tiny minority—the Chinese Communist Party, whose total membership did not exceed 2 per cent of the population of China. It was argued that the interests of world peace required the presence of Peiping in the United Nations. But it was difficult to believe that a régime dedicated to reshaping the world by the force of arms and firmly convinced of the inevitability of war could contribute to the cause of world peace. It was a matter of record that since 1949, the Chinese communist régime had participated in a number of military adventures, either directly or by proxy. It was clear that the Chinese communists negated all the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and rejected the ideals of peace and progress towards which the world community had been striving. To seat them in the United Nations would be to encourage aggression

by rewarding the aggressor, to undermine the rule of law in international relations and to undercut whatever claim the United Nations might have to being a moral force in the present-day world. Mao Tse-tung once boasted that even if China suffered 300 million casualties from nuclear holocausts, it could still emerge as a victor. He had nothing but contempt for United Nations disarmament talks. In fact, in Peiping's view, it was "nonsensical and unrealistic" to talk about disarmament before "mankind has eradicated the system of imperialist-capitalism". Such being the unshakable conviction of the Chinese communists, it was difficult to see how the presence of Peiping in the United Nations would accelerate agreement on disarmament or on any other problems of major international importance. On the contrary, it might well compound the difficulties of agreement. At any rate, Mao Tse-tung could not be permitted to blast his way into the United Nations. What was involved was not merely the rightful position of the Government of the Republic of China, but the very future of the United Nations. His delegation had no quarrel with the principle of universality as such. But that did not mean that vital principles of the Charter must be thrown overboard in order to accommodate a régime which was still under indictment by the United Nations as an aggressor in Korea and which continued to make war and violence the cornerstone of its foreign policy. The right to determine who should represent China in the United Nations belonged to the Chinese people and to no one else. The Chinese people had certainly not asked Albania, Cambodia or any other country to call into question the rightful position of the Republic of China in the United Nations. The United Nations must not put the seal of international approval upon the enslavers of the Chinese people. Such an act would surely be interpreted by the struggling millions as meaning that the world community was so flabby and devoid of moral fibre that it did not hesitate to bless the very régime it had condemned. The delegation of the Republic of China trusted that the Assembly, in

its wisdom, would once again reject all proposals designed to seat the Chinese communists, both in the interest of world peace and of the United Nations itself.

The representative of Japan, introducing the 18-Power resolution declared that the question of the representation of China was one of the most complex and important problems that the United Nations had ever faced; it had a bearing on the peace and security of the world as a whole, and particularly of Asia. The 18-Power draft resolution simply asked the General Assembly to reaffirm its decision of the past that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question, under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority vote in the Assembly. Any attempt to solve the question of the representation of China merely by expelling one of the parties directly concerned from the place it had legitimately occupied in the United Nations, and replacing it by the other, would inevitably increase existing tensions in East Asia. The Republic of China was not only an original Member of the United Nations, but had faithfully carried out its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter and had consistently upheld the authority and prestige of the Organization. As to the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China, one could not help wondering whether that Government was in fact willing to carry out the obligations and responsibilities enjoined by the Charter. Therefore, at this time it was doubtful whether its membership in the United Nations would be a positive factor in enhancing the prestige and authority of the Organization. Japan, for its part, would continue to be opposed to any attempt to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. However, it looked forward to the advent of the day when the People's Republic of China would willingly come to an attitude of international co-operation and play a constructive role for world peace.

Views to this effect were also expressed by the representatives of Gabon, Haiti, Madagascar, Niger, and Malawi. The representative of Haiti maintained that the policies of the People's Republic of

China were the very negation of all the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter. The Peking régime had glorified war as the highest form of class struggle, and it had established a network of subversive activities in South East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. Even the Western countries were not immune from its intrigues and manoeuvres. Furthermore, the Peking régime had never ceased to cast a greedy eye not only on Viet-Nam, but also on India, Burma, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Thailand. No one could call the Peking régime peace-loving. In fact, had it been a member of the Organization, it might well have been the subject of suspension under the provisions of Article 5 of the Charter, or expulsion under the provisions of Article 6. The Peking régime had never failed to manifest its contempt for the United Nations. Moreover, it had repeatedly demanded the reorganization of the United Nations, the expulsion of the puppets of imperialism and the correction of past mistakes. To give a seat to the People's Republic of China would be to give a false impression that the international community had neither the will nor the courage to resist its intransigence. The Republic of China, a founding Member of the Organization, had its rightful place in the United Nations, and his delegation could therefore never vote for a resolution which called for its expulsion. The representative of the Dominican Republic also felt that the confused and erratic policy pursued by the People's Republic of China created conflicts with other States. Such behaviour placed it beyond the framework of the United Nations Charter.

The representative of the United States stated that the 17-Power draft resolution was the same proposal which the Assembly had rejected for many years, and his delegation would therefore oppose it. Since this issue had been raised again, it became necessary to resolve any doubts which might exist on the voting procedure applying to the question. His delegation was a co-sponsor of the draft resolution that reaffirmed the validity of the Assembly's long-established position that any proposal to change the representation

of China in the United Nations was an important question, requiring a two-thirds majority vote. The representative of the United States stated that, under the circumstances, his delegation considered the debate to be superfluous and unnecessary. However, it had no alternative but to reiterate its position. The "important question" resolution must have priority, because it was submitted before the 17-Power resolution, and because of the manifest, logical proposition that a decision on the voting procedure to be applied to a substantive draft resolution should precede the vote on that draft resolution itself. The issue before the Assembly was not simply a matter of replacing one set of representatives by another. The very fact that each year this issue had been debated at length was testimony to the effect that Member States regarded the question as being an important one. Among the large majority of Members which had supported the "important question" procedure, there were divergent views on the question of mainland China's participation in the United Nations. All were united, however, in the importance they attached to maintaining the integrity of the provisions of the Charter on this particular point. Article 18 of the Charter not only required that decisions of the Assembly on important questions be decided by a two-thirds majority, but it went on to list some of the types of questions that fell within this category, including specifically "the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the exclusion of Members". A close reading of Article 18 made it clear that the 17-Power proposal was an important question. To insist on the integrity of this Charter provision was in the manifest self-interest of all concerned. To permit perhaps a temporary simple majority to expel a Member of the United Nations—an act that had never been taken before—would set a most dangerous precedent. Therefore, the United States delegation strongly urged the Members of the Assembly, whatever might be their position on the substance of the question of Chinese representation, once again to reaffirm the

vital procedural point set forth in the draft resolution sponsored by the United States and others. The 17-Power draft resolution demanded that representation in this Organization and all of its related agencies be denied to the Republic of China, a Government effectively governing 13 million people—a population which exceeded that of most of the Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China was recognized diplomatically by a majority of the United Nations membership, and it had been a Member of the Organization from its founding. It had committed no act that would justify its arbitrary expulsion, and it had contributed constructively to the work of the United Nations, including the specialized agencies. In the circumstances, the expulsion of the Republic of China could only be regarded as a grave injustice. The representative of the United States said that his Government shared the view that it was important for mainland China to return to the family of nations, but the obstacles which that country itself raised to its participation should not be ignored. The real question was when the authorities in Peking would permit their people to apply their great talents in a constructive relationship with the community of nations. Peking's conditions, among them the expulsion of the Republic of China, could not be accepted by the Assembly. The United Nations, for its part, made no special demands. Was it then the United Nations or was it Peking which, by imposing unreasonable conditions and by pursuing a policy of open hostility to its neighbours, great and small, had placed obstacles in the path of its participation in the work of the United Nations? Peking had, for example, condemned efforts to end the nuclear arms race and had rejected the Assembly's invitation to participate in disarmament discussion. It had indicated clearly that it opposed the negotiation of a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam. The question was whether it was a hostile world that isolated Peking or rather a still hostile Peking that isolated itself. The 17-Power draft resolution would merely reward Peking's attitude of self-isolation and disrespect for the United Nations by seating

it here under its own terms. That resolution would be a major step backward, not forward. It would encourage intransigence, debase the Charter, and perpetrate a grave injustice against a Member of the United Nations. The United States delegation therefore urged the rejection of the 17-Power draft resolution.

The representative of Australia stated that the 17-Power draft resolution was unacceptable to his delegation. There was a high level of economic prosperity and political stability in Taiwan, and no indication that its nearly 14 million people wanted to be subjected to the rule of the Peking régime. One of the biggest questions today was how to fit mainland China into the international community. What was needed was an accommodation in which mainland China would have to make some contribution by letting its neighbours feel assured that they would not be threatened, harassed or subjected to armed attacks. The representative of New Zealand, a co-sponsor of the 18-Power draft resolution, declared that the present time was more propitious than any in recent years for a fresh and genuine attempt to solve the problem. There were the first signs that communist China was beginning to reassess its attitude towards the outside world and to move towards more normal relations with other countries. However, his Government was opposed to the expulsion of the representatives of a Government which had shown its steadfast adherence to the principles of the Charter. The time had come for a new attempt to find a sensible and just solution to the question, but not by denying the right of the people of Taiwan to a place and a voice in the Organization. The representative of the Philippines declared that the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the work of the United Nations would be welcome, but such contribution must be based on a positive desire for world peace and the readiness to carry out the obligations of the membership. The People's Republic of China should renounce its policy of exporting and supporting armed revolution and fomenting disorders abroad. The representative of Thailand said that his delegation re-

garded the question before the Assembly as an internal matter for the Chinese people to resolve. Solution could not be found through the interference of a third party, or by any one-sided effort of those spokesmen who tended to underestimate its complexities, and to misjudge Peking's intentions and mood. His delegation would therefore vote against the 17-Power draft resolution. The representative of Liberia stated that his delegation would not be able to support any draft resolution calling for the seating of the People's Republic of China as the lawful representatives of China in the United Nations until there was some evidence that it would be willing to change its policies and accept the principles of the Charter. The representatives of the Central African Republic and Rwanda did not consider the People's Republic of China to be a peace-loving country, and they therefore had doubts about its willingness to abide by the principles of the Charter.

Other Statements

During the consideration of the question, statements in exercise of the right of reply were made by the representatives of Algeria, China and Cambodia.

Statements in explanation of their vote were made by the representatives of Albania, Belgium, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Ghana, Iceland, Italy, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Romania, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

ROLL-CALL VOTES

18-Power proposal; reaffirming previous decision that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Nether-

lands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian, SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Abstentions: Austria, Barbados, Malaysia, Portugal.

17-Power proposal; calling for the restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstentions: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Maldives, Netherlands,

B. United Nations Monthly Chronicle, December 1970, pages 27-40.

Representation of China

ASSEMBLY DECISION

The General Assembly, on 20 November, adopted a 19-Power resolution which reaffirmed its previous decision that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question, requiring a two-thirds majority vote under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter. The resolution, adopted by a roll-call vote of 66 in favour to 52 against, with 7 abstentions, was sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Gabon, Gambia, Haiti, Japan, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo and the United States (resolution 2642 (XXV)).

An 18-Power draft resolution which would have had the Assembly restore all the rights of the People's Republic of China, recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations, and expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupied at the United Nations failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The vote on this proposal was 51 votes in favour to 49 against, with 25 abstentions. It was sponsored by Albania, Algeria, Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, the People's Republic of the Congo, Romania, So-

malia, Southern Yemen, the Sudan, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia. (For details of roll-call votes, see page 39.)

Following the voting, the representative of Tunisia presented a proposal which was later withdrawn. Under its terms, the Assembly would have decided to include in the provisional agenda at its twenty-sixth session an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China", and "to entrust the Secretary-General with the task of exploring the possibility of solving this problem". The Secretary-General would have been asked to report on this matter, if necessary, to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

The request for the inclusion of the item "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" was made on 14 August by Albania, Algeria, Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, the People's Republic of the Congo, Romania, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen and Zambia. The explanatory memorandum in connexion with the request stated that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was more vital than ever for the future of the Organization. It was imperative at a time when Member States were commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China be restored. For years, the sponsoring Governments had unceasingly protested against the hostile and discriminatory policy followed by several Governments with regard to the People's Republic of China, "the sole genuine representative of the remarkable Chinese people, which is heir to an ancient civilization and has irresistably embarked on the path of progress".

The persistent refusal to restore to the People's Republic of China the seat which rightfully belonged to it was obviously not only an extremely grave denial of justice, but it was also inconsistent with one of the essential principles of the United Nations, that of universality. This refusal, based on entirely political con-

siderations, was contrary to the spirit which guided the creation of the Organization. With a population of more than 700 million, China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, had since 1949 been refused by systematic manoeuvres the right to occupy the seat to which it was entitled *ipso jure*. Entrusting the representation of the Chinese people to the Chiang Kai-shek clique was nothing more than an obstinate, deliberate, absurd and dangerous refusal to recognize realities. The Government of the People's Republic of China had always followed a policy aimed at settling by peaceful means all disputes which might exist or arise between independent States. China's scrupulous observance of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Indo-China and those of 1962 on Laos, to which it was a signatory, were the best possible examples of this policy. China had demonstrated and continued to demonstrate that it sincerely desired peace and peaceful coexistence with all countries on the basis of the principles of respect for independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality, mutual respect and the right of each people to decide its destiny. Furthermore, China had always expressed support for the peoples struggling against colonialism so that they might exercise their right of self-determination and independence, in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

By opposing the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its rights in the United Nations on the pretext that that country rejected all international co-operation and would be an irreconcilable enemy of those countries which did not share its ideology, the United States was *ipso facto* violating the principles and purposes of the Charter. The sponsoring Governments were in a position to contradict such assertions. By maintaining friendly relations with China, like most States of the international community, and by doing so despite the differences in their political, economic and social systems, they proved daily the baselessness of such accusations of intransigence on the part of the People's Republic of

China. In this connexion, it should be noted that the People's Republic of China had always displayed full respect for the independence and dignity of other countries. The "quarantine" policy which certain Powers had pursued for many years with regard to the People's Republic of China was unrealistic and dangerous because no important international problem could be solved without the participation of that country.

It was impossible to exclude China, a great nuclear Power, from major decisions while, at the same time, requiring it to subscribe to the obligations imposed by agreements which it had no part in concluding. Moreover, it was impossible simultaneously to recognize, on the one hand, the international role of the People's Republic of China and to dispute, on the other hand, its lawful place in the United Nations, whose main purpose was a common search for solutions to world problems. Such a position was logically and practically untenable. The reality of the existence of the People's Republic of China could not be changed to suit the myth of a so-called "Republic of China", fabricated out of a portion of Chinese territory. It was well known that the unlawful authorities installed in the island of Taiwan, who claimed to represent China, remained there only because of the permanent presence of the armed forces of the United States.

The fundamental interests of the United Nations demanded that it promptly put an end to this unacceptable and dangerous situation which some continued to seek to impose on the international community, in defiance of all principles, in order to fulfil and implement a policy which was being increasingly repudiated. This attitude, through the unhappy precedent which it created, could not but give rise to uncertainty regarding the future of the national and territorial unity of many Member States. Consequently, the sponsoring Governments were convinced that the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations and in all its subsidiary and affiliated bodies, and the recognition of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole

legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations was absolutely and urgently necessary in order to strengthen the authority and prestige of the Organization. This implied the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's clique from the seat which they unjustly occupied in the United Nations and in all the bodies affiliated to it. To delay this inevitable move would only help to weaken further the authority of the United Nations.

Views of Delegations

The representative of Algeria, who introduced the 18-Power draft resolution calling for the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, declared that the time had come to end the anachronism of the absence of that country from the United Nations. China was recognized as one of the great Powers, with the largest population in the world and with the richest economic, technical and scientific potential. It was a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The presence of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek did not result from a failure to recognize reality, but from the deliberate, absurd, dangerous and irresponsible attitude of the imperialists. The prolongation of such a situation would be fraught with consequences. The People's Republic of China maintained diplomatic and friendly relations with an increasing number of States and its contribution to economic, technical and cultural co-operation with the Third World was a model of generosity and effectiveness. Its assistance to peoples struggling for their liberation was an example of solidarity. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, expelled by the Chinese people, had taken refuge in the Chinese province of Taiwan and was maintained by the military forces of the United States. The feudalists installed on Taiwan had set up a police régime which was nothing more than the instrument of its imperialist masters. There existed only one China, only one Chinese State, and that was the People's Republic of China. Non-recognition of this fact by the United Nations was a flagrant injustice. The Chinese people did not need the United Nations to

advance in their struggle; it was the United Nations which needed the presence of China. This year again a United States draft resolution presented the question as one dealing with the admission of a new Member, requiring a two-thirds majority. This was a fraudulent and illicit argument which was contrary to the Charter, for China was a founding Member of the United Nations. It was a question of expelling the unlawful occupants of China's seat and of recognizing the real representatives of a State that was already a Member. In voting for restoration to the People's Republic of China of all its rights and for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, the United Nations would be acting for justice, progress and peace in the world. There could be no compromise on principles. There was only one China.

The representative of Albania, another co-sponsor, declared that ever since the triumph of the people's revolution in China, the peace-loving Member States had tried to remedy the anomaly created in the United Nations when the place of the People's Republic of China was usurped by a group that took refuge in the island of Taiwan under the protection of the United States armed forces. The situation remained unchanged because of the hostile policy of the United States which attempted to use the Organization in its plans for world hegemony. During the commemorative session, the majority of Member States had reaffirmed their adherence to the Charter. In his delegation's view, the primary prerequisite for strengthening the United Nations was the unrelenting struggle to throw off the harmful influence exercised over the Organization by the United States, as well as its anti-popular collusion with Soviet imperialism. If the pernicious influence of the two "super-Powers" was rejected, the conditions would be more favourable for the United Nations to accomplish its tasks. The immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China would be an important step in the right direction. Member States could no longer allow the Organization to be deprived of the collaboration of this great world Power, which firmly supported the

struggle of peace-loving peoples against the aggressive policy of the two imperialist Powers and their interference in the domestic affairs of States. The People's Republic of China stood firmly behind the principles of the Charter and for international co-operation. That is why the two imperialist Powers opposed the restoration of its rights in the United Nations. In addition to the achievements in the economic and social fields, the fact that the People's Republic of China possessed nuclear weapons and had launched its first artificial earth satellite testified to its great successes in the field of technology. It had made an effective contribution to the settlement of important international problems and had given assistance to the development of many Asian and African countries. The People's Republic of China was supporting the people of Indo-China against the United States aggression. It also sided with the Palestinian people against Israeli aggression, and it had condemned the aggression of the Soviet social-imperialists against Czechoslovakia. As for the 19-Power resolution sponsored by the United States and others, the representative of Albania said that it was not only contrary to the Charter, but it was a fraudulent manoeuvre invented by the specialists in the American Department of State in order to ward off the danger of a majority vote in favour of the 18-Power proposal. China was one of the founding Members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The question of a country's régime fell exclusively within the purview of that country's people, and no international organization had any right to interfere in the affairs of another State. Therefore the issue was a simple question of procedure. All the efforts of the United States and its henchmen to uphold the plot of "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan" were futile and doomed to failure. Taiwan was a Chinese province—an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and the Chinese people were resolved to liberate it from the military occupation by the American imperialist aggressors. The adoption of the 18-Power resolution would eliminate a flagrant and scandalous international injustice, and

would be an important victory over the enemies of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

In urging adoption of the 18-Power resolution, the representatives of Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia, whose delegations had co-sponsored the resolution, held that the issue was not an important question under the terms of the Charter, but one of credentials to be solved by a simple majority vote. In stressing the importance of the principle of universality, they pointed out that, without the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, such important questions as disarmament and those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security could not be solved. Some of those speakers also rejected the "two Chinas" concept because, in their view, Taiwan was an integral part of the People's Republic of China. The representative of Ceylon said that international measures for peace and security could never be of full effect without the participation of the People's Republic of China. In international economic co-operation, it had a vital contribution to make. It was an abuse of the Charter to seek to make the question subject to a two-thirds majority vote. The representative of Afghanistan considered that only the People's Republic of China truly represented the entire Chinese people and the continued denial of that Government's rights in the Organization was not in conformity with the norms of universality and mutuality which regulated relations among nations. The representative of the United Arab Republic maintained that the failure of the United Nations to take the right and necessary action on this question was a grave injustice against the people of China and deprived the Organization of the substantial contribution it could make towards the solution of international problems. The representative of Nigeria declared that China as a State was an original Member of the United Nations, and the question was whether that country should continue to be represented in the

Organization by a refugee administration exiled to a province of the country, or by a Government which had become firmly established and was in effective control of the vast territory of the country and of its massive population, constituting one quarter of the world's population. Those States which objected to the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China were the same ones defending South Africa's membership. The representative of Nepal rejected charges that the People's Republic of China was not peace-loving. Although militarily a significant world nuclear Power, it did not maintain a single soldier outside its territory. Nepal, as a neighbour, had found it to be most friendly, understanding and helpful. The representative of Uganda opposed the "two Chinas" concept, asking what power did the United Nations have to divide China into two nations. There had been revolutions in many countries, and yet régimes that had gone into exile had not received the sort of treatment that had been accorded the régime in Taiwan since 1949. What would happen if there were to be a revolution in the United States and President Nixon were forced to flee with his henchmen to Hawaii or, for that matter to Long Island. Would the General Assembly accept the régime of President Nixon in Long Island or the new Government in Washington as the representative of the United States? This was a hypothetical example, but very pertinent to the question.

Support for the seating of the People's Republic of China was also expressed by the representative of the USSR, who said that the position of his delegation on the question had, throughout all these years, been fundamental, consistent and unchanged. It had been frequently reiterated during the sessions of the General Assembly. The arguments put forward by the Soviet Union and others could no longer be contested even by the enemies of the People's Republic of China. The fact that China, one of the founding Members of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council, was deprived of the opportunity to take its lawful place in the United Nations was a crying injustice to the Chinese people

and a gross violation of the Charter. In the Declaration on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, it was stated that the achievement of universality was an important task of the Organization. His delegation believed that the Chinese people must be represented in the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations. Any delay in the positive solution of the problem would harm the Organization and undermine its principle of universality. Those who opposed the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China were a group of countries headed by the United States, who used the stratagem of the alleged requirement that this question should be decided by a two-thirds majority vote. It was known that the admission of new Member States, under Article 18, required a two-thirds majority. However, in this particular case it was not a question of admitting a new Member; it was a matter of restoring the lawful rights of a Member State, which had been unlawfully usurped by imperialism. Instead of the People's Republic of China, American puppets—the Taiwan clique—were present here, representing no one. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China would promote the strengthening and expansion of international co-operation for peace and security throughout the world. The USSR delegation would therefore vote in favour of the 18-Power draft resolution and against the 19-Power resolution sponsored by the United States and others. Similar views were expressed by the representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland.

The representative of France said that it was surprising that from year to year the United Nations shied away from what General de Gaulle called "the growing weight of evidence and reason". It was futile to ignore a great people, the most numerous of the earth, a country with a 1,000-year-old civilization which covered a huge part of the Asian continent. There was almost no major world problem that could be solved, or even seriously approached, without the presence of that State. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with the People's Re-

public of China was increasing every year. No one was truly convinced that China would not inevitably reassume its place in the Organization. Why, therefore, should this inevitable event be delayed? The United Nations could not maintain an illegally-founded and politically unrealistic attitude without seriously harming itself and disappointing the hopes placed in it. The question was not that of admitting a new State, and therefore it did not come under Article 18. The Assembly was requested to recognize that China, a founding Member of the Organization, was the People's Republic of China and that that Government alone was qualified to occupy the seat reserved for that State for 25 years. The procedural draft resolution requiring a two-thirds majority was ill-founded. It aimed to defer again the only just and realistic decision. His delegation would vote for the resolution recommending the re-establishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The representative of Ghana expressed the view that the two Chinas enjoyed separate, viable and independent existence as a State, and that they equally were offshoots of China before the civil war. Consequently, the People's Republic of China had at least as good a claim as the Republic of China to representation. The General Assembly should not be hoodwinked into adopting any measure 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. In his delegation's view, the procedural draft resolution might be such an obstructive measure. Since his delegation did not believe that the seating of the People's Republic of China could be delayed, it could not support the 19-Power resolution. On the other hand, the delegation of Ghana believed that the two Chinas were both successor States and that the United Nations membership of the one should not be to the exclusion of the other. It was prepared to vote for the 18-Power resolution if the demand for the expulsion of the Republic of China was dropped. His delegation called on the sponsors of the two draft resolutions and the two Chinas

to come to terms with the realities of the situation.

The representative of Tunisia said that his delegation would not vote for the 19-Power draft resolution. Article 18 of the Charter referred to the admission and suspension of States, not of delegations. There was no question of excluding China, which represented 700 million inhabitants. It was a question of confirming its rights as a Member State of the United Nations, entitled to enjoy an accredited representation by its Government seated in Peking. His delegation was in favour of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. However, the second part of the operative paragraph of the 18-Power draft resolution calling for the expulsion of the "representatives of Chiang Kai-shek" gave rise to a number of questions. There was no point in expelling the present delegation when it would not itself accept the presence of the delegation of the People's Republic of China and would withdraw as soon as a decision was adopted to accept the delegation of Peking. The representative of Tunisia wondered whether it would not be possible to transform the present representation into a delegation of Formosa. He suggested that the 18-Power proposal be reworded either by making no mention of expulsion or by laying down a provisional status for the present delegation, which would be juridically deprived of its seat because of the installation of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, until that political problem was resolved by the parties concerned, or at least putting them in separate paragraphs, which could be put to the vote separately. The Secretary-General could be instructed to contact the parties concerned regarding the implementation of this decision and to report on this matter at the next session.

The representative of Canada said that one of the most important developments in Canadian external relations in recent years had been its agreement with the People's Republic of China on mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations. His Government believed that the People's Republic of China should occupy the seat of China in the

United Nations, and it would look forward to the day when it would be seated in the Assembly and the Security Council. The exclusion of the representatives of the People's Republic had hampered the United Nations in its role as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. It was obvious that there was a consensus of the membership that the question was important. Canada's vote in the past had not been a procedural tactic designed to frustrate the will of the majority. In supporting this draft resolution, Canada's purpose had been to ensure that a decision on a question which was important *per se* did reflect the considered judgement of a significant proportion of the membership. His delegation would therefore vote in favour of the 19-Power draft resolution. However, if in his Government's judgement continued support of such a resolution could in the future frustrate the will of the Assembly, then his Government would change its position.

The representatives of Italy, Austria, Chile and Peru, whose delegations this year changed their vote on the question, made statements during the explanations of vote.

The representative of Italy said that his Government had recently recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China, and thus considered it to be the Government entitled to represent China in the United Nations. Accordingly, his delegation had voted in favour of the 18-Power draft resolution. However, it had also voted in favour of the procedural draft resolution because it believed that the issue of determining the legitimate and qualified Government to represent a State in the United Nations was of such importance as to justify recourse to the procedure provided for important questions so that the decision may express the carefully weighed conviction of a significant number of States. The swift evolution taking place in international life showed a growing will on the part of Member States to recognize that only the People's Republic of China could effectively meet the responsibilities devolving upon China in the international community.

The representative of Austria said that

in previous years his delegation had abstained in the voting on the resolutions concerning the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. However, this year his delegation had decided to vote in favour of the 18-Power draft resolution. By doing so, it had been guided by the conviction that the time had come to take a further step in making the Organization more representative. The Austrian Government held that the seat of China in the Organization should be occupied by the State which actually ruled that vast country, while the island of Taiwan, which in actual fact was not ruled from Peking, should continue to be represented in the United Nations—subject to the appropriate adjustments. In voting for the 18-Power draft resolution, his delegation therefore reserved its position with regard to the second part of its operative paragraph.

The representative of Chile said his delegation would vote in favour of the 18-Power draft resolution. He asked whether the United Nations could continue to ignore the existence of a quarter of mankind or whether it could ignore a Government which exercised sovereignty over a vast territory. The United Nations must become a universal Organization. There could be no peace if one of today's great Powers was disregarded. Conflicts could not be solved if there was no negotiation. There could be no doubt that the presence of China in the United Nations would open up possibilities of dialogue and understanding. The People's Republic of China was a great country, a nuclear Power, and, in his delegation's view, it was the only one that could be considered the legitimate representative of the Chinese people. His delegation would therefore vote against the 19-Power draft resolution.

The representative of Peru stated that his delegation would vote against the 19-Power draft resolution requesting that any decision on the representation of China be considered an important question. Article 18 of the Charter did not specifically include as an important question the case covered by the draft. It was only after the sixteenth session of the General Assembly that questions of this kind were

considered by the Assembly. The matter had acquired political implications to such an extent that it had not been possible to agree on a solution in keeping with the aspiration to universality of the United Nations. His delegation believed that the time had come to act in accordance with that legitimate aspiration. His delegation wished to make it clear that its vote should not be regarded as prejudging the final resolution of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, which was the subject of another draft resolution. Nor would his delegation state that it was in favour of the exclusion of a Government that was now represented in the Organization.

The representative of the Philippines, introducing the 19-Power resolution, said that the People's Republic of China showed no desire to join the United Nations and abide by its rules. His delegation would therefore once again oppose its admission to the Organization. While the General Assembly persisted in efforts to resolve the issue of Chinese representation, the Peking régime continued to impugn the integrity of the United Nations and had not evinced any interest in becoming a Member. His delegation was fully aware of the fact that the People's Republic of China was a great Power possessing nuclear weapons and exercising control over a huge population. But precisely because it was in a position to wield great power, Communist China should manifest a readiness to accept a corresponding heavy responsibility towards the international community. His delegation wished to remind those who invoked the argument of universality that from the time of its conception the United Nations was designed primarily as an organization for maintaining and enforcing peace. The principle of universality had been suggested by some States at San Francisco, but it had been rejected in favour of Article 4 of the Charter which in effect restricted membership to "peace-loving States". The delegation of the Philippines could not understand the logic of those who advocated the principle of universality to justify the admission of the People's Republic of China and their corollary proposal for the simultaneous

expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations. As one of the founding Members and architects of the United Nations, with a noteworthy record of commitment to the purposes and principles of the Organization and of constructive contribution to its work, the Republic of China had proved itself worthy of continuing its membership. It had fought courageously against fascist aggression during the Second World War. It was thriving in peace and had faithfully complied with its Charter obligations. It had lived up to all requirements of membership in the Organization. The General Assembly had recognized the vital importance of the question of Chinese representation since it was first raised some 20 years ago and had reaffirmed its decision on numerous occasions. Therefore, the draft resolution submitted by his delegation and others would have the Assembly affirm again its decision that, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question. As a neighbour of the People's Republic of China, the Philippines looked forward to the day when the Peking régime would manifest in deeds its respect for the independence of its neighbours and its readiness to accept and abide by the principles of the Charter, particularly those expressing the collective will of the international community to uphold the rule of law and establish world peace based on justice. Only then would his delegation reconsider its opposition to Communist China's admission to the United Nations.

The representative of the Republic of China declared that his delegation had time and again called attention to the fact that to seat the Chinese Communist régime in the United Nations was to negate the basic principles and purposes of the Charter. The Charter and so-called Mao Tse-tung thought were diametrically opposed to each other both in purpose and spirit. The Charter categorically prohibited unilateral use of force except in legitimate self-defence. Mao Tse-tung revelled in war, believing that it was not only inevitable but positively desirable. The Charter enjoined Member States to settle disputes by peaceful means in con-

formity with law and justice. Mao Tse-tung preached force and violence. Peiping was the foremost exponent and the most assiduous practitioner of camouflaged and indirect aggression in the form of infiltration and subversion. It was the promoter of what was called "people's war", whose essential ingredients were force and violence. The encouragement, training, financing and equipping of guerrillas in a whole series of countries could be more of a menace to the territorial integrity and political independence of all non-communist Governments in the vulnerable parts of the world than even the direct use of force by Peiping. This was because in almost all those countries there were dissident elements that with aid and support from abroad, were ready to play the role which the Viet-Cong were playing in the Republic of Viet-Nam. Peiping's experience in the Korean War had taught it to avoid, as far as possible, direct confrontation with any military power. It had, however, never ceased to unleash a torrent of warlike pronouncements against both the United States and the Soviet Union. It was clear that there could be no compromise and no possibility of accommodation between the Charter and the cult of violence and war preached and practised by Mao Tse-tung. It was a matter of record that since 1949 the Peiping régime had participated in a series of military adventures, either directly or by proxy. It had played a leading role in the Korean War. It attacked India in 1962 and Sikkim in 1965. Its role in Indo-China needed no elaboration. Moreover, it was no secret that since 1967 Chinese Communist troops had begun to slip into northern Burma. Radio Moscow, in its broadcast of 7 June 1970, had made a statement to the effect that Mao Tse-tung and his followers were trying to dominate South and South-East Asia by fostering internal conflicts and strife in that part of the world. Radio Moscow had listed India, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Burma, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia as targets of Peiping's subversive activities. The Maoist cult of violence had its votaries in cities of the Western world, where youthful revolutionaries carried out politically motivated

arson, bombing, murder and other terrorist activities designed to overthrow the existing social and political order. Mao's influence on the revolutionaries was bound to grow should his regime be seated in the United Nations. There could be no question that the Chinese Communist régime was the greatest threat to world peace and security and the greatest enemy of national independence and freedom. There were those who contended that the United Nations needed the presence of Peiping to solve such crucial problems as disarmament. Questioning the validity of that argument, the representative of the Republic of China said it betrayed a woe-ful lack of understanding of the nature of Chinese communism. It was difficult to understand how a régime dedicated to reshaping the world by force of arms and the preaching of the inevitability and even the desirability of war could contribute to world peace. Peiping's interest in the United Nations stemmed primarily from a desire to transform the Organization into its own instrument of policy. It could wreck the United Nations just as it had undermined the much-vaunted monolithic unity of the international communist movement. Peiping had heaped insult on the partial test-ban Treaty, the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as the Treaty banning the launching of nuclear arms in outer space. It had taken a hostile attitude towards any agreement concerning the limitation of strategic arms. Since Peiping's first nuclear blast in 1946, it had from time to time advanced the idea of a world conference to prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons. But there was no evidence that this was anything more than a propaganda move. The possession of nuclear arms was no ticket to admission to the United Nations. The assumption that the communist régime was in effective control of the mainland and that it could legitimately speak for the 700 million Chinese people was not supported by facts. Popular unrest had been deepening on the mainland. Restiveness was widespread among students, workers and peasants. Anti-Mao and anti-communist organizations existed in all parts of the country. The Government of the Republic of China was the

legally constituted Government of China. It was the only Government that could give expression to the authentic aspirations of the Chinese people. The fact that the mainland of China had been under communist occupation for two decades simply meant that the civil war in China had not yet ended. The right to determine who should represent China in the United Nations belonged to the Chinese people alone. They had certainly not asked Albania or anyone else to speak for them and call into question the rightful position of the Government of the Republic of China in the United Nations. The Chinese people categorically rejected such affrontery. If the Mao Tse-tung régime was allowed to continue its oppression at home and pursue its course of aggression abroad, there could be no peace in Asia or security for the world.

The representative of the United States said that the 18-Power draft resolution differed not at all from similar proposals which had been considered and decisively rejected many times in the past. The United States had joined other States in co-sponsoring a procedural draft resolution which affirmed that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations was an important question requiring a two-thirds majority vote for adoption. This was a long-established position of the General Assembly. Far from being some sort of manoeuvre, the "important question" procedure found in Article 18 of the Charter was one of the most essential protections of all United Nations Members, whether large or small. Important questions were defined in Article 18 as recommendations with respect to international peace and security, elections to various offices, questions relating to the Trusteeship System and the budget, the suspension of rights and privileges of membership, the admission of new Members, and the expulsion of present Members. The last two questions were precisely what the 18-Power draft resolution would have the Assembly do. To insist on the integrity of the Charter and to insist on its protections were not only matters of self-interest for all Members but were also matters of simple equity and justice. It would set a most danger-

ous precedent to expel a Member of the United Nations by a simple majority of those present and voting. Those who might be tempted to disregard the Charter's safeguards because of their views on the present issue should consider carefully whether on some future issue they might find themselves in a similar position. It was for those reasons that the United States had joined in co-sponsoring the 19-Power draft resolution, and it urged all Members to vote to reaffirm this vital procedure. The proposal to expel the representatives of the Republic of China was both unwise and unjust. The expulsion of a Member State was a most serious business. Article 6 of the Charter reserved this action for cases in which a Member had persistently violated the principles of the Charter and it required joint action by both the Security Council and the General Assembly. There was not a single act of the Republic of China which would justify those extreme measures. The representative of the United States agreed that the People's Republic of China was a reality that could not be ignored. The United States had actively sought to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. Representatives of his Government had met with the representatives of the People's Republic of China twice this year and would have met more often had Peking been willing to do so. His Government had also taken a number of concrete actions to ease relations between the two Governments. The fact was that the United States was as interested as anyone in the Assembly to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. But nowhere did the Charter confer upon States the right to make their own conditions for United Nations membership. The representative of the United States thought that it was curious that some of the same delegations which urged universality of membership, at the same time urged, with equal fervour, that one of the present Members be expelled. The Republic of China effectively governed 14 million people, a population larger than that of two thirds of the United Nations Members. It was recognized diplomatically by more than 60 States, was a

founding Member of the Organization, had contributed more than its share to the work of the specialized agencies, and sought to assist the process of development. He urged the Assembly to reject decisively the 18-Power draft resolution.

The representative of Japan declared that any attempt to solve the question of the representation of China in the United Nations merely by expelling one of the two parties from the place it had legitimately occupied in the Organization, and replacing it by the other, would inevitably militate against a just and equitable solution. The Republic of China was one of the principal founders of the United Nations and had faithfully carried out its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter. While it would be highly desirable for the United Nations to be as universal as possible, it was contradictory to advocate the principle of universality in support of the draft resolution calling for the seating of the People's Republic of China, since this would have the effect of depriving the Republic of China and its people in Taiwan of long-standing, loyal status in the United Nations. His delegation would therefore vote against the 18-Power resolution inasmuch as it could not offer a satisfactory solution.

The representative of Thailand, another co-sponsor of the 19-Power draft resolution said that, despite the eloquent pleas to restore the so-called lawful rights to the People's Republic of China, there had been no clear-cut response from the régime in question. Although this question had been on the Assembly's agenda for nine years, it was a fact that the People's Republic of China had so far not applied for membership. Moreover, its leaders had repeatedly made statements demanding changes concerning the United Nations which must be effected before the People's Republic of China would even consider becoming a Member. It had demanded the expulsion of the Republic of China, the complete reorganization of the United Nations, and the withdrawal of the General Assembly resolution condemning Peking as an aggressor in the Korean conflict. His delegation had seen no evidence that would qualify the People's Republic of China as a peace-loving State. Records

of Peking's policy of open and indirect aggression and subversion in Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Tibet, as well as in Thailand, were too well known to need repeating. One reason that the war in Indo-China continued unabated was the support which the aggressors received from the People's Republic of China. Furthermore, Mao Tse-tung's theory concerning the expansion of communist doctrine by force could hardly be considered to be consonant with the purposes and principles of the Charter. In his delegation's view, the People's Republic of China had so far not shown that it was willing or able to accept the obligations contained in the Charter. On the contrary, it had seen fit to attack and throw abuse at the United Nations. His delegation would therefore vote against the 18-Power draft resolution. The representative of Australia said that the position of his delegation had been made clear on the question earlier in the session by the Minister for External Affairs. In accordance with that policy, his delegation would vote for the 19-Power draft resolution, of which Australia was a co-sponsor. His delegation would vote against the 18-Power draft resolution, and he urged all delegations to vote in the same manner.

The representatives of Costa Rica, Gabon, Gambia and Haiti, co-sponsors of the 19-Power draft resolution, had doubts about the willingness of the People's Republic of China to comply with the conditions laid down in the Charter. On the other hand, the Republic of China was a founding Member of the Organization and had faithfully carried out its Charter obligations. The representative of Haiti asserted that, through insurrection, a Chinese Government obedient to communism had been able to seize a large part of the territory of China and to install a government which was not a legitimate government since no plebiscite or regular election had ever entrusted the reins of power to the Maoist group. That usurpation was never approved by the majority of the people. The Republic of China existed. It had a legal constitution as a State. It could not possibly be expelled from the United Nations. The representative of the Dominican Republic also supported the 19-

Power resolution because the Republic of China was scrupulously complying with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo said that his Government would want the voice of 700 million people to be heard in the United Nations but it would also want the 14 million inhabitants of Nationalist China to be heard. It was not guided by ideological considerations, but only by its desire to co-operate with those States which respected the sovereignty of his Government. The hostility of the Peking Government towards the Democratic Republic of the Congo was well known, as were its attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Congo. On the other hand, his Government enjoyed diplomatic relations with the Government of Taiwan, thus showing the determination of the two Governments scrupulously to respect the sovereignty of each other. The representative of Malawi stated that the People's Republic of China had been persistently aiding and abetting subversive activities in many countries, including his own. In view of the innumerable acts of aggression and subversion which the People's Republic of China had committed in the name of world communist revolution, his delegation feared that if it was ever admitted to the United Nations, it might become even more militant in its future conduct.

The representative of Saudi Arabia suggested that a plebiscite might be held on secession, and if both the people of Taiwan and mainland China agreed, both might be seated in the United Nations for the time being, with the proviso that another plebiscite would be held in five or 10 years to see whether Taiwan wanted to merge at that time with the People's Republic of China.

The representative of Malaysia said his delegation was in agreement with the 18-Power draft resolution except for the second part of the operative paragraph which called for the expulsion of the representatives from Taipei. That part, in his delegation's view, constituted a denial of the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination and membership of the Organization. For that reason, his delegation would not be able to go all the way in

support of the resolution. However, in view of its support for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it would not vote against this draft. The representative of Fiji said that his delegation would like to see the People's Republic of China represented in the United Nations. It would abstain on the 18-Power proposal because it sought the expulsion of a Member State which had shown itself able and willing to carry out its Charter obligations. The representative of Mauritius said that his delegation was in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, but it was also in favour of the principle of universality. It objected to the expulsion of the Republic of China. It would vote against the 18-Power draft resolution, although it had voted for a similar resolution last year, and it would abstain on the 19-Power resolution.

The representative of Ecuador declared that his Government regarded the absence of the People's Republic of China as absurd. Since the problem of China could not be easily solved, his delegation believed that a negotiated solution must be found through political and diplomatic channels. The sentence in the 18-Power draft resolution which referred to the Chiang Kai-shek clique was more than rhetoric. It identified a Government with the people. Taiwan was not only a Government; it was a human reality which could not be forgotten. And this way of simplifying the problem made it impossible for his delegation to vote in favour of that resolution. Since the resolution related to the question of the restoration of rights which affected the composition of the Security Council, and the expulsion of a Government which was exercising rights in behalf of a State Member, then those questions were of obvious importance and must be decided by a two-thirds majority.

Explanations of Vote

Statements in explanations of vote were made by the representatives of Togo, Burma, Peru, Turkey, Liberia, Romania, Cambodia, Madagascar, Chad, Albania, Guatemala, Chile, Tunisia, Jamaica, Senegal, India, Saudi Arabia, Colombia, Guy-

ana, Italy, Austria, Ireland, Sierra Leone, Morocco and Algeria.

ROLL-CALL VOTES

19-Power proposal: reaffirming previous decision that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question under the terms of Article 18 of the Charter.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela. *Against:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia. *Abstentions:* Barbados, Cameroon, Chad, Guyana, Mauritius, Portugal, Trinidad and Tobago.

18-Power proposal: calling for the restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR,

USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia. *Against:* Argentina, Australia, Barbados, Brazil, Cambodia, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela. *Abstentions:* Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cyprus, Ecuador, Fiji, Guyana, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Senegal, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia.

II. Statements from United States Sources

- A. Statement by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on August 2, 1971 (Reprinted from the Department of State Bulletin, August 23, 1971, pages 193-196.)

Following is a statement by Secretary Rogers made to news correspondents on August 2, together with the transcript of the questions and answers which followed.

Press release 166 dated August 2

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ROGERS

The world is approaching the midpoint between the end of World War II and the end of the 20th century. The United Nations, founded in the aftermath of the war, has passed its 25th anniversary.

President Nixon has been adapting American foreign policy with these facts in mind—forging policies directed to the future while taking fully into account the legacies of the past.

From its inception the United Nations was designed above all else to keep the peace shattered by two world wars within a generation. The first words of the United Nations Charter, adopted at San Francisco in 1945, express a common determination to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”

In October 1969 President Nixon said with regard to Latin America that “we must deal realistically with governments . . . as they are.” Both in Asia and elsewhere in the world we are seeking to accommodate our role to the realities of the world today. Our objective is to contribute in practical terms to the building of a framework for a stable peace.

No question of Asian policy has so perplexed the world in the last 20 years as the China question—and the related question of representation in the United Nations. Basic to that question is the fact that each of two govern-

ments claims to be the sole government of China and representative of all of the people of China.

Representation in an international organization need not prejudice the claims or views of either government. Participation of both in the United Nations need not require that result.

Rather, it would provide governments with increased opportunities for contact and communication. It would also help promote cooperation on common problems which affect all of the member nations regardless of political differences.

The United States accordingly will support action at the General Assembly this fall calling for seating the People's Republic of China. At the same time the United States will oppose any action to expel the Republic of China or otherwise deprive it of representation in the United Nations.

Our consultations, which began several months ago, have indicated that the question of China's seat in the Security Council is a matter which many nations will wish to address. In the final analysis, of course, under the charter provision, the Security Council will make this decision. We, for our part, are prepared to have this question resolved on the basis of a decision of members of the United Nations.

Our consultations have also shown that any action to deprive the Republic of China of its representation would meet with strong opposition in the General Assembly. Certainly, as I have said, the United States will oppose it.

The Republic of China has played a loyal and conscientious role in the U.N. since the organization was founded. It has lived up to all of its charter obligations. Having made remarkable progress in developing its own econ-

omy, it has cooperated internationally by providing valuable technical assistance to a number of less developed countries, particularly in Africa.

The position of the United States is that if the United Nations is to succeed in its peace-keeping role, it must deal with the realities of the world in which we live. Thus, the United States will cooperate with those who, whatever their views on the status of the relationship of the two governments, wish to continue to have the Republic of China represented in the United Nations.

The outcome, of course, will be decided by 127 members of the United Nations. For our part we believe that the decision we have taken is fully in accord with President Nixon's desire to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China in the interests of world peace and in accord with our conviction that the continued representation in the United Nations of the Republic of China will contribute to peace and stability in the world.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Secretary Rogers: I will take a few questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you received any indication from either China that they would be prepared to sit with one another in the United Nations?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your statement, you say that we are prepared to have the question of the seat on the Security Council decided by the U.N. members. In the previous paragraph you say that the United States will oppose any effort to deprive Nationalist China of representation in the United Nations. What position will we take, or are we taking, on the assumption of the Nationalist seat on the Security Council by the People's Republic of China?

A. Well, at this time I have nothing to add to the statement. As I have said, this matter may arise in the discussion in the General Assembly, and if it does, we will be prepared to certainly abide by the wishes of the majority of members of the United Nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, from the wording of this statement, it would appear that the United States would be also in favor of the seating of both Viet-Nams, both Koreas, and both Germans. Is that a correct assumption?

A. No, I don't think that is a correct assumption. We are dealing now with a problem of representation in the United Nations of a country that has been represented in the United Nations since its beginning. That is not true in the case of the other divided countries. So the statement does not direct itself to that point.

Q. Mr. Secretary, under your formulation here, would the present occupant of the Chinese seat in the Security Council have the power to veto any change in the membership in that seat?

A. Well, that is a matter of tactics which I don't want to address today. I think there will be many questions raised in the General Assembly this fall on matters of this kind. The purpose of this statement is to announce the policy of the United States. We will be discussing our tactics with other governments as we approach the General Assembly.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does this mean that we are going to drop the claim that this is an important question?

A. Well, there again it is a matter of tactics. But insofar as the People's Republic of China is concerned, I think that in view of this announcement by the United States, the important question, insofar as it relates to the P.R.C.'s admission, is academic. Certainly as far as the Republic of China is concerned, we think that the expulsion obviously is an important question. The charter so provides. And we will do all we can to support that position: that the expulsion of the Republic of China is an important question.

Q. Sir, I am not clear at one point whether or not the General Assembly would decide whether the Republic of China would retain the Security Council seat.

A. Well, I have nothing, as I say, to add to this statement. I think the statement speaks for itself. Under the charter, the final decision rests

with the Security Council. But, as you see, from this statement, we have said that we would abide by the views of the majority of nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, "would abide by the majority" of the General Assembly votes on the Security Council question?

A. Well, let's wait to see how it develops. But we have made it clear that as far as the United States is concerned, we would be willing to abide by the majority vote of the members of the United Nations.

Q. Sir, it was said that the ambassadors with whom you had spoken all the way along in this continuing series of talks would be informed in advance of this decision of the policy of the United States. Have these ambassadors been informed, and how would you assess the general reaction to this position?

A. Well, they have been informed. We have worked very closely with the nations primarily concerned and many others, for that matter, and we have informed them of this policy decision. I would not want to speak for them. I think it's up to them to speak for themselves.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the charter provides that the expulsion of a member is an important question. But what about the expulsion of a delegation?

A. Well, there again, that is a matter of tactics. We believe that the expulsion question insofar as it relates to the Republic of China is an important question. And that is going to be our position this fall.

Q. Mr. Secretary, getting back to the Security Council, are you implying, then, if a majority of members of the General Assembly vote to seat the People's Republic of China, that they should have the seat in the Security Council?

A. No, I haven't implied anything beyond the words of this statement. They are carefully drafted. I think it is clear that we have said we will abide by the views of the majority of the members of the United Nations.

Q. Can we assume, Mr. Secretary, that this Government will take a somewhat passive role on the Security Council question, or when the

session arrives will we openly advocate one position or the other?

A. We are not going to speculate at the moment about the tactics that we will use at the United Nations. I think it is important to focus our attention on the decision of this Government, which is to vote in favor of the admission of the People's Republic of China and to oppose the expulsion of the Republic of China. Now, the reasons I have set forth in this statement. We think the realities of the world require that both be represented. One represents 700 to 800 million people. In Taiwan, there are 14 million or more people. And we think both should be represented in the United Nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you tell us whether your reference in your statement to the fact that it does not necessarily have to resolve the question of who is the government of all of China means that we have decided to—that rules out the question of our recognizing—

A. No, not at all, not at all. The only question I am addressing this morning is representation in the United Nations.

Q. Sir, President Nixon said in his first news conference in response to a question that the policy at this time will be to continue to oppose Communist China's admission to the United Nations, and he listed three reasons: One was that Communist China has not indicated any interest in becoming a member; two, that it has not indicated any intent to abide by the principles of the charter; and three, that it continues to call for expelling the Republic of China from the U.N. What has changed since the President's initial news conference statement on this?

A. I think the first change of significance refers to point No. 1. Until recently, the People's Republic of China has strongly opposed the United Nations, has been extremely critical of the United Nations, has proposed that the charter of the United Nations had to be amended, et cetera.

Now, in the last 9 months or a year, their attitude toward the United Nations has changed, and we think that they are now interested in becoming members of the United Nations.

Secondly, their attitude toward other governments has changed markedly. They have established diplomatic relations with several other governments. Certainly their relations with the United States have improved. And all of these things together lead us to the conclusion that it is wise in the United Nations to have them represented. After all, they represent about one-quarter of the people on the surface of the earth. And as I have said, if the United Nations is to perform its function of keeping the peace, it is important to have their voice heard in the United Nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does the United States have reason to believe that as far as the Republic of China is concerned, its delegation will not make the whole question moot upon the announcement of this decision by departing on its own accord from the United Nations?

A. Well, I wouldn't want to make any comment about the position of the Republic of China. Any statement about their position or policy I think should come from them.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has the People's Republic of China been informed of this policy?

A. No, it has not—of this announcement or the policy that I am announcing this morning.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is the United States in favor of having the two governments of China negotiate the differences between them?

A. Well, I don't want to get involved in that this morning. We are talking about the representation question in the United Nations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has the People's Republic of China been informed of our decision to support its bid for admission to the United Nations?

A. That was the question I just addressed. The answer is no.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I thought the question was about the Republic of China.

A. No, no, no. He asked "the People's Republic of China."

Q. Has Taipei been informed of this?

A. Yes, of course.

The press: Thank you, sir.

Secretary Rogers: All right. Thank you.

B. Statement by Christopher H. Phillips on November 2, 1970

(Reprinted from the Department of State Bulletin, December 14, 1970, pages 733-735)

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR PHILLIPS

U.S./U.N. press release 166 dated November 12

We have before us for consideration once again a proposal sponsored by Albania, Algeria, and 16 other states to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and to place in the same seat representatives from the People's Republic of China. I use the words "once again" because this proposal, and the resolution which seeks to effect it, differ not at all from similar proposals and resolutions which we have considered—and decisively rejected—many times in the past. My delegation hopes that it will be rejected again this year.

Mr. President, the position of the United States is well known. We have joined with the governments of 17 other states, embracing representatives from every continent, in cosponsoring a procedural resolution which affirms that any proposal to change the representation of China in the United Nations is an important question and requires a two-thirds majority for adoption. This is a long-established position of the General Assembly, affirmed and reaffirmed by large majorities on many occasions when there has been a substantive debate on the issue of Chinese representation.

We would do well to look into the matter and

understand why the important-question procedure has so consistently received overwhelming support, particularly since we have already heard it attacked as nothing more than a transparent device for withholding from the People's Republic of China something which, it is claimed, is its own. The fact of the matter, however, is that far from being some sort of maneuver, the important-question procedure found in article 18 of our charter is one of the most essential protections of all members of the United Nations, whether large or small. The plain language of article 18 is that decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting. Important questions are defined in that article as recommendations with respect to international peace and security, elections to various offices within our organization, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system and the budget, the suspension of rights and privileges of membership, the admission of new members, *and the expulsion of present members*—and this is precisely what document A/L.605 would have us do.

Mr. President, to insist on the integrity of the charter, to reaffirm the protections which it provides, and to insist that these protections must be available to all members without distinction, is not only a matter of self-interest for all of us within this room; it is also a matter of simple equity and justice. It would set a most dangerous precedent to expel a member of the United Nations—an act that has never been taken in this organization's quarter century of life—by a simple majority of those present and voting. Those who may be tempted to disregard the charter's safeguards because of their views

on the present issue should consider carefully whether at some future time on some future issue they might find themselves in a position similar to that in which some have sought to place the Republic of China. We should remain faithful to the plain words of the charter and insure that these words apply to all without discrimination. In thus reaffirming the important-question principle we will be taking an action that relates to far more than just the question of Chinese representation.

It is for these reasons that my country has joined in cosponsoring the resolution set forth in document A/L.599. It is for these reasons that I strongly urge all members, regardless of their position on the substantive question of Chinese representation, to vote to reaffirm this vital procedure.

Mr. President, I turn now to the substantive resolution, contained in document A/L.605. You are all well aware of my Government's firm opposition to this draft resolution. Its proposal to expel the representatives of the Republic of China is both unwise and unjust.

Mr. President, the expulsion of a member state is a most serious business. Article 6 of the charter reserves this action to cases in which a member has persistently violated the principles upon which our organization was founded, and it requires joint action by both the Security Council and the Assembly. There is not a single act of the Republic of China that would justify these extreme measures. Yet the resolution before us has deliberately joined the concept of admitting the People's Republic of China to the call for expelling the Republic of China. Indeed, they are so joined as to prevent the extrication of one from the other.

We have heard it said before, and doubtless it will be repeated during the course of this debate, that the People's Republic of China is a reality that cannot be ignored. Indeed, that is so. And I do not believe any of us here today, or any of the governments that we represent, ignores that reality. As far as the United States is concerned, as most are aware, we have actively sought to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. Representatives of my Government have met with representatives of the People's Republic of China twice this year

and would have met more often had Peking been willing to do so. And my Government has taken a number of concrete actions, actions for which we neither proposed nor anticipated a *quid pro quo*, to ease relations between us. The fact of the matter is, the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents, and achievements of the great people who live in that cradle of civilization.

But let us also remember, Mr. President, that the charter nowhere confers upon states the right to make their own conditions for membership in the United Nations. Neither in the charter nor in any resolution is it written that a state may say "We will join, but only if you expel member *x*." What the charter does say is that membership shall be open to all peace-loving states able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership and that members may be expelled only if they have persistently violated the principles of the charter.

All of us must recall that many times during the period of general debate earlier in this session, and in the speeches delivered during the special commemorative week, we have heard distinguished delegates, Foreign Ministers, and even heads of state warmly endorse the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. How curious it is that some of the same delegations who then urged universality of membership now with equal fervor urge that we expel one of our present members. Surely if universality means anything at all, it means that we add to our present membership, not subtract from it. My Government fails to see how it is possible for a delegation that favors universality of membership—or for any delegation at all—to vote to expel from our midst a government which:

—effectively governs 14 million people, a population larger than that of two-thirds of the members of this Assembly;

—is recognized diplomatically by more than 60 of the members of this organization;

—has been a member of the United Nations since the organization's founding;

- has worked faithfully and constructively for the good of the organization;
- has contributed more than its share to the work of the specialized agencies; and
- has consistently sought to assist the process of development throughout the world.

The sponsors of the resolution now before us, as they have done in previous years, would have us ignore such considerations and, by spurious appeals to the principle of universality and misrepresentation of fact, call on us to expel a member which has faithfully abided by the charter of this organization. Such a demand clearly violates the principles of equity and justice. It should be opposed by all those who believe that these principles should guide the actions of this organization and who maintain that the charter must be upheld if this organization itself is to survive and be effective.

Mr. President, we believe that these reasons require that this Assembly reject this proposal to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations. Whatever views members may hold on the question of Peking's participation, we do not see how the purposes of this organization can be served by expelling any member which has long and faithfully observed the obligations set forth in its charter.

It is on this basis, Mr. President, that I urge the distinguished delegates of this Assembly to reject decisively the resolution contained in document A/L.605.

- C. Excerpts from Issues. Communist China (Reprinted from Department of State publication: Issues: No. 4 -- Communist China. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. Pages 26-27.)

The Case for Peking in the United Nations

Those who support Communist Chinese membership in the United Nations make these arguments:

- The United Nations should be a universal organization.
- Mainland China contains one-fourth of the population of the world. As long as these 800 million people are unrepresented the United Nations cannot function properly.
- After 20 years, the Communist regime must be recognized for all practical purposes as the Government of mainland China.
- A Communist China drawn into the community of nations might be more likely to shift to a more moderate policy than a China which is forced into isolation and perpetual insecurity.
- Arms limitations treaties—particularly those involving nuclear weapons—can never be fully effective so long as mainland China is not a party to these agreements.

Some of those advocating U.N. membership for Communist China support a "two-China" approach in which the Republic of China and Communist China would both be represented in the United Nations. Others say (a) Taiwan is legiti-

mately a part of China and (b) the Government in Peking is the only effective government of China; therefore, (c) China's seat in the United Nations should be occupied by the Communist government and by no other. It is this latter view which is reflected in the Albanian resolution defeated in the United Nations in 1968 and 1969.

The Case Against

Those who oppose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations at this time make these arguments:

- Peking continues to advocate violent revolution, contrary to the U.N. Charter.
- Peking has conducted a campaign of abuse and vilification of the United Nations and exhibits little interest in joining the organization.
- Under present circumstances, Communist China's participation in the Security Council would seriously weaken that body's ability to deal constructively with international problems.
- Peking opposes any "two-China" solution, as advocated by some U.N. members, and, indeed, the Republic of China also rejects such a solution.
- Admission of Peking on terms which result in the expulsion of the Republic of China would be inconsistent with the principle of universality, a principle invoked by those supporting Peking's admission. Moreover, it would ignore the constructive, cooperative role which the Republic of China, a founding member, has played in the United Nations, whose charter principles it has consistently upheld.

• The President, in a news conference on January 27, 1969, said: "The policy of this country and this administration at this time will be to continue to oppose Communist China's admission to the United Nations. . . . Until some changes occur on their side . . . I see no immediate prospect of any change in our policy."

D. Debate in the House of Representatives on October 6, 1971
 (Reprinted from the Congressional Record, October 6, 1971,
 pages H9293-9300)

CROSSROADS FOR THE U.N.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SIKES) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, within the month, the United Nations will act on a matter of the gravest concern to this Congress—the seating of Communist

China at the expense of one of our old and valued friends—the Republic of China.

This must not happen. Congress can help to make certain that it does not happen. Strange to relate, Congress has not been consulted in this matter and this is difficult to understand. Congress is a partner in Government and Congress has a very considerable interest in the operation and in the financing of the United Nations. As a matter of fact, there are many who have serious misgivings about the value of the United Nations in comparison with the share of the costs which the United States bears. The views of Congress should have important bearing.

The seating of Communist China is not a new issue but the real confrontation on the question is now getting closer and closer. The fact that the showdown is to come this year has probably been precipitated by our own administration's preoccupation with establishing a rapport with Communist China. This has taken some of the fight out of those who oppose that country's admission. The problem is further aggravated by the announcement on the eve of debate on the issue that Mr. Kissinger is to make a new, highly publicized trip to Peking. This one-way traffic of personnel and concessions to the seat of government of Chinese communism is very unfortunate. It strengthens the hands of the Communists at a most inopportune time.

A new and very serious issue has now surfaced. The Chinese Communists are demanding that the Republic of China be expelled. It is incomprehensible that this should take place, but there is grave concern over the outcome. This despite the fact that during the history of the United Nations dozens of countries have been admitted, many of them smaller in area and population than the average congressional district. Two-thirds of the nations in the U.N. have populations smaller than Taiwan. Many countries have contributed nothing to the U.N. but obstruction. Most have been in arrears at one time or another on their payments. Yet none have been expelled. There has not even been a proposal for expulsion.

The simple fact is the forces of world communism are calling the tune, and sadly I must say that our State Department is dancing to their tune in this vital matter. The State Department has not provided the vigorous defense which is necessary to offset the Communist drive. For instance, there are those of us who firmly believe the United States has the legal authority to veto any decision to expel the Republic of China. Russia has exercised its veto time and again. We have not questioned their right to do so. Now it is very important that the United States exercise its veto power.

Amazingly, it is the State Department's own opinion that we cannot exercise a veto in this situation. There are many legal authorities who say differently. The State Department should re-examine its position and reverse it forthwith. I cannot conceive of the forces of Commission committing themselves so

naively to the detriment of their interests. That is what we are doing and this makes the task of America's earnest representatives in the U.N. doubly difficult. The U.S. Government should make it very clear that we do have the power to exercise a veto and that we shall exercise it when free world interests require it. There must not be a reluctance in this crucial moment to actively and openly defend those interests with all the power we possess. This is not a time to turn the other cheek.

The Congress now has a responsibility to express itself very clearly on this serious matter. The Congress also has a responsibility to look more carefully into the substantial U.S. financial support for the United Nations. I personally question that the American taxpayer is getting a justifiable return for his investment in the U.N. We are paying 40 percent of the budgeted costs of that organization—nearly \$110 million per year. All other countries pay much less. Some of them pay nothing. That means the American taxpayer is carrying well over half the financial burden of the United Nations. Russia pays far less than we, yet Russia has three votes to our one. The dozens of small countries which make token or no payments all have a vote equal to ours. This makes no sense. A complete reassessment of U.S. financial and moral support of the United Nations is long overdue. The Congress has a responsibility to the American people, much more than to world commitments. We should exercise these responsibilities more vigorously and the United Nations is a good place to start.

I, for one, sincerely hope that each of the 130 member nations take note of the growing congressional concern on this important question. The nations which have indicated they plan to oppose us in this matter have shown no reluctance in the past to receiving U.S. foreign aid and military assistance. This should also be a matter for reassessment.

To demonstrate congressional concern over this question, there have been circulated in recent days petition forms calling on the President to take heed of the voice of this Congress in its opposition to the expulsion of the Republic of China from the U.N.

To date, more than 300 Members of Congress have signed that petition which we hope to be able to present to the President next week and to Ambassador George Bush of the United Nations later in the month, prior to the U.N. vote on the expulsion question.

The petition represents the clear consensus within the House of Representatives—a consensus that, as the petition itself states:

We, the undersigned Members of Congress, are strongly and unalterably opposed to the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations.

That, Mr. Speaker, is the message the United States must convey to the world. It is the message this Congress will transmit to the President and to the United Nations in unmistakable terms.

If the Republic of China should be expelled from the United Nations, take it from me that country will be leaving a

dying organization. Concern for the future of the United Nations is not reserved for the China question alone. The gradual decay in that organization's prestige is pinpointed many ways. It is well stated in an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Thursday, September 30, entitled, "Crossroads for the U.N." This is indeed the crossroads for the U.N. I submit the editorial for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CROSSROADS FOR THE U.N.

There is near-unanimity on one thing: The 26th annual session of the United Nations General Assembly that opened in New York last week will be among the most fateful in the history of the world organization. The decisions that must be made in the coming weeks can make or break the U.N. as an effective international institution.

It is not just a question of membership in the U.N. for mainland China. However the voting may go at this session, the issue is as good as settled. The principle of universality in the world organization—applying not only to Peking but to East and West Germany, North and South Korea and the two Vietnams—is supported by a substantial majority of the member nations.

Even more important, perhaps, for the future of the U.N. are two other items high on the agenda: The search for a peaceful solution to the conflict in the Middle East and the selection of a new secretary general as the successor to U Thant. Between them, the resolution of these two issues could determine the status of the U.N. as a peace-keeping institution for many years to come.

The two have a direct relationship with each other. It was under the relatively assertive leadership of Sweden's Dag Hammarskjöld that the U.N. played its most dynamic peace-keeping role, notably in the Middle East in 1956 and in the Congo after 1960. And it has been under the hesitant guidance of U Thant that the organization has recorded its most conspicuous failures—in Vietnam, Biafra, Ireland, Pakistan and, once again, in finding a solution to the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict.

But perhaps, as U Thant has often complained, this is in the nature of the institution. The U.N., however it may evolve, is not likely to become anything approaching a world government for a long time to come. In the case of internal disputes, such as those in Biafra, Ireland and Pakistan, its impotence has been convincingly demonstrated. And in situations where national survival is involved, as is the case with Israel, even the smallest countries have shown a readiness to defy a consensus of the world forum.

The leadership of the U.N. must accept these realities. If the coming Middle Eastern debate merely serves to consolidate opposition to Israel in the General Assembly, the result will be to increase, rather than diminish, tensions in the area and the danger of renewed war. A far wiser course would be a revival of the quiet diplomacy of U.N. envoy Gunnar Jarring in an effort to reach an accommodation between the two sides. So far as the Middle East is concerned, mediation, rather than coercion, is the best the U.N. can offer.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the United States will soon make an important diplomatic and moral choice at the United Nations.

Our Government, which pays nearly half of the bills to keep the United Nations in business and has been one of its most ardent supporters even when that body has contributed little in return to American or world security, will either half-heartedly allow the Republic of China and her people on Taiwan to be unceremoniously expelled from membership in the U.N., or for once will stand with a friendly power and traditional ally to vigorously oppose and prevent expulsion. I ask simply, which will it be?

This is not a question that should divide us in this Chamber. The principle is not one of party or of faction or of outlook on foreign policy. The principle is justice. Are we going to abandon an ally in the face of the combined offensive being exerted by the Communist and all-too-often anti-American third world bloc? Would U.S. and free world interests be better served by trading a friendly vote in the United Nations for that of a rabidly anti-American Communist dictatorship? For once let us stand up and say "no" to appeasement and capitulation.

And in this respect, I am prepared to offer a suggestion for a course of action:

Let the United States request a meeting of the United Nations Security Council. The meeting called into session, the United States should then request that the President of the Council make a ruling that any action by the Security Council to unseat the Republic of China and accept, instead, the credentials of the "very different government" of the People's Republic of China, be considered a "substantive" matter, thereby requiring the concurring votes of the permanent members of the Council. Using the French text of the rules, if the President should so rule in favor, and if his ruling is challenged by the U.S.S.R. or other opponent, that challenger must locate nine votes to overrule the President or the ruling shall stand. Then, when the challengers take the next step of offering a resolution calling for the rejection of the credentials of the Republic of China and the acceptance of the credentials of the People's Republic

of China—Red China—following debate the resolution can then be vetoed by the Republic of China—and the United States—as a permanent member of the Council. The Red China offensive will have been appropriately defeated.

Mr. Speaker, let us join together in a united effort to take immediate, decisive, and vigorous action to assure the protection in the United Nations of the rights of the Republic of China. Any other course of action or lack of action would be an inexcusable failure for the United States and a frustration of our own best interests.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to join with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SIXES) and other colleagues in taking time on the floor of the House to reemphasize those things which need to be said, time and time again, about the effort to realign the membership of the United Nations in favor of Red China. I commend all who take part in this special order as a means of wielding some influence on decisions yet to be made on the reshaping of U.N. history.

All of us recognize that the present meeting of the U.N. General Assembly will be one of the most fateful in that history. There are many questions to be decided which will determine the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of international cooperation. Paramount among these questions is the seating of Communist China and how this will affect the membership of one of the respected charter members of the organization—the Republic of China.

They say we must face facts and bow to the realism of the moment. They say the handwriting is on the wall—Red China has the votes to be admitted to the United Nations this year, just as it did last year. The only question is, will its admission cause the expulsion of Nationalist China?

I stand steadfastly with those who maintain that the Republic of China must not be excluded, even if it means that the some 800 million people on the mainland of China never have representation in the United Nations. This is why I have joined with 21 Senators and 33 House Members of both parties in the issuance of the statement declaring that if the Republic of China were to be expelled from the United Nations, we would feel compelled to recommend a complete reassessment of U.S. financial and moral support of the U.N.

That is also why I accepted the invitation this week from William L. White, publisher of the Emporia, Kans., Gazette and Prof. Frank Trager of New York, cochairmen of the organizing committee, to join and serve on the "Committee to Keep the Republic of China in the United Nations."

The message of the mailgram extending the invitation sums up the purpose and need for such a committee. It bears repeating here:

Invite you join group of prominent Americans serve on the "Committee to Keep Republic of China in the United Nations". Activities limited strictly to purposes stated in Committee's title. Committee takes no position on other questions concerning American-Chinese relations. In March President Nixon stated Republic of China should not be expelled from United Nations. On July 15 he guaranteed this projected mainland China trip would not involve actions "at expense of old friends". Secretary Rogers August 2nd reaffirmed U.S. would oppose any action expel Republic of China from world body. This week 22 Senators and 33 Congressmen expressed support this position. For quarter century Republic of China has faithfully observed letter and spirit of U.N. Charter. America cannot now renege on solemn pledge backed by treaty obligation.

Mr. Speaker, I was honored to wire my acceptance. I do not know who else is serving on the committee, but I join with them in seeing that the United States keeps its word and that we do not try to circumvent the letter of the U.N. Charter in seeking to accommodate a new member.

I am aware of the "Two China" policy which has been formulated to handle this delicate situation. Ambassador George Bush prefers to call it a "dual representation" policy because it accommodates two existing realities. As he points out, no one at this point knows whether it will be acceptable to either of the Chinas, or whether it will be approved. Ambassador Bush sees a reasonably good chance for success, but he admits the vote will be close.

He puts the issue in perspective when he observes:

There are people in this country who don't want to see Peking represented at all and who want to see the Republic of China as the sole representative of the people of China. What they must face up to is the fact that last year a majority of the nations voted to seat Peking and throw the Republic of China out. That was prevented by procedural maneuvering on our part—maneuvering that would unquestionably fail this year.

I respect this assessment; I am sure it is realistic, but I think that all concerned should be put on notice that should Nationalist China be expelled from the United Nations, because of any realignment, then there should definitely be a reassessment of our own role in the United Nations, especially of the money we contribute and the moral support we give.

It seems to me the renowned China expert, Walter Judd, a former member of this body, poses the proper question when he asks:

Would the American people continue to support the United Nations if it were illegal to expel one of its founding and law-abiding members in order to seat a regime whose words and actions prove it an international outlaw, a regime which cannot possibly be claimed to represent the Chinese people and their interests? To admit Peking's rulers into the UN and thereby strengthen their stranglehold on the Chinese people could only prevent the constructive participation of those 750,000,000 Chinese in the world community and its search for peace.

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, my immediate reaction to President Nixon's announcement of his planned visit to Peking was a favorable one. While I find the principles and practices of the Mao regime to be totally repugnant to those of freedom-loving people everywhere, I believe that little harm and much good can come from opening a door of communication to this enigmatic, potentially dangerous power.

I still support President Nixon's efforts to enter into an era of negotiation, and I believe he meant his public pledge not to sell out our friends, notably the Republic of China, in the process. But lately there have come disquieting rumblings from high places that cast some doubt on how firmly we intend to stand by our friends on Taiwan, especially as regards the Nationalist seat in the United Nations.

Strong indications are that Red China is not all that anxious to join the U.N. anyway. They appear to be much more interested in the expulsion of the Chinese Nationalists. This was never more clearly shown than in yesterday's unequivocal statement by the Albanian delegation, long considered to be the U.N. voice of Chairman Mao.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is time for a reordering of priorities in our foreign policy. While it is important that we do all that we can responsibly do to better relations with our enemies, we need to give far greater emphasis to our determination to stand by our proven friends. Never should we betray our allies in the vain hope that our enemies will somehow think better of us.

If we make it a practice to sell out our friends to appease our enemies, we are soon going to find ourselves friendless,

probably with our enemies' hostility unremitted.

I still support the President's initiatives toward better relations with Red China. I think that it would not really hurt anything to allow Mao's regime a seat in the United Nations; it could even improve the prospects for world peace. But if the price of Red China's admission is the expulsion of a good and faithful ally, then the U.S. delegation should

take every available measure to stop this treacherous proceeding. If the members of the United Nations decide to dump Taiwan, we should make matters much simpler by giving Peking our seat. Let them pay the bills for a change.

Mr. Speaker, just as I was pondering what to say today about the need to stand by our friends on Taiwan, a most excellent editorial column by nationally syndicated Columnist Holmes Alexander was brought to my attention. The article appears in the Valparaiso, Ind., Vidette-Messenger of October 2 and deserves the attention of every Member of this body. I insert Mr. Alexander's article at this point in the RECORD:

NATIONAL SCENE

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—To Hon. Charles Yost, United Nations, New York (Please Forward):

Hey, Charlie, cut it out. I read an article under your name that could have been titled, "Perfidious America," or "How To Paint A Black Lie White." We've known one another since college days, and I have never before found you to be devious—not until that piece you wrote on our relations with the two Chinas.

Why, last winter I turned President Nixon's picture to the wall for a couple of days after he fired you from your job at the UN and replaced you by a lame duck Congressman, George Bush, who'd just been beaten in his race for the Texas Senate seat.

HAS SECOND THOUGHTS

But now I've had second thoughts about those regrets. George couldn't possibly know as much about international matters as you do, but I would rather have the United States represented by the Village Blacksmith if that's what it takes to keep America honest even in a den of thieves like the UN.

We wouldn't be playing fair and square if we followed the advice given in your article. You say that we should "devoutly hope" that the United States gets beaten on its policy for two Chinas, or what is now called dual representation.

Not only are you pulling against us, but you're telling Bush, Secretary of State Rogers and President Nixon to play it crooked and to throw the game.

WANT US TO REFRAIN

You want us to refrain from lobbying for our policy, and to go into the smoke-filled room with representatives of other nations and scheme to defeat the policy which we profess to favor. You want us to be the covert patron of Red China, and the smiling betrayer of Nationalist China, an unoffending friend and ally.

If your machinations worked out, to use your own words: "Peking would be seated in the Security Council and the General Assembly and the Nationalist Chinese would consequently lose their seats."

I ask you—is that cricket? Is it even smart politics? When the Republic of China was made one of the original five members of the Security Council, it was a big country and a major power.

LOSES ALL BUT ONE

It's true that Nationalist China has lost all but one province of what was a vast domain, but if that's a good reason for betrayal, when do we begin to sell out Great Britain which has lost the front part of that name along with a whole empire since the Security Council was formed?

France, another charter member, has lost all its holdings in Indochina and North Africa. When do we say, "Lafayette, here's your hat. What's your hurry?"

People who know about such things in Washington tell me that the smaller countries at the UN will refuse to go along with any skull-duggery that would result in the total ousting of the government on Formosa.

WHO IS NEXT?

The question in the minds of insecure countries would be, "Who's next?" The socialist nations of north Europe would be tempted to gang up on the dictatorships of Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Some President, following your proposal, might decide to give Israel's seat to a future People's Republic of Palestine.

There isn't any real good time to plunge the dagger in a friendly back, but right now is about the worst time. Our troops are shaming us in Europe, and we hardly have any face to save in Asia.

A SIZABLE HINT

There's a sizable hint, which very much resembles a threat, in the section of your article where you imply that if Red China doesn't get what it wants in October, the invitation for the President to pay his later visit may be withdrawn.

It seems to me, Charlie, that we already have reason to lament that we ever opened any dealings with Red China.

Here's an enemy nation which now has the opportunity of humiliating our President and of reducing his chance of re-election. Some days it just doesn't pay to play Ping Pong.

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, now that I have read a legal memorandum prepared by the State Department regarding the question of admitting Red China to the United Nations, I can understand why we have taken the turn we have in our foreign policy with regard to this question. I would expect nothing more from the State Department. However, I would have hoped that President Nixon, as President Johnson before him, would have stopped listening to the "America last" bunch at State. It is indeed a pity that the President did not fulfill his campaign promise to the American people and clean house at State as he said he would do.

The one legal weapon the United States has in refusing to admit Red China to the U.N. and at the same time refusing to allow Nationalist China to be expelled, is the power to exercise the veto in the Security Council. Unfortunately, the State Department has decided in advance to admit Red China and has prepared a memorandum to "legally" justify that position, veto power notwithstanding.

Well, I can tell you one thing. I, for one, am getting pretty sick and tired of the "America last" group in the State Department, and pretty sick and tired of the United Nations as a whole. It is past time that we here in the Congress began thinking about decreasing our support—financially and otherwise—to the United Nations. Why should the American people continue to carry the financial burden of an organization that consistently

works against those things which are in the interests of the United States; and particularly at a time when we are having our own economic problems. President Nixon has suggested cutting back on Federal spending. I agree, a good place to start would be the United Nations.

To admit Red China to the U.N. when the U.N. Charter itself precludes admitting any nation other than a "peace loving" nation, would make even more of a mockery of the U.N. than it is already.

Now, I see in this morning's Washington Post where the U.N. has agreed to allow a known Soviet agent, "a veteran officer of the Soviet Secret Police—KGB"—to serve on for 2 more years in his ostensible capacity as a director of external relations for the U.N. office of public information. Is that not a joke? He is in the public information business alright. Stealing classified information from the U.S. Government. This same article mentions that American security experts have said that one of this Soviet agent's key assignments "was to cultivate American scientists." And we wonder why the Soviets are on the verge of passing us in scientific technology? Well, I think there is one thing we can say about the United Nations. And that is it is a good place to harbor anti-American spies.

I insert in the RECORD at this point the above-mentioned State Department memorandum and the article from the Washington Post for today, October 6, 1971:

MEMORANDUM

A question has been raised as to the legal basis for seating the People's Republic of China in the UN Security Council as one of the five permanent members of the Council.

It should be noted that the question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the UN does not involve the question of admission of a new member to the UN. China is already a member, and the question to be resolved is "How shall China be represented?" The proposal that both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China be represented in the General Assembly, with the People's Republic of China seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, would accord fully with existing realities and the objective of permitting all of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to be effectively represented in the UN.

Since the General Assembly represents all the membership of the UN and is the UN's only completely representative body, it is entitled to state its opinion to the Security Council on the question of the Chinese seat in the Council. Indeed, some twenty years ago, in 1950, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 398 (V) which states that "in virtue of its composition" the General Assembly should consider questions concerning competing governmental claims of this character. While, under the Charter, the Security Council must of course finally determine questions concerning its composition and operations, it is perfectly clear that the members of the Security Council would pay the most serious attention to a General Assembly expression of opinion. Amendment of Article 23 of the Charter would not be required in order to seat the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Council, since the right of representation of the PRC in the Security Council would be derivative from the status of the ROC as an original member of the U.N. dating from the entry into force of the U.N. Charter pursuant to Article 110 (para 3) of the Charter.

U.N. EXTENDS CONTRACT OF RUSSIAN CALLED SPY

UNITED NATIONS, October 5.—The United Nations extended for two years today the contract of a Russian working as a U.N. information official who was named in a news report as "a veteran officer" of the Soviet secret police (KGB).

A U.N. spokesman said the Soviet mission had agreed to a request to allow the official, Vladimir P. Pavlichenko, to serve two more years as director of external relations for the U.N. office of public information.

The New York Times said Sunday that Pavlichenko was identified by "American security experts" as a KGB agent and that one of his "key assignments" was to "cultivate American scientists."

Pavlichenko denied the report last night, terming it "slanderous and false."

The U.N. spokesman said Secretary General U Thant had received "no official information from the U.S. government on the subject" and that Thant was not going to "dignify an unsubstantiated report of this kind" by making an inquiry.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations George Bush told newsmen that "at this point . . . I must say nothing on that subject."

However, American and U.N. officials said privately they believed Pavlichenko would soon develop a "diplomatic illness" and leave the United Nations.

Mr. BEVILL, Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot of discussion within recent weeks over the possible admission of Communist China to the United Nations and the expulsion of Taiwan. I would like to take this time to say that I am strongly and unalterably opposed to the expulsion of the Republic of China—Taiwan—from the United Nations.

When the President first announced his intention to visit Communist China, I made the statement that in my opinion this trip, which has many obvious dangers, could be very instrumental in bringing about peace in Southeast Asia. I still hold to this opinion. However, I have some serious reservations over the possible admission of Red China to the United Nations, especially if it means that Taiwan will lose her seat.

We must, of course, eventually have dialog with Red China. But I strongly oppose rushing to accept Red China as a friend and at the same time repudiate our friends on Taiwan who have stood with us through the years in our fight against Communist domination of Southeast Asia.

It is probable that Red China is headed for eventual membership in the United Nations regardless of the position we take. But I plan to do everything within my power to see that Taiwan retains her seat in the United Nations.

I do not believe Communist China will suddenly change her revolutionary tactics simply because there is a change in her relationship with the United States.

We must not forget that Communist China poses a threat to the entire world with its continued development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and its announced goal of subverting the world to Maoist Marxism-Leninism by every means at its command.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SIKES) and commend him for ar-

ranging this special order in order that we may have this opportunity to discuss a most important issue: the China question.

The issues which have been raised with respect to the representation of China in the United Nations go to the very core of the integrity and world standing of that organization.

If the United Nations, in order to accommodate itself to what some people describe as "the reality of the world situation," should turn its back on the Government which has represented the Chinese people in that organization for the past quarter of a century, then the United Nations shall suffer the consequences of its own lack of principle.

I hope that the United Nations will not be a party to any such action. Certainly the United States should not, must not be a party to any such action.

What puzzles and concerns me, therefore, is the course of action which President Nixon's administration has proposed with respect to the issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations.

In a document purporting to explain "the legal basis for seating the People's Republic of China in the U.N. Security Council as one of the five permanent members of the Council," the administration has argued that "existing realities and the objective of permitting all of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to be effectively represented in the U.N." dictates this course.

In short, the administration's position maintains that China should be represented in the United Nations by two governments—just the way the Soviet Union is represented by three delegations and three votes: the Soviet, the Byelorussian, and the Ukrainian.

I am not opposed to the membership of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, but I would hope that such admission could be accomplished within the framework of article 4 of the U.N. Charter which provides that membership in that organization is open—

To all . . . peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the . . . Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out those obligations.

Whenever the People's Republic of China is willing to abide by the provisions of the charter, the doors of the United Nations should be open to her.

I am, however, concerned about the administration's suggestion that the Republic of China should be kicked out of the Security Council and that the permanent seat, and veto power, in that body should be given to the People's Republic of China.

Article 23 of the U.N. Charter provides specifically that the "Republic of China" shall be a permanent member of the Security Council. How can that provision be changed without amending the Charter—and without the concurrence of the Republic of China?

The administration's "legal" position is that—

The right of representation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council would be derivative from the status of the Republic of China as an original member of the U.N. . . .

This kind of a "derivative right" would be in order if the Republic of China did not exist. But it does exist—from the very existence of the U.N. Republic of China was a contributing member, always in good standing. Further, in the administration's view, not only exists but is entitled to represent "China," at least a part of it in the General Assembly.

It seems to me that the administration is doing its best to stretch the U.N. Charter—and to stretch it beyond reasonable limits—in order to make it fit what it calls the existing realities.

There is one other thing that concerns me about the way in which this entire issue has been approached by our Government in recent months.

In addressing the issue of the Chinese representation in the United Nations, the United States has filed two resolutions in the U.N. General Assembly.

The one resolution embodies the "two Chinas" concept.

The other one proposes that the General Assembly decide that—

Any proposal . . . which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an Important Question under Article 18 of the Charter.

All important questions must be settled by two-thirds vote in the General Assembly.

On the surface, this U.S. proposal seems reasonable and solid—except for two things:

First, the Charter already provides, in article 18, that "the admission of new members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of members," and certain other issues are "important questions" which require a two-thirds vote.

Surely the expulsion of the Republic of China from its permanent seat in the Security Council is already covered by article 18 and should not require a separate action by the General Assembly to make it so.

But there is a second aspect to this matter: The "important question" resolution filed by the United States can be defeated in the General Assembly by a majority vote—not a two-thirds vote called for in the Charter for settling "important questions."

This would seem to mean that the United States is in effect proposing to amend the requirements of the U.N. Charter by a simple majority vote in the General Assembly—an action which would have to be considered most extraordinary, to say the least.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that there is room in the U.N. Charter for the accommodation of conflicting claims, and for a reasonable solution of perplexing and complex problems. But in my view, such solutions should have some foundation in justice and equity—or else the United Nations will find itself going down the road of the defunct League of Nations.

In a report which Congressman JAMES FULTON of Pennsylvania and I submitted to the Congress after our services as members of the U.S. delegation to the 14th General Assembly of the United Nations, we wrote:

We are deeply concerned lest, in the resort to expediency, a race may be set off in the United Nations to settle issues on the basis of strength and of a number of votes, not on the basis of right or wrong. We must determine to face issues squarely. We must also actively discourage the apparent willingness of some nations to allow a wrong to be swept under the rug. Unless we do this, (i.e. the positions on the basis of right or wrong) the latter attitude can spread with disastrous consequences for the future of the United Nations. On our part, we believe that under certain circumstances, the U.S. representation in the United Nations must have the courage to fail for principle—or else we may ultimately fail because of lack of principles. What we said in 1959 still applies today.

I earnestly hope, therefore, that when the hour of hard decision arrives, that our Government will do not only what needs to be done but also, and more importantly, what ought to be done.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding my remarks I place in the Record the full text of the memorandum from which I quoted, relating to the so-called "legal basis" of the current U.S. position on the China representation issue:

MEMORANDUM

A question has been raised as to the legal basis for seating the People's Republic of China in the UN Security Council as one of the five permanent members of the Council.

It should be noted that the question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the UN does not involve the question of admission of a new member to the UN. China is already a member, and the question to be resolved is "How shall China be represented?" The proposal that both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China be represented in the General Assembly, with the People's Republic of China seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, would accord fully with existing realities and the objective of permitting all of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to be effectively represented in the UN.

Since the General Assembly represents all the membership of the UN and is the UN's only completely representative body, it is entitled to state its opinion to the Security Council on the question of the Chinese seat in the Council. Indeed, some twenty years ago, in 1950, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 396 (V) which states that "in virtue of its composition" the General Assembly should consider questions concerning competing governmental claims of this character. While, under the Charter, the Security Council must of course finally determine questions concerning its composition and operations, it is perfectly clear that the members of the Security Council would pay the most serious attention to a General Assembly expression of opinion. Amendment of Article 23 of the Charter would not be required in order to seat the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Council, since the right of rep-

resentation of the PRC in the Security Council would be derivative from the status of the ROC as an original member of the U.N. dating from the entry into force of the U.N. Charter pursuant to Article 110 (para 3) of the Charter.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, within a month the United Nations is to decide on the admission of Red China. Within a month a resolution in the United Nations is to be considered which would expel the Republic of China from the Security Council and from the United Nations.

If the latter should occur, such an action would in my judgment mark the beginning of the end of the United Nations as a peacekeeping international establishment.

These developments and the actions that are taken must be of grave concern to all Americans who think of the United Nations as a place where nations are supposed to be engaged in the business of promoting peace and not in warmaking. On that score Red China simply does not qualify. Admitting the Peking regime would be like adding a known outlaw to a police board to maintain order in a community.

Above everything, the Republic of China must not be expelled from the Security Council. Its place there is secure from a legal and moral standpoint. It was placed there when the United Nations was established, as a spokesman for the people who live in Formosa and those who live on the Chinese mainland. That status and that responsibility has not changed. Its status was established then, and nothing has occurred since that time to change that status.

If it comes to that, the United States should and must exercise its veto power in that council, should that become necessary. It can assert that authority if it chooses, notwithstanding some legalistic gyrations indulged by some. If the United States is to remain a member of the U.N. it is high time, and it is imperative, that we assert ourselves there firmly and forthrightly, and not equivocate over legalistic theories.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, if our veto authority in the Security Council should be challenged, and if by some fortuitous ruse or accommodation that challenge is sustained, then we should immediately withdraw from the United Nations.

Moreover, the time is overdue for the Congress to reexamine the amount of our contribution to the U.N. budget, and this fact is accentuated by the developments about which I have spoken. Indeed we must make crystal clear that we will take appropriate steps through the appropriation process to immediately reduce our commitment and henceforth have it relate to our population and the size of our national debt—as compared percentagewise with the public debt of other member nations.

Mr. Speaker, the issue of treatment accorded our proven friend—and the friend and defender of peace and freedom, the Republic of China—is of transcendent importance. On this issue the United States must not equivocate or compromise. Regardless of whether the Peking regime is admitted or not admitted, we must insist, and indeed demand, that the Republic of China retain its rightful seat in the U.N. and in the Security Council.

I am convinced the vast majority of Americans subscribe to what I have said. It is the duty of the Congress, and it is the duty of all who represent our Government, to confirm our policies and conform our actions with the composite will of the American people.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, there is much discussion today about the Albanian resolution which is before the United Nations, proposing to expel the

Nationalist Chinese from that body and replace them with the Communist Chinese Government of Mao Tse-tung.

Few of those who have entered into a discussion of this question have done so with any evident awareness of what the Charter of the United Nations has to say with regard to the question of expelling a member.

Section 2 of article 18 states quite clearly that—

Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: . . . the expulsion of members.

According to the charter itself the expulsion of any member is an important question requiring a two-thirds majority vote. Yet, we hear that the General Assembly is being asked to decide whether or not the expulsion of Nationalist China is an important question. Those concerned with maintaining the integrity of the United Nations Charter should read section 2 of article 18 with some care.

In a recent statement published in the Washington Post for October 1, Jen-Chao Hsieh, convenor of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan of the Republic of China, notes that—

Without a recommendation of the Security Council, the General Assembly has absolutely no right to debate or to vote on any resolution to expel any member. As a matter of fact the Republic of China is a founding member. Article 6 of the charter states: "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 first thing to do is to prove that the Republic of China . . . has "persistently violated the principles of the present charter."

It is not the Republic of China which has violated the Charter. The Communist government of Mao Tse-tung, however, has been declared an aggressor in Korea by the United Nations itself. The Peking Government has launched an attack upon India, and has committed genocide in Tibet. It has eliminated religious freedom and barred exit and entry from the country. By doing these things it is in clear violation of the U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights.

To admit Communist China and expel Nationalist China would be making a mockery of the United Nations Charter and, accordingly, of the United Nations itself.

Beyond this, the Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council. This is a right that cannot be taken away except by an amendment to the Charter. Those who seek to bypass the Security Council and to declare that the expulsion of a Member of the United Nations is not "an important" question are clearly violating the very rule of law which the United Nations is pledge to uphold.

I share Mr. Jen-Chao Hsieh's statement with my colleagues, and insert it in the RECORD at this time:

TAIWAN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Concerning the China debate in the United Nations there seems a great deal of con-

fusion which should be clarified. They have all forgotten the U.N. Charter—the "constitution" of this world body. Any resolution violating the charter is "unconstitutional"; anything unconstitutional cannot be debated, if debated, cannot be voted, and if voted, it is legally invalid.

(1) Without a recommendation of the Security Council, the General Assembly absolutely has no right to debate or to vote on any resolution to expel any member. As a matter of fact, the Republic of China is a founding member. Article 6 of the charter states: "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." First thing to do is to prove the Republic of China, a founding member, has "persistently violated the present charter." Second step, the Security Council—only the Security Council—considers this resolution. Then, a recommendation is made by the Security Council to the General Assembly. Now the so-called Albania resolution and even the American resolution are debated in the General Assembly without any recommendation whatsoever from the Security Council. Evidently the debate itself is "unconstitutional."

(2) Any resolution to expel a member must "be a two-thirds majority of the members." The General Assembly has no right to vote whether "a two-thirds majority" is required or not to expel a member. If a vote is made by the General Assembly, the vote itself is "unconstitutional."

Please read Section 2 of Article 18: "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: . . . the expulsion of members . . ." "The expulsion of any member" is always an "important question" and naturally it is entirely not necessary for the General Assembly to consider whether it is an important question. A resolution to consider it is legally "unconstitutional" in violating the charter.

The so-called Albania resolution proposing to expel a member is evidently governed by Section 2 of Article 18; and a two-thirds majority is always required. This requirement is stated in Section 2; it is not a category under Section 3 for a majority of the members to decide whether a two-thirds majority is required or not.

(3) The Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council—an inalienable right that cannot be taken away by any means without an "amendment" to the charter. The Article 23 states: "The Republic of China . . . shall be a permanent member(s) of the Security Council." Any resolution of the General Assembly to take away this constitutional right of the Republic of China or even thinking of such a thing is clearly "unconstitutional."

I shall be grateful to you if you would kindly print this letter of mine sent to you directly from the Legislative Yuan (Congress) of the Republic of China.

JEN-CHAO HSIEH,

*Convener, Foreign Relations Committee,
Legislative Yuan, Republic of China,
TAIPEI.*

Recently, a paper has come into my possession which is purported to be a position paper prepared by the State Department. This paper totally rejects the position advanced by Mr. Jen-Chao Hsieh. It argues, instead, that the "question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. does not involve the question of admission of a new member to the U.N." This paper goes on to state that—

China is already a member, and the question to be resolved is: "How shall China be represented?"

It is rather unusual for our own Government to advance a position which serves the interests of Communist China, eliminates the interest of the Republic of China, to whom we have both moral and legal obligations, and, most importantly, violates both the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

I share this surprising document with my colleagues:

TEXT PREPARED BY STATE DEPARTMENT

A question has been raised as to the legal basis for seating the People's Republic of China in the UN Security Council as one of the five permanent members of the Council.

It should be noted that the question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the UN does not involve the question of admission of a new member to the UN. China is already a member, and the question to be resolved is "How shall China be represented?" The proposal that both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China be represented in the General Assembly, with the People's Republic of China seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, would accord fully with existing realities and the objective of permitting all of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to be effectively represented in the UN.

Since the General Assembly represents all the membership of the UN and is the UN's only completely representative body, it is entitled to state its opinion to the Security Council on the question of the Chinese seat in the Council. Indeed, some twenty years ago, in 1950, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 396 (V) which states that "in virtue of its composition" the General Assembly should consider questions concerning competing governmental claims of this character. While, under the Charter, the Security Council must of course finally determine questions concerning its composition and operations, it is perfectly clear that the members of the Security Council would pay the most serious attention to a General Assembly expression of opinion. Amendment of Article 23 of the Charter would not be required in order to seat the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the Council, since the right of representation of the PRC in the Security Council would be derivative from the status of the ROC as an original member of the U.N. dating from the entry into force of the U.N. Charter pursuant to Article 110 (para 3) of the Charter.

Our own Government, for many years, has taken an unusual position with regard to the United Nations. While we have paid a preponderant portion of the U.N.'s bills, we have had only a single vote—which is just and proper according to the Charter. Yet, we have not objected to the fact that the Soviet Union has three votes—including three of its states—the Ukraine, Georgia, and Byelorussia—as independent members. Thus, each time a vote is taken the Soviet Union outvotes us 3 to 1, for no other reason than that we have permitted such an unfair and illegal position to exist.

Given the fact that there is precedence for a single country having more than one vote, it is difficult to understand how the United Nations Communist members can argue that such a situation could not exist for Communist China and the Republic of China. To argue that Nationalist China should be removed from the

United Nations while Peking is to be admitted and to have such a motion voted upon by such alleged "independent" states as the Ukraine, Georgia, and Byelorussia, makes a mockery of that organization.

The facts of life in today's world are that many nations are divided. East and West Germany, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam, provide examples of such an unfortunate division. China is also divided, and for the United Nations to expel that portion which has lived up to its obligations under the Charter and which is specifically named as a permanent member of the Security Council and to replace it with that portion that has been condemned by the United Nations as an outlaw, hardly makes sense. It is, of course, a raw show of power. What makes it even more regrettable is that our own country seems to be assisting rather than resisting this rejection of the Republic of China.

Both we and the United Nations have an obligation to the Government of Nationalist China. If we abandon it, our commitments to other nations will hardly be credible, and the United Nations' alleged dedication to rule by law will be shown to be no more than a sham. These are the real choices before us, and it is to be hoped that we will grasp the nature of these choices before it is too late.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, for the United Nations to even consider the expulsion of the Republic of China from its membership is, to my mind, unthinkable.

The Government on Taiwan is a charter member of that body and has, without question, lived up to the principles prescribed by the United Nations. Notwithstanding this and the fact that Communist China has participated in a war with the United Nations forces—a war not even today ended by treaty—there are those who would expel the Republic of China, because that is the price demanded by Communist China for its participation in the U.N.

I am dismayed and outraged that such a step should even be considered by the United Nations. Such action would constitute an immoral and illegal violation of all the principles upon which the United Nations was founded.

Taiwan has been a model for the developing nations, reflecting a broadly shared economic progress within a framework of individual freedom unheard of in the repressive society of Communist China.

In every way except in control of territory and people, Taiwan is the true China. If the Republic of China falls, the hope of all the Chinese people falls with it.

In vivid contrast to the poverty and repression which mark the mainland of China, Taiwan has blossomed like a rose. Its impressively successful land reform program and its growing industry have made it an outstanding example for the developing world. Indeed, Free China has joined the United States and others as an aid-giving country to developing nations and its technical assistance in agriculture is a particularly impressive story in Africa.

The Republic of China is a moving force for peace and development in an organization which was created to promote world peace.

How can the fact that it controls less territory and population than its communist counterpart justify the expulsion of a government which clearly and directly represents more people than do 90 other governments holding seats in the U.N. General Assembly and which claims the support of many other Chinese people living under the heel of a repressive government on the mainland?

In the U.N. does all power come from the barrel of a gun? Is that organization willing to deny representation to millions of Chinese in order to appease a Communist government, because it controls more millions of Chinese?

If so, the United Nations has become a whited sepulchre filled with dead men's bones, and all its lofty statements of principles are reduced to "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Mr. Speaker, should the Republic of China be expelled from the United Nations, I for one, will not vote one penny in further support for an organization which would so abandon its principles and so unjustly and despicably abuse one of its charter members.

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the chance to participate in this special order. There is very little question in my mind, and indeed there should be little question in the mind of any reasonable man—whether friend or enemy of the United Nations, that the expulsion of Nationalist China from that body would be the final proof that it is unwilling even to attempt to achieve the goals which are set forth in its charter. Expelling a nation which has lived up to the charter and made every effort to contribute to the peace and security of the world, and accepting in place of such a nation a group of international outlaws who have been rightly branded as an aggressor by the United Nations itself, is to encourage aggression at the expense of peace-loving nations.

The United States should not contribute one nickel to an organization which encourages and promotes aggression.

However, there is another question which has not been adequately addressed in the general discussion surrounding the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. Why acquiesce in the admission of Red China to the United Nations in any case? By focusing on simply retaining membership in the United Nations for Nationalist China we are sidestepping a most important question. Many say that Red China's admission is inevitable and, therefore, we should ignore this question.

The myth of inevitability is one of the most important weapons of the world Communist movement. It is designed both to motivate the followers of this doctrine of class hate and continuing war and to demoralize the opposition. Its demoralizing effect is based on the sound premise that few people will determinedly resist something that they feel is bound to come to pass no matter what they do. It is designed to introduce a sense of fatalistic resignation in the op-

position and provide a "reasonable" explanation for failing to fight what we know to be undeniable evils. Although few Americans accept the absurd Marxist myth of mysterious material productive forces determining the course of history with "the inevitability of a law of nature," it is unquestionably true that a myth gathers its strength not from being true or false, but from being believed, and that there are many ways other than doctrinal dissertations on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to produce the sapping of enemy strength which comes with acceptance of the notion of inevitability.

A good example of this myth, which is sometimes referred to as the self-fulfilling prophecy, can be seen in a book written in the 1930's by pro-Mao Tse-tung writer Edgar Snow. In his book, "Red Star Over China," the inevitable conquest of China by the Chinese Communists is the major theme. Now the fact that the Communists did in fact succeed in conquering China, and have destroyed from 34 to 60 million of the Chinese people, is less a proof of the foresight of Mr. Snow, and others like him, than of their own efforts to destroy the resistance to this conquest. The prophecy was fulfilled because, among other things, many influential individuals were induced to accept it. Mr. Snow and the others did not once refer to the influence of the material productive forces as the causal factor but used arguments to which the non-Communist Western mind was more receptive; that is, Mao Tse-tung was an agrarian reformer who had the overwhelming support of the Chinese people while Chiang Kai-shek was a corrupt tyrant.

While the situation we face today is not identical, as no historical situation can be, the myth of inevitability has again raised its hydra head. The administration has in truth brought about a situation in which it seems unlikely that Red China will be denied entry to the U.N. When the administration uses the inevitability argument to rationalize its abandonment of a longtime policy and a longtime ally, we ought to remember that the administration has been pursuing a policy toward Red China which had to bring about exactly this state of affairs. The administration has been making various moves to "normalize relations" with the Chinese Communists since the outset of Mr. Nixon's term. This has all been documented by the President himself in his two state of the world messages.

However, there is one point not generally known which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. On April 15, 1971, the date when the President announced the easing of certain trade restrictions which had applied to Red China for 20 years, Mr. Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times made an interesting statement over BBC Radio. Mr. Salisbury claimed that the President had told him of his intention to "normalize relations" with Red China prior to his election and went on to state that—

In quiet, persistent and very intelligent ways, he and the State Department have steadily moved in this direction ever since.

If Mr. Salisbury is telling the truth it is unfortunate that the President did not see fit to announce to the voters that he was going to "normalize relations" with Red China prior to this election. It was obviously an important issue of which the voters should have been made aware in order to intelligently assess the merits of the various candidates. It will be an issue in the upcoming election and it is important that the voters understand that the possible admission of Red China to the United Nations, and the possible expulsion of Nationalist China from that body, was brought to pass by the conscious action of the administration. Although the administration may put up a fight over the expulsion it possibly can be laid at the door of the policy actively pursued by our current President.

Mr. Nixon knows, as well as everyone else, that foreign policy decisions do not take place in a vacuum but in the real world where appeasement is taken as a sign of weakness and other nations make their plans not according to the professed desires of the American leaders, but according to their own national interests as they understand them. The flood of support for the admission of Red China to the United Nations and the expulsion of Nationalist China has manifested itself, because the administration began tearing down the dikes of free world solidarity.

The admission of Red China to the United Nations is not inevitable. Since Red China has not been admitted to the United Nations at this point there is still the possibility that it will not be. The administration could reverse its position and the course it has been following for the last several years and take a strong stand against admission. A strong stand consists of reminding all the members of the U.N. that we foot one-third of the bill for that organization and it is not inevitable that we continue to do so. There is nothing in the Constitution demanding that our taxpayers support a body which has shown itself not only incapable of preserving the peace but has actually served as an instrument of aggression. The case of Katanga immediately comes to mind.

Whether or not the administration takes such a stand, Congress can do so on its own. Many Members of Congress see no merit whatsoever in the admission of Red China to the United Nations, whether Free China retains its membership or not. The attitude and past action of the Chinese Communist leaders should be well known to all of us. They are ardent followers of the Leninist cult which has been accurately described as "the dogmatic worship of a self-righteous idol derived from logical absurdity and deceit and maintained through power fanaticism and blood." The men in charge of the Chinese Communist Party are some of the worst butchers of our time. The following table showing the death which can be definitely attributed to these fanatics appeared in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee report entitled, "The Human Cost of Communism in China":

CASUALTIES TO COMMUNISM IN CHINA

	Range of Estimates	
1. 1st Civil War (1927-36).....	250,000	500,000
2. Fighting during Sino-Japanese War (1937-45).....	50,000	50,000
3. 2d Civil War (1945-49).....	1,250,000	1,250,000
4. Land reform prior to "Liberation".....	500,000	1,000,000
5. Political liquidation campaigns (1949-58).....	15,000,000	30,000,000
6. Korean war.....	500,000	1,234,000
7. The "Great Leap Forward" and the communes.....	1,000,000	2,000,000
8. Struggles with minority nationalities, including Tibet.....	500,000	1,000,000
9. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and its aftermath.....	250,000	500,000
10. Deaths in forced labor camps and frontier development.....	15,000,000	25,000,000
Total.....	34,300,000	63,784,000

Please note that 90 percent of the killings took place after Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and their apostles came to power.

If the United Nations admits these people to membership, the Congress of the United States must take it upon itself to reassert congressional prerogative and move to stop all funding of the United Nations. There is no other sensible course to follow. To those who say this is unrealistic, I say that we are the ones who have the power to decide whether the U.N. continues to get U.S. funds. For those who say that the admission of Red China is inevitable I say if the United Nations is so devoid of justice, reason, morality, and sound purpose as to bring the Red Chinese in, thus helping to seal forever the fate of over 750 million people then it is time the Congress return from myths to commonsense and end our participation in the United Nations. If tyrants and their friends want to hold a continuing dialog that is their business. There is no reason for the American taxpayer to help pay for these discussions, and that is our business.

III. News Clippings

A. Wooing China: con and pro

Wooing China: con and pro

By Roscoe Drummond


 Point
of
view
Washington

There are earnest and honest people who believe it would be immoral and unwise for the United States to help put mainland China in the United Nations.

The purpose of this column is to explain why some still hold this view, and why President Nixon is reversing long-standing American policy by trying to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China.

Past record

Most critics of the move to seat People's China at the UN would argue that this step will provide Peking with a forum which its past record suggests it might well use destructively. They have in mind these circumstances:

The Chinese Communists gave the Chinese people no more opportunity to decide whether they wanted Communist rule than did Lenin or Castro. Mao Tse-tung has often said that power comes from the "barrel of a gun" — and he has practiced what he preached.

The Mao government was formally found by the UN to be an aggressor in the Korean war. Peking has stated, on different occasions, that it would not join the UN until this resolution was repealed and replaced by another resolution citing the U.S. as the aggressor.

The Chinese Army invaded Tibet, liquidated its independence, and seized by force many thousands of square miles of Indian territory after Chou En-lai had assured Prime Minister Nehru that Peking "had no territorial dispute" with India.

China has provided much of the arms to help North Vietnam in its effort to conquer South Vietnam by force.

Not a force for peace

This record suggests that Communist China may not likely be a force for peace in the UN or elsewhere.

But President Nixon has concluded that these arguments are outdated by events. In a recent issue of Far Eastern Economic Review, published in Hong Kong, its Washington correspondent reported:

"It is almost dizzying to reflect how far Nixon and his fellow Americans have come since the days when any Chinese gesture would have met with insult and an automatic rebuff. It is only 12 years since Republican leaders paid regular dues to the 'China lobby' and talked about 'unleashing' Chiang Kai-shek."

But American hostility to Communist China, which many inside and outside the U.S. Government felt had a solid foundation, is not limited to Republicans or conservatives generally. Just 10 years ago the House

of Representatives voted 395 - to - 0 against admitting mainland China to the UN.

World as it is

What has changed? Why is Richard Nixon moving steadily to expand two-way travel, trade, and diplomatic contacts with Communist China?

Two things have changed:

It is evident that the Mao government has effective control of the mainland.

It is evident that Chiang has no prospect of returning to power.

Under the Charter nations are not denied membership in the UN because their governments acquired office without elections.

The UN is designed to deal with the world as it is, not as we would like it to be. Universality of membership is its goal.

To keep Red China in an isolation ward will not make it more peaceful. The prospects of influencing Chinese policy can be greater if it is a participant in the UN than isolated from the UN.

One month after he took office in 1969 President Nixon directed the State Department to begin to explore how to improve relations with mainland China. This policy is now bearing some fruit and it rests, in part, on the President's conviction that no long-term, stable peace is possible without China's participation.

B. A Role for Taiwan in the General Assembly

CARL T. ROWAN*A Role for Taiwan in the General Assembly*

All too often, the light of a new truth blinds men to the validity of some old ones.

There is a real danger of that happening at the United Nations this fall as the world body grapples with the China question.

The new truth has dawned on most people that Communist China ought to be in the U.N. It seems to be a foregone conclusion that Peking will be voted in, now that the United States no longer is fighting to keep the Mao government out.

A corollary truth also has become obvious: Since Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek never was a great power, and never did represent all of China, it had no business holding a permanent seat, with veto powers, on the U.N. Security Council. In recognition of this, U.N. members almost certainly are going to vote to seat Peking in the Council.

But these nations ought not become so intoxicated by their new wisdom that they walk blindly over the compelling reasons why Taiwan ought not be thrown out of the General Assembly.

Looking at the world as it is, we see a separate political entity of 14 million people on Taiwan. There are 97 "countries" in the U.N. with smaller populations than Taiwan's, and it makes no sense, either in terms of these people's rights or the long-range effectiveness of the U.N., to throw Taiwan out.

The U.N. must be moved in the direction of embracing all of mankind, so the exclusion of Taiwan would be a foolish step away from universal membership.

Then there is a moral issue before many nations, especially those of Africa. Over the years, the right-wing inclinations of the China Lobby have created some anti-Chiang biases, especially among liberal Americans. Thus a lot of people have failed to acknowledge that Taiwan has been a "good citizen" internationally.

Not only have the citizens of Taiwan made extraordinary social and economic progress themselves, but they have been generous in giving technical and other assistance to

other nations, especially the poorer nations of Africa.

These African nations will want to acknowledge the new reality by voting Peking in without resorting to the ingratitude of summarily voting Taipei out.

As U.N. members take this historic step of putting mainland China in the security council, it might be time for them to think seriously of going even further to make the U.N. more reflective of the real world.

Of every 10 people on this globe, 6 of them live in Asia. By what logic should anyone say that Peking alone represents Asia as a permanent council member while Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States hold the other four seats of power? That is a throwback to the old colonial mentality as to who deserves "great power" status.

Japan is clearly a world power and ought to have a permanent seat on the Security Council. What entitles Britain and France to permanent status when that rank is denied India and her 600 million people?

There is fear, of course, that a move to give India and Japan permanent membership on the Security Council would invite passionate demands that one African and one Latin American nation be given permanent status. Such demands could be reasoned away, especially when members from those continents are far from agreement that any one country stands out so clearly as a world force that it deserves "super" status.

So much attention is being devoted to the question of which China, or Chinas, will be in the U.N. next year that people have stopped asking the even more crucial question: Who is going to take what steps to make the U.N. worth being in?

Many reforms are needed before the U.N. can play a more effective role in moving the world toward those lofty goals set forth in San Francisco in 1945. A good start would be to make membership and the makeup of the powerful Security Council more in keeping with the world the U.N. seeks to save.

C. Taiwan and the United Nations

Taiwan and the United Nations

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THE seat of Nationalist China in the United Nations appears to be more threatened day by day.

If the United Nations actually votes to expel Taiwan, as is now likely, it will be a shameful act, quite unworthy of the world organization.

The government of Chiang Kai-shek, a charter member of the United Nations, has played a useful role there for 26 years. It has, for example, given foreign aid and technical help to many less-developed states.

In terms of population, Taiwan is larger than 92 of the 127 U.N. members. It has a stronger moral right to a seat in the international body than many countries that will self-righteously vote against it.

All this, of course, will not decide the outcome. Many countries will vote to expel Taiwan not because it has transgressed, but because they seek the favor — and trade — of Communist China. Some may call this opportunism. We prefer the late Gen. Charles de Gaulle's line: "Nations are cold monsters."

The United States properly is fighting to keep Taiwan in the United Nations. As a tactical maneuver, Washington has proposed that China's permanent seat — and veto — in the Security Council be given to Peking.

The Nixon Administration was pushed into that step by Australia and New Zealand. They said that without it they would not cosponsor U.S. resolutions aimed at preserving Taiwan's seat in the General Assembly.

Positions taken by Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia are too calculating for our taste. They suspect that Nationalist China will lose out anyway, so why antagonize Peking by cosponsoring the U.S. resolutions?

These countries are all Pacific allies that would expect the United States to come to their aid in a crisis. Yet they are being fairly callous when the diplomatic fate of yet another ally — Taiwan — is at stake.

If the Nationalists lose their U.N. membership, it will be a defeat but not a disaster. Taiwan is a bustling, prospering island of 14 million industrious people. West Germany has done very well outside the United Nations, and there is no reason Taiwan should not.

A great danger, however, is that Communist China might misinterpret a U.N. victory as a license to carry out its old threat to "liberate" the island by military force.

In fairness and justice, President Nixon should make two points very clear to Peking. One is that we welcome its entry into the United Nations (and pray it plays a constructive role there) if that is the will of a majority of states. The other is that we will not tolerate an armed attack on Taiwan, an old ally with whom we have a solemn defense treaty.