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*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).*

### Presentation of Soviet cosmonauts Lieutenant-Colonel Gagarin and Miss Tereshkova to the General Assembly

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before we begin our discussion of the agenda item before us this morning, I wish to announce to the members of delegations the presence in this hall of two cosmonauts from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lieutenant-Colonel Yuri Gagarin, the first inhabitant of this planet who, on 12 April 1961, completed an orbit around the earth in less than two hours, and Sub-Lieutenant Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman who, on 16 June 1963, conquered outer space by completing forty-eight orbits around the earth in seventy-one hours, travelling a total distance of 1,200,000 miles.

2. These two explorers of outer space were invited by the Secretary-General to visit the United Nations, and they are here with the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I have great pleasure in presenting Sub-Lieutenant Valentina Tereshkova and Lieutenant-Colonel Yuri Gagarin.

*The President descended from the podium to greet the cosmonauts, who were afterwards escorted from the General Assembly hall by the Chief of Protocol.*

## AGENDA ITEM 80

### Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): A draft resolution has been submitted on this item by Albania and Cambodia [A/L.427 and Add.1].

4. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which the General Assembly is taking up today, is of fundamental importance for the United Nations and the cause of international peace and co-operation. This question is neither new nor unfamiliar to Member States, for it has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1 October 1949 when salvoes from the guns in the Square of Celestial Peace in Peking

announced to the whole world the triumph of the socialist revolution in China and the birth of the People's Republic of China. That event marked a decisive turning point in the age-long history of the great Chinese people and is of world-wide historical significance.

5. Only the United Nations—and we note this with regret—persists in shutting its eyes to this glaring reality and continues to ignore and exclude the greatest country in the world, the People's Republic of China. Worse still, against all logic and justice, it continues to regard as the representatives of China members of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which was rejected once and for all by the Chinese people in its victorious revolution, and which has taken refuge on the island of Taiwan under the protection of the bayonets of the United States imperialists.

6. There is no denying that the United Nations has reached a very serious crisis as a result of this unjust and unrealistic attitude which has been forced on it by certain Powers, primarily the United States, through the voting machinery and by other means, contrary to the principles of international law and the Charter, contrary to the interests of the United Nations, contrary to the will of an ever increasing number of Member States and contrary to the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world.

7. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should have been settled there and then at the fifth session of the General Assembly, when it was submitted for the first time. <sup>1/</sup> Instead, China's indisputable rights continue to be denied every year and the same unfounded arguments and inventions are repeated. However, even by dint of annual repetition a lie does not become the truth. And who is it that ultimately suffers from this intolerable situation? The United Nations itself.

8. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania believes that it is high time to put an end to this extremely unjust and absurd situation, high time to expel from the United Nations the Chiang Kai-shek puppet which has usurped China's place here, and high time to invite the only true representatives of the Chinese people, the representatives of the People's Republic of China, to take their rightful place.

9. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always supported the principle of universality in the United Nations; during recent years it has warmly welcomed all the countries which, having cast off the colonial yoke and won national independence through their heroic struggle, have come to swell the ranks of the United Nations. We consider it a very positive factor that since 1950—the year in which the question

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 277th meeting; *Ibid.*, Annexes, "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations".

of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was discussed for the first time—the number of Member States has risen from 60 to 111.

10. However, we cannot but emphasize the persistence with which, throughout that period, the United States has systematically obstructed the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a persistence which is harmful above all to our Organization and also to the cause which it must serve.

11. Indeed, we cannot fail to recall what has been repeatedly and rightly stressed by many delegations, namely, that without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations cannot be universal, cannot contribute effectively to the solution of the great problems of our time and cannot be, as Article 1 of the Charter provides, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of the ends of the Charter.

12. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has become an urgent requirement for the Organization. To insist upon the fulfilment of that requirement is to fight for a just cause, to defend the rights of a great people, to fight for the strengthening of the United Nations, of international peace and of co-operation. It is worth noting that of the thirty-five delegations which referred, during the general debate, to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations only one spoke against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. This just cause was supported with authority and conviction by representatives from all regions of the world.

13. The General Assembly should pay particular attention to the resolute defence of this cause by several countries such as Burma, Cambodia, Nepal, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and others, which border on or are near neighbours of the People's Republic of China and have a thorough and intimate knowledge of that great country and its peaceful policies.

14. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which is of such importance and urgency for the future effectiveness of our Organization, is perfectly clear and simple from both the legal and procedural standpoints; those who seek to complicate it and deliberately impede it are doing a disservice to the United Nations and to the cause of international understanding and co-operation. The case before us does not involve the admission of a new State, but merely the recognition of the lawful right of a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council—the People's Republic of China—to occupy its own seat in the Organization, and the ousting of the Chiang Kai-shek elements which have usurped China's seat.

15. We maintain that in accordance with the Charter this question should be decided by a simple majority vote. Opponents of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China have never put forward any serious and well-founded arguments. Procedural manoeuvres, subjective considerations and flagrant distortions of the truth as to the domestic and foreign policy of the People's Republic of China do not constitute arguments and cannot convince us.

16. The United States of America fiercely opposes the rights of the People's Republic of China because that country's régime does not have the good fortune to be to the liking of the United States. This is only natural, because the Chinese people did not seek the permission of the United States before carrying out its socialist revolution. We know, however, that the reason why the socialist revolution in China is displaying vitality and strength and making good progress, is because that is the will of the Chinese people and its Government, contrary to the wishes and designs of American imperialism.

17. There is no legal basis or precedent for denying the People's Republic of China its rights in the United Nations on the ground that its régime is not to the liking of one or more Powers. Such action endangers the very future of the Organization. It is a sovereign prerogative of the people of a country to decide the form of that country's régime. That is a domestic matter and no interference by other countries or international organizations can be allowed. The Charter itself is quite clear on this point, for, in Article 2, paragraph 7, it provides as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter ...".

What does this mean? It means that the political and social régime of any country, and any change in its Government or régime, even by revolutionary means, are matters which fall exclusively within its national jurisdiction and in no way alter its international status.

18. In the case of China, no Member State disliking the socialist régime of the People's Republic of China, can use the existence of that régime as an argument in asserting entitlement to obstruct the restoration to this great country of its rights in the United Nations. The Chinese people is not obliged to account to anyone for its régime. In 1949, the Chinese people overthrew the old régime of oppression and exploitation and set up the socialist régime. It proclaimed the People's Republic of China. Whether or not this suits certain foreign Governments, the only Government of China at the present time is the Government of the People's Republic of China. Any Government of a Member State is free to recognize or not to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China, and to establish diplomatic relations with it or not. But the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations cannot depend on the recognition of its Government by other Governments. This point is already well established in international law and United Nations practice, and is even supported in official documents of the United Nations Secretariat.

19. When a revolutionary Government assumes power and exercises its authority over the territory of a State, it is that Government which has the right to represent the State in the United Nations and in all international relations, and the United Nations should recognize that right without equivocation. In the case of China, only the Government of the People's Republic of China has the requisite power and authority, governs the whole life of the country and enjoys the full and ardent support of the Chinese people who number some 700 million. It alone has the right to represent China in the international arena, including the United Nations,

and to assume and fulfil the obligations arising from the Charter of the United Nations.

20. The enemies of the People's Republic of China are doing their utmost to gain acceptance for the Chiang Kai-shek clique as the legal and representative Government of China. That absurd claim will not stand up and no one believes it, not even those who propagate it and support it publicly in the interests of their unjust policies. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, driven out by the Chinese people, took refuge in the island of Taiwan, where it is holding on under the protection of the foreign Power which invaded and occupied that island by force of arms. Taiwan is Chinese territory and is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, a fact which is recognized by international instruments, including the Cairo Declaration of 1 December 1943, which bears, among others, the signature of the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The People's Republic of China has a sovereign and unquestionable right to liberate this Chinese territory by any means and unite it with the fatherland.

21. It is a well-known fact that profound changes have taken place in the political and social régimes of several Member States since their admission to the United Nations, and that there have been revolutions which have overthrown earlier régimes and set up new ones. I might, for instance, remind the General Assembly of the cases of Egypt, Iraq, Cuba, and Yemen, not to mention the coups d'état in a considerable number of Latin American countries, which have repeatedly led to changes of government. In none of these cases has there been any argument as to the rights of these countries as Members of the United Nations after their change of régime. And that is as it should be, for it is the States and not the régimes or Governments which are Members of the Organization. Indeed, it would be absurd and inadmissible to regard elements of former régimes overthrown by popular revolutions as representatives of their country, instead of the lawful Governments resulting from revolutionary changes in those countries.

22. Nevertheless, the United States of America has been trying to impose just such an absurdity and iniquity on the United Nations for the past fourteen years by maintaining here, in China's seat, elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent nothing. Why does the United Nations adopt towards China a fundamentally unjust attitude totally different from that adopted in similar cases? Why is this iniquitous exception made in the case of China? Why, in the case of China, do we ride rough-shod in this scandalous way over the lawful rights of the great Chinese people, the Charter and the vital interests of the United Nations? By what right and on what grounds has the Government of the United States sought for years to impose its negative attitude in this question on the United Nations, in violation of the Charter and the generally recognized principles of international law and to the great detriment of this Organization.

23. Many delegations have rightly voiced their firm opposition to such procedures and to this intolerable situation; they have demanded that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Charter and the principles of law should be respected, and that the prestige and the interests of the United Nations should be protected.

24. The situation created in the United Nations in connexion with the representation of the People's Republic

of China does no credit to the Organization and should be ended forthwith. The United Nations should not be a tool in the policies of any power. And it is precisely the consistently hostile policy of the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China which is the real and only cause of this intolerable situation in the United Nations. The governing circles in North America do not want to accept or understand the great truth of the Chinese revolution. They cannot resign themselves to recognition of the fact that China has broken away for ever from the Capitalist system, that it has ceased for ever to be a colony and prey of the imperialists, that it has embarked totally and finally on the path of socialism, even that it has become a major force and a great international factor in the cause of socialism.

25. The United States still dreams of winning back the position which it has lost for ever in China, and is using every means, including aggression, to achieve that aim. In order to disguise and justify its anti-Chinese policy, it is baselessly accusing the People's Republic of China of carrying on an alleged policy of aggression. The facts are patently obvious, however. It is not China which has invaded Florida and Ellis Island near New York, which has sent its war fleet near the American coast, or which has concluded pacts and established a whole network of military bases around the United States of America, but the latter which has invaded and occupies by armed force Taiwan and other Chinese islands which it has transformed into bases for the provocation and invasion of the People's Republic of China.

26. It is the United States which is interfering brutally in China's internal affairs, which is committing dangerous acts of provocation against China's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, which is arming, directing and inciting its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, to commit aggressive acts against the People's Republic of China, and which has built up a whole system of aggression against the People's Republic of China—a system which includes military pacts like SEATO, ANZUS<sup>2/</sup> and the pact with Japan,<sup>3/</sup> the Seventh Fleet, which operates and carries out provocative manoeuvres close to Chinese waters, the innumerable military bases—some of them even equipped with nuclear arms—located in a number of countries near the borders of China, and so forth.

27. In the international arena, the United States is waging a fierce campaign of false charges and slander against the People's Republic of China and its peaceful foreign policy. It is seeking to deny China its lawful rights in the United Nations and other international organizations, and it is doing its best to put obstacles in the way of the development of friendly relations between China and other countries. The United States is carrying on a frenzied propaganda campaign in order to mobilize public opinion against the new China so as to justify its own warlike and aggressive policy against that country, and it has spread the completely fabricated "two Chinas" theory whereby it attempts to have Taiwan accepted as an "independent State". This invention is part of its plot to dismember China, to detach Taiwan from it and to perpetuate United States occupation of that Chinese island.

<sup>2/</sup> Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, signed at San Francisco on 1 September 1951.

<sup>3/</sup> Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, signed at Washington on 19 January 1960.

28. The United States continues to intensify in the most dangerous fashion its aggressive policy in the Far East, and particularly its policy against the People's Republic of China. All the previously mentioned hostile activities are intended to further this policy, and the United States wishes to make use of the United Nations, too, as an instrument of its anti-China policy. We regard this policy as incompatible with the obligations incumbent upon Members of the United Nations and as posing a real threat to international peace and security. It is therefore the duty of the United Nations to condemn that policy most forcibly and to put its own house in order by ejecting the Chiang Kai-shek elements and inviting the representatives of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's place in all the organs of the United Nations.

29. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, like the other peaceful countries which have more than once defined their position on this matter, strongly condemns the aggressive policy of the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China, unreservedly supports the indisputable right of the People's Republic of China to liberate Taiwan and the other Chinese islands, and rejects the absurd and tendentious so-called "two Chinas" theory, which is doomed to failure. There is only one single, indivisible China in the world—the People's Republic of China—and there is only one Chinese Government in the world—the Government of the People's Republic of China. Any Government which shuts its eyes to this truth shows a lack of political realism which is inadmissible in a Government conscious of its responsibilities.

30. The People's Republic of China is a peaceful socialist country and a great and dynamic world Power which has become a very important factor in international life. It stands on the side of all peaceful countries, whether large or small, against the imperialist policy of war and aggression, and is in the forefront of the struggle for the defence of peace, the national liberation of oppressed peoples, international co-operation and the progress of human society.

31. The Chinese people is heir to a glorious history going back thousands of years. Over the centuries, it has illumined the path of mankind towards progress and civilization, and has made a tremendous contribution to the development of world culture. It has never bowed to oppression and exploitation. Its history is full of struggles and revolt against feudal and imperialist aggression, particularly during the last hundred years. After a long and heroic struggle, the great Chinese people, led by its Communist party, threw off in 1949 the domination of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people has won for itself national and social liberty and a place of dignity in the world and has embarked upon the construction of a new society in which there will be no oppressors or oppressed and no exploiters or exploited—a socialist society.

32. The imperialists are shedding crocodile tears over the present way of life of the Chinese people. They pity that people because it has been freed from national and social oppression, from famine, from humiliation, from exploitation and from barbaric feudal and imperialist domination. The real reason why they are shedding tears is that they have lost China, which is one of the world's richest sources of raw materials and labour and was one of the most

important markets in the whole world for their manufactured goods. They are shedding tears because they have lost those plundering concessions which were States within a State and because the Chinese people is no longer something to be bought and sold but a free people which is the master and the sovereign of its affairs.

33. This giant of a people, set free from its chains and united around its party and its democratic Government, is now devoting its enormous energies and its rare talent to the work of peaceful construction in all fields, while at the same time vigilantly defending its homeland and its historic conquests. In the last fourteen years, the new China, unaffected by the slanders of those who wish it only evil, has brought about profound transformations in the whole life of the country and has accomplished great things.

34. In the three years following the triumph of the revolution, the Central People's Government successfully carried out the reconstruction of the national economy and a programme of land reform which made it possible to distribute over 46 million hectares of land among 300 million peasants who had little or no land of their own.

35. With its first Five-Year Plan, the People's Republic of China largely completed the reorganization of industry and trade along Socialist lines. The second Five-Year Plan, which began in 1958, was characterized by the Great Leap Forward, which greatly increased the production resources of the country. In 1960, two years before the target date, the Chinese people achieved the main objectives of the second Five-Year Plan in the field of industrial production.

36. China has laid the foundations for its industrialization. Unemployment has completely disappeared. The well-being of the people improves every day and education and culture have received a great impetus. In the space of ten years, about 100 million illiterates have learned to read and write. Primary education has been extended to cover the whole country. There are eight times as many students as in 1949, and 1,100,000 students graduated from Chinese institutes of higher education in the last fourteen years.

37. In the past, natural calamities such as those which occurred in China between 1959 and 1961 were veritable catastrophes which cost millions of lives and wrecked the economy of the country. Now, however, thanks to the socialist system and to the system of people's communes, such natural calamities have been successfully overcome. No one dies of hunger now, and, even during those difficult years, measures were taken for the future strengthening and modernization of agriculture. The results of those efforts are already evident. The Chinese people, which is courageously and unselfishly making up a hundred years of leeway and overcoming the sad heritage of imperialist oppression and prolonged exploitation, is now building a new, happy and prosperous life, in spite of the blockades, pressures and attacks directed against it from all sides.

38. The very people who are attacking the People's Republic of China and are preparing war against it are shamelessly accusing it of carrying on an aggressive policy. In order to obscure the titanic work of peaceful construction and the peaceful policies of China, they have descended to borrowing slanders from the propaganda machine of Goebbels and setting in motion every instrument of untruth and every gratuitous public slander-monger they can find, without re-



gard to the resources and funds demanded by this subversive anti-Chinese activity. Only those who have no sense of reality and are blinded by hatred for the People's Republic of China and Communism could have the audacity to utter the slanderous allegation that the People's Republic of China is advocating the unleashing of a nuclear war in order to ensure the victory of Communism in the world.

39. But honest people of sound mind and the peoples of the world do not allow themselves to be taken in by such monstrous slanders. They know how to tell the truth from lies; they know that it is in fact the People's Republic of China which is the victim of the aggressive policy of imperialism. They know very well, support and admire the heroic Chinese people, the wise policy of peace pursued by its Government and the historic role played by the People's Republic of China on behalf of peace, liberty, democracy and socialism, and they indignantly reject the unworthy slanders uttered against China.

40. The People's Republic of China is pursuing, consistently and perseveringly, a policy of peace and friendship with all countries, particularly its neighbours. The part which it played in the formulation of the five principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different social and political systems, and the part it played at the Bandung Conference<sup>4</sup> are well known. China abides unswervingly and unhesitatingly by those principles. At the present time, it maintains normal diplomatic relations with forty-two States, almost all of them Members of the United Nations; it carries on trade with 110 States, and is developing cultural and friendly relations with 163 different countries and areas of the world. It has concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana.

41. The Government of the People's Republic of China is exerting unremitting efforts on behalf of world peace and security in order to remove the danger of another world war. It strongly supports the right of all peoples to national liberation and self-determination, and it is a steadfast fighter for the abolition of colonialism in all its forms.

42. It has always declared itself in favour of general disarmament and, as pointed out in the statement of the Chinese Government of 31 July 1963 and in the letter addressed on 2 August 1963 to the Heads of Government of all countries of the world by the Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, the People's Republic of China supports the banning of all types of nuclear testing and the banning and complete and unconditional destruction of nuclear weapons. To this end it has proposed the convening of a conference of the Heads of Government of all countries and for a series of specific measures including the establishment of denuclearized zones in different parts of the world.

43. The Government of the People's Republic of China made a most valuable contribution to the conclusion of the armistices in Korea and Indo-China, and to the conclusion of the agreement on Laos.<sup>5</sup> In 1958, with the consent of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it withdrew the Chinese volunteers from Korea,

whereas the United States of America still maintains its armed forces in South Korea.

44. In implementing the principle of the negotiated settlement of disputes and outstanding questions, the Government of the People's Republic of China has shown exemplary patience. It has made continuing efforts, as evidenced by the negotiations of several years' duration with the United States, to secure the peaceful liberation of Taiwan and the withdrawal of United States troops from that island and from the Taiwan Strait. In a spirit of complete understanding it has settled frontier issues with Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has consistently endeavoured to settle the frontier issue with India by the same peaceful means, and it is to be hoped that the Indian Government will adopt the same approach to the solution of that matter.

45. The People's Republic of Albania, which is bound to the People's Republic of China by ties of close friendship and fraternal co-operation, firmly supports the steadfast policy of peace pursued by the Chinese Government and regards its efforts to strengthen peace and international co-operation as a contribution of primary importance in the present world circumstances.

46. On 1 October 1963 the People's Republic of China entered its fifteenth year of existence. Its efforts have opened up a brilliant future for it. It has become a bastion of peace and progress in Asia and elsewhere. It is marching resolutely towards new and still more brilliant victories, which is what its true friends, all the friends of peace and progress, wish for it with all their hearts.

47. No logical person, no Government that is realistic in its policies and desirous of ensuring the prestige of the United Nations and of seeing that this Organization is able to contribute effectively to the solution of international problems, can any longer allow the United Nations to ostracize a country like the People's Republic of China, which possesses one-fourth of the world's population and a colossal potential in economic and human resources, which has made marvellous progress in peaceful development and which is advancing with long and sure strides towards the transformation of China into a powerful socialist State having a modern industry, agriculture, culture and technology. It would be intolerable for the United Nations to fail to take the earliest possible advantage of the great and indispensable contribution of a great peace-loving Power like the People's Republic of China, a country which has at present become a decisive factor for the defence of the interests of peace and peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples.

48. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania wishes to point out to the General Assembly that as the years pass and the world situation develops it becomes increasingly imperative for the United Nations to reject once and for all the profoundly negative and hostile attitude of the United States of America in this matter and to restore without delay the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization.

49. Very serious problems face the peoples of the world and the United Nations itself. The aggressive policy of imperialism threatens the freedom of peoples and international peace and security. Today on the agenda of history there stand such crucial items as general and complete disarmament, the permanent abolition of colonialism, the adoption of measures to assist the less developed countries in their economic

<sup>4</sup> Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

<sup>5</sup> Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

and cultural development, and international co-operation in trade, culture, science and technology. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China, none of the major international problems of our time can be solved, and this is a fact which even the bitterest opponents of the People's Republic of China, and certainly the United Nations, must recognize.

50. The Government of the People's Republic of China has officially declared that it does not consider itself bound by any international agreement concluded without its participation and not signed by its official representatives. It is readily understandable that that Government should be unable to participate in any body set up by the United Nations or in any conference convened by the Organization or held at its invitation or under its sponsorship so long as China's seat in the United Nations continues to be held by the puppet régime of Chiang Kai-shek.

51. It is no doubt superfluous to repeat that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is primarily and principally in the interest of the Organization itself. The Chinese nation is going forward on the road of socialism, and the People's Republic of China is prospering and consolidating itself as a powerful and peace-loving socialist State, despite the fact that it is not represented in the United Nations. This Organization, on the other hand, cannot function normally without the people's Republic of China, and still less can it deal with the major international problems before it and contribute effectively to their solution.

52. The Albanian Government considers, as was stated from this rostrum by Mr. Mehmet Shehu, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania, that:

"The solution of this problem can no longer be delayed if we wish to implement the fundamental principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, if we want the principle of the universality of the Organization to be something more than a form of words, if we want to strengthen peace and international co-operation, if we want the Organization to be in a position to solve the great international problems." [884th meeting, para. 44.]

53. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that, in the interest of implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter, in the interest of strengthening the United Nations and in the interest of peace and international co-operation, the General Assembly is in duty bound to decide, at this session, to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization.

54. It is to this end and with this hope that our delegation, on instructions from the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, has the honour to submit to the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1], in which Cambodia has been good enough to join us as a co-sponsor. The draft resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations indispensable to the consolidation of the Organization and to the cause to which it is committed under the United Nations Charter,

"Bearing in mind that only representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are

competent to represent China in the United Nations and all its organs,

"1. Resolves that the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, who are illegally occupying China's place in the Organization, shall be immediately removed from all United Nations organs;

"2. Invites the Government of the People's Republic of China to send representatives to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs."

55. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that the General Assembly, demonstrating a high sense of its responsibility, will overcome the artificial obstacles placed in its way and, by adopting this draft resolution by the largest possible majority, will resolve this question which is of such vital importance for the United Nations. It will thereby meet the just demands of all peace-loving countries and peoples and will render a great service to the cause of the United Nations, the cause of peace, understanding among peoples and international co-operation.

56. Mr. LIU (China): As I mount this rostrum I cannot help reflecting on how the situation has changed since the so-called question of China's representation was last discussed in this Assembly. Last year it was the representative of the Soviet Union who opened the debate [1156th meeting] and, in his customary fashion, delivered himself of an impassioned peroration on the claims of the Chinese Communists to the seat of China in the United Nations. This year, by a strange irony of history, the Soviet Union has deemed it expedient to take a back seat and to leave the main burden of championing the Chinese Communist cause to a country whose standing in the Communist camp is, I am told, something less than respectable. Only three months ago the Soviet Central Committee, in its open letter to all Party organizations and Party members, had this to say about the type of role which Albania has played in relation to the Chinese Communists:

"The overwhelming majority of the Communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned this anti-Leninist activity of the Albanian leaders. The CPC"—that is, the Communist Party of China—"... did everything to use the Albanian leaders as their mouthpiece".

It is this "mouthpiece" that has just regaled us with a number of fantastic assertions about the virtues of the Chinese Communists. I do not believe that the parrotings of a "mouthpiece" can be taken seriously. They are essentially the same tissue of falsehoods, absurdities and distortions that has already been woven into the memorandum requesting the inclusion of this item in the agenda. Since I have already had the opportunity to examine the Albanian memorandum in my brief statement in the General Committee [153rd meeting], I do not propose to weary the Assembly with a repetition of what I said on that occasion. What I wish to do now is to deal with some of the arguments most frequently advanced by some delegations in support of the seating of the Chinese Communists.

57. One of these arguments is that of "realism". Proponents of this point of view contend that the existence of the Communist régime on the mainland of China is a reality and must therefore be recognized as such. But this is not the issue before the Assembly. The issue is not whether the Communist régime does or does not exist; it is whether this régime can or cannot represent the Chinese people in the United Nations. I submit, with

all the emphasis at my command, that it cannot represent the Chinese people in the United Nations.

58. The Chinese Communist régime came to power on the mainland of China not with the consent of the Chinese people, but by blood-letting. It came to power as the result of Soviet aggression against China, a puppet creature that has turned into a Frankenstein and a menace even to its own creator. Since its establishment in 1949 it has spawned a frightful system of repression and surveillance, terror and torture, the like of which history has never known. Millions upon millions of innocent people have been slaughtered. Millions upon millions have been condemned to slow death in prisons and labour camps. The régime has, since 1958, subjected the whole of the Chinese nation to hunger and starvation through the so-called Three Red Banner Policy: the general line of socialist construction, the "great leap forward", and the people's communes. Is this not also reality? Can anyone in good conscience say that this régime, which has waged a relentless and merciless war on the masses of the population and has committed so many heinous crimes against them, can represent them in an Organization which has for one of its primary purposes the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms? To me the answer is an emphatic "No".

59. It has been argued, however, that even if the régime is inhumanly tyrannical, the fact still remains that it is in effective control of a vast territory and a vast population. It cannot be barred from the world community on purely moral grounds.

60. To those who are disdainful of moral judgements I say this: the lofty principles enshrined in the Charter are essentially moral principles. If you strip the United Nations of its moral basis you deprive it of all its meaning and influence.

61. As for effective control, it is in fact deceptive. Fourteen years of unremitting terror have failed to destroy the Chinese people's thirst for freedom. They have never ceased to struggle against their oppressors and they will continue to struggle until freedom is won. Those who speak glibly about effective control cannot be unaware of the fact that under the surface there is a boiling, seething, mass of bitter resentment and intense hatred. This has become increasingly clearer every day.

62. The Chinese Communist Party itself has lately shown mounting signs of confusion and disintegration. Its top leadership has obviously lost its grip on reality. Among the rank and file, pessimism, opportunism and factional strife are rampant. In the armed forces there is wide-spread discontent and disaffection. There is no reason to believe that Communism is in China to stay.

63. That the state of affairs on the mainland of China has become increasingly unstable is confirmed by a foreign observer who is known for his impartiality and perspicacity. This observer noted, in a dispatch under the dateline of 3 October 1963, from Hong Kong:

"Among the expert China-watchers who pursue this difficult specialty here in Hong Kong a most interesting new trend has appeared in the past year. In brief, doubts are beginning to be expressed about the future stability of the Communist régime in China. This is all the more striking, because no such doubts were to be heard among the China-watchers in 1961 and 1962, when the paranoiac follies of the

'great leap forward' had brought Communist China to the very brink of immediate catastrophe."

64. There can be therefore no doubt that communist control on the mainland is far from effective. The façade of communist power is propped up only by sheer violence.

65. Another argument that has been frequently advanced is that of the principle of universality. It is said that as a world Organization, the United Nations in its membership must be as universal as possible. This being so, it is asked: how can the Chinese Communists be excluded?

66. In reply to this, I am constrained to point out that, however lyrical one may wax over the principle of universality, it is not, properly speaking, one of the basic principles written into the Charter. Universality is a quantitative test. The Charter, on the other hand, applies a qualitative test to membership. Therefore, even though universality is desirable in itself, it is still no valid argument for the seating of the Chinese Communists. This point was irrefutably clarified by not a few Members of this Assembly when they maintained that there are certain specific conditions to be met in order to become a Member of the United Nations, and that the aim of universality should be considered together with the conditions set forth in the Charter itself.

67. The late Dag Hammarskjöld, in his introduction to the annual report written shortly before his tragic death, sounded this note of warning:

"It is my firm conviction that any result bought at the price of compromise with the principles and ideals of the Organization, either by yielding to force, by disregard of justice, by neglect of common interests, or by contempt of human rights is bought at too high a price. This is so because a compromise with its principles and purposes weakens the Organization in a way representing a definite loss for the future that cannot be balanced by immediate advantages achieved." <sup>6/</sup>

These are wise words. To seat the Chinese Communists at the price of compromising with the Charter principle of qualitative test is to weaken the United Nations.

68. What is this qualitative test? It is found in the phrase "peace-loving". Is the Chinese Communist régime "peace-loving" within the meaning of the Charter? Certainly not. A régime that has waged war against the United Nations itself, that has been condemned by the General Assembly as an aggressor in Korea, that has resorted to force in its border dispute with India, and that has carried out subversion in Laos and Viet-Nam at the present time, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called "peace-loving".

69. The Soviet Union is an ally of the Chinese Communist régime. It adheres to the same Leninist-Marxist ideology. Through the years, it has been the chief spokesman of the Chinese Communist cause in the United Nations. Yet even the Soviet Union is forced to admit that the Chinese Communist régime is aggressive and predatory. Let me quote a passage from recent Soviet documents.

70. In the open letter I have already referred to at the beginning of my statement, the Soviet Central Committee declared in reference to their Chinese comrades:

<sup>6/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, document A/4390/Add.1, section V.

"No one, including big States, has the right to play with the destinies of millions of people. Those who do not want to exert efforts to exclude world war from the life of the peoples—to avert a mass annihilation of people and the destruction of the values of human civilization—deserve condemnation."

This is not the propaganda of the capitalist Press. This is taken from a document issued by the highest authority of the Soviet Union: the Central Committee. The verdict of this authority is that the Chinese Communist régime is so callous and so inhuman that it does not hesitate to consign the human race to nuclear annihilation. Such a régime is obviously unfit for membership in the Organization dedicated to the task of maintaining international peace and security.

71. The aggressive nature of the Chinese Communist régime is such that even the Soviet Union is beginning to feel the impact. According to the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* of 21 September 1963, the Chinese Communists in 1962 alone, violated Soviet frontiers no less than 5,000 times. The same paper, in an article published on 23 August 1963, likened the Chinese Communists to such "outrageous aggressors and villains" of history as Attila the Hun and Hitler. If the Soviet Union could find itself a victim of Chinese Communist aggression, then what would become of Southeast Asia in the event that Peiping decides to move all out in that direction? One shudders to contemplate.

72. I think I have made it sufficiently clear that the Chinese Communist régime is not "peace-loving" and cannot therefore meet the test of membership as specified in the Charter. Let me now examine yet another argument which has been frequently advanced in support of the seating of the Chinese Communists. This is the argument that without the participation of the Chinese Communists, the United Nations cannot usefully discuss some of the most vital problems of the day. Disarmament, we are told, is such a problem.

73. This, I submit, is purely wishful thinking. A régime that is ready, in the words of the Soviet Central Committee, to "play with the destinies of millions", to destroy "the values of human civilization", and to build their communist world on the ruins of a nuclear holocaust, cannot be expected to co-operate in a constructive manner for the reduction of armaments. There is no better proof of this than the Chinese Communist attitude toward the treaty on a partial nuclear test ban. They are opposed to the treaty. They proclaim that the treaty represents a Soviet "capitulation in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail". I have to agree with the Soviet leaders for once when they declared:

"The Chinese Government"—that is, the Chinese Communist régime—"can issue a thousand and one more statements on the treaty to ban nuclear tests, but they will never be able to whitewash their treacherousness and hypocrisy in the eyes of the Communists, in the eyes of all mankind."

74. In this connexion, I may cite what President Chiang Kai-shek said about Mao Tse-tung in his anniversary message to the Chinese people a few days ago:

"If Khrushchev cannot coexist with Mao on a father-son party basis, and has had to tear up hundreds of agreements he had signed with Mao, how can others hope to negotiate successfully with him on such matters as the test ban and disarmament?"

No, Chinese Communist participation in the work of the United Nations will not help solve problems; it will only help create more problems.

75. The United Nations is more than a motley assemblage of Member States with no deep conviction of shared values and interests, with no feeling of trust and confidence in one another's purposes. It is, on the contrary, an Organization in which all Member States have solemnly committed themselves to carrying out the obligations imposed by the Charter. In the past seventeen years, the United Nations has suffered much from the consequences of the cold war and from the obstructionist tactics of the Soviet bloc. Yet, in spite of all this, it has been able, on a number of occasions, to contribute importantly to the cause of peace. The Soviet Union may have succeeded in blurring the image of the United Nations, but it has not succeeded in destroying it. If, however, the United Nations is to add to its membership a régime which is the very negation of everything it stands for and which has proved itself a disruptive influence in international relations, the consequences could be very serious indeed. When that time comes, all the problems with which the United Nations is now faced would cease to matter; they would have been solved in the way that death puts an end to all bodily ills.

76. This is no exaggeration. Let those who doubt my words look closely at what is happening to the Communist camp. This is a camp which is bound together by a common ideology, by a misguided sense of mission, and by a fanaticism which is sustained by apocalyptic visions of the future. This is a camp which, but a short while ago, boasted of its monolithic unity, its "proletarian solidarity", and its iron discipline. Yet this camp now finds itself in a state of disarray. I, for one, would, of course, shed no tears over this. Nor do I think that international communism has thus become less of a menace to human freedom and world peace. On the contrary, as far as we know, world domination still stands out on the communist agenda. But this is not the point I want to drive home here. What we want to know is this: How has this disarray come about? Moscow has given us the answer. According to *Izvestia* of 21 September 1963, this has come about because the Chinese Communists have directed their propaganda at "discrediting the Communist Party and the Soviet Union", at "splitting the Communist movement and undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist forces" and at "pursuing their own great power aims". If the Chinese Communists can do all this to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, what would they not do to destroy the United Nations?

77. The Government for which I speak truly represents the wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people in the United Nations. Let me remind the Assembly that this is no exile Government. This is a Chinese Government based on Chinese soil. I may add that as far as the Chinese people are concerned, there is only one China, and that China is the Republic of China. The Republic of China is more than a piece of real estate known as Taiwan. The Government of the Republic of China is a symbol and rallying point of Chinese nationalism. It is to this Government that millions of Chinese people who are still free declare their allegiance. And it is to this Government that the enslaved millions on the mainland look for their deliverance from Communist tyranny. The Communist régime on the other hand is alien to the great traditions of the Chinese people, and flagrantly disregards



their interests, wishes and aspirations. It is oppressive at home and aggressive abroad. It is as un-Chinese in character as it is un-Chinese in purpose.

78. These are the issues involved in the so-called question of Chinese representation. I trust that you, my fellow delegates, are fully aware of the implications of the decision you are called upon to make. On your decision depends not merely the fate of the Chinese people but also the future of the United Nations.

79. Mr. QASIM (Pakistan): The attitude of Pakistan on the question of representation of China in the United Nations is the same today as it was thirteen years ago. I would not like to take much of the time of the Assembly in setting forth the justification for our stand, which is so well-known, and was also expressed in the course of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

80. In brief, for us, the question is not that of the admission or non-admission of China in the United Nations, because it is a State which is admitted to the membership of the United Nations and not a Government. The State of China has been a Member of the United Nations right from the very day of the Organization's inception, and not only that, it also happens to be a permanent member of the Security Council. Therefore, the sole and simple question is, who is really entitled to represent China in the United Nations? And for this, we have to see who has effective control over China, who can discharge the obligations and duties of the United Nations, who can carry out the policies of the United Nations, and who has the right to come and sit here and express the views and wishes of the Chinese people. No one can deny that it is the People's Republic of China alone which has the right to do so, because it is the People's Republic of China which has had effective control over the entire mainland for the last fourteen years and it also represents 700 million people. It follows therefore that it is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China which should represent China in the United Nations.

81. Pakistan recognized the Central People's Government fourteen years ago and also established an embassy in Peking soon after. In these circumstances, Pakistan feels bound to support the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] submitted by the representative of the People's Republic of Albania.

82. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): The question which we are discussing today is not a new one. The item has been on the agenda of our Organization for the last several years. Every year my delegation, among others, has come to this rostrum and has urged the United Nations to do a simple and just thing, that is to accept the reality of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its organs. But it really pains me to have to state here that, so far as this question is concerned, the United Nations—the world Organization created by the noblest aspirations of man to ensure peace, security and justice in the world, and consisting of independent and sovereign States—has till now refused to accept the reality of the world situation. In this matter, I am constrained to say, our Organization has so far acted like an escapist who, when called upon to face reality, closes his eyes and refuses to believe the obvious truth. Our Organization, so far as this question is concerned, has time and again been refusing to do justice to the legitimate rights of the great People's Republic of China. We do not, however, lose hope. We do not be-

lieve that this situation will continue long. We do not believe that justice will remain forever undone. Truth and justice, as our sacred Scriptures say, must in the end prevail. We refuse to believe that our Organization will permit itself to remain any longer blind to the reality in this regard. Most important of all, we refuse categorically to believe that this world body will be incapable of self-examination. That is why we have been appealing year after year to the United Nations for the reconsideration of this question. In the name of justice, we appeal again to this Assembly to cast from its eyes, once and for all, the dust of power politics and welcome one of its great permanent members of the Security Council back to the fold.

83. Yet it is not in the interest of justice alone that we plead most ardently that the rights of the People's Republic of China be restored. The fact that a great, powerful and large country, a founding Member of this Organization and one of the five original permanent members of the Security Council, has since 1949 been kept out of this Organization artificially is, to say the least, a lamentable one. This fact, I need hardly say, militates against the principle of universality of membership of the Organization, a fundamental principle which, along with the correlated principle of the equality of all Member States, lies at the foundation of this Organization. At this point our minds are naturally led to contemplation of the fate of the League of Nations, memories of which were revived in the Assembly only a few days ago when His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia was pleased to address this Assembly. The Emperor recalled how twenty-seven years ago his country was overrun by aggression without the League of Nations being able to do anything about it. The League of Nations died because it could do nothing to uphold by action the purposes and principles of its Covenant. It could do nothing, because it was crippled and made powerless from the very beginning. The United States refused to join the League, and, to make matters worse, the League statesmen refused to admit the Soviet Union. The League of Nations suffered from the lack of universality from the outset. No wonder the League failed in the fundamental task of safeguarding the territorial integrity of nations and the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

84. The principal task of the United Nations is the same. We, constituting the United Nations, are committed to the essential task of safeguarding the integrity and sovereignty of nations and maintaining the security and peace of the world. But how can this be possible if a great and powerful country such as the People's Republic of China, comprising one fifth of the world's population, is made an outcast in the comity of nations by narrow power politics? Therefore it is not only in the interest of justice alone but also in the interest of our Organization, in the interest of making it a more effective instrument for international peace and security, that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China should be restored in our Organization. The United Nations, I submit, is not a selective club of what some of us may consider to be good and desirable Members only, leaving out those whom these gentlemen may consider as undesirables. The United Nations is a universal Organization where independent States with different ideologies and socio-economic systems co-exist with one another as equal Members, all owing allegiance to the principles of the Charter and committed to working together for international peace and prosperity.

85. Permit me now to draw the attention of the Assembly to the reality which obtains in the world situation—the reality as we and several other Members see it. The Central Government of the People's Republic of China is in effective control of the whole of the Chinese mainland territories and commands and enjoys the absolute allegiance of the population. China is one of the biggest land masses of the earth, and its population is over 650 million, which constitutes over one fifth of the world's population. The People's Government of China is capable of commanding, and has been commanding for the past fourteen years, the allegiance of the 650 million Chinese people. It is only logical that these people and their Government should better be inside than outside our Organization, in the interest of peace, security and justice.

86. The question of China's recognition is not the issue before us. The Government of the People's Republic of China has diplomatic and consular relations with most of the Member States of our Organization. Furthermore, we need not concern ourselves with the problem whether the People's Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations as a Member. The question is not that of admission. China, by virtue of its great contributions in the last World War and by virtue of its being a great Power, has had a special position in the United Nations. It has a permanent seat in the Security Council. However, after the great revolution of 1949, that permanent seat was allotted, not to the Government which effectively controlled China and continues to rule up to the present time, but to a group of persons who claim to represent the Chinese people but who have totally lost contact with the aspirations, the destiny and even, I am constrained to say, the language of the great Chinese people. That is something we fail to understand.

87. The Chinese people are a great and peace-loving people. Their achievements in culture and science and their contributions to the evolution of civilization can hardly be over-estimated. One hundred and eleven Member States are assembled here so that we can unite our strength to maintain peace and security. When the rights of the Chinese people to unite their strength in that noble task were flagrantly denied in 1949, our membership consisted of about half that number. Since then two continents and a new world order have come of age. China's fight against oppression and domination of nation by nation and of man by man has considerably helped to bring about that new order. It is indeed regrettable that it should find itself now in a position wherein it is deprived of its right to unite its strength with that of other nations of the world to fight collectively for the total elimination of the remaining injustices of the world, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedoms and to maintain international peace and security.

88. The ultimate goal of our Organization is the maintenance of peace and security in the world. To secure that goal, the total resources in the world of human energy and genius are needed. We have all recognized that complete and general disarmament is the only effective means of realizing that objective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is currently busy working out an acceptable formula towards that objective. The Eighteen-Nation Committee, however, suffers from one great shortcoming. One of the great Powers has refused to co-operate with it, and another potential nuclear Power, that is the People's Republic of China, has been refused the opportunity to co-operate. We are of the view that so

long as the great Powers—the nuclear as well as the potentially nuclear Powers—are kept from the negotiating table on matters of disarmament our goal of complete and general disarmament may not be fulfilled as early and effectively as we should like. Even if some sort of agreement is reached by the Powers that are in the Disarmament Committee, such an agreement would not be highly workable in the absence of co-operation from those great Powers. For the sake of the success of the disarmament talks, therefore, if not for anything else, let us now admit China's right to its original place in this Organization and invite it to participate in the Geneva negotiations.

89. The recent Moscow Treaty<sup>2/</sup> on a partial nuclear test ban has partially eased the tension that hitherto prevailed in the world. This is the time to seize the opportunity afforded by the creation of a better climate in the world situation to cast aside our narrow political interests and, in the name of world peace, to restore the People's Republic of China to its original place in the family of nations. In this connexion, my delegation has already expressed, during the general debate [1218th meeting], our high appreciation for the Indian statesmanship which has refused to allow India's border troubles with China to prejudice in any way its attitude towards this totally different question.

90. I should like to end this statement on a note of hope that this Assembly will achieve yet another milestone in easing international tension by seating the representatives of the People's Republic of China. I should like to conclude by stating that my delegation supports the Albanian and Cambodian draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] which has just been introduced by the representative of Albania.

91. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): This year the General Assembly is again faced with the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations [A/L.427 and Add.1], even though the representatives of the People's Republic of China should long ago have been invited to take their proper place in our Organization and the discussion of this very obvious question should have been terminated in recognition of the realities of the situation.

92. It is unquestionable that the absence of the People's Republic of China not only undermines the authority of the United Nations and harms its normal functioning but also makes it more difficult for this international forum to carry out the tasks that lie ahead of it. Can the United Nations be regarded as the representative, world-wide Organization that it should be, if it fails to include the representatives of a great people which constitutes so considerable a part of the world's population?

93. The People's Republic of China recently celebrated its fourteenth anniversary, and the whole progressive world hailed the victory of the Chinese revolution and the overthrow of the rotten Kuomintang régime.

94. The Soviet Union, which has steadfastly given the most extensive assistance and support to all countries struggling for their national independence, recognized the People's Republic of China and established diplomatic relations with it the day after it was constituted.

<sup>2/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

This action of the Soviet Union was of decisive importance, for it thwarted the expectations of certain circles that the victorious revolution in China could be isolated from the rest of the world.

95. At the present time more than forty States maintain diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and that country participates actively in international life. It has taken part, for example, in such vast and important international gatherings as the Geneva Conferences of 1954 and 1961-1962.

96. The Geneva Conference of 1954,<sup>8/</sup> in whose labours the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China took part along with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, approved an agreement which opened the way to the establishment of peace in the Southeast Asian region.

97. Last year, the People's Republic of China made an important contribution to the international conference at Geneva which had been called to settle the Laotian question.<sup>9/</sup> The document setting forth the agreement on Laos was signed by the representative of the People's Republic of China together with the representatives of thirteen other States. Thus even those who seek to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are obliged in international practice to sit at the negotiating table with the representatives of that country.

98. In the course of the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, the representatives of many countries have spoken of the intolerable situation arising out of the fact that the policy of certain countries has prevented the People's Republic of China from taking part in the activities of the United Nations—in defiance of the Charter of the Organization and in defiance of the principles of international law. In particular, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia pointed out that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China was vitally important to our Organization. And it was rightly stressed that many questions discussed within the walls of the United Nations cannot be settled without taking into account the views of several hundreds of millions of citizens of the People's Republic of China [1237th meeting].

99. A number of representatives of Western countries, too, have voiced a sensible approach to the question of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization. This was touched upon by Lord Home, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom [1222nd meeting].

100. It is no accident that at each session of the General Assembly there is an increase in the number of States voicing their opposition to the injustice committed against the People's Republic of China in regard to its rights in the United Nations. More and more Members of the United Nations are realizing that to put off a satisfactory solution of the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can only diminish the Organization's role as an instrument of international peace and security.

101. The head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, said in his statement at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly:

<sup>8/</sup> 16 June-21 July 1954.

<sup>9/</sup> 16 May 1961-23 July 1962.

"There is not the slightest doubt that the artificial exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation in the work of the United Nations greatly harms the Organization, considerably narrows the scope of its activities, impedes the consideration of international problems requiring the collective efforts of all States for their solution, and renders fruitful consideration of major problems virtually impossible." [881st meeting, para. 72.]

102. To ignore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is to ignore the rights of a people constituting one-fourth of all mankind, the rights of one of the permanent members of the Security Council and one of the founding Members of the United Nations; it is to flout the Charter of the United Nations.

103. It cannot be denied that without the participation of the People's Republic of China it is more difficult to settle the basic international problems of today; moreover, the violation of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations undermines the Organization's ability to settle these problems.

104. This is amply demonstrated by the problem of general and complete disarmament. To the question whether agreement on general and complete disarmament can be achieved without the co-operation of the People's Republic of China, any person endowed with common sense must answer in the negative. And the statesmen of the western Powers realize that no agreement on general and complete disarmament can be expected in the absence of the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union has already referred [1156th meeting] in this connexion to the following statement made by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in January 1961: "It would be, I think, very difficult to envisage any progress being made on disarmament without taking into account the enormous force on the Chinese mainland."<sup>10/</sup>

105. The United States representative to the United Nations, Mr. Stevenson, also stated: "No arms control system could be effective that did not include the territory of China."<sup>11/</sup>

106. The restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is really a matter of taking two related and inseparable forms of action. The first is to remove immediately from all the organs of the United Nations the so-called representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent nothing and nobody. The second is to invite the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to take their rightful seats in the United Nations and all its organs.

107. The question here, is not one of admitting a new Member to the United Nations but rather of restoring to one of the founding Members of the United Nations the rights of which it has been deprived. Hence, from a procedural point of view it is really a matter of confirming the credentials of the representatives of one of the Members of the United Nations.

108. It would obviously be absurd to demand that the question of restoring the rights of the People's

<sup>10/</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Nomination of Dean Rusk, Secretary of State-Designate, Hearings, 87th Congress, First Session, 12 January 1961, p. 7.

<sup>11/</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Proposed nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson as U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Hearings, 87th Congress, First Session, 18 January 1961, p. 12.

Republic of China should be decided by a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly. The confirmation of the credentials of representatives of Governments has always been decided by a simple majority.

109. It should also be pointed out that those who still harbour any illusion about the possibility of creating two Chinas in the United Nations are greatly mistaken. All attempts to resort to such a subterfuge must be resolutely condemned and resisted. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, pointed out to this Assembly:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China, and that Government alone, represents China in the international arena, and only the Government of the People's Republic of China can speak on behalf of China in the United Nations. Today, as yesterday the Soviet Union considers that the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored without delay and the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which represents no one, removed from the United Nations. Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, while the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has established itself there is sustained only by foreign bayonets. Everyone understands that the day is coming when truth and law must triumph and Taiwan be reunited with the People's Republic of China." [1208th meeting, para. 193.]

110. If we turn to the heart of the matter, to the essence of the problem, it becomes evident that those who still seek to prevent the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are motivated by hostility to the socialist order established by the Chinese people. But such an approach, to say the least, crudely violates the principles underlying the very existence of the Organization, the norms governing its operation. Such an approach contradicts the spirit of our times, the vital demands of life and the interests of the preservation of peace throughout the world. In these days, when the peoples of the world have noted with relief that international affairs have taken a turn for the better, when the conclusion of the Moscow agreement has raised new hopes, and when there are genuine prospects not only for cleansing the atmosphere, outer space and the waters and seas of harmful radioactive fall-out, but also for freeing international relations from the effects of the "cold war" and the unrestrained arms race, it is particularly timely and important to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

111. The fair wind with which the General Assembly has begun its work this year should favour the efforts of the States Members of the United Nations which are striving to secure the removal from the United Nations of elements rejected by the Chinese people, and to give the delegation of the People's Republic of China the opportunity to take its rightful place.

112. Now, as ever in the past, the Soviet delegation favours the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We call upon all States which are concerned with strengthening the Organization, with preserving international peace and security, to support the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

113. Mr. TATTENBACH (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): When an item has been dealt with at thirteen sessions of the United Nations General

Assembly—sometimes as a point of order and other times independently—very little that is new can be said about it. The arguments for both sides have been stated over and over again, and even our own delegation has had ample opportunity to make our attitude crystal clear. It might be thought that there is hardly anything more to be said on this subject. Nevertheless, and even at the risk of boring our listeners, we have decided to reaffirm our position once again and to state afresh our reasons for not being indifferent to the problem of the admission of mainland China to the United Nations.

114. There are two reasons for our stand. The first is the obdurate attitude of that ancient and great nation which, instead of setting mankind an example of high-mindedness and sound judgement, makes a display of intemperate conduct, aggressiveness and calculated violation of all the human and legal norms that have become accepted and established in the world today. The second reason is the obligation incumbent upon small countries such as ours, which cannot make a material or military contribution to the cause of the United Nations, to give at least our moral support by stating a critical judgement in this great conclave of the nations of the world.

115. St. Augustine said that error must be combatted day by day to prevent its taking root in men's souls. We wish to observe that principle. We remember having heard only too often in this Assembly the argument that the Government of mainland China rules over the world's largest population and that its frontiers encompass one of the biggest territories of our day. This is put forward as an argument that the United Nations is incomplete if that country, representing such a large population and possessing such a vast territory, is not a Member. Such an argument overlooks the moral issue.

116. My delegation does not share this point of view. It does not believe that the United Nations is a link between the nations of the world having as its only aim to bring together the largest possible number of countries. We prefer to think that the United Nations was founded to fulfil a moral purpose: to ensure that the ethical principles accepted by all Member nations shall prevail among them. To conceive of the United Nations as a simple world congress without an ultimate aim or valid moral reason to justify its existence is to deny the very essence of its postulates. It was never intended to be a simple league of nations in which all would deliberate without having to conform to any kind of rule. No, just the opposite. It is a league of countries which think alike on certain basic norms and have pledged themselves to respect certain essential principles in order to settle any difficulties arising between them as, for example, the renunciation of armed force in settling territorial disputes; and it is inconceivable that a country which has neither declared nor furnished proof of its willingness to respect those principles could be a Member.

117. The history of mainland China's sins is so long, varied and prolific in acts of aggression that we can safely say it respects neither size, ideology nor antecedents in choosing its next victim. If we think of a small nation, there is the case of Korea. If we look for a big nation with a thousand-year-old tradition of peacefulness, a nation which is even pursuing a policy of neutrality, there is the case of India. If we think of a noble nation, virtually cut off from the rest of the world which has for centuries placed the cult of



spiritual values above all material interests, we have Tibet, the land of the Lamas. We might add further instances of indirect aggression. All have been insulted and attacked by that nation; yet we are asked to accept it as a Member merely because it is large and populous! No, to do so would be tantamount to making the wolf lie down with the lamb merely because the wolf is strong and must on that account be included in the company of the meek.

118. Another argument put to us just as frequently as the one about size and population is that we ought to admit the Peking régime into our midst so that we might try to reform its bad ways. We are told that if we had it here among us, we could say to it over and over again that aggression is not the way to resolve one's differences with one's neighbours and that human rights must be respected. That has been done only too often from this rostrum; the Peking Government has been told in every tone of voice and in all the languages of the world that to play with war is to play with the most odious of forces, and that to threaten mankind with atomic weapons is to threaten it with what it most fears. All this has been said in English, in Spanish and now even in Russian; but Peking will not listen. We have nothing to gain by admitting the Peking Government so long as it will not heed us.

119. I think the most prudent view to take is that when there is a Government in mainland China which gives proof of its respect for the principles of the Charter and demonstrates that the policy of violence has been replaced by the rule of law, and when there is a régime that respects the humanity of its millions of inhabitants, then will we be able to believe that there is in our midst a Government which represents the whole territory of China.

120. At this point I should like to recall the statement made a few days ago by the distinguished Belgian statesman, Mr. Henri Spaak, who said that the world of today is divided not between right and left, not between countries that are developed and those that are not, but above all and chiefly between the optimists who favour reforms and the disenchanted who cling to their theories. My delegation wishes to be identified with the former, that is to say, with those who live in hope of a better world, with those who in this particular context wish for the day when amidst unanimous applause a delegation representing the entire people and the entire territory of China may take its place among us, a delegation that will do honour to the principles of moderation, respect and tolerance towards all persons and nations and will acknowledge its allegiance to the undying postulates of our Charter.

121. Mr. HAY (Australia): The Australian delegation has a clear and unequivocal attitude on the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] now before this Assembly. Australia recognizes the Republic of China. The Australian delegation will therefore vote against the present, or indeed any, draft resolution which would displace the Republic of China as a Member of the United Nations or which would substitute the Peking régime in its place.

122. This clear position flows inevitably from the fact of recognition of the Republic of China. We believe that this will be a decisive consideration for the majority of delegations since a majority of Member Governments recognizes the Republic of China. We realize that there are other factors involved in the Assembly's consideration of this draft resolution, particularly in the case of delegations whose Govern-

ments have a different position from ours on the question of recognition. It is nevertheless our belief that the result of careful consideration of these factors will reinforce the Australian stand in support of the Republic of China. I wish to consider these factors briefly.

123. In the first place, all of us here, whatever our position on recognition, must have regard to the history and to the future of the Republic of China. This is a Government which, from the very beginning of the United Nations, has consistently and successfully striven to uphold the Charter and to play its part in furthering the common aims of our Organization. The Government of the Republic of China has conducted itself in peace and friendship, with a proper regard for the interests of other Members in its own region and elsewhere. In the conduct of its affairs, it has discharged all its obligations under the Charter and has striven to live up to the precepts embodied in the Charter regarding economic advancement, social progress and human rights. In short, the Republic of China has proved itself by its words and deeds over the years, a worthy Member of this Organization.

124. Secondly, we cannot treat lightly the consequences of passage of this draft resolution for the people of Formosa. That is an island of 11 million people—a population greater than, or as great as, the populations of many of the States represented here. These people and their Government are in fundamental opposition to the Peking régime. We could not contemplate any action which would be tantamount to handing these people and their Government over to the Peking régime. And let us not deceive ourselves about the intention of the Peking régime to take Formosa by force. That intention was reiterated before this Assembly this morning by, among others, the representative of Albania.

125. Thirdly, we must all have regard to the implications of bringing representatives of the Peking régime into the United Nations. The fact remains that the Peking régime professes aims far removed from those which animate all of us here and uses methods which we here have agreed must be ruled out in the common interest. The fact is that Peking has never shown itself ready to co-operate with the United Nations or to order its policies in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. This has been demonstrated in a variety of ways, but principally of course by Peking's attitude toward the use of force. We are witnessing at this moment events which to many must have seemed inconceivable a short while ago—events which hinge upon Peking's stated belief in the validity and efficacy of the use of force. Nor can we forget that this belief, held by Peking almost alone in the world, has a long history of practical expression. There was first Korea, where the United Nations, pursuant to resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, in a great act of collective responsibility, supported South Korea against the military aggression of North Korea, only to have Peking come in on the side of the aggressor. Then there is the sorry record of forceful suppression in Tibet, and the tragic events on the Indian border, which were so fresh in our minds when this question was being debated a year ago. Those tragic events involved an attack upon a country which had in so many ways demonstrated its desire to maintain friendly relations and which was at that very time engaged in negotiations with Peking.

126. There is also Peking's record of fomenting subversion and covert aggression throughout South-East Asia, and even beyond. Speaking for the Government of a country which is located in the South-East Asian area, I find it difficult to believe the words of other representatives here who talk of the Chinese Communists as "untiringly working for peace", or who talk of those who oppose the Chinese Communists as "indulging in ignoble anti-Chinese slanders".

127. We speak from experience, experience of subversion and covert aggression in areas like Laos. We know that these are facts, that these actions continue, that despite appeals there is no sign of their stopping. We say, "By their deeds, ye shall know them".

128. Finally, need I remind representatives here that the Peking régime has characterized the nuclear test ban treaty, so very widely hailed in this Assembly, as "diametrically counter to the wishes of the peace-loving peoples of the world".

129. For all those reasons, and particularly because of the inflexible attitude of Peking in the great debate now going on about the use of force, my delegation suggests that even those who recognized Peking or do not recognize the Republic of China should consider most carefully whether this is the time to vote in favour of a draft resolution which could be taken as signifying the approval of the world community for a régime which, by word and deed, has demonstrated that it is fundamentally aggressive in its ambitions and in its motivations.

130. As I have said, the position of my delegation is clear. We recognize the Government of the Republic of China. We shall therefore vote against the draft resolution before the Assembly. We feel that the more general factors, of which I have named but a few, militate powerfully against acceptance of a draft resolution in these terms by Governments which have a different approach to recognition from our own.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*