

**RESEARCH PAPER****The Diplomatic Concept of the People's Republic of China and Its Practice in UN during the Third India-Pakistan War****<sup>1</sup> Sun Ce and <sup>2</sup> Mahboob Hussain**

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This paper focuses on China's performance in the Third India-Pakistan War. In November 1971, the People's Republic of China resumed its lawful seat in the United Nations and became a permanent member of the Security Council. At the same time, in the face of the Third India-Pakistan War, Chinese representatives fully demonstrated China's diplomatic philosophy through a series of speeches, proposals and votes at the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly, as well as consultations and debates with relevant countries. Based on this, this paper uses the literature method to draw the conclusion that although China failed to achieve the purpose of preventing the dismemberment of Pakistan, the logic of China's diplomatic performance has been incisively and vividly displayed. This may have some reference significance for understanding the current situation of China's handling of diplomatic issues.

**Keywords:** China, Diplomatic Concept, The Third India-Pakistan War, UN**Introduction**

As a Chinese proverb goes, "crossing the river by feeling for the stones". The diplomatic concept of the People's Republic of China, Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, started from scratch. In decades, it gradually formed from simplification to systematization. Before the formal restoration of its legal seat in the United Nations in November 1971, the practice of this concept can be roughly divided into two stages: the first stage can be described as Start Anew and Fall to One Side policies in 1950s; and the second stage can be described as Anti-imperialism, Anti-revisionism and making friend in middle zone policies in 1960s. These was determined by the domestic situation of the People's Republic of China, the surrounding environment and the ever-changing relationship of China, the United States, the Soviet Union. After the restoration of its legal seat in the United Nations in 1971, the international role of the People's Republic of China had undergone major changes. It no longer relied on establishing diplomatic relations through visiting abroad or participating the regional meetings. China utilized the United Nations as a platform to show its opinions, make friends, and promote world peace and development. However, in the 1970s, China's international influence was still relatively limited which due to the constraints of the international Cold War and the tortuous development of domestic economy and politics. During the Third Indo-Pakistan War, representatives of the Chinese government spoke out bravely on the United Nations stage, firmly supporting the Pakistan government and its people's to safeguard the country's territorial and sovereign integrity. It launched a tit-for-tat diplomatic contest with representatives of the Soviet Union who supported India. Due to the rapid changes in the war situation, China failed to change the outcome of East Pakistan's secession, but its insistence on justice and advocacy of peace became well known.

## Literature Review

Two prerequisites for establishing diplomatic relations with China. After more than 100 years of struggle from the Opium War in 1840, China regained complete independence in 1949. From the beginning of its establishment, the People's Republic of China determined the principles of rejecting those old diplomatic relations and establishing the new diplomatic relations based on independence. At the founding celebration of the Peoples Republic of China on October 1st 1949, President Mao Zedong, pointed out the prerequisite in the Proclamation of the Central Peoples Government of the PRC, "our government is ready to establish diplomatic relations with any government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty"(Mao Zedong, 1998). It is noteworthy that Mao Zedong proposed another prerequisite in that year,"We may consider establishing diplomatic relations with the United States and the United Kingdom if they sever ties with the Kuomintang"(Mao Zedong, 1998). This means that, during this period, the first prerequisite for establishing normal diplomatic relations with the Communist China was equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for the integrity of territorial sovereignty; the second prerequisite was to sever relations with the national party represented by the Chiang Kai-shek group who had fled to Taiwan.

China chose the Start Anew and Fall to One Side policies in 1950s. The People's Republic of China took the lead in establishing diplomatic relations with socialist countries. On the second day after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a telegram to the Chinese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai to inform him that "the Soviet government decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and sever diplomatic relations with the the National Government in Guangzhou on the same day"(Wang Qiaorong, 2020). The Soviet Union's leading role led socialist countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Albania, and Democratic Republic of Vietnam to establish diplomatic relations with China in a few months. At the same time, China chose a negotiation way to establish diplomatic relations with capitalist countries and newly independent countries. The core of the negotiations was the One China Policy. After the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, China and the Soviet Union became the closest neighbors and partners, jointly resisting pressure from the West. Imitated the Soviet model, China provide all-out help to its two neighbors in the southwest and northeast which were called Resist the French and aid Vietnam and Resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. The decision was mainly based on the following three factors: Firstly, China has the same ideological background with these two neighbors. Secondly, both North Vietnam and North Korea are geographic hubs, once controlled by Western powers and set up a puppet government, China had to face the war to its doorstep. Thirdly, Soviet leader Stalin assigned the role of China in the world communist movement, "The Soviet Union is mostly responsible for the Western obligations, China has to do more work in the Eastern and colonial and semi-colonial countries"(Wang Qiaorong, 2020).

The Taiwan issue became the biggest touchstone for establishing diplomatic relations with China. The People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with a number of countries in a short time. Neighboring Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Myanmar and European countries such as Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, established diplomatic relations with the new Chinese government successfully. Of course, there was an unsuccessful case. The United Kingdom failed. It did not want to sever ties with the Taiwan authorities and did not take active support on the issue of the People's Republic of China resuming its lawful seat in the United Nations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China was established in November 1949. In addition to the Department of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Department of Western Europe and Africa, the Department of

America and Australia, and the Department of Asia, it also set up an International Department to connect with international organizations such as the United Nations.

The formulation and practice of the concept of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In July 1953, after the signing of the Agreement on the Military Armistice in Korea at Panmunjom, the People's Republic of China began to devote more attention on how to stabilize and develop diplomatic relations with Asian and African countries. On the last day of 1953, when Zhou Enlai met with the Indian delegation in Beijing. He proposed the rudimentary concept of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence for the first time: Mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal affairs, equality and reciprocity and peaceful coexistence(Zhou Enlai,1990). These principles were formally reflected in the preamble of the Agreement on Commerce and Communications between Tibet, China and India in April 1954. The highlight moment for China to implement this concept was the Asian-African Conference held in April 1955. In the Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were included. The Chinese delegation received recognition and appreciation from most of the Asian and African countries in the meeting. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence became China's basic concept for striving for international peace and stability and easing regional tensions for the next 70 years.

Anti-imperialism, Anti-revisionism and Making friends in Middle Zone Policies in 1960s. Entering the 1960s, the leaders of China realized that the international situation had changed obviously. The camp of socialist countries had major cracks and continued to divide. Theoretical debates and intensifying border conflicts made Sino-Soviet relations heading towards a complete breakdown. China needed to resist the huge pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union at the same time. In order to gain new international space, Mao Zedong, as a wise politician, proposed the diplomatic goal of improving relations with the "middle zone" countries. In October 1956, when he met with Pakistan Prime Minister Suhrawardy, he pointed out that attention should be paid to the "middle zone" countries. The "middle zone" countries have the largest population and can be divided into three parts : firstly, imperialist countries, such as the United Kingdom and France ; secondly, countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have achieved national liberation or are striving for national liberation; thirdly, free European countries without colonies(Feng Xianzhi, 2013). During the 1960s, China worked hard to open up friendly relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries and reached the second climax of establishing diplomatic relations. The most striking news was that China established diplomatic relations with France, as a crack was opened in the iron plate of Western countries.

In 1971, China resumed its legal seat in the United Nations. From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, the strategic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union entered a new stage. Trapped in the Vietnam War, the United States began to adjust its defense policy in the Asia-Pacific and try to avoid new involvement in Asian countries' conflicts directly. At the same time, the conflicts between China and the Soviet Union escalated to the point of war. After two border armed conflicts in Heilongjiang and Xinjiang in 1969, they deployed a large number of troops on the Sino-Soviet border. Thus, China proposed the idea of improving Sino-US relations. In the early 1970s, China and the United States began to move closer to each other in order to counter the growing threat from the Soviet Union. In the following year, Yahya Khan's Pakistan government made a great contribution to opening up secret communication channels between China and the United States. On the United States side, President Nixon published an article Asia after Vietnam in the famous journal Foreign Affairs in October 1967, proposing that "One billion Chinese people should not always be isolated from the world"(Richard M.Nixon,Oct.1967). Subsequently, Sino-US ambassadorial-level talks resumed in Warsaw, American journalist Snow was invited to visit the Tiananmen on National Day and the American table tennis

team was invited to conduct a Ping-pong diplomacy. The most striking thing was the U.S. President's national security adviser Kissinger's visit to China, paved the way for the leaders to meet in Beijing. As an unexpected surprise, China's goal of restoring its legal seat in the United Nations was achieved in 1971. On October 25th, the United Nations adopted No.2758 Resolution, recognizing that representatives of the People's Republic of China are the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations and one of the five permanent members in the Security Council. It also decided to remove Chiang Kai-shek's representatives immediately. On November 15th, Qiao Guanhua, the delivered a speech at the United Nations General Assembly, comprehensively elaborating on China's views of the international situation, foreign policies and the concept of handling state-to-state relations. In December, the issues of the third India-Pakistan War were discussed fiercely in the United Nations. The People's Republic of China took a firm stand, fully demonstrating its own diplomatic philosophy in resolving nations' conflicts.

### **Material and Methods**

This paper adopts the literature reading method to verify the conclusion by collecting a large number of primary materials, such as archives, important conferences, news reports, newspapers and official websites, and collecting a large number of secondary materials, books and biographies. To examine China's diplomatic role in the third India-Pakistan conflict.

### **The UN tried its best to deal with the India-Pakistan conflicts in decades**

In September 1947, Pakistan Successfully became a full member of the United Nations. However, from the first day of 1948, the issues of India-Pakistan conflicts were placed in front of the participants in the United Nations frequently. India and Pakistan launched fierce criticism to each other on the massacre in the Cross-border Migration and the ownership of prince states such as Jammu Kashmir and Junagadh. The international organization hoped to uphold justice and stop the India-Pakistan conflict. Until 1970, the United Nations had adopted 22 resolutions and 2 statements. But, The possibility of substantially solving India-Pakistan conflict is very low. The United Nations had a long history of dealing with the India-Pakistan conflicts, but the effect was limited.

Pakistan's 1970 parliamentary election pushed India-Pakistan conflicts to the United Nations again. In Pakistan's 1970 parliamentary elections, the East Pakistan political party, Awami League, won the election which brought unexpected results to the Muslim country. On March 25th, 1971, due to the breakdown of negotiations between President Yahya Khan and Awami League leader Mujibur Rahman, the Pakistan government decided to use military means to control the situation in East Pakistan. After a month of large-scale military operation, the situation in East Pakistan stabilized, but millions of East Pakistan refugees fled to the Indian border Pradesh, stimulating strong indignation in the Indian government. Some East Pakistan rebels emerged on the eastern India-Pakistan border, and some of them were actively supported by India. On August 7th, sensing the potential threat from the magnetic attraction of China and the United States, the Treaty of Peace Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of India was signed. In the following months, Indian government officials had diplomatic traveling around the world, promoting the theory that they suffered direct and indirect aggression from Pakistan and had to take countermeasures. At the same time, the Indian military made the plan to "defeat Pakistan within three weeks". Manekshaw, the Indian Army Chief of Staff, prepared equipment, ammunition and supplies secretly. After November 21st, Indian troops began to participate in border fighting. The president of Pakistan announced the state of emergency on November 23rd and wrote to UN Secretary-General U Thant, saying that India violated the Charter of the United Nations. On November 24th, India Prime Minister Gandhi declared that India has lodged 66 protests against Pakistan's 890 border provocations since March. When the Pakistan Air Force began to launch attacks Strikes

against Indian Air Force bases on December 3rd, the third India-Pakistan War officially kicked off, and the debates on the United Nations stage were unfolding simultaneously.

The United Nations worked hard to help refugees from East Pakistan and tried to prevent the conflict's escalation between India and Pakistan. On May 19th 1971, U Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations, issued an appeal for the relief of the refugees in East Pakistan and submitted a memorandum to the president of the Security Council on July 20th. In the same month, the draft resolution on Humanitarian work initiated by assisting East Pakistan refugees in India and affected people in East Pakistan was submitted to the Third Council of the United Nations Economic and Social Council for discussion and submitted to the United Nations General Assembly for adoption in November. On October 20th, the secretary general sent letters to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, which showed a positive attitude to deal with the problem: "The United Nations Military Observer in India and Pakistan( UNMOGIP), with the full support of the Secretary-General, is making the greatest efforts to reduce the tension along the ceasefire line in Jammu Kashmir, eliminate misunderstandings, curb military escalation and avoid possible open hostilities. However, there is no similar United Nations agency at the borders between East Pakistan and India. As the Secretary-General, I will try my best to assist the governments directly concerned to avoid possible catastrophic development, and I am willing to mediate from them at any time"(U Thant, Dec.3 1971). East Pakistan was covered with clouds of war, and border conflicts broke out first. The Secretary General of the United Nations expressed his weakness and helplessness in dealing with the India-Pakistan issue. In a letter to the Prime Minister of India on November 22nd, "According to the United Nations Charter, we cannot ignore the potential threat to international peace on the South Asian subcontinent. However, at present, the problem is serious and complex, and there is no basis for the Secretary-General to implement it"(U Thant, Dec.3 1971). On November 26th, in response to a new letter from the president of Pakistan, "Unfortunately, there is currently no basis for the Secretary General to implement his good offices, But we are still willing to provide any assistance that the parties consider useful"(U Thant, Dec.3 1971). On November 29th, he said at the end of his letter to the president of the Security Council that he had done his best within the scope of the United Nations Charter(U Thant, Dec.3 1971).

The third India-Pakistan war triggered intensive debates in the United Nations. In the past 23 years, the United Nations has held more than 100 meetings to discuss the issues between India and Pakistan. The third India-Pakistan war also triggered intensive debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly. The debates lasted from December 4th to December 21st, even longer than the war lasted. Reasonable speakers and literary talents quarreled endlessly. The draft resolutions which racked their brains, were rejected again and again hopelessly. Although the General Assembly formed a resolution during the war, it was a non-mandatory demand on UN members. A few days after the gunfire stopped, the Security Council resolution came belatedly but was better than nothing.

### **The practice of diplomatic concept in the UN during the Third India-Pakistan War**

On the second day of the war: the Chinese representative believed that East Pakistan was purely an internal affair, and no one had the right to interfere in safeguarding Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Security Council held the 1606th meeting from December 3rd 5 p.m. to December 4th 1 a.m. The main issue was to discuss whether Bangladesh representatives owned the right to attend the meeting. Malik, the representative of the Soviet Union, expounded his views: Awami League won a majority in Pakistan parliamentary elections ; those measures taken by the military authorities worsened the situation in East Pakistan; this was a national liberation movement; the Bangladesh representatives, on behalf of 75 million East Pakistan residents, should be given the right to speak.(Malik, Dec.4 1971). He put forward a contradictory paradox, "other United Nations organizations are doing everything possible to provide assistance to East Pakistan's refugees, who are called rebels in the Security Council"(Malik, Dec.4 1971). India

representative Sen made a metaphor, “no Bangladesh representative participates in discussions, like performing Hamlet without the prince of Denmark”(Sen, Dec.4 1971). At this meeting, the representative of the United States proposed a draft resolution [S/10416] , but it was directly vetoed by a permanent member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union. The representative of the Soviet Union stated that the three permanent members of the Security Council did not vote in favour( the Soviet Union rejected, the United Kingdom and France abstained), and joked the result was just a duet( China and the United States). Chinese representative Huang Hua expressed an important view, “the so-called representative of Bangladesh was the representative of an internal rebel organization in East Pakistan which was completely contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations”(Huang Hua, Dec.4 1971). Later, He said : “The question of East Pakistan is purely the internal affair of Pakistan. No one has the right to interfere in it. According to the logic of the Indian Government, any country can use self-defense as a pretext for invading other countries. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council should surely condemn the act of aggression by the Indian Government and demand it withdraw all its armed forces from Pakistan immediately and unconditionally. Lastly, the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government, and people and support their struggle against the aggression of the Indian Government. India launched a war with the support of social imperialism(Huang Hua, Dec.4 1971). China completely stood on the side of Pakistan and on the opposite side of the Soviet Union and India.

On the third day of the war : the draft resolutions and exciting texts were floating in the air of the Council, and China was the only country to veto the draft resolution of the Soviet Union. The 1607th meeting of the Security Council was another long meeting from December 5th, 2:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. Baroody, an experienced Saudi representative, expressed his opinion: the South Asian subcontinent has become a chessboard for three major powers, the Soviet Union is on the side of India, China stands with Pakistan, and the United States seems to be leaning towards Pakistan. Although draft resolutions and exciting texts were floating in the air of the Council, he predicted the performance of several countries with his own experience : “Last night, the representative of the Soviet Union rejected the proposal of the United States, because it was in Pakistan’s interests. This afternoon, I read the draft resolution submitted by the representative of China, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union Ambassador will reject it on the ground of opposing India. If the Soviet Union draft resolution is forced to vote, the other two major powers may think it is unfair to Pakistan and use the veto again.”(Baroody, Dec.5 1971). The Russian representative said that it should be the representatives of the 10 million refugees and the 75 million people of East Pakistan who had the right to describe what happened in East Pakistan. The representative of India cited the Provisional Rules( S/96/Rev.7) in UN: “The Security Council may invite persons deemed necessary for the purpose to provide information”. The Chinese representative strongly opposed the Soviet Union and India blatant advocacy of using the so-called Bangladesh created by them to dismember Pakistan, which completely violated the Charter of the United Nations. He gave an example: “We should like to ask the representative of the Soviet Union a question, In 1962 the Soviet Government engineered a rebellion in China’s Sinkiang province and carried out subversive and divisionist activities against China. Tens of thousands of Chinese civilians were forcibly taken away. Some of them are used for anti-Chinese scheming activities. Is it going to use Mr. Malik’s logic with regard to the Pakistan refugees, as a pretext for launching armed aggression against China? Is it also going to invite those people to the United Nations to justify its subversion and aggression?”(Huang Hua, Dec.5 1971) The result was China’s veto of the Soviet proposal [S/10418].

On the fourth day of the war: India suddenly announced its recognition of Bangladesh, and China used the historical experience to satirize India and the Soviet Union. The 1608th meeting was still a long meeting lasting from December 6th 3p.m. to 11p.m. Firstly, the representative of India read Mrs. Gandhi’s statement: “The people of Bangladesh

fighting for survival and the people of India fighting for victory now find supporters of the same cause. I am pleased to inform the House of Representatives that, in view of the current situation and at the repeated request of the Bangladesh government, the Indian government has decided to recognize the People's Republic of Bangladesh after the most careful consideration"(Sen, Dec.6 1971) . Pakistan's representatives were dissatisfied that the Soviet Union and the neighbor country had become the arbiter of Pakistan's domestic political life(Shahi, Dec.6 1971). China warned that the Soviet Union and India should learn from history. Huang Hua talked about the grand plans formulated by Japanese militarists, Hitler, and Mussolini fascists during the Second World War in history. Now, Indian expansionists launched a war of aggression against Pakistan and created a so-called "Bangladesh" government with the purpose of splitting Pakistan and permanently occupying East Pakistan. The Soviet leaders madly pursued the establishment of an empire that the old Czar longed for and controlled the whole Eurasian continent. The goal was to control the subcontinent and the Indian Ocean to surround China and strengthen its competition with other superpowers for world hegemony(Huang hua, Dec.6 1971). Most countries participating in this Security Council believe that hope can only be found in the United Nations General Assembly. However, some countries are skeptical and pessimistic. The representative of France stated that he decided not to submit a new draft resolution because it was believed to be opposed. The United Nations did not gain enough strength, weapons would help solve problems. The representative of Saudi Arabia warned that if this separatist movement is encouraged, many countries had to be divided into constituencies and a new world map would have to be drawn. He estimated only the Security Council had the mandatory authority to take action. The representative of the Soviet Union stated that he did not believe that it was correct to refer this issue to the General Assembly. According to the Charter of the United Nations, Security Council resolutions are mandatory decisions, and United Nations Member States must implement them, while General Assembly resolutions are recommendations. Unfortunately, the facts were correctly predicted by them. A majority of the members of the Security Council decided to refer this issue to the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly. Ironically, this was the only resolution passed before the ceasefire of the war in East Pakistan.

The eve of the East Pakistan ceasefire : China emphasized that the war between India and Pakistan was interference and anti-interference, subversion and anti-subversion, aggression and anti-aggression. Due to the urgent situation, the 1615th meeting lasted from December 15th 3 p.m. to December 16th, 12 a.m. When the representative of Pakistan saw a new proposal put forward by Poland, a follower of the Soviet Union, responded as follows: Pakistan saw tireless efforts from many delegations in the Security Council, and the international community, expressed in the general assembly and was denied in the security council. It was deeply regrettable that a country like Poland, which had a profound and tragic history of dismemberment and division, proposed a plan to dismember Pakistan(Shahi,Dec.15 1971). Representative of the Soviet Union expressed the following views on behalf of the Soviet Union and India: if the Pakistan government withdrew its troops and if a political settlement was reached under the legitimate representative of the East Pakistan people, India could cease-fire and withdraw its troops(Malik,Dec.15 1971). The representative of China pointed out fiercely that the armed conflicts between India and Pakistan were interference and anti-interference, subversion and anti-subversion, aggression and anti-aggression. He criticized Britain and France adopted an attitude between right and wrong. He reminded all the people to learn from the history of the League of Nations in the 1930s.

Five Days after the East Pakistan ceasefire: though the resolution passed, China expressly objected to Indo-Soviet aggression, subversion and interference in Pakistan. The 1621st meeting was held on December 21st. Somalia's draft proposal reached an all-acceptable plan that abolished controversial aspects, so it could get the support of all parties. The draft resolution called on the international community to make concerted

efforts to restore the normal lives of millions of refugees; India and Pakistan were required not only to strictly abide but also to stop all hostilities in the conflict area. On the eastern border of India and Pakistan, as the fighting had stopped, armed forces should be withdrawn completely as soon as possible. On the western border of India and Pakistan, the resolution was just adopted. In the process of voting, 13 votes were in favor, and the Soviet Union and Poland abstained. Pakistan representative Shahi said, "If India is genuinely interested in peace in the subcontinent, the first thing it should do is to cease its aggression against Pakistan."(Shahi, Dec.21 1971). India representative Swaran Singh said, "We are willing to reach agreements with all parties concerned to resolve, not only the withdrawal issue; the presence of Bangladesh and its government can not be ignored; despite our protests, the Council did not respond to this proposal"(Swaran Singh, Dec.21 1971). United States Representative Bush said, "the resolution isn't perfect, but it did put forward important views on the issue of ceasefire and withdrawal, we are pleased that this meeting finally takes action."( George Walker Bush, Dec.21 1971). Soviet representative Malik said, "the resolution proves that India does not make any territorial claims. The events in East Pakistan are unprecedentedly complex, on the basis of recognizing the will of the people of East Pakistan, transferring power to the representatives of political parties who obtained a majority in the December 1970 elections, and solving the need for a political settlement in East Pakistan. These basic conditions are not reflected in the General Assembly resolution."(Malik, Dec.21 1971). China Representative Huang Hua said, "The Chinese delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution. However, we are very dissatisfied with this resolution. The Chinese government and people opposed imperialist, colonial and neocolonial aggression, subversion and interference on other countries, and firmly support the struggle of the Pakistan government and people against aggression, subversion, and division"(Huang Hua, Dec.21 1971).

### **Analysis of the performance of the PRC in the third India-Pakistan War**

After the outbreak of the third India-Pakistan War, representatives of the People's Republic of China made a lot of coordination and efforts in the United Nations Security Council to protect the territorial integrity of Pakistan and reveal the ambitions of India and the Soviet Union to dismember Pakistan and control the South Asian subcontinent. China advocated A diplomatic solution that was formed based on concepts related to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence but ultimately failed to change the outcome of the India-Pakistan war. The specific reasons for China's series of performances can be summarized into the following two aspects.

The People's Republic of China has just resumed its permanent seat on the UN Security Council and hoped to demonstrate a more positive, fair and authoritative image through diplomatic ways on the international stage of the United Nations. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, as the diplomatic concept of the People's Republic of China, had been successfully practiced in its interactions with many Asian and African countries in the 1950s. However, due to the influence of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China hovered outside the United Nations for more than 20 years. As a major Asian country at that time, its image and strength had not been demonstrated. In the 1970s, the relationship between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union became further tense, the relationship with India had not yet thawed, and the relationship with the United States gradually eased; throughout the third India-Pakistan War, China's statements and decisions at the United Nations reflected this situation. Although the United States Created troubles with the restoration of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of Taiwan representatives; one month later, China and the United States stood together on the India-Pakistan issue. During this period, the Ayub Khan government established a successful secret diplomatic channel between China and the United States. Starting from the restoration of its legal seat in the UN, China changed the direct military assistance way or unconditional economic assistance way to make friends



and began to use diplomacy methods to make Chinese voices, display China's image, and play an important role in the UN.

China's political and economic situation was not optimistic at that time, and it did not have adequate military capabilities to support Pakistan. Beginning in 1966, due to the severe impact of the Cultural Revolution, China entered into a tortuous economic and social development period. In 1971, China's GDP was only US\$99.8 billion, equivalent to 8.5% of that of the United States. After the spring of 1971, Pakistan leaders and officials of foreign affairs visited China several times, but the Chinese leaders did not make a commitment to support Pakistan through war and persuaded the Pakistan leaders to find a peaceful way to resolve the conflicts in East Pakistan. On September 13th 1971, Lin Biao, China's second-ranking leader, fled and suffered a plane crash in Mongolia. Because of his extremely important influence in the military, four important members of the People's Liberation Army Generals, the Chief of General Staff Huang Yongsheng, the Air Force Commander Wu Faxian, the Naval Political Commissar Li Zuopeng, the Minister of Logistics Qiu Huizuo, were in long-term investigation. The turbulent changes within the Chinese military made it impossible to launch even a small campaign for other country. At the same time, taking into account the international pressure, China's military equipment assistance to Pakistan was delayed for a time and restored after the war. In addition, because the bottom line of China's policy was known to India as early as the summer, Indian leaders chose the time to start the war in December when the Himalayas routes were frozen, which also made the Chinese government unable to provide more direct help to Pakistan beyond diplomatic means.

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