

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1243rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 16 October 1963,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 80:

Page

*Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's
Republic of China in the United Nations
(continued)* **1**

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

AGENDA ITEM 80

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

1. Mr. INGLES (Philippines): This marks the thirteenth time that the General Assembly has discussed the important question of the representation of China in the United Nations. Time has wrought many changes in that period, but it has not in our view affected the cogency of the arguments against the efforts to unseat the Republic of China. These arguments remain as persuasive and as powerful today as when they were first raised in 1950.

2. The stand of the Philippine delegation on this question is well known. In the beginning, we opposed the inscription of this item on the agenda of the General Assembly, and in the last two sessions we have voted firmly against the proposal to have Communist China participate in the work of the United Nations. The Philippine delegation opposes the seating of Communist China for many reasons. Let me start with the familiar argument in favour of the proposition. It is alleged that Communist China should be admitted into the United Nations because of the principle of universality. However, even the Charter does not recognize universality as an absolute principle, otherwise all the nations of the world would automatically have been made Charter Members when the Organization was founded in San Francisco.

3. What the Charter did was to require certain qualifications for membership, chief among which is that of being peace-loving. Under no conceivable standards could the so-called People's Republic of China be considered a peace-loving State. In the first place, peace is contrary to its political philosophy. Communist China's chief contribution to international relations seems to be the introduction of the principle of anarchy and war without quarter in world affairs. Alone among the bigger Powers, Communist China has refused to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. Nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in its ideological quarrel with the Soviet Union, in which it openly advocated the disturbing doctrine of the inevitability of war. The Soviet Government has recently published a statement purportedly made by Mao Tse Tung to Prime Minister Nehru in 1957 as follows:

"I told him that if half of mankind were destroyed, the other half would still remain, but in return im-

perialism would be completely destroyed and only socialism would remain in the world, and within fifty or one hundred years the world population would again grow by even more than 50 per cent."

4. The Soviet Government also revealed that last year the Chinese Communist leaders tried to goad it into war in Cuba, to test "their theory that small nations should sacrifice themselves for the sake of the wonderful future of mankind". This cynical profession seeks to make a mockery of the work of the United Nations and indeed of all those who labour to banish the scourge of war from our midst.

5. In the second place, the record of Communist China since 1950 has been anything but peaceful. It is a condemned aggressor in Korea, condemned by the very Organization which it seeks to join. Technically, it is still at war with the United Nations. In spite of this, the United Nations had for many years merely deferred consideration of the question of China's representation in the United Nations. But whatever illusions there might have been that Communist China would mend its ways have been cruelly dashed to the ground. Far from relenting, Communist China has continued its bloody career of subversion and naked aggression.

6. Paradoxically, it is now being contended that Communist China should be brought under the discipline of the United Nations, presumably in order to curtail or at least to regulate its future aggressions—as if the Organization could compromise with aggression. In our view aggression, far from being a justification for admission, should on the contrary be the most decisive argument for ostracism from the society of civilized nations.

7. Let us remember that Article 4 of the Charter requires not only that a prospective Member be peace-loving, but also that it should accept the obligations of the Charter, and that in the judgement of the Organization it be both capable and willing to do so. Failure to comply with the first requisite necessarily implies non-fulfilment of the second and third requirements.

8. Aside from the fact that Communist China has never accepted the obligations of the Charter, its policy and performance are such that it cannot be trusted to abide by its commitments. It has a long and terrible record of truce violations in Korea. While the participation of Communist China in the Geneva conferences was hailed by its friends as evidence of its reliability as a stabilizing force in Asia, it is an open secret that Communist China is responsible for the continuing crisis in Laos and Viet-Nam. More than that, Communist China was the first to violate "Pancha Shila", or the Five Principles of Coexistence, to which it solemnly subscribed not only in a treaty with India but also as a co-signatory to the Bandung Declaration. It attacked its principal advocate in the United Nations, and at this very moment its troops are poised threateningly on the Indian border. And perhaps the crowning

indictment is the ruthless mass-murder of the Tibetan population in wanton violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

9. On all three counts enumerated in Article 4, therefore, Communist China is not qualified to become a Member of this Organization.

10. Yet in the face of these brutal facts it is now sought to reward Communist China's persistent and growing record of aggressions against its peaceful neighbours in Asia. My delegation would like to remind those who are inclined to favour such a course of action that the seating of Communist China, with all its legal consequences including the exercise of the veto, will mark the day when this Organization shall have voluntarily rendered itself impotent to check the Chinese Communist behemoth from swallowing up the rest of Asia. It will go down in history as the day when the United Nations doomed itself to disintegration.

11. We belong to an area of the world which is particularly sensitive to Communist Chinese pressures. The actions of the hostile giant on the mainland weigh heavily in the security considerations of every country in the area. Communist China's blueprint for aggression is being pursued under the guise of a drive for the recovery of territories allegedly lost by the former Chinese Empires. The old boundaries claimed as shown on a Communist Chinese map encompass not only the bulk of the Asian continent but also the outlying islands from Okinawa in the Pacific Ocean, southwards through Taiwan and the southern tip of the Philippines, then westwards through Singapore to the Andaman and the Maldiv Islands in the Indian Ocean.

12. As the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Lopez, stated in his policy address, "Communist China is the principal goad pushing" the countries of South-East Asia "towards mutual help, co-operation and unity" [1233rd meeting, para. 27]. That is why our initial set-back in the formation of Maphilindo is, we are sure, greatly regretted by all concerned. However, we are determined to persevere in the hope of realizing our original objectives.

13. Our efforts to contain the Communist Chinese menace are based on a delicate series of adjustments. We are apprehensive that admission of Communist China into the United Nations, by conferring respectability on an international outlaw, will increase its prestige to a point sufficient to upset this delicate balance. We very much fear that its increased prestige would give it a decisive psychological edge in the fierce battle for men's minds in our part of the world.

14. One important fact of life in South East Asia is the presence of millions of overseas Chinese, many of whom hold a pre-eminent position in the economic and even the political life in the countries of their adoption. Their choice of allegiance is of immense importance, not only to Peking or Taipei, but also to the countries in which they are domiciled. In the Philippines the overseas Chinese are sufficiently numerous to cause a dangerous economic problem, as well as a security hazard, in the event that they are forced to shift their allegiance to Peking. Nor is this probability remote.

15. To seat Communist China in the United Nations is to depose the legitimate Republic of China. Such a decision would have repercussions around the world and, most of all, in South East Asia, in a region most immediately vulnerable to Communist Chinese pressure.

16. It will be readily seen that to us in the Philippines the question of Chinese representation is not a mere exercise in the finer points of procedure or of academic agility in the subtler nuances of political science. It masks a lethal danger, a danger so near and so real that we feel it like the sharp edge of a knife.

17. For the foregoing reasons, and in full fidelity to the principles of the United Nations, the Philippine delegation will vote against any proposal to admit or to seat Communist China in the United Nations.

18. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): The question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been debated ever since 1950. That was the year in which the Soviet Union first raised a point of order in connexion with this matter. Subsequently, this same question had another spokesman—India—until that country was forced to recognize the aggressiveness of the present Government of Red China of which it had first-hand experience. It was only quite recently, however, in 1961, to be precise, that it was proposed that this question should be debated. The explanatory memorandum^{1/} drew attention to the need for the Assembly to ensure that any action to be taken in the matter would be based on the principles of the Charter and on a thorough consideration and examination of the relevant factors. The initiative was taken by the Government of New Zealand and, for the first time, the inclusion in the agenda of the so-called "Question of the representation of China" was obtained.

19. This was the situation when, on 15 December 1961, the United Nations General Assembly adopted, by 61 votes to 34, with 7 abstentions, a resolution [1668 (XVI)] sponsored by Australia, Colombia, Italy, Japan and the United States, stipulating that any proposal to change the representation of China was a very important question.

20. Today the question is again being debated and my delegation would like to examine it and to state its opinion. We agree with the view that there is only one Chinese nation, whose geographical boundaries are known and encompass not only the mainland territory but also the province of Taiwan and the adjacent islands.

21. Now, considered in this way, this geographical territory has two Governments, one of which has until now been regarded as the only one that can legitimately appoint the representatives of China in the United Nations—the Government with its seat in Taiwan. In addition, there is another Government which rules the entire mainland and claims the same right.

22. Of course, we have never thought that in a verdict regarding justice or legitimacy the majority criterion should prevail; the only criterion should be who has the right. In fact, the number for or against a question does not make that question right or wrong, since it will be right or wrong on its own merits, by its own nature. In deciding to whom we shall give our vote, therefore, we have not been influenced by any criterion of majority, expediency or convenience, or by the consideration of which the two Governments controls the most territory and the greatest number of inhabitants. In voting we shall be prompted solely by the determinative criterion of justice, and this, with due respect to all opinions and all Governments present here, is the only criterion we shall have in judging this question.

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 90 and 91, document A/4873.

23. From this Assembly, the world always expects a lesson: the lesson of justice, the lesson that our decisions will be based solely upon justice, the lesson that the criteria of expediency and convenience, however respectable they may be, can never prevail over the sense of justice. This is why the reality of things cannot be changed by opinion. Opinion may agree, for reasons of convenience or expediency, that two and two make five but it would be absurd to take this opinion as the basis for a mathematical calculation, just as it would be profoundly unjust to make opinion a criterion of justice.

24. This being so, the verdict in this case is very simple. One territory with two Governments: a legitimate, democratic Government, beloved by its people, although confined by the hazards of war to a small territory—clearly I am referring to the present Government of General Chiang Kai-shek; and another *de facto* Government, which is anti-democratic in its conduct and so tyrannical that it has liquidated over fifty million of its subjects since 1949—a Government which has been characterized by inhuman religious oppression in Tibet, which condoned and instigated the rebellion against the democratic institutions and legitimate Governments in neighbouring States. Examples of this are the Republic of Viet-Nam since 1949, Laos since its independence, with complete disregard of the Geneva agreements; the use of force in border disputes with India in 1959, the revolution of the Huks in the Philippines, the Communist uprising in Malaya the same year, the war waged against the United Nations in 1950, when 30,000 United Nations men were killed and over 103,000 wounded. Such was the aggressiveness of this Government that in 1951 the United Nations denounced it as an aggressor [General Assembly resolution 498 (V)].

25. Now it is not only these facts—although they carry extraordinary weight—as also many others, which prompt the Guatemalan delegation to consider it its duty to reject the representation of this Government in the United Nations. No; in addition to these facts, the criterion of legitimacy and the criterion of justice are uppermost in our minds. These principles are not changed or modified by the fact that this Government actually controls most of the territory and is inhumanly governing the majority of the Chinese. In fact, as I have said, there are two Governments: a Government which is legitimate in as much as it has its own political constitution and which respects its international commitments and respects human rights; and a *de facto* Government which is tyrannical, oppressive and inhuman, which takes a pride not in achieving peaceful coexistence with men of different views but in annihilating them, a Government which has acted as an enemy of the United Nations, and not only of the United Nations in action but, even worse, of its very principles.

26. In view of these facts, it is inconceivable from the point of view of justice and from the legal point of view that this Government should be given the seat in the United Nations instead of the legitimate Government or that it should be given a seat in the United Nations at all, since although it has strength it uses that strength to attack its compatriots and its neighbours.

27. The Guatemalan delegation therefore announces in advance to this Assembly that it will vote against the draft resolution of Albania and Cambodia [A/L.427 and Add.1].

28. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland) (translated from French): When the Finnish Foreign Minister, speaking

at this rostrum a few days ago, defined some of the positions adopted by my country, he stressed the importance which we attach to membership of the United Nations being truly universal. Here is what he said:

"The many problems which we have to solve here in common, because they are the concern of all, must obviously be considered by all nations together." [1225th meeting, para.11.]

He added:

"This Organization should include all nations. All should be admitted and none excluded, and every Member properly represented." [Ibid.]

29. Those are the three components of the principle of universality, the strict and complete application of which we regard as a necessary condition for the success of the United Nations. In order to put that principle into practice it is not sufficient to admit all States that wish to join us. We cannot be content simply to ensure that each one of us is able to continue to assume the responsibilities laid upon us by the Charter; it is equally necessary that we should not object to a change of régime bringing a change of representatives. We must see to it that régimes which have lost the authority they once exercised in their countries and which can no longer claim to speak for those countries are not represented here among us. In this protracted debate which drags on here from one year to the next, the only point at issue in the last analysis, is the recognition of a fact of history. Certain events have taken place in China. Fourteen years ago those events led to the establishment in China of a régime which a great many of us have formally recognized. It is strange, to say the least, that outside the United Nations we should maintain normal relations with the China of today and yet inside the United Nations we should deal with the representatives of the China of yesterday.

30. You will easily understand that I, who represent a country the size of Finland, am not going to follow the example of those who, speaking on this question have made much of the area, the population or, in general, the importance of China. I have already stated more than once that in a question of this kind my delegation could not take any other attitude if it were a matter of a country with a small population, or if the presence in our midst or the absence of the country in question was of little consequence in putting our decisions into effect.

31. As far as my delegation is concerned, the crux of the matter is the need for the United Nations to be truly and genuinely universal and to reproduce accurately and faithfully the true face of the world as it is. The consideration of this question has gone on all too long. It is time for us to put an end to it by inviting the representatives of the People's Republic of China to occupy the place to which they are entitled in this Hall.

32. Mr. MAHMOUD RIAD (United Arab Republic): The Government of the United Arab Republic recognizes the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government entitled to represent China in the United Nations. We made it abundantly clear during the discussion of this item in previous sessions that the issue under consideration is one of representation and not of admission of a new Member. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. Consequently, the Assembly should confine itself to one main issue, namely, who is entitled to sit in China's place in the United Nations.

33. I can hardly add to the arguments which have been presented either by the speakers who preceded me or during the previous sessions in support of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. No argument whatsoever, political or otherwise, would justify the exclusion from this world Organization of the Government of Peking which represents seven hundred million people. We in the United Arab Republic do not see how major political problems on an international level in general, or particularly in Asia, can be solved without the serious consideration of the views of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

34. For all these reasons we firmly believe that the Assembly should not waste any more time in admitting the true representatives of the People's Republic of China. In doing so, the Assembly would not only apply the right provisions of the Charter but would also act in conformity with both the norms of international law and in accordance with the realities of our times.

35. Consistent with our policy regarding the item under consideration, we will support the draft resolution submitted by the People's Republic of Albania [A/L.427 and Add.1]. If the Assembly in its wisdom adopts this Draft resolution, the true representatives of China will be admitted to this Organization, and thus the principle of universality will be truly and factually implemented.

36. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): The General Assembly is not dealing for the first time with the question of restoring the legal rights to the Chinese People's Republic here in the United Nations. Legal and political arguments advanced by the Polish delegation and many others in previous debates have lost nothing of their validity. These arguments remain irrefutable. Indeed, with the passage of time, they have been reinforced. Over all these years, we of the Polish delegation remember Samuel Johnson's words that; "though we could not outvote in this respect our opponents, we certainly did outargue them".

37. Principles of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the requirements of peaceful coexistence among nations, the need for normalizing international relations in the interest of peace, have made it imperative that the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic should occupy their rightful place in the United Nations and its organs.

38. The Chinese People's Republic has now been in existence for fourteen years. It is a great Power, and no one can argue that its Government does not represent the Chinese people in accordance with international law and principles universally accepted in international relations. It maintains diplomatic, economic and other relations with a great number of countries represented in this hall. Representatives of the Chinese People's Republic have participated in numerous international conferences. The Government of the Chinese People's Republic exercises full and effective control over Chinese territory. It is a Government whose missions are received by other States and with which negotiations are conducted and agreements concluded, and only this Government can undertake binding obligations on behalf of China.

39. Any doubt about the stability of this State is devoid of foundation. This great nation of 700 million has gone through a revolution, which did away with the old feudal system and the rule of military cliques, and which has done away with all the sources of weakness that in the

past prevented China from playing the role due to it in the international community and made possible its exploitation to the exclusive advantage of foreign interests. The very same forces and groups of interests whose influence upon the fate of the Chinese people was ended by the revolution now bar the way to the rightful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations. This, indeed, has become one of the most glaring phenomena of the cold war period. The same policy is being followed in maintaining the Taiwan régime, which owes its existence only to foreign support, under the protection of a foreign navy and of foreign rockets. The result of it all is tension in the Far East and South East Asia, a situation detrimental to the peaceful development of international relations. The refusal to admit representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and the maintenance of Taiwan as a provocative bulwark of foreign influences could not but bring about unavoidable reactions. One would be well advised to ponder these implications over and over again.

40. The Polish nation and the Government of Poland remain categorically opposed to the brutal ostracism imposed on the Chinese People's Republic, to the discrimination practised against the great Chinese nation and to the disregard for and encroachment upon its sovereign rights.

41. We submit, with the deepest conviction, that the question of participation by the Chinese People's Republic in the work of the United Nations is inseparably linked with the problem of peaceful coexistence and the active role which this Organization of ours has to play in the present-day world. The absence of the Chinese People's Republic constitutes a serious gap in the United Nations, for our decisions, particularly those concerning the maintenance of peace and international security, cannot be fully effective. It is absurd that some individuals occupy the seat in the Security Council and other United Nations organs, pretending to represent a great Power, one of the original Members of the United Nations, while they represent no one. That cannot enhance the authority of our Organization. The longer it continues, the more the United Nations will have to be exposed to charges of maintaining an unreasonable fiction.

42. The newly liberated people of Africa ask for the right to equitable representation in the United Nations organs. We recognize and support their aspirations. But is the great Chinese nation not entitled to proper representation in the United Nations? The African and Asian countries call for a wider representation in the Security Council. But may I, in this connexion, ask the following question: assuming they obtain a wider representation in the Security Council, will the Council be able properly to perform its functions while the seat of the Chinese People's Republic, the greatest country in Asia and one of the permanent members bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, is occupied by representatives of a discredited clique?

43. The United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations ought to reflect realistically the existing situation and the political set-up of the world and not a distorted picture of it. Meanwhile, the non-admission of representatives of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations stands in the way of many efforts towards the stabilization of peaceful relations among States and the normalization of international co-operation.

44. Many speakers in the general debate and previous speakers on this subject have mentioned in this connexion the difficulties which arise in the solution of a number of disarmament problems. I would add that one can hardly expect fully satisfactory results from United Nations efforts in the field of economic development and trade as long as the Chinese People's Republic, a country with unlimited possibilities for development and with the most absorptive market, does not have its representatives here. Let me put this question: can the World Health Organization assert, for instance, that it fulfils its universal task while 700 million people remain beyond the scope of its activity? Is that not equally true of ILO or of UNESCO? The replies to these questions are only too obvious. It is sufficient to ask a question, without even waiting for an answer, in order to see the consequences of the absurd attempts to isolate the Chinese People's Republic from the main currents of international life. It might sound like sheer paradox, but even the United States, the chief opponent of the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations—an opponent at least until today, for I do not know what we shall hear from the United States representative—has found it not only useful but expedient, and even necessary, to conduct direct diplomatic conversations with the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

45. In speaking of the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations, we cannot pass over in silence the so-called "two Chinas" concept. That equally unrealistic approach stems from the tendency to prevent the return of Taiwan to China and to perpetuate foreign control over the island. But Taiwan is an integral part of the Chinese People's Republic, and the Chinese nation will never agree to its illegal detachment. There is only one China—the Chinese People's Republic—and only its representatives have the right to speak for the Chinese people in the United Nations and elsewhere.

46. Therefore, any decision concerning the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations is linked inevitably to the exclusion from this Organization of the followers of Chiang Kai-shek, who lost ground on the Asian continent fourteen years ago, continue to lose it now on Taiwan, and are even losing in the eyes of those who support this adventurous Formosa undertaking.

47. If, as we said in the general debate, the United Nations is to become a workshop of peaceful co-existence in the political, economic, social and legal fields, it should first of all and without delay restore the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic to exclusive representation of the Chinese people. The General Assembly would thus take a significant step towards ending the cold war, towards easing international tension, towards strengthening of the authority of our Organization and its impact upon shaping the fate of a peaceful world.

48. I should like to emphasize that what we are discussing here is the sovereign right of the Chinese People's Republic to be represented in the United Nations and not Chinese policy, as some speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have attempted to do, thus distorting the issues. Many speakers in the general debate expressed the desire that the United Nations should exert new efforts and take new initiatives to promote the great cause of understanding among nations. The present debate offers an opportunity to act accordingly and the General Assembly

has a chance to show now its will and determination realistically to normalize international relations.

49. The Polish delegation, guided both by feelings of deep friendship towards the Chinese People's Republic and by the desire to contribute further to the improvement of the international atmosphere, makes a serious appeal to all delegations to cast a positive vote so that an end may be put to an abnormal and totally unjustified situation. For each passing year brings ever more evidence and with it the conviction that the United Nations must rid itself of fictions and take due account of the facts of life. In an atmosphere of reduced tension, common sense and interests of peace make it clear that the policy of disregarding and isolating the Chinese People's Republic brings advantage to no one.

50. We are in a position to take a significant step on the road leading to a peaceful international community and to the strengthening of the United Nations role in such endeavours. Let us not hesitate to take such a step.

51. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): Nothing has happened in the world in the past year to justify the General Assembly for again seriously debating the item which we now have before us; indeed quite the opposite is the case. For many years this issue has been dealt with in decisive fashion by the United Nations.

52. In 1961 [1080th meeting] proposals to seat the Communist Chinese and to expel the representatives of the Republic of China were defeated by a vote of 36 to 48. Last year [1162nd meeting] they were defeated by a vote of 42 to 56. In 1961 also [1162nd meeting] the General Assembly decided, by a vote of 61 to 34, that any such proposals to change the representation of China would come under the provisions of Article 18, paragraph 2 of the Charter, and this requires a two-thirds majority. Since then the leaders of Communist China have further demonstrated both in word and in deed that they do not accept the most basic principles of the Charter. The Albanian draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] is consequently inappropriate, in our judgement, and should be decisively rejected.

53. Given the behaviour of the Communist Chinese during the past year, it is even more unfortunate that the constructive mood of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly—a mood in which all, or almost all, of the Members have taken such satisfaction—should be interrupted by the provocative rhetoric of the cold war. The world is now looking to the United Nations to see if the current pause in the cold war can be stretched into a period of co-operation during which both sides can gain, in President Kennedy's words, "new confidence and experience in concrete collaboration for peace". The Albanian proposal to expel one of our founding Members and to replace its representatives with those of the world's most warlike régime is in essence a proposal to instal the advocate of both cold and hot wars in our halls.

54. Two years ago, on the eve of our debate on this subject, Communist China had subjected Tibet to its domination. Last year at this time it was engaged in aggressive warfare against India and, by its own admission, was using its influence during the crisis over Soviet missiles in Cuba to prevent the peaceful solution which the rest of the world welcomed with such relief. And now, this year, we find Communist China not only embroiled in both old and new disputes on all

of its peripheries, but also being the unique and aggressive advocate, alone in the councils of the world, of resort to war as a means of solving international disputes.

55. In the past two years nineteen plenary meetings have been devoted to substantive debates on the representation of China. Nearly all Members, I believe, have expressed their views. In both 1961 and 1962 proposals to expel the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and to admit Chinese Communist representatives were decisively rejected, not—I beg leave to point out—by "less and less support", as claimed by the representative of Albania in his statement of 27 September 1963 [1242nd meeting], but by a "No" vote of 48 in 1961 and by an absolute majority of 56 in 1962. One of the preceding speakers, furthermore, has based his case in part on the assumption that a majority of Member States recognize Communist China. The fact is, of course, that an absolute majority of Member States—namely, 59—recognize the Government of the Republic of China.

56. The Albanian request that this Assembly reverse itself and that we throw out a loyal Charter Member and make room here for representatives of a régime which is not a peace-loving State hardly bears scrutiny.

57. In contrast to the protestations of the representative of Albania about the peace-loving nature of the Peking leaders and their dedication to peaceful co-existence, the Chinese Communists have in fact demonstrated repeatedly that they will not meet the qualifications of Article 4 of the Charter. The Government in Peking is not peace-loving; it does not concur in the obligations which the Charter imposes; and it is clearly not willing to carry them out.

58. A recent example is Communist China's reaction to one of the most significant international developments since our last debate on Chinese representation. I refer of course to the test-ban Treaty,^{2/} the first successful step in seventeen years of effort to limit the nuclear arms race. What has the Chinese Communist régime said about this agreement? Unlike the virtually unanimous majority of the United Nations Member States represented here, which have adhered to the Treaty, the Peiping régime rejected it out of hand as a "fraud", a "trap", a "deceit". "It is rotten to the core" was their reaction to this first momentous step on the path to peace and sanity by arms control.

59. The Chinese Communists' rejection of the test-ban Treaty, while disappointing, cannot be said to come as a surprise in view of their known attitude toward other efforts to diminish international tension and the danger of war.

60. Their objection to the strenuous efforts of the United Nations to bring about disarmament has also been repeated within the last sixty days. "Universal and complete disarmament can be realized only after imperialism, capitalism, and all systems of exploitation have been eliminated", they say. "To make propaganda about the possibility of realizing a world without weapons, without armed forces, and without wars through universal and complete disarmament while imperialism still exists is to deceive the people of the world and is detrimental to the struggle for world peace."

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

61. Now I would ask the Assembly just to ponder this statement for a moment. As we know, that word "imperialism" has long been a communist synonym for certain democracies, including the United States. Peiping is saying that only when these free, peaceful, economic and political systems have been liquidated, can we even talk of general disarmament. In other words, they are opposed to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva; they are opposed to actions such as the resolution we have just adopted this morning in the First Committee [1311th meeting] forbidding the placing of weapons of mass destruction in orbit; and they are prepared to talk about disarmament only when those who do not accept their ideology have been erased.

62. Such an attitude is hardly a recommendation for admission to this Organization. But it is also hardly new. Long ago Mao Tse-Tung expressed the iron maxim of Chinese Communism in the words: "All political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". And only recently he was confirmed by one of his spokesmen as having said in 1957: "If the worst came to the worst and half of mankind died, the other half would remain while imperialism would be razed to the ground and the whole world would become Socialist"—that is, Communist. We must conclude that they accept nuclear war, because the death of half of the human race would improve the prospects for Chinese communism in the remaining half of the world.

63. In spite of all of this evidence of the dangerous mood of the mainland Chinese, there may be delegations here who are still unmoved; people who see Communist China's attitude as only one more aspect of the cold war; who regard this as a remote dispute—even if important—between big Powers, but with little real relevance and importance to them; people who may even secretly take some comfort in the attitude of Communist China on the assumption that it assists them in the struggle against colonialism.

64. To those who are so inclined, I would urge that the real objectives and aims of the Chinese Communists be studied more carefully. For their true objective is not the objective of African or of Asian democratic nationalism; their true objective is to use this nationalism as a way station to world domination.

65. The efforts of peoples still under colonial rule to achieve freedom are to be supported, but the communist party in those countries is enjoined to work, as they say, "independently among the masses" and to "guide the revolution on the road of socialism", which of course means communism. And lest there be any misunderstanding of what this means in the social fabric and the leadership of those States, the leaders of Communist China add that "all forms of struggle, including armed struggle" are to be mastered and that "the transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country". These words speak for themselves and they should speak to all of us.

66. No, Mr. President, while the Communist Chinese continue by word and by deed to reject the obligations of the United Nations Charter, while they treat the Organization with contempt and arrogance, they block their own admission to these halls. They, who have been branded as an aggressor by the United Nations, charge, to quote their words, that the "United Nations flag has been imprinted with the ignominious hallmark of aggression against Korea". We, the United Nations, they

say, are the aggressors against Korea. And they persist in asserting the right to use force if necessary to eliminate the Government of the Republic of China and to take the island of Taiwan.

67. The Chinese Communists, according to Albania, consider "the liberation of Taiwan and other Chinese islands... a legitimate right of this People's Republic of China...", an objective made more specific in a report of a political work conference of the Chinese Communist People's Liberation Army issued on 6 March 1963, which says: "We will speed the revolutionary and modernizing build-up of our army... to liberate Taiwan...". For many years the United States has sought without success to persuade the Chinese Communists to abandon the use of force as a method of pursuing their policies in the Taiwan Straits. It is no wonder, in the light of such an attitude, that we participate in a mutual assistance treaty with the Republic of China.

68. The standards of this Organization were established after prolonged and serious deliberation. Every Member that has joined this Organization is pledged to accept those standards. The Chinese Communists cannot amend or contradict them in the way they do, and still expect the Members of the Organization to consider them seriously committed to obey those standards and to undertake the responsibilities and the obligations of membership.

69. The recurrent theme of universality, running through the arguments of so many who favour the admission of the mainland Chinese, surely cannot be considered in isolation from such facts. We agree that universality represents a goal toward which the United Nations must strive. But the people of China are already properly and legitimately represented in the United Nations by the Government of the Republic of China, a founding Member. The United Nations must not weaken its dedication to principles, the principles on which it was founded and which have been spelled out in its Charter. It is these principles that should be universal. If we were to admit those who deny their validity, we would be creating an illusion of universality, which in time would probably turn out to be no more than a universal delusion.

70. Nor are the "realists"—to quote a familiar word—who maintain that the composition of the United Nations should simply reflect the world as it is, realistic if they disregard these principles of international conduct. The argument that it is "unrealistic" to exclude the representatives of the régime that for fourteen years has controlled hundreds of millions of people on the mainland of China brushes aside realities that have a direct bearing on the issue before us. These realities include the unrepresentative and aggressive nature of the Peking régime, the fact that China is already represented here by a Government which is both able and willing to carry out its obligations under the Charter, the fact that the Charter of the United Nations sets forth explicitly the requirements for membership, and, finally, the monstrous reality of the Albanian proposal to expel a Member which has always supported the Charter in order to make room for a régime whose creed and action are diametrically opposed to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

71. This argument of "realism" also overlooks still another reality, namely, that what keeps the people of mainland China from participating in the work of this Organization is an unscrupulous régime that has interposed itself between the people of China and the

rest of the world. The people of the United States, I should like to remind the Members of the Assembly, have been historically close and intimate friends of the people of China, and we are much concerned with their well-being and that they take their proper place in our modern world. But we believe we could do the Chinese people on the mainland no greater disservice than to give them the impression that we are siding with their oppressors.

72. It has also been suggested that the Chinese Communists can best be "tamed" by admitting them into the United Nations. Although I feel, as I said here in 1961, that this is a most tempting thought, which all of us would like to share, unfortunately the weight of the evidence points the other way. In their bilateral relations they have been aggressive, expansionist and unfriendly to their neighbours. On the rare occasions when Chinese Communists have spoken in international meetings, they have fostered disharmony and conflict. Even in the recently completed Centenary Congress of the International Red Cross, the Chinese Communist delegate, Peng Yen, refused to support a resolution which "welcomed the efforts being made by the Governments to dispel the menace of armed conflict by the reduction of armaments, the banning of nuclear tests and weapons and the resort to peaceful methods of negotiation".

73. We have another concrete illustration of Chinese Communist behaviour after they were brought into the Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question. Whenever the International Commission for Supervision and Control set up as a result of that Conference has taken action to forestall the possibility of a resumption of full-scale hostilities in Laos, it has been subjected to attack by the Chinese Government in Peking. Despite their protestations of peaceful intent, the Chinese Communists have refused to co-operate and, through their proxies in North Viet-Nam, have sought to defeat the purpose of the international agreement to which they have become a signatory, thereby keeping this unhappy neighbour country in a constant state of turmoil.

74. Nor need we look beyond the speech of the Foreign Minister of Albania, the spokesman of Communist China in this Assembly. His two speeches have constituted a reversion to the most extreme demagoguery of the cold war and have given the Assembly a vivid example of what would happen in our incessant struggle for mutual understanding and accommodation in the halls of the United Nations if Communist China should become a Member.

75. In conclusion, let me say that the fact of the matter is that the General Assembly has ruled, and ruled again, on this question. In 1961 the General Assembly, after a long, full and fair debate, decided that it was not prepared to throw out one loyal Member of this Organization and replace it by a régime which defies the Charter and the Organization itself and which has the temerity, if you please, to demand a license to commit armed aggression as the price of its admission to an Organization dedicated to peace. That decision was reaffirmed with even greater conviction in 1962. Nothing has happened in the interim to cause us to reconsider that carefully considered decision. On the contrary, everything that has happened confirms the wisdom of that decision. The evidence mounts from month to month that the Peking régime does not believe in world peace and collective security or the Charter of this Organization.

76. Mr. BECK (Hungary) (translated from Spanish): From the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly until this discussion, practically every day and from the mouths of almost all the representatives who have spoken, the following affirmation has been heard: in international life favourable winds of change are blowing, international tension has decreased and is continuing to decrease. Until now, this has also been reflected in the debates here. Almost all delegations, including the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, dealt in detail with the reasons for the reduction in international tension and also expressed the desire—many, like ourselves, expressed their determination—to co-operate in the solution of the main basic problems, without whose solution it cannot be considered that international tension has been eliminated, that peace and security are safeguarded or, consequently, that the principal goals of our Organization have been achieved.

77. It might perhaps be pointed out, however, that we are dealing with a cold war theme. It is true that we are dealing with a cold war theme, but not with the idea of increasing the tension and the number of serious problems to be solved. On the contrary, we should like once and for all to solve and eliminate one of these serious problems. If this problem is a cold war theme, the responsibility lies not with those who raise it, those who propose its inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly and who want to solve it, but with those who, with various false motives and by different methods, are obstructing its solution.

78. As long as China is not represented in the United Nations by the delegates of its Government, i.e., by the delegates of the People's Republic of China, as long as their seats are occupied by people who represent nobody, it will be impossible to say that the cold war has been buried and our Organization will not be able to succeed in its work of safeguarding international peace and security.

79. The aims and tasks of our Organization make it imperative for the representatives of all peoples and of all countries to participate in its work. Even if only one of the smaller countries is absent, this will have harmful repercussions on the United Nations and on the achievement of its aims. This is even more true when the seat of the representative of the largest country in the world—the People's Republic of China with its almost 700 million inhabitants—is occupied by nobody or by a person who represents nobody. This would also be very true if we were dealing not with the People's Republic of China but with what it was—a large country with almost 700 million inhabitants but an oppressed and backward country. It is a thousand times more true now that the Chinese people have ended their semi-colonial dependence and, in their independent and sovereign country, are successfully overcoming centuries of backwardness and poverty and are constructing an economically, technically and culturally developed socialist society. As a logical consequence of this satisfactory development, the authority of the People's Republic of China and the weight it carries in international politics have increased enormously not only in Asia but on all continents and in all parts of the world.

80. By denying the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations, we are not reducing its importance in international politics but we are completely obstructing the results of our Organization's work. Is it conceivably possible to

achieve general and complete disarmament and to solve the problems which beset the path to disarmament, and is it conceivably possible to settle any question of world importance, without the participation of the country in which one quarter of the world's population lives?

81. The lawful representatives of China have now been absent from this Organization for over ten years. This fact, among many others, makes it impossible for the United Nations itself to develop.

82. The complete elimination of the colonial system is imminent. In the near future, all the colonized countries will be independent and sovereign. There is no colonialist force which can prevent this. Fortunately the membership of the United Nations has increased, but the composition of its organs does not reflect the fact that today the majority of the former colonies are independent countries, sovereign and equal to all the other countries. They do not reflect this fact because the neo-colonialists, being unable to speak in an openly colonialist vein, use the refusal to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as a means of preventing the fulfilment of the just demands of the liberated countries.

83. In order to oppose the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, some people refer to the social system and the policy of China. Naturally, the different social and political systems could be discussed but not in this case, in relation to the problem at issue. The legitimate rights of China in the United Nations do not originate in the social system or policy of China. The international policy of China—that is, of the People's Republic of China, of one of the five great founder Powers—may be discussed but discussion is only possible with the People's Republic of China and never without it.

84. In order to defer the solution of the problem or to evade the problem, some people put forward the idea of two Chinas. We cannot forget however, that the partition of two small Asian countries has already led to war. How unrealistic and dangerous to apply this idea to the great Chinese Power which is one of the permanent members of the Security Council!

85. We have now been discussing the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations for over ten years. The Hungarian delegation has stated its position, giving detailed reasons, on many occasions. This position has not changed and it is familiar to the delegations in this General Assembly. The Hungarian delegation felt it necessary to repeat and to stress what I have just said, in order to show once again that in the interest of the United Nations itself, in the interest of international peace and security, the General Assembly must solve this problem of credentials once and for all.

86. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic strongly supports the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1].

Mr. Nur Elmi (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

87. Mr. SYLLA (Madagascar) (translated from French): The Republic of China, at present established on Formosa, has been recognized by my Government as the sole legal authority representing the Chinese people. As far as we are concerned, the fact that the population of Formosa is at present only 12 million makes no difference. The Government of the Republic of China has proved its worth by wise administration,

the results of which are plain to all. Its people enjoy complete freedom. Prosperity prevails there; and we for our part have not heard of any exodus of inhabitants owing to famine, or in search of greater freedom. The Government of the Republic of China, of Formosa, has a conception of international life which is that of all democratic countries. Its obvious desire is to prevent war between States for the sake of any particular ideology. It seems unthinkable to us that the Republic of China, of Formosa, which in its national and international life has adhered to the principles of our Charter, should be excluded from the United Nations, of which it was, moreover, a founder Member. To agree to the exclusion of the Republic of China from the United Nations would be tantamount to giving the People's Republic a free hand to invade Formosa and impose upon 12 million Chinese a way of life contrary to their conception of individual liberty and of democracy. It would also mean forcing the millions of Chinese who reside outside mainland China and Formosa and who recognize the legality of the latter to submit to a Government of whose methods and ideology they disapprove.

88. The issue at stake in this serious problem is, first and foremost, the very principle of the self-determination of peoples, upon which our Charter is based. For all these reasons my delegation does not support the Albanian draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] calling for the exclusion of the Republic of China at present established on Formosa. I repeat: my delegation is against this draft resolution and will not vote in favour of it.

89. Mr. NAVIA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): The Assembly has started to consider the agenda item on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Albanian delegation has submitted a draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] which calls not only for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations but also for the expulsion of the Government of the Republic of China which has been occupying its seat as a Member of the United Nations.

90. This debate offers a good opportunity for the exposition of all the political and juridical arguments that are being put forward so brilliantly by delegations in support of the conflicting views aroused by this controversy. This confrontation of ideas, systems and methods, as the various States define their attitudes, will of necessity lead us to give serious consideration to the decision we are going to adopt. The essence of the problem, the defence of the United Nations and loyalty to its purposes and principles, requires a thorough study of the political implications of the Chinese question.

91. The agenda item before us has been the subject of calm and penetrating study by the States Members of the United Nations during past sessions of the Assembly. In view of the incontestable importance of the action that will be taken if the draft resolution is approved, the political significance of our decision and the high merits of its proponents, it is advisable that in this controversy we should not adopt intransigent positions, make dogmatic statements, follow an aggressive course or take irrevocable decisions. In this we must be guided by the requirements of international co-operation, solidarity, co-existence and agreements among countries to defend and consolidate international harmony and understanding.

92. Past discussions on this proposal—delicate and dangerous in themselves because of the causes and

effects involved—have been marked by a spirit of tolerance, flexibility, subtle reasoning and understanding, allowing time for reflection and criticism, in calm meditation and judgement, so that with enlightened minds and eager hearts we may arrive at a solution of this great problem in full knowledge of the facts.

93. In their speeches in this Assembly, Colombia's official spokesmen have defined the policy of their country and Government with that sense of honour, loyalty and firmness which is part and parcel of Colombia's glorious tradition. Colombia's representatives have always appeared on the international stage enjoying the complete support of the Colombian people. The statesmen who have represented Colombia at international conferences in every period and at every latitude have upheld the views of the nation, with independence, firmness, urbanity and responsibility, on all the subjects that have been discussed.

94. My country appears before international organizations armed with the conviction and pride of a moral Power. Its noble qualities are enhanced by the loyalty with which it abides by the treaties by which it has contracted international obligations. Furthermore, in the basic Constitution of the Republic it shows a high degree of political civilization, for the vitality of its representative democratic structure, firmly upheld in its process of liberation and in its republican era, shines through that instrument. Its institutions embody those spiritual essences which shape the national ideology and customs. Its statutes show a geometrically progressive advance in its concepts of liberty, law, justice and dignity in all its individual and collective acts.

95. With these highly valuable credentials Colombia speaks in the great debates, and by historic destiny and the free choice of its people it takes its place honourably and conscientiously among the nations of the free world. As evidence of its international respectability and meritorious service, I may cite the fact that when the United Nations asked for help in times of danger for the world, during the hostilities in Korea and Suez, Colombia responded to the call, offering the blood of its sons in defence of the cause of peace.

96. To demonstrate the truth of what I have just been saying, I need only refer to one of Colombia's most eminent and most far-sighted rulers, Don Marco Fidel Suarez, whose brilliant intellect opened up vast horizons in the infinite wisdom of the ages. That enlightened humanist created the international theory known in American jurisprudence as the "Suarez doctrine", on Bolivian harmony and the guiding star, which is the framework for America's destiny in the sphere of law, equality, co-operation and friendship.

97. Having taken this splendid international direction, he pursued the ideas to which the genius of Bolivar had given birth in his marvellous work of uniting the continent of Columbus under the auspices of the Congress of Panama,^{3/} and thus the brilliant mind of this creator and liberator of peoples and States brought into being what is now known as the Organization of American States.

98. Dr. Guillermo Leon Valencia, the present Colombian Head of State, continues to follow these principles which ennoble the chronicles of our country and of America and he adds to their lustre by his dignified

^{3/} Congress of Panama held from 22 June to 15 July 1826.

conduct, his devotion, his patriotic work and his idealism.

99. In order to present this observation in a dialectical form and couched in terms of the most rigorous logic, demonstrating the complete consistency of the views expressed by the Colombian delegation, I should like to quote the very words used by the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations in the speech he made on the subject during the sixteenth session of this Assembly:

"This year the General Assembly has seen fit to place the item of representation of China on its agenda. My country accepted this decision, but it has not changed its view of the qualifications that should be possessed by States seeking to enter this Organization. In Colombia's view, it is essential that every new Member of the United Nations should prove by deeds rather than by words, its intention to serve the interests of peace and to abide by the principles of the Charter.

"The question of the representation of China, which the Assembly will discuss at this session, is not an ancillary or procedural matter, for it implies a substantive decision. We believe that this is a question which, under the provisions of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, must be resolved by a two-thirds majority, since it involves more than a mere decision concerning credentials." [1026th meeting, paras. 45 and 46.]

100. The United Nations has achieved encouraging results in accelerating progress towards the achievement of its basic aims and objectives. The wide influence of its leadership and direction has enabled it to bring about a perceptible reduction in the tension arising from conflicts between its Members, principally among the States of the free world. There has been a marked reduction in the danger of armed clashes, motives for aggression, verbal warfare, strident polemics and violence in debate. Representatives are polite and respectful towards each other and they use formal diplomatic language although they may retain some reservations and scepticism in dealing with the complex issues before them.

101. The truth of this observation is evident from the present atmosphere in the United Nations. Even its most pugnacious Members, who might be justified in submitting their demands boldly, conceive and express their criticisms in carefully considered language, in a balanced way and with subtlety of argument, which mitigates any harsh replies and restrains the speakers. This atmosphere of equanimity will serve to maintain and strengthen the tone of moderation and understanding among the delegations. Such desirable parliamentary conduct does not involve capitulation or surrender or the abandonment of one's position. It simply means the use of highly responsible language which, although diametrically opposed points of view may be expressed, will make for a tranquil analysis calculated to reconcile the conflicting opinions.

102. The Assembly welcomed with deep satisfaction the brilliant address delivered from this rostrum by President Kennedy, expressing its applause over and over again in the speeches of its distinguished representatives. In this august Hall, on the 20th of last month, summing up the progress made by the world under the guidance of this Organization in these days

of hope mixed with anguish, he pronounced the following apt words:

"Twenty-four months ago, when I last had the honour of addressing this body, the shadow of fear lay darkly across the world. The freedom of West Berlin was in immediate peril. Agreement on a neutral Laos seemed remote. The mandate of the United Nations in the Congo was under fire. The financial outlook for this Organization was in doubt. Dag Hammarskjöld was dead. The doctrine of 'troika' was being pressed in his place and atmospheric nuclear tests had been resumed by the Soviet Union.

"Those were anxious days for mankind—and some men wondered aloud whether this Organization could survive . . . Rising to its responsibility, the United Nations helped to reduce the tensions and helped to hold back the darkness.

"Today the clouds have lifted a little so that new rays of hope can break through . . . For the first time in seventeen years of effort, a specific step has been taken to limit the nuclear arms race." [1209th meeting, paras. 33 to 35.]

103. In his magnificent speech, which the Assembly received with unconcealed joy and great appreciation, Mr. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, spoke these encouraging words implying a new policy in dealing with world problems:

"One might say that the eighteenth session of the Assembly is weighing anchor with a light but at any rate a favouring wind.

"The Soviet people categorically rejects the fundamentally unscientific notion of another war as something inevitable. This is a concept of the doomed. It cannot inspire people. If people come to feel that they have no future, that before them there lies only the abyss which can in no wise be avoided, then in the name of what will they live, in the name of what will they contribute their toil, their knowledge, their searching intellects to the cause of creation and progress? In the face of such a prospect, how can the nations be inspired to struggle against militarism, against the arms race? No; this is not our philosophy, not our idea; it contradicts the nations' vital interests, and we reject it.

"The denial of the fatal inevitability of war, the possibility of banning it for ever from the life of society, the possibility of preventing another world war, of not allowing it to break out—these are the very ideas and conclusions which underlie the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Socialism, communism with its life-affirming and profoundly humanistic world view are by their very nature inseparable from peace. Belief in the strength of the nations and an optimistic view of their morrow strengthen the will and multiply the forces of those who do not want the disaster of war, who see in tomorrow not the twilight of human history but the dawn of a better future for the nations.

"The fair wind favouring moves to reduce international tension, whose breath the nations are now feeling, can add new strength to efforts to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, the efforts to consolidate peace. The States Members of the United Nations may rest assured that the Soviet Union will continue, as hitherto, to place its whole influence as a great Power, its whole inter-

national authority, at the service of peace among the nations." [1208th meeting, paras. 99, 203, 204 and 205.]

104. I might also recall the eloquent words used by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pearson, in his statement to the Assembly:

"The eighteenth year of the United Nations opens in a climate of greater hope. We can make it the beginning of the end of the situation where a man can communicate with a missile a million miles away, but not with another man whom he watches warily over a curtain of fear and suspicion. Shortly before his premature and greatly lamented death, Albert Camus wrote: 'Since atomic war would divest any future of its meaning, it gives us complete freedom of action. We have nothing to lose except everything. So let's go ahead!'" [1208th meeting, paras. 96-97].

105. We do not wish to appear as simple-minded Cándides, tranquillizing ourselves with a Panglossian optimism; but still less should we cringe beneath the uncertainty, anxiety, despair and wretchedness of a morbid pessimism. We must respect, encourage, applaud and believe in the probity of States which are giving tormented humanity some promising signs of resurgence and radical improvement. Yet it is the way of the human mind to anticipate, to distrust, to set course by the transcendental scepticism, and methodical doubt noted by Descartes and other philosophers as prejudicing, from the earliest times, the power of reasoning. The classic Spanish author Don Francisco de Quevedo, to whom reference was made in this Assembly [1213th meeting] by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Castiella, summed up this state of mind in an incisive sentence: "Sleep is the gateway to war and discord; wakefulness, the gateway to peace and security." The same idea is expressed, with the simplicity of the common man, in the Spanish maxim: "He who has enemies does not sleep."

106. The official voices of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as raised by their distinguished representatives in this Assembly, are destined to reach every continent, as though announcing the future giving of effect to the biblical words which so beautifully heralded the coming of the Redeemer of the world: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

107. After the last world conflagration, the great Power of China suffered a substantial partition of its territory and of the ideology of its people. This situation in philosophy, in life, in law and in fact brought forth two States, each with its independent juridical character and international personality. The disintegration of this ancient nation cast its people, with shocking inequality, into two separate States. The People's Republic of China aligned its States structure with the orbit of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Its complete orthodoxy is in the purest Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, which it professes with all the fanaticism and intransigence characteristic of that faith. Its fidelity to these "hard line" theories makes it insensitive to, and unreceptive of, the transformations and adjustments which the new era demands in relations between States. It pursues its policies, domestic and international, with an imperialistic mysticism and a feeling that its people is chosen to rule the world. Its way of thought and life, its self-induced notions of grandeur and of its destiny as master of the universe, the dreadful might of its militias and its war legions,

its characteristic cult of over-estimating its potentialities, and the superstitiousness of its myths, keep it at a high pitch of apprehensive expectancy. It therefore presents a case which must be examined with especial perspicacity if the mysteries of its dubious and obscure intentions are at any time to be unravelled.

108. I personally believe that communism, as a system, ideology and political mechanism of a State, must be regarded as a dangerous experiment of tremendous scope and dimension. The violence of its reforms, imposed with the implacable cruelty of revolutions which consider themselves destined to change the course of history and to herald ages not dreamt of in the past, compels us to measure it by the magnitude and novelty of its achievements.

109. The Western temperament—born of the glory that was Greece, handed on to imperial Rome, later extended to Europe and the Americas, and ultimately shaped into a spiritual concept of life under the indestructible banner of Christianity—stands embattled against Marxism, confident in the superiority of its teachings. In keeping with its basic principles, man is deemed to consist of an immortal soul and a temporal body, and as such to possess rights inherent in his personality. Thus freedom, dignity, religious belief, the faculties of the soul as enumerated by theology and philosophy, and all the various national idiosyncrasies, are permanent and indestructible components of the doctrine of Western culture.

110. The two political systems are engaged in a continually unresolved contest for the conquest of man, the earth, the seas and space; and one cannot, therefore, but think that they will gain converts only through the goodness and humanity of their achievements. It cannot be maintained that unreasoning condemnations of the ideas and actions of either ideology, or fanciful statements of its benefits or evils, are the most commendable means of ending the ruthless struggle in which these two poles of world opinion strive to achieve a triumphant domination over the human race which is apparently unattainable.

111. With the dawning of this new age, the contest is no longer a purely idealistic one, but is also, and more realistically, a matter of serving man in all his essential needs. This programme cannot be properly implemented without a high degree of technology and competence, training and effort, industrialization and economic planning, social discipline and sound leadership, State intervention and lawful authority, consultation of the people and representative forms of government, and respect for law, freedom and human dignity. This whole range of civilized practice will serve to channel the energies of the community towards its higher development and the fulfilment of its just desire for happiness.

112. The rivalry between West and East in the universal forum of the United Nations gives reason to hope that their inevitable clashes will end in victory for the ideals of law and of peace. It is idle to think that the somnolent atmosphere of the academy, or the sybaritism of the club, or assemblies of the exponents of one side, or platforms from which a monologue is delivered to a like-minded audience, can ever lead to the effective settling of disputes. Far from it. This great forum is the proper place for debating the arguments, counter-arguments and consensuses, between friends and foes, which go to make up politically responsible exchanges among States. It is in the vast expanse of this hall with its perfect vault, frame and acoustics, in

which the microcosm in all its denominations, cross-sections and essences is present, and under the shield of its universality, that each school of thought, drawn up in monolithic lines, must fight the full-scale battle of their immense contradictions. In the heat of such relentless conflict, all the peoples assembled here, confronted by the vital necessity of peace and driven by universal pressure, will succeed in resolving and surmounting the existing disagreements and indirecting the dynamism of the universe into the marvellous orbit ordained for it by the divine mind of the Creator.

113. In his statement to the Assembly, the representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Home, said:

"I think most people would agree that membership of the United Nations must be universal. I see no alternative to that, and I doubt if any other representative here sees one. If that is so, then Communist China and South Africa should be Members of this Organization, and so should any other independent country which establishes its identity to our satisfaction. If singly or in groups we carry the process of deploring the politics of one country or another to the point where eviction is allowed by majority vote, this Organization will simply cease to represent the realities of the world. No one asks that the United Nations should tolerate wrong. But our influence on each other should not be achieved by eviction or boycott; it should be achieved by example." [1222nd meeting, para. 89.]

114. At the 1962 session [1156th meeting] the representative of the United States, Adlai Stevenson—that renowned publicist, penetrating ideologist, and highly cultured and distinguished humanist—made a searching review of the two Republics of China, in order to judge them by their behaviour towards the United Nations. With resolute rejection and dialectical skill, he noted that the supreme leader of Chinese communism, Mao Tse-tung, had summed up his strategy in these words: "Everything can be made to grow out of the barrel of a gun". The official organ of the party had emphasized this statement with the following words: "All revolutionary people can never abandon the truth that 'all political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'"

115. The United States diplomatist went on to say:

"We hear much about self-determination in these halls and about the right of every nation to determine its own form of government. My Government fervently believes in this principle. Indeed, we fought a war nearly 200 years ago to win that right for ourselves. Our own Declaration of Independence states clearly and unequivocally our belief that 'Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed'. Have the Chinese Communist rulers derived their power from the consent of 600 million Chinese? Or have they grasped it by force of arms? In our own Declaration of Independence, too, we emphasize our belief in 'a decent respect to the opinions of mankind', and for nearly 200 years this respect has guided our actions. ... Communist China is not moving closer to, but farther away from, the United Nations. Once again, I emphasize our belief in the Charter and in the fundamental human rights it reaffirms—fundamental rights in which we fervently wish the people of China will eventually share. For these reasons, the United States opposes the Soviet draft resolution. As the representative of the Soviet Union said here earlier this afternoon, the two operative paragraphs

of his draft resolution are linked: they call for the expulsion of a loyal Member State and for the admission of Communist China in its place. We are confident that this proposal will be rejected by the General Assembly—and that the Charter will be upheld."

116. In 1950, the Soviet Socialist Republics proposed the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations. This drive continued for six years, the proposal being rejected by the United Nations in statements made by a large percentage of delegations. India subsequently began to sponsor this proposal, but later ceased to take the initiative because of the threats to its own territory. Despite that attitude, India, although a victim of assault, is now—according to the statement made by its authorized representative—renewing its support for the admission of its enemy.

117. Next, in 1961, the "question of the representation of China" was placed on the Assembly's agenda. Colombia, together with Australia, Italy, Japan and the United States, submitted a draft resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly [resolution 1668 (XVI)], stating "in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question".

118. Finally, in 1962, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. Gromyko, requested the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly's seventeenth session of an item of an important and urgent character: "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".^{4/} He submitted in that connexion a draft resolution,^{5/} the terms of which I shall not read out.

119. The annual report [A/5501] submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General, U Thant, contains an account of the proceedings on this item and the result of the voting, which showed quite clearly that the majority of delegations were not prepared to agree with either the procedure or the substance of the decision asked of them.

120. At the present session, the item has been included in the agenda, and the delegation of Albania has submitted the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] which is familiar to the Assembly and which I shall therefore not read out.

121. The Assembly must base its decision not only on the political but also on the legal aspect. Article 4 of the Charter authorizes peace-loving States to be Members of the United Nations, provided that they accept the obligations contained in the Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. In addition, admission must be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Under the provisions of Article 18, decisions of the General Assembly on important questions must be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting and the admission of new Members is included among the important questions. Article 23 states that the Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations and specifically names as permanent members the Republic of China, France,

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 92, document A/5218.

^{5/} *Ibid.*, document A/L.395.

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America—in other words, the five original States which participated in the creation of the Organization. The other six seats are given to Members without permanent rank, to be elected by the General Assembly. This election is to be held "due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution". Finally, the provision contained in Article 109 deals with the procedure for amending the Charter.

122. These legal provisions suffice for the Assembly to rule out of order the form and substance of the draft resolution under discussion. For it is impossible to say, in a simple routine statement, that the People's Republic of China is the Member State entitled to occupy in the Organization the place of the Chinese people which the Charter granted to that people in 1945. In fact, the terms of the proposal under consideration imply a revision of the Charter, for the following reasons: When the Charter was agreed to, there was only one Republic of China, which was one of the five great founding Members of the Organization. At that time the Republic of China, together with the other four great Powers, was given the right to a permanent seat on the Security Council. It was after the creation of the United Nations that the People's Republic of China was born and established as a new Chinese State, separate from the old Power. The Charter speaks not of the People's Republic of China but simply of China. For eighteen years, all Member States have acknowledged the international status of China in the Security Council and in the Organization as a whole, so that the Charter has been interpreted by a process of consistent judicial precedent. Any other exegesis would be contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter and would betray an opportunist interpretation or a tricky and pettifogging attitude. To expel the Republic of China, which has been representing this great people in the Organization, would be to disregard an international legal reality and to inflict unjust punishment on a Member State which has shouldered its international rights and duties honestly and in an exemplary manner.

123. The admission of the People's Republic of China would have to be proposed as the admission of a State separate from the Republic of China, which has been acting so far. Should it be decided to admit it, there would be no possibility of rejecting, by a resolution, the rights and privileges granted to the Republic of China by the Charter, particularly membership of the Security Council. This conclusion is not reactionary or regressive, but is respectful of the law governing the Organization. Nor does it seek to deny the obvious utility in the interests of universality, of the People's Republic of China's joining the United Nations like any other State. Naturally, its admission should be conditional on its express willingness to accept the objectives of the Organization by practising coexistence, living together in harmony with others and engaging in peaceful co-operation, with its conduct subordinated to the requirements of peace. In addition, in order for the People's Republic of China to enjoy the privileges specifically conferred by the Charter upon the Republic of China, it would be necessary for the Charter to be revised, according to the procedure established therein.

124. With a little mother wit, and without casting aspersions on the incipient and perhaps apparent tactics which have come to the surface in relations between Moscow and Peking, it is not too bold to note a veering towards peace on the part of the Soviets. It should not be overlooked that this suspected hostility may be part of the strategy of "agreement to disagree" and calculated, concerted enmity as between these two Powers. These stratagems may also be motivated by the self-critical recognition of errors, transformed into horrors, that the Soviet Union has entered upon in order to win world support. Whatever the interpretations, however, the readjustment and revision of policy on the part of Moscow cannot be ignored.

125. In order to bring this new position into relief, it is sufficient to note the Soviet Union's desire to destroy the cult of personality, to break the "iron curtain" and let in the light of Western ideals, to promote exchanges of cultures and human values for the mutual study of the serious problems affecting both the great contending blocs; to allow its own people and its society relative latitude to assimilate and adopt individual and family customs and habits which are ingrained in the ways of the free world; to permit, as an exceptional measure, its poets, scientists and scholars to proceed on new courses and lines not regimented by the State, in search of liberation in the world of the spirit; to accept and even propose international treaties and agreements for the limitation or abolition of nuclear armament as a destroyer of the species; and to blame, oppose and censure Chinese communism for the intransigence of its attitudes. This plan tallies admirably with the speech by Mr. Gromyko, in which he preached hatred of war and love and defence of peace through peaceful coexistence and forecast the new communism inspired by the qualities of intelligence and ideas.

126. The contrast between past and present practices and procedures in the Soviet Socialist Republics, with their recriminatory and admonitory attitude towards the might, expansion and contumacy of Chinese communism, and the new style in the treatment, presentations and compromise which they employ in the necessary defining of their relations with the Western bloc, creates solace and illusion in the battle for world peace. These changes are welcome; by bringing souls closer together in their spiritual mission, they facilitate contacts and discussion, even if only skin-deep, and replace violence and warlike force by the friendly resources of persuasion—an admirable remedy in the solution of the external and internal conflicts of nations.

127. This statement explains the negative vote to be cast by Colombia against draft resolution A/L.427 and Add.1, which is being discussed by the Assembly.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

128. Mr. IONASCU (Romania) (translated from French): For fourteen years now the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been under consideration by the Organization. It is high time that this problem was solved, so that we may respond to the aspirations resolutely repeated at the present session of the General Assembly, namely: removal of the obstacles to greater co-operation between States, and respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, so that further progress may be made towards a lessening of international tension and the consolidation of international peace and security.

129. The Romanian delegation considers that one of the most important tasks of the General Assembly at this session is to solve this problem without delay. As in the past, the Romanian delegation declares itself firmly in favour of the recognition of the inalienable right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its rightful place in the United Nations, and of the removal of the usurpers, namely the envoys of Chiang Kai-shek, from its organs.

130. The present session of the General Assembly can and must solve this important question, and by so doing contribute to the common efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

131. We note with satisfaction that both during the general debate and in the present discussion many delegations have declared themselves in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and have pointed out that hesitation over the adoption of an adequate resolution might adversely affect the fulfilment of the tasks which fall to the United Nations, and international life in general.

132. In recent years the membership of the United Nations has increased as a result of the break-up of the colonial system. The fact that more and more countries, having shaken off the colonial yoke, have become Members of the Organization has been welcomed by all those who sincerely wish the United Nations to be a real instrument for the maintenance of peace. While expressing our sincere satisfaction at the increase in the membership of the United Nations, we cannot help drawing attention to the anomaly of a situation in which the most populous nation in the world is not represented in this international forum and in which, in the name of that nation, we are confronted with envoys who, de facto or de jure, represent no one but themselves.

133. The fact that one of the great Powers, a founder Member of the United Nations and a member of the Security Council, continues to be unjustly prevented from occupying the place to which it is entitled in our Organization is seriously detrimental to the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations, and considerably limits the contribution which the United Nations should make to the relations of co-operation and good understanding between peoples. If the problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not solved satisfactorily, our Organization cannot fully achieve one of the aims envisaged by the Charter, namely "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" with a view to ensuring international peace and security and the welfare of the nations.

134. The United Nations, which by its very nature is called upon to reflect the world as it is, cannot be considered a universal organization as long as it fails to recognize the true representatives of the Chinese people.

135. This anomaly is all the more dangerous in that it is caused by a violation of international legality within the United Nations itself, which should set an example of respect for such legality. The prestige of the United Nations, and consequently its capacity to act for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in international relations, can only suffer if the very forum which should ensure respect for the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence of States and nations violates those rules.

136. The rights of China in the United Nations are expressly recognized by the Charter, since China was one of the Members which participated in the San Francisco Conference and signed the United Nations Charter.

137. It is obvious that the only Government capable of assuming international obligations on behalf of China is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. The representatives of the People's Republic of China and they alone have the right and the competence to represent China in the United Nations.

138. The fact that we have seen important international problems solved with the participation of the People's Republic of China proves, as do the very discussions in our Assembly, that the procedure followed in dealing with the problem of China's representation in the United Nations is totally arbitrary and discriminatory, and that the position adopted by those who have prevented the People's Republic of China from exercising its legitimate rights within our Organization is profoundly unjust.

139. From the legal point of view the situation is perfectly clear, but artificial barriers have been erected to prevent the Chinese people from exercising their legitimate rights in the United Nations.

140. Certainly every Government is free to recognize or not to recognize the Central Government of the People's Republic of China and to decide its own policy in every aspect of its relations with the People's Republic of China. That is a problem of bilateral relations which concerns only the Governments of the countries in question. It is, however, unthinkable that the United Nations, which is composed of sovereign Member States enjoying equal rights, should be forced into a situation which is contrary to the most elementary standards of justice in the matter of the representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations.

141. The Romanian delegation considers that the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is also a major problem in view of the urgent need to find a solution.

142. The problem is primarily one of representation, and as such it should be decided in the General Assembly by a simple majority vote. As we pointed out at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly [1160th meeting], the problem is essentially that of establishing which Government is competent to confer full powers enabling a particular individual to speak and to act in the United Nations on behalf of the Chinese people.

143. The Romanian delegation is against any attempt to gain credence for the so-called theory of the "two Chinas". To approach the problem on that basis would be to quibble over the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

144. The Romanian delegation categorically rejects that theory. There is only one China, the China which appears under that name in all the maps and all the atlases of the world, the China which is represented internationally by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China and which maintains diplomatic and other relations with forty-two countries, including two members of the Security Council.

145. It is clear that the removal of the envoys of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations and an invitation to the representatives of the People's Republic

of China to occupy the seat to which China is entitled in the United Nations would be conducive to the solution of other international problems and in accordance with the principle of peaceful coexistence and the settlement of disputes by negotiation.

146. The Romanian delegation will therefore vote in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as provided for in the draft resolution (A/L.427 and Add.1) submitted for our approval.

147. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): On a number of earlier occasions in past years representatives of Japan have stated from this rostrum, at some length and in some detail, the views of my Government with regard to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. I believe that our views on this question have been stated clearly and unequivocally, and I should like to say at the outset of my brief remarks today that our views have not changed. They have not changed because we are not aware of any development sufficient to warrant an alteration of our views.

148. I should like to point out first of all that the situation existing in the area remains the same as it has been in the past. My delegation has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Assembly, since its sixteenth session, to the fact that there exists a continuing confrontation across the Taiwan Straits of two authorities, each of which insistently claims exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of China and exclusive status as the sole lawful Government of China. Both have at their disposal large and fully equipped military forces. One of these authorities, the Government of the People's Republic of China—and we do not believe that this fact can safely be ignored—has remained now for fourteen years in control of the Chinese mainland with a population of more than 600 million. But, on the other hand, no one can deny that, for the same period of time, the Government of the Republic of China has remained in solid and effective control of Taiwan and the adjacent islands with a population of more than 11 million, enjoying a very high degree of prosperity.

149. I mention this situation and emphasize its gravity not, I hope, as a Cassandra, but only because we believe quite sincerely that the United Nations must avoid any action that might have the effect of upsetting the present balance in the situation, increase tensions in the area, or, quite conceivably, incur the danger of war in the Far East.

150. We fervently hope, as we have frequently said, that a peaceful solution may eventually be found to this problem. Meanwhile, we shall remain strongly opposed to any proposal such as that advanced by the proponents of this item on our agenda which, we fear, would have effects precisely the opposite of peaceful.

151. In seeking a solution to this question it is also important to take into account the respective positions of the two authorities with regard to the United Nations and to examine them in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

152. A signatory to the Four-Power Moscow Declaration of 1943, a participant in the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Conferences of 1944 and 1945, and thus a founding Member of the United Nations, the Republic of China has since then consistently, faithfully and loyally lived up to its obligations under the Charter which its representatives helped to draft. How then, is it possible for anyone seriously to propose that the

Government of the Republic of China and its representatives should be expelled from the United Nations?

153. The enviable record of the Republic of China in the United Nations raises in turn the question of whether, on the other hand, the People's Republic of China would in reality keep up the obligations and responsibilities of a Member State under the Charter of our Organization.

154. I have tried to set forth some of the basic factors which, we believe, should be taken into account by the Assembly in its consideration of the question of Chinese representation. We believe that the difficult and complex nature of this question requires the Assembly to give most careful consideration to all the related facts and elements involved, as well as to their possible implications. Any attempt to simplify and by-pass the real issue by taking up a mere section of this complex question and trying to solve it only as a simple matter of procedure is not a valid approach because it totally ignores the substantive factors inherent in the question. This has been amply attested by a series of statements made by the majority of Member States at the last two sessions, as well as by General Assembly resolution 1668 (XVI).

155. Accordingly, we remain strongly opposed to any proposal to solve this question simply by replacing the Government of the Republic of China by the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Such an approach pays no regard whatsoever to the substantive factors inherent in this question. It is therefore the firm belief of the Japanese delegation that, in dealing with such an important question as the present one, it is absolutely necessary that we approach it with the utmost clarity of mind and the prudence required, taking into account all the realities and complexities of the situation. With such an approach only, a solution satisfactory to all concerned may be found as soon as time and circumstances permit.

156. I hope that the position of my delegation with regard to the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1] presented by the delegations of Albania and Cambodia has been made clear by this intervention, and we shall vote against it.

157. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): In the view of my delegation, the question of the seating of representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is by no means a simple problem. It has complexities in both its procedural and its conceptual aspects. But I should like, if I may, to refer today to just two aspects of the question, namely, the theoretical and the practical, which, in our judgement, are contradictory to each other.

158. With regard to the theoretical aspect, it goes without saying that the ideal of universality, which is the foundation of United Nations authority in world affairs, must needs remain incomplete if the Government of the largest unit of the human family should be allowed to continue to remain standing at the gate. I am aware that this is perhaps not quite an accurate or legalistic statement of the problem. In a sense—if not the true sense—China is represented in this Assembly, but not by the Government which has established its *de facto* authority over the whole of the land mass in Asia known as China and which exercises sovereignty over the 700 million people who inhabit that colossal area.

159. All the arguments in favour of getting the representatives of that Government brought in to be seated

at what is regarded as their proper table in this Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations are well known and have been fully elaborated by representatives who have spoken before me, and I shall not repeat them. So too have we heard all the arguments that deny that Government that right.

160. We in Malaysia have a closer proximity to China both geographically and otherwise, than many others who have championed its cause. We have been and are, indeed, too close to China to take an academic or theoretical view of the situation. Practical considerations are in our view the more dominant, for basically politics is the art of the possible. For ten long years and more, while the world has been shivering in the chill winds of the cold war, we in Malaysia were right in the storm centre of a shooting war arising out of a purposeful and active communist campaign which threatened to overthrow our Government, to bring chaos to our social life, and nearly succeeded in bringing our economic life to a standstill. With courage and fortitude and with the military assistance of friendly Powers, we have at long last overcome this aggression.

161. This was aggression actively promoted and inspired by the ruling Powers of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and we are not only too close to the tragic happenings of those years, but also too human to forget and forgive all that too soon. Though in recent years we have been spared much of the flames of that strife within the borders of our country, the breath of the dragon can still be felt on our faces. However, we thought that with the passage of time, the futility, if not the failure, of such armed subversion working through alien elements and intimidating the "not so brave" in our peaceful society, will be realized and we shall be left in peace. Taking therefore a practical view of the realities of the China situation as it has developed since 1949, we were not adverse to the People's Republic being seated at the United Nations, if in the same process Formosa will be left free to decide its own destiny and its Government permitted to seek and secure its independent existence. Therefore, on the two previous occasions of a similar debate we persuaded ourselves that until that condition was acceptable, we should suspend judgement.

162. But what has happened since? China started unprovoked armed aggression on India, seizing many thousands of square miles of Indian territory. If China did that to India, which has been so consistently championing its cause at the United Nations, what can China not do to any other country? My Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, then was the first head of a Government who unhesitatingly declared that the whole democratic concept had been put in jeopardy in India by Chinese aggression and offered India all the support of which my small country was capable. Chinese expansionism, it has been said, has always been, and will ever be, a facet of its national life, a fact of history. When communism provides the raw edge to that expansionism, one does not need to speculate on the results in terms of human misery that are bound to follow. China has unceremoniously brushed aside the painstaking effort of the six non-aligned Powers to bring the belligerents together, so that they may talk it over between the two of them.

163. That is not all. China has recently resisted, and resisted violently, the moderating influence of even its greatest ally. China protests that international

tension is the very climate in which it can prosper. China has nothing but scorn for the imbecility of peaceful coexistence. China regards a global class war not only as inevitable but as desirable, even if it should lose half its population in the process. China does not mind losing one eye in a conflict so long as it can cheerfully contemplate the loss of both eyes to its opponent, which is the whole world, and that is putting it mildly. China has cold-shouldered the nuclear test ban Treaty; it has poked fun at it. China has pledged itself anew to the purpose of arming itself with nuclear weapons, when the two chief protagonists of a war-weary world are willing to cry halt to nuclear escalation.

164. In all these circumstances we cannot avoid asking, what good, in practical terms, whatever the theoretical ideal may be, shall we do to China or to ourselves by bringing it to the public forum and the conference tables of the United Nations? With profound regret, my Government does not yet see, even in the dim distance, of the time arriving when the present Government of China will be willing to sit at all at a table with others. The attitude of lecturing the world from the lofty eminence in which China sees itself enthroned having become second nature to it, much less will China like to be talked to or to learn to listen patiently to other voices and be scanned by other eyes. In that conviction, which is inescapable if past history and present attitudes are any guide, my delegation will have no choice but to vote against the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1].

165. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is now once again discussing the important question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

166. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has already explained its point of view on this question more than once. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with the socialist countries and other States whose Governments are guided in their policy by the true facts of international life, is firmly in favour of an immediate and positive solution of this question.

167. In 1949 the Chinese people achieved freedom and independence and in place of the old China set up a popular democratic State, the People's Republic of China. And now the People's Republic of China has been in existence and has thrived for fourteen years despite the wishes of the United States Government and the Governments of certain other States, which attempt to ignore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. In these years it has achieved great success in the development of its economy and culture. The People's Republic of China is steadily broadening its external links, and its weight in international relations is growing day by day. Perhaps this does not please certain groups, but it is a fact which cannot be disregarded if we wish to be realistic.

168. Ever since the People's Republic of China was constituted, its Government alone has exercised effective and sovereign control over the entire territory of China with the exception of the island of Taiwan, which is occupied by the United States of America.

169. It should be obvious to everyone that when the United Nations inscribed in its Charter the provision that China was to be a permanent member of the Security Council, it had in mind the many millions of

Chinese people inhabiting a vast territory almost as large as the continent of Europe—and particularly the great part which that people is called upon to play in international affairs—but not the island of Taiwan or the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the puppets of a foreign Power.

170. The facts show that the Governments of the United States and certain other Powers which are so stubbornly opposed to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations were compelled to recognize in practice the part played by China in the solution of important international problems when their representatives participated with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the conferences on Laos^{6/} and Indo-China.^{7/}

171. It should also be pointed out in this connexion that the World Federation of United Nations Associations, whose aims are to support the United Nations and popularize its purposes and principles and which is in consultative status with one of the main organs of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council, has in fact barred the representatives of Taiwan from its ranks. This is more than convincing proof of the attitude of that part of the world public which is close to the United Nations. In the United Nations itself the number of countries which support the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its place in this Organization is steadily increasing.

172. It is clear from the foregoing that there is no legal or moral or other justification for denying to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations.

173. Owing, however, to the hostile attitude adopted by the Governments of certain States towards the People's Republic of China, this very important question has so far remained unsolved.

174. As the above facts show, the United States, in defiance of the generally recognized standards of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter, opposes the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations in every possible way. Furthermore, the United States Government continues to occupy the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, and by this action constitutes a threat to the security of that country and to peace in the Far East. And the Chiang Kai-shek clique, long since rejected by the Chinese people and ensconced on the island of Taiwan with the protection of United States arms, continues to occupy the place of China in the United Nations illegally.

175. This anomalous situation adversely affects the authority of the United Nations and seriously impairs its efficient and successful functioning. To continue to disregard the inalienable rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is nothing less than wilfully to violate the Charter of this Organization.

176. Our delegation therefore considers that the clear duty and urgent task of the United Nations is to restore justice by expelling the Chiang Kai-shek puppets from its ranks and inviting the representatives of the People's Republic of China to take their lawful place in the United Nations.

^{6/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, 16 May 1961—23 July 1962.

^{7/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, 16 June—21 July 1954.

177. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations and its organs would greatly facilitate the constructive solution of the problems of today which face the Organization.

178. In view of the foregoing, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the Albanian draft resolution entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [A/L.427 and Add.1].

179. The Mongolian delegation hopes that the present session of the General Assembly, fulfilling the hopes of the world community, will contribute to the satisfactory solution of this urgent problem.

180. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation regrets to have to reiterate its views on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The position of the Royal Government of Cambodia is well known; it is clear and unequivocal. This question should have been settled long ago. Whenever this question has come before the Assembly, Cambodia has stressed that the present membership of the United Nations is out of date because there are no representatives of the People's Republic of China.

181. It is obvious that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored to it, so that our Organization may truly reflect the political structure of the world of today and the realities of international life. This obvious fact, which some delegations refuse to recognize or pretend not to see, will one day burst upon everyone, and all those who, for one reason or another, still persist in denying the existence of one fifth of mankind will be swept away in the stream of history.

182. The People's Republic of China maintains excellent relations in different fields with many nations. Its policy of friendship and loyal co-operation with its immediate neighbours has already led it to settle by peaceful negotiation the questions of the frontier with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan. As for its present border conflict with India, our hopes for a friendly solution between the two parties are as strong as ever.

183. I should like to repeat now what I stated from this rostrum on 25 September:

"Cambodia fervently hopes that India and China will succeed in re-establishing relations of trust and friendship and, above all, that they will resume their talks on this dispute. All the non-aligned countries share this wish and are striving to allay this border conflict. We should now like to express the hope that the other Powers will also contribute to the re-establishment of a stable peace in the Himalayan area and will not consider this dispute between India and China as a new front in the cold war." [1215th meeting, para. 160.]

184. Cambodia maintains excellent relations with the People's Republic of China, in keeping with the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.^{8/} So far, we have nothing but good to say of the friendship shown us by the great Chinese people and the frank and fair application of the principles of mutual respect and equality as far as we are concerned.

^{8/} Asian-African Conference, held from 18 to 24 April 1955.

185. What is more, during our times of greatest difficulty, when our very existence as a small neutral and peace-loving country was threatened, the People's Republic of China always gave us its support, thereby discouraging many criminal attempts against us.

186. In our relations with China, we have never found any trace—and this is worth emphasizing—of the complex of superiority and disdain which some large countries have an unfortunate tendency to display towards small countries like ours.

187. Our position on the question, however, does not rest solely on personal considerations; it also reflects our major concern with the fate and effectiveness of the United Nations.

188. The real interest of our Organization demands that we should invite the true representatives of the Chinese people to occupy their rightful seat.

189. It is no good trying to delay a solution through the policy of procrastination that seems to appeal to some countries which secretly hope that the present régime will one day be overthrown by the Chinese people. These are only absurd dreams which can never come true, for the People's Republic of China will never agree to slip back and let itself be led once more by foreigners.

190. Some who are afraid of the People's Republic of China—a fear which is a clear indication of the subjective nature of their whole reasoning—are trying to communicate their fears to the Asian nations. This fear—one is tempted to say this hatred—that the enemies of China are trying to communicate to others is far from being shared, still less understood, by nations which, like Cambodia, have been able to recognize the truth and to judge the desire of the Government of the People's Republic of China for peace and the arduous efforts made by the great Chinese people in all fields of their national life. Such a Government and such a people deserve everyone's respect, and not the blind ostracism imposed by certain Powers which are more interested in carrying out their own, generally shameful, designs than in seeking to restore justice and equality in the world.

191. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China, it will be impossible to settle any question of international importance or to achieve really general and complete disarmament.

192. President Kennedy himself recognized this in an interview granted to the editors of seven United States magazines, which was reported in The New York Times of 16 October 1963. According to that newspaper, President Kennedy stated that in a year or two it will no longer be possible to negotiate a disarmament treaty without the participation of Communist China.

193. It is therefore contrary to the objectives of our Organization to refuse to give the People's Republic of China its rightful place.

194. At previous sessions, successive Cambodian delegations have drawn attention to the important role played by representatives of the People's Republic of China in the international conferences held at Geneva in 1954 and 1961.

195. At those conferences and at the Bandung Conference, the Government of the People's Republic of China showed that it was resolved to contribute to a relaxation of international tension and to the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia.

196. We recall this fact only to demonstrate once again that, whether we like it or not, no important agreement—especially if it concerns Asia—can be drawn up without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

197. Similarly, we have always supported—and we shall continue to do so at every opportunity—the principle of universality, which is in keeping with the very purpose of the United Nations.

198. If it refuses representation to one fifth of the population of the globe, how can our Organization invoke the principle of universality? The United Nations should reflect a faithful image of the world, not the caricature of it which some Member States wish to see perpetuated.

199. Moreover, to refuse to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China on the basis of political considerations would be tantamount to ignoring the fundamental objective of the United Nations, which is the coexistence of all countries, regardless of any ideological differences which may divide them.

200. These facts are recognized by many Members of the United Nations which, like Cambodia, have recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of that country.

201. China, a founding Member of the United Nations and a member of the Security Council, can only be the China of the 700 million Chinese, that is to say the China which has the right to speak for these 700 million Chinese.

202. It could not be otherwise and all arguments to the contrary are mere quibbles.

203. For instance, it is always being dinned into our ears that the Government of the People's Republic of China speaks for the Chinese people only because it seized power and is keeping itself in power by force. We do not think that this has ever been a criterion for the admission of Members to our Organization.

204. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, wrote recently, the Chinese people are in a better position than anyone else to know

"what the régime of Mao Tse-tung means to them, for they now have land to cultivate and they receive a fair income from their productive work; for, although they do not have gourmets' banquets, they are certain of their daily bread and for the first time in years they have enough to eat. You have only to look at the Chinese children to be convinced of this. They have decent clothes, whereas formerly they were in rags; they have blankets and heating to withstand the hard winter of the north. The Chinese people know that they now have free medical care, that their children have a right to State education, that they will not be abandoned if natural disasters overtake them. For they have the certainty that they will never again be robbed by mandarins, pillaging soldiers and pirates.

"... As for the work imposed by the régime," Prince Norodom Sihanouk continues, "the Chinese people as a whole do not find it at all inhuman. The unceasing toil of the Chinese peasants has excited the admiration and pity of all the travellers in China for more than a century. Formerly, their efforts merely enabled them to survive, without any security for the morrow. Today, they are working with the

certainly of being able to live decently now and in the future.

"Finally, the Chinese people know that they are working for their own rehabilitation and, at the same time, for the progress and growth of their immense country. A few weeks ago I wrote that, for the peoples of Asia, their country's freedom was more important than their own. For that freedom, all the Asian peoples are ready to make any sacrifice. It must be understood that, for the first time in its modern history, China has been entirely liberated, forever, from any foreign domination, occupation or exploitation and is carrying out a Chinese policy, without being under anyone's orders. And the Chinese people know that they owe this to Mao Tse-tung and to the Chinese Communist Party."

205. This question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been before us much too long. It is time to settle it once and for all. If we do not, the contradictions of which our Organization offers a spectacle will only increase with every passing year.

206. This year, for example, when a review of the Charter is more pressing than ever before, we should not have reached the present deadlock if the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies had been restored.

207. For all those reasons, my delegation recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution submitted by Albania [A/L.427 and Add.1].

208. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Albania, who has requested it in order to exercise his right of reply.

209. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): In the statement he made earlier, the United States representatives repeated the same shameless calumnies about the People's Republic of China that we have heard at previous sessions and he took the liberty of using offensive language about my delegation, similar to that which he used after my statement in the general debate. The United States representative took the liberty of stating that my delegation was the spokesman of the People's Republic of China and that it had brought the demagoguery of the cold war into this Assembly.

210. Such statements are, to put it mildly, pointless and ridiculous; I reject them as such.

211. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is respected and known precisely for its consistently peace-loving policy and its independence. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania speaks in the United Nations on behalf of its Government, that is to say on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, an independent Member State which is entitled to express its views on all international problems and to raise any problem which it sees fit in the United Nations. In doing so, we are guided by the interests of peace, international co-operation and the strengthening of our Organization in accordance with the Charter, and this applies to the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which we had the honour to bring before this Assembly [A/5498].

212. It is not surprising that the United States representative is unable to understand the idea of the inde-

pendence of small countries and of equality among all States, great and small, because, as a representative of United States imperialism, he conceives relations among States not on the basis of equality but on that of the domination of the weak by the strong and, as reported in The New York Times of 15 October 1963, he advocates alliances between the great Powers based on racial considerations.

213. The People's Republic of China needs no spokesman: it has a strong voice which is heard all over the world, as its just cause is defended by peace-loving countries and nations all over the world. We feel, however, that to uphold the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is the duty of every Member State which is aware of the need to put an end to the intolerable situation created in the Organization by the obstructionist policies of the United States and wishes to do so.

214. Mr. Stevenson's attacks on my delegation are the more surprising in that they come from a representative of American imperialism, which is well known for its policy of force and aggression and which itself introduced and pursues the cold-war policy. As to the demagoguery he mentioned, that word might be applied to those who make biased statements unsupported by arguments or facts, as did the United States representative. This morning, when my delegation presented the problem of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it adduced concrete and incontestable facts, which the United States representative has carefully refrained from answering.

215. As to the slanders the United States representative has uttered against the People's Republic of China, I reserve the right to reply to them later, but I cannot conclude this statement without saying here and now that the United States representative's statement is one more proof of the fact that the main obstacle to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the true threat to peace are really the hostile and aggressive policy that the United States of America is pursuing with regard to socialist China and world peace.

216. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before I declare the meeting closed, I should like to inform Members of the General Assembly that the programme for tomorrow morning's plenary meeting will be as follows: first, agenda item 26; secondly, address by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon; and thirdly, continuation of the discussion of item 80.

217. Since the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in part I of its report to the General Assembly on item 26 [A/5571, para. 7] was approved by acclamation, I hope it will be possible to conclude consideration of this item before the address by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, which is scheduled for 11 a.m. Accordingly, the plenary meeting will start tomorrow at 10.30 a.m. sharp. I would therefore ask representatives to do their best to be punctual, so that we may have this half hour in which to consider part I of the First Committee's report.

218. I should also like to confirm that on the morning of Friday, 18 October, elections will be held for the Councils and that on the afternoon of Monday, 21 October, elections will be held for the International Court of Justice.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.