

part, is not prepared to stand by and see this situation perpetuated indefinitely without doing our part to solve the representation issue at the UN. My colleagues and I have devoted much time in the last few months in an effort to open the way for a forward move on the question of Chinese representation at the UN....

We also have before us once again the proposal of the Albanian Delegation and other co-sponsors. The intent of this proposal is to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the UN. With this we are in full accord, but the resolution embodying this proposal goes on to stipulate that this be done by expelling the representatives of the Republic of China. The Canadian position on this resolution has been that two wrongs do not make a right. We can see neither sense nor justice in the UNGA denying to the Government of the Republic of China the right and responsibilities of UN membership or in withholding from its people the benefits of international co-operation. If we are to seek a rational and realistic answer to this problem before us I cannot see that such an answer is to be found in terms of the Albanian Resolution.

I wish now to turn to the third proposal which we have before us. I refer to the proposal tabled by the Delegations of Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Italy and Trinidad and Tobago. I do not think I am revealing any secret if I say Canada took an active part in initiating consultations which resulted in the tabling of this proposal. The countries with which we consulted are countries whose views of what must now be done appeared to us to be in general harmony with our own....

It is a matter of great regret to Canada that the proposal which has emerged as a result of our joint deliberations is not one which in our view goes far enough in charting the course which this UNGA should now take in the interest of the UN and that of the larger world community.

The proposal before us provides for the establishment of a committee to explore and study the whole situation pertaining to Chinese representation and to make appropriate recommendations to the next session of the UNGA. This proposal represents very little forward movement over a similar proposal which Canada initiated at the fifth general session of the UNGA in 1950. I should have hoped that, with the experience of the intervening years, this twenty-first session of the UNGA might see its way clear to laying down a much more specific mandate by which the proposed committee would be guided in exploring the elements of an equitable solution of this question. In the absence of such a directive, I fear that much valuable time may be lost by any committee which this Assembly will establish.

ACTION, NOT STUDY NEEDED

I should like to say that I have been disturbed by some of the statements which have been made concerning the tasks of the proposed committee. I want to make it clear that what is now required, in my view, is not a matter of study or research. What we look to the committee to do is to act on behalf of this

Assembly in mapping out a viable solution and paving the way for forward movement on this issue. This, surely, is the basis on which the committee must pursue its endeavours if it is to make the sort of recommendations which we have the right to expect it to put before us at our next session.

It has been suggested that one question which should be put to the Government of the People's Republic of China is whether it is willing to be seated in the UN. I am quite ready to acknowledge that statements which have come from Peking have been such as to implant real doubts in our minds about the general attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China towards the workings of the UN. On the other hand, countries friendly to the Government of the People's Republic of China have, in successive years, tabled proposals aimed at the seating of that Government in the UN. We must assume, I think, that this would not have been done without Peking's consent.

It has also been suggested that the Government of the People's Republic of China be asked whether it is willing to adhere to the obligations of the Charter of the UN. Now it is obviously of greatest importance that all member governments respect and observe the obligations of the Charter. The question is properly put in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter to any state which is applying for membership in the UN. But China is a member state of the UN. The issue before us is not one of admitting China to membership. It is rather how China, as a member state, can be represented in our midst in such a way as to reflect the realities of the present political situation.

But I can see a further drawback to this whole procedure of asking questions at this stage. I would submit that the real responsibility of any committee we appoint is to devise a basis on which this Assembly would consider it reasonable for the people of China to be represented in our midst. The time for asking questions is after, not before, such a basis has been devised. The real responsibility which is ours, is to formulate proposals which can be put to the parties in full confidence that they represent a reasonable approach to this issue. We can commend our proposals to the parties but we cannot compel their acceptance. At the very least, however, we would have absolved ourselves of the responsibility for perpetuating a situation which lacks the elements of common sense.

In providing guide-lines to an appropriate solution the proposal before us refers to "the existing situation and political realities of the area".

TWO GOVERNMENTS

What are these realities? Among the most important are the fundamental changes which have taken place since the founding of the UN. When the Government of the Republic of China signed the UN Charter, the island of Taiwan was under the control of the Government of Japan. By 1949, a revolutionary upheaval on the mainland of China resulted in the removal of the nationalist Chinese Government to Taipei and the establishment of a Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking. The real situation since