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**President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).**

## AGENDA ITEMS 90 AND 91

### Question of the representation of China in the United Nations (*continued*)

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

1. Mr. SALUM FLECHA (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Paraguay considers it a duty to state its views in this Assembly concerning the representation of China in the United Nations, a question which appears on the agenda under two items which is the subject of this general debate. In so doing, it wishes to express its belief that questions of this nature and importance, on which Paraguay takes a very clear and well-defined position, are not merely procedural but legal, political, ethical and moral aspects which we must analyse dispassionately if we are to achieve practical and effective results which will enhance the prestige of the United Nations. That will be the purpose of my statement.

2. The delegation of Paraguay considers that having been in existence for sixteen years, the United Nations has sufficient experience to decide in practice when a nation has become worthy of membership in the Organization. The increasing turbulent world in which we live cannot exist without basic ethical and moral principles, which are a prerequisite for mutual respect between nations and for peaceful coexistence. In other words, the United Nations cannot be something in which only numbers count, because at the core of any organization there is a certain transcendent quality which endows it with dynamism and stability, a quality comparable to the human soul and it is precisely that quality which is essential to the United Nations if its decisions are to have moral force. There would otherwise be no point in being a Member of the United Nations because the large nations impose the will of their rulers on the rest of the world in any event.

3. That is why we believe that the *raison d'être* of the United Nations is to be found in faithful compliance with the principles which are admirably defined in the passage of the Preamble to the Charter reaffirming "faith in fundamental human rights, in the

dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". Why then should we now be discussing the representation of China in the United Nations? In the first place, the Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations, having been identified with all branches of its activities and having acted consistently in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter which states that membership in the United Nations "is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations".

4. In the second place, the Republic of China has not vanished as an international entity, although it is true that its mainland was occupied militarily, after a bloody civil war, by a political faction which succeeded in imposing a government on it by force with the co-operation of a neighbouring Power, and which now proclaims the inevitability of war as an unalterable law of international life, thus openly contradicting the principles stated in the above-mentioned Article of the Charter. The legitimate Government of China nevertheless continues to exist in Formosa and the adjacent islands as an invaluable outpost of resistance and a pledge of salvation for millions of Chinese who—like the "Free France" of de Gaulle—are anxiously awaiting the moment of liberation, as well as a source of guidance for the large Chinese community scattered throughout the free world.

5. Thirdly, the United Nations itself has been defied by the flagrant Chinese Communist intervention in Korea which resulted in the death of thousands of soldiers of many different nationalities who fought in the service of the United Nations in that country. As a result, Communist China was condemned as an aggressor under resolution 498 (V) and the United Nations has not so far rescinded that resolution. That fact alone makes it improper to discuss the representation of China in the United Nations or to seek to restore the "lawful rights" of the People's Republic of China. Accordingly, would the right course not be to review resolution 498 (V) before debating the subject in this Assembly? And in so doing, should we not perhaps bear in mind the threat which that State represents, for in addition to being responsible for aggression in Korea, it was also responsible for the bloody repression of the peace-loving and heroic people of Tibet, who were first subdued and insulted, then crushed and massacred for the sole reason that they wished to remain faithful to their religion and to their traditional political institutions?

6. This Assembly has been told that the Peking Government represents China because it exercises control over some 600 million people. My delegation would like to point out that while it may well exercise power and control over the activities of so large a population, it cannot be said to represent the Chinese

people which, like the people of Tibet, it subjects to brutal repression, drowning in blood all their attempts to recover their right to self-determination proclaimed in Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Charter. Consequently, my delegation considers that such a definition will become acceptable only when the United Nations has a firm guarantee that the Red régime of Peking represents the Chinese people.

7. Small nations like Paraguay place their confidence in the effectiveness of the United Nations and have reason to hope that it will enable them to exist free from fear side by side with the great Powers. However, the latter must shape their international policies in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Charter by renouncing imperialist or neo-colonialist expansion and rejecting war as a political philosophy.

8. In the opinion of Paraguay, the United Nations should be a forum in which representatives of all nations, all races, all religious beliefs and all political systems come to know one another better and through which they may familiarize their peoples with the advantages of such systems so that they may decide whether or not they should be adopted. The foundation would thus be laid for sincere and disinterested collaboration in a common quest for international peace and harmony. Only thus will we dispel for all time the erroneous belief in the existence of races which are superior because they have a different colour of skin, eradicate colonialism once and for all, whenever the conditions prevailing in the territories still under foreign rule are such as to allow the inhabitants freely and spontaneously to determine their own future without any interference—put an end to acts of aggression or oppression and prevent the peoples from falling victim to imperialism or colonialism as "satellite" nations.

9. In making this statement, my delegation wishes to make it clear that it is not opposed to any political system, provided that it represents the will of the people and does not seek to impose itself by force on other countries.

10. For those reasons, the delegation of Paraguay considers that the Republic of China is "properly represented by the delegation here present, and will therefore vote in favour of maintaining the status quo."

11. U ON SEIN (Burma): For over a decade, the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has remained a major outstanding issue before us. As is well known, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China came to power in the fall of 1949. Soon after that momentous event, the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of China sent a telegram to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations,<sup>1/</sup> repudiating the authority of the Chinese delegation maintained at the United Nations Headquarters by the former Government of China. Once again, in August 1950, Mr. Chou En-Lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China,<sup>2/</sup> addressed another telegram to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, informing the latter of the composition of the Chinese delegation to the General Assembly at its fifth session which was then about to start. It was on the basis

of these communications and some proposals made by certain Member States that the General Assembly considered, for the first time, the question of the representation of China.

12. The fifth session of the General Assembly had before it two draft resolutions submitted, respectively, by India and the USSR, both of which would decide to seat the Government of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. But, unfortunately, both the Indian<sup>3/</sup> and the USSR<sup>4/</sup> draft resolutions failed of adoption. Since then, a thorough discussion of the question has never been undertaken. It has been put off, one year after another, until the present session. However, those who oppose the representation of China are apparently losing ground every year. At the sixth session of the General Assembly, the decision to defer the consideration of this question was adopted by a vote of 37 to 11, with 4 abstentions, whereas, at the fifteenth session, a similar decision was taken only by a vote of 42 to 34, with 22 abstentions. That, in short, is the history of the question we are discussing today. Therefore, this is the first time since 1950 that the General Assembly has decided to discuss the substance of the matter, and my delegation deems it symbolic of a sense of reason and realism that will prevail amongst us during our deliberations in this hall, and it is my delegation's ardent hope that we shall be able to bring about a positive result.

13. As we are all aware, much has been said for and against the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. As far as my country is concerned, the Government of the Union of Burma lost no time in taking cognizance of the powerful tide of changes that surged and swept all over China during a period of nearly thirty years in the first half of the twentieth century. Burma recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China, which exercises real effective control over the Chinese people and the entire territory of the Chinese mainland. The writ of the Government of the People's Republic of China extends throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese mainland. In the considered view of my Government, the question is not controversial at all, and there should not be two views as to who should or should not represent China. A wavering attitude in this matter will only betray a sheer inability or a tragic failure to read the signs of tremendous changes, thereby leading the Powers concerned to serious miscalculations, with equally serious consequences in their conduct of international affairs.

14. My delegation has noticed that most of the arguments advanced by those who have consistently opposed the representation of the People's Republic of China are invariably based upon a few hypotheses. One of them is that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China does not enjoy the support of the masses and that it may somehow go away and disappear. From all accounts, this hypothesis has been proved null and void. The mere existence of the People's Republic of China for over a decade will in some way be a proof in itself that the Central People's Government does enjoy the support of, at least, a major section of 650 million people in the mainland of China. For it is inconceivable that the 650 million Chinese people, whose intelligence and

<sup>1/</sup> A/1123 (mimeographed only).

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes, Question of the representation of China in the United Nations, document A/1364.

<sup>3/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, vol. I, 277th meeting, para. 8.

<sup>4/</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 88.



love of liberty are well-known, will allow themselves for any length of time to be ruled at the point of the gun, as it were.

15. All dispassionate observers have noted the phenomenal rate of economic development achieved by the Central People's Government of China during the past eleven or twelve years. The fact of the matter is that China has been going from strength to strength under the present Government. This has been admitted even by its antagonists, and everybody, nations and individuals alike, must concede that China today is a Power that must necessarily be reckoned with politically, economically and in many other aspects, in Asia and in the entire world.

16. There 's another hypothesis: that the People's Republic of China has rendered itself unfit for a seat in this Organization by its own international behaviour—that it is not peace-loving, and that it is not democratic.

17. At any rate, let us assume—I repeat, let us assume—that the People's Republic of China has misbehaved in its conduct of international relations. Let us assume that it is not peace-loving and its Government is not democratic either in form or structure. Let us even take it that everything happening in China is evil, and that there is nothing good, as it is pictured in certain quarters. The question that arises is, what relevance do these matters have to the immediate issue before us, which is the seating of representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China?

18. My delegation holds the view that the United Nations is not an organization meant for good governments only. No government or State is absolutely free from sin. The United Nations is designed to serve as a forum where grievances can be aired, various views exchanged and thrashed out, actions harmonized and disputes settled by talks and negotiations and not on the battlefields. Anyone who takes seriously these functions or objectives of the United Nations should not hesitate to support the seating of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. For solution of any major problem of the world will be out of the question without the co-operation of the Central People's Government of China, which represents a quarter of the world's population. Examples of such problems are many. The questions of Laos, Korea and Viet-Nam, and the question of disarmament are foremost amongst them.

19. Incidentally, in talking of disarmament I am reminded of the recent discussion which we had in the First Committee on this problem. All the delegations were of the unanimous opinion that disarmament is the most pressing and important problem confronting the world today. No agreement on disarmament would be effective without the participation of a country like China which has a population of 650 million people, which is a quarter of the world.

20. In this connexion I can do no better than quote the words of Mr. Stevenson, Chairman of the United States delegation, for whom my delegation has the greatest respect. In an article entitled "Putting First Things First", which appeared in the review Foreign Affairs for January 1960, he stated (p. 203):

"Perhaps neither the Russians nor we ourselves are yet prepared to talk in such concrete terms. Yet it is clear that no general control of disarmament has any value unless it includes China, and

it is difficult to see how China can accept international control when it is not, formally, a member of international society. Moreover, as a Member of the United Nations, Communist China, with a quarter of the world's population, would be more accountable to world opinion than as an outcast."

These are words of wisdom, profound wisdom. It would be well for the Assembly to pay heed to these words.

21. Moreover, China is not an ordinary Member of this Organization. China is a founding Member, and a permanent member of the Security Council. Under the provisions of the Charter, the obligations laid upon the Security Council and its members are very heavy. Not infrequently, my delegation has some serious doubts as to whether it would be right for us to insist upon the observance by China of the provisions of the Charter while it is deprived of its rights to be represented as an equal Member amidst us. All these facts point to one and only one conclusion, namely, that by keeping China out of the United Nations, one damages not China but this Organization.

22. Some moments ago I had referred to the assumptions that the People's Republic of China is not peace-loving and not democratic. My delegation feels that they are wide of the mark. My delegation cannot subscribe to the view that a country which has just embarked on massive development projects and is frantically engaged in modernizing 650 million people in a land of approximately 4 million square miles, wants to have a war which will bring to nought the fruits of their blood, toil and perseverance. I am reminded that the other day [1070th meeting] the representative of Ceylon cited an interesting array of countries which would have to quit this Organization forthwith if the yardstick of peace-loving nature or democratic practice were to be applied to them. He cited, amongst others, Portugal, Belgium, South Africa and France. Therefore, I do not intend to pursue this point any further. Otherwise most of us will be in one kind of difficulty or another.

23. My delegations would now like to touch upon a certain aspect which is seldom dealt with in connexion with the question under discussion. I am referring to the social and economic aims of our Organization. One of the aims of the United Nations is "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". At present China has nearly 700 million people, which is about a quarter of the world's population, and it might have a billion within say, at most, a decade. In view of this, if the United Nations cannot count upon the co-operation of the People's Republic of China, and if China is precluded from playing its full part in this Organization, the aims and objects of this Organization will hardly materialize.

24. The obligations laid upon China as a Member of this Organization and especially as a permanent member of the Security Council can be carried out only by the People's Republic of China and her 650 million people. They and they alone can play the full part as a Member of the United Nations. At this point, I am reminded of what a well-known British leader said a few months ago. He is no other than Lord Boothby, a Conservative member of the House of Lords in Britain. In a television debate with Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, he stated, inter alia, as follows:

"First of all in a very dangerous world, it is extremely dangerous to base any part of your foreign

policy upon illusion. And I think that this country does suffer from one illusion and that is that the Government of China is somehow or other in Formosa. Now, that is not true. These 700 million people occupying 4 million square miles of territory are governed by the Chinese People's Republic in Peking. And I don't think it is any good pretending that they are governed by Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, because they are not."

25. In the light of the considerations I have just put forward, it is important—indeed urgent and essential—that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations and all other international organs without delay.

26. My delegation fully appreciates the difficulty in which certain Powers are placed in connexion with this problem. On the other hand, my delegation has a feeling that that difficult situation will not get less difficult by attempting to prevent what might be inevitable, through the powerful forces of historical reasons. Therefore my delegation would like to urge all those who have in their hearts the future of the United Nations and who really want to see the United Nations as a truly universal international Organization, to lend their wholehearted support to the seating of the representatives of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. As far as my Government is concerned, we recognize only one China, that of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

27. Permit me to say one final word about the procedure to be followed in this matter. The question before us is very often loosely called "admission of China", "representation of China", "the seating of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China" and so forth. My delegation holds the view that this is a simple question of who should or should not represent China. For China has been a Member of this Organization from the very beginning, and there is no question of the admission of China as such. The problem is, who should be the proper representative of China. In other words, it is nothing but a simple question of credentials. These observations will determine the attitude of my delegation on the specific proposals that we have before us.

28. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): During the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the delegation of Colombia stated its views on the item now under discussion [1026th meeting] in the following terms:

"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."

29. Consistently with the views expressed in the paragraphs I have quoted, my delegation has had no hesitation in joining with others to sponsor draft resolution A/L.372 under which, if the Assembly adopts it, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations will be classified as an important question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 3 of the Charter.

30. Whatever interpretations may have been placed on this draft resolution in the course of the discussion, no one can entertain the slightest doubt that the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership in the United Nations would be a momentous event in contemporary international politics.

31. Even the proponents of a favourable decision agree that this is not a secondary question but one of major importance. I shall refrain from quoting the relevant passages from the statements in which this point has been made, but they can readily be found, over and over again, in the statements in question.

32. Perhaps no subject has aroused keener public interest throughout the world. There has been an uninterrupted flow of newspaper articles, pamphlets, parliamentary speeches, reports, and statements in the United Nations and other international agencies ever since the idea of displacing the representatives of the Republic of China in favour of the spokesmen of Mao Tse-tung's Red China was first mooted, and the case for and against this proposal has been put at great length, though without producing any genuinely new or more telling arguments.

33. It is true that the consideration of this item has been postponed from year to year, and that agreement to a full discussion of this question in the world forum has now come from the Western Powers; however, it is also a fact that the inclusion of the item in the agenda was discussed at previous regular sessions, so that many countries have already had an opportunity to state their views on the matter.

34. A subject of such keen public interest, whose elucidation has occupied so many good minds, which has far-reaching international repercussions and which, indeed, may give rise to profound upheavals, must be discussed and settled with the greatest caution, in complete calm; and the Members of this Assembly, who have very heavy responsibilities to discharge, must not let themselves be swayed by the propaganda that has been aired here so forcefully, or by sentimental sympathy for the people of continental China.

35. Consequently, the vote which is to settle this issue must not be left to a fortuitous and possibly precarious majority; this is not a mere matter of credentials, and no-one would venture to maintain that it was. The truth is that there are very few cases to which Article 18, paragraph 3 could more properly be applied, in order to ensure that the decision taken is supported by at least two-thirds of the Members of this Assembly. A decision of whatever nature in so controversial a matter must be taken by that proportion of votes if its political validity is to be complete and indisputable.

36. As has already been said, this is primarily a political problem. It must be examined broadly, and not exclusively within an artificial and limited legal



context. Would it indeed be possible, to discuss this question solely in terms of the rules on the recognition of new Governments laid down by the recognized and accepted principles of international law? Could we confine ourselves to such a course, when the problem goes beyond these theoretical bonds and takes on, in fact and in reality, a scope which transcends all the rules and which cannot be contained within preconceived ideas?

37. There is only one prerequisite for the decision which the Assembly has to take in this matter: it must be beneficial to peace. To put it another way, it must not mark another step forward on the quickening march to war. Thus the complex issues which this case involves, to which various speakers have drawn attention, must be considered from every angle in order to ensure that whatever decision is ultimately taken is as conducive as possible to the long-term interests of the international community.

38. The first question to arise if the matter was examined in relation to the United Nations would be this: must the Republic of China, which is now represented in the Assembly and which is regarded as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, be expelled or dissolved? This extreme view, taken by the Soviet bloc does not seem very widely supported even among those who favour admitting the People's Republic of China. This is, however, a point which will have to be settled in advance.

39. Some delegations have gone so far as to suggest the recognition of two Chinese States. If this "two Chinas" thesis should prevail, would the admission of the People's Republic of China have to be treated as the entry of a new Member? However, in this latter case—i.e., if the two Chinas were to coexist within the United Nations—would the Republic of China retain its right to a permanent seat and to a veto in the Security Council? Or could the People's Republic of China challenge that right? This is another point which must be settled in advance.

40. And if it should be decided that the representatives of Nationalist China must leave (I do not say "be expelled", because this term has a connotation of sanction or punishment that could never be applied to a State which has shown itself at all times to be an exemplary Member of the United Nations) failing proof that Nationalist China no longer fulfils the conditions of Statehood with respect to territory, Government and population, could such a step be taken in the absence of the circumstances defined in Articles 5 and 6 of the Charter, and without following the procedure laid down in those Articles?

41. All these are questions which cannot be settled with a stroke of the pen, with a resolution like that submitted by the Soviet Union, which presumes to dispose of this vital matter once and for all, in an over-simplified and summary fashion without appraising—or, indeed, because it has accurately appraised—the inevitable consequences of the action proposed.

42. Rarely in the course of debate at the United Nations have we heard statements which were more striking than those made during this discussion on the representation of China. We have carefully considered what has already been said by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, the Republic of China, Ceylon and other delegations thoroughly conversant with the subject. The Members of the United Nations—confronted by the prospect of

mankind's future and of the suffering and distress inflicted by the struggle that is being waged in an open or concealed form across the face of the earth—cannot proceed to a vote without first examining the background of the Government which now claims a seat in this Assembly. Moreover, the fact that we, the Members of this Assembly, pause to examine how the People's Republic of China has conducted itself in various international situations does not mean, as has been said, that we are presuming to interfere in its domestic affairs. As democrats, we are, of course, disturbed by the fact that a vast portion of the human race is today being governed, under the pretext of social revolution, by a régime which denies freedom and human rights and which uses slavery and brutal oppression to achieve total submission. It is true, however, that this might be regarded as a matter of domestic jurisdiction, into which we are not entitled to inquire. But the same does not apply to that State's international conduct.

43. The Charter requires Members of the United Nations to be peace-loving: in other words, they must have demonstrated, in their relations with other peoples, their will to live with them in peace, in complete harmony, without trying to involve them in their own political, ideological or territorial ambitions. This, beyond question, is what communist China had failed to do. Its record in the United Nations is one of aggression, of the will to dominate and to extend its empire; ever since its revolution it has provoked the most ominous situations on, and even beyond, the continent of Asia. It was declared an aggressor country by this very Assembly [resolution 498 (V)]; and, what is even more serious, there seems to be no indication that this attitude, so dangerous to world peace at the present time, has changed, or that its intentions have changed, or that its activities and influence may become a factor for tranquillity and harmony, in the future.

44. In the circumstances it is not easy for countries which genuinely desire peace, which view with fear and horror the fatal consequences of an armed clash, which aspire to a future of happiness and spiritual progress for us all and for succeeding generations as long as the species survives; it does not seem easy, I say, for such countries to commit themselves to a solution with unforeseeable results; not, at any rate, until all the questions we have ventured to raise in this statement have been cleared up.

45. It also disturbs us, however, that a great people like that of continental China and its present rulers, with their immense potential either for preserving peace or for unleashing war, should be absent from discussions in which the immediate destiny of this planet is at stake. Nor are we unaware that their participation in good faith would be extremely helpful to the settlement of the acute controversies of the present day and perhaps those of tomorrow. We are impressed by the confidence with which many Member States affirm that a solution in favour of admitting the People's Republic of China would remove the acute tension in which we live. But we should not be altogether easy in our minds if we took this step precipitately, without making absolutely certain that we were not exposing mankind to a serious risk. The only way to give us this certainly would be by deeds; i.e., by repeated demonstrations on the part of a Government and people that they were unmistakably friends of peace and not emissaries of violence.

46. The Colombian delegation believes that it has proved that the question before the Assembly is unusually important—the most significant, for the survival of the United Nations itself, of all those it has before it at this session; that the decisions taken must resolve the varied and complex situations arising out of the particular manner in which the matter is disposed of; that the Assembly must go into the matter with the utmost thoroughness if the outcome is not to conflict with the high purposes we have solemnly undertaken to pursue as Members of the United Nations; and that all the foregoing accentuate the importance of the question from the standpoint of Article 18 of the Charter.

47. It now remains for us to state the position we shall take in this discussion, so that this statement may also serve as an advance explanation of vote. Naturally, we shall support draft resolution A/L.372, which we have the honour to co-sponsor with Australia, Italy, Japan and the United States of America. We shall have to vote against the proposal made by the Soviet Union in draft resolution A/L.360. In the latter proposal we can accept neither the harsh language, which is unacceptable in a United Nations pronouncement, nor the substance. The Colombian delegation would be prepared to agree that the repercussions and implications of the admission of communist China to membership in the United Nations should receive thorough study, and that a decision should follow; it would accordingly vote in favour of any proposal on those lines. At all events, whatever the Colombian delegation might decide, it would take no decision until it was fully satisfied that it would in no way affect either justice or coexistence.

48. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): For twelve years now the General Assembly has had before it the question of restoring the People's Republic of China to its lawful place in the United Nations, but has proved unable to find a solution. In previous debates, many have stressed the absurdity of a situation in which a country which is as large as the whole of Europe and has a much larger population is excluded from the Organization. One-quarter of all mankind is being prevented from taking part in the discussion of the most important international problems and in the search for peaceful solutions to those problems.

49. The development which has taken place in the People's Republic of China during this period and the difficulties encountered in the solution of international problems of all kinds have brought an increasing number of peoples and governments to the realization that this situation is no longer tenable. An example of this is provided by a statement by Lord Casey, the former Australian Minister for External Affairs, who cannot be accused of partiality towards the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. Lord Casey said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to justify the quarantining of Communist China.

50. Under pressure of circumstances, the General Assembly is this year discussing the substance of the question, and this marks a step forward by comparison with the past. I think there are a number of facts to which attention may usefully again be drawn on this occasion.

51. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the work of this Organization is particularly anomalous because it is a well-known historical fact that China is one of the great Powers which were the

founding Members of the United Nations. It was considered to be a great Power even at the time the Organization was established, although this was in fact open to debate because China was then a large country under pressure from internal and external enemies, and lacking any central direction. In all truthfulness, we must admit that, although its history dates back several thousands of years, China only became a really great Power after the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. It now has the political and economic strength that give it the authority of a great Power. This fact is even admitted by discerning American statesmen, as is shown by the statement of Mr. Chester Bowles that Communist China has emerged from a generation of bloody civil war to become a world Power and is laying the foundations of an extensive industry.

52. And it is while under continuous attack from international reactionaries, and despite the intrigues of imperialist circles in the United States, that the Government of the People's Republic of China has succeeded in achieving this result in so short a time, largely thanks to the devoted aid of the Chinese people. The unity of the Chinese people and the Government of the People's Republic of China is clearly demonstrated by the democratic and free elections, by secret ballot, which have taken place for the first time in China's history. The People's Republic of China has eliminated all the forms of imperialist oppression which previously paralysed the great Chinese people. It has denounced the inequitable treaties which were imposed on it by the great imperialist Powers and by doing so has become truly independent.

53. It was a great triumph for the Chinese people when the Central People's Government ousted the representative of the Kuomintang, that political régime which was the enemy of the people, and thus overcame internal oppression. Those who were acquainted with China before that time rejoice at these magnificent achievements. Many visitors from the West wonder how it was possible to eliminate traditional weaknesses such as corruption, fraudulence, swindling and abuse of authority within so short a period.

54. Thanks to land reform, more than 500 million Chinese peasants have been liberated from feudal oppression. Total production has considerably increased. Agricultural production is now almost double what it was before liberation. Despite the economic embargo applied against it by the United States, China—thanks mainly to help from the socialist countries and to the concentration of its own resources—has embarked on large-scale industrialization, including the construction of thousands of new factories, and is now one of the principal steel-producing countries in the world.

55. The organization of a national system of public education has enabled hundreds of millions of persons to enjoy the fruits of culture and illiteracy has been eliminated. This great social, economical and cultural development has, of course, brought about a rapid rise in the standard of living of the entire population.

56. The victorious revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and its imposing achievements have inevitably stimulated the struggle for liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. An ever-increasing number of newly independent States are studying China's economic construction with a view to achieving an equally rapid development for their own people.



57. But the People's Republic of China has not only set an example and lent its moral support to these peoples; it is giving them concrete economic and cultural assistance. It is fully acquainted with their problems, for it, too, was previously plundered by the imperialist Powers. That is one of the causes of the hatred felt by certain Powers for the People's Republic of China.

58. In the light of these facts, it is evident that the non-representation of the People's Republic of China constitutes a major lacuna in the work of the United Nations.

59. I should like to reply to the enemies of the People's Republic of China. Let us see whether that country meets the requirements for membership in the United Nations.

60. I have already set out the facts, showing that the People's Republic of China exercises full sovereignty over its territory and enjoys very wide popular support. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of politics and economics knows that such success could not have been achieved unless the Government enjoyed the firm support of the popular masses.

61. Not only has the People's Republic of China accepted the obligations imposed by the Charter of the United Nations, but all its activities reflect the spirit of the Charter. Some accuse China of violating Article 4 of the Charter and try to represent it as the aggressor in the Korean War. Though this is common knowledge, it is nevertheless useful to recall that the Chinese people did not come to the aid of the Korean people until United Nations troops under United States command reached the Sino-Korean frontier on the Yalu River and until General MacArthur was preparing to attack the People's Republic of China. He did not even wait for a political decision to be taken on the matter before allowing his aircraft to bomb several Chinese towns. Serious and objective observers of events have concluded that the Chinese volunteers acted in self-defence. The answer to the question of who was the aggressor is, therefore, simple.

62. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is consistently to defend peace. This is mandatory, for such an imposing constructive effort is only feasible in time of peace. The representative of the People's Republic of China at the Bandung Conference in 1955 was among those who expressed the strongest support for the five fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence, which has since been the watchword of Chinese foreign policy. On the basis of these principles, the Chinese People's Republic has attempted to establish good relations with as many countries as possible. So far it has established diplomatic relations with more than forty countries and commercial relations with some hundred others. It has also attempted to enter into relations with the United States of America, despite the hostile behaviour of that country, and it is in that spirit that negotiations are in progress at Warsaw between representatives of the two countries.

63. With a view to safeguarding peace, the People's Republic of China has proposed that a denuclearized zone should be established in the Pacific area. This proposal, as can be seen from the present session of the General Assembly is in keeping with the wishes of the peoples of the world. In the same spirit, the People's Republic of China has repeatedly emphasized

in its statements that it is in favour of general and complete disarmament.

64. The frontier agreements which the People's Republic of China has concluded with Burma<sup>5/</sup> and Nepal<sup>6/</sup> embody the five fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence. These treaties are not inequitable, that is to say, they do not give either party a unilateral advantage, and they liquidate a baneful legacy of imperialism, which tended to foment discord among peoples by means of the inaccurate delimitation of frontiers.

65. All these facts refute the allegation that the People's Republic of China committed aggression against anyone whatsoever. There are many guilty parties among the accusers. I will mention only the authors of the acts of aggression committed against Suez, Cuba and Bizerta, but I could add to this list.

66. Some charge China with disregarding Article 55 of the Charter by violating human rights in Tibet. In the first place, the question of Tibet is a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of China, and in the second place, the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China is very clear. Those who bring such charges against China hoped that the Tibetan rebels would succeed in prolonging the domination of Tibet by slave-owners and feudal overlords, which contrasts with the remarkable progress displayed in the other parts of China. However, the Government of the People's Republic of China has taken the side of the slaves and serfs who form the bulk of Tibet's population and has carried out a number of measures for their benefit such as land reform and the construction of roads linking Tibet with the other parts of the country as well as of factories, schools, hospitals and so on. All this has served to promote social, economic and cultural development, which is what the enemies of progress wished to prevent.

67. I believe that the majority of Members of the General Assembly do not question the validity and soundness of the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is consequently evident that, in conformity with the spirit of the Charter, the rights of the representatives of the People's Republic of China cannot be disputed.

68. Although China has hitherto been excluded from the work of the United Nations, the evidence shows that it has obtained remarkable results in all fields. The fact of its exclusion has failed to impede its development. To put it frankly, China can do without the United Nations, but the United Nations has great need of China. It needs the participation of this great Power because, owing to this very lack of universality, it cannot be considered a genuine world organization. I believe that no one has any illusions about the participation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique as a means of filling this gap. The representatives of the Kuomintang play no part in decisions; at most, on the orders of their masters, they seek to hamper the march of progress. Clearly, however, the most important questions can be solved through the participation of China in the work of the United Nations.

69. Disarmament will be achieved only with the participation of all the great Powers, of all the countries having the largest armed forces. It therefore goes

<sup>5/</sup> Agreement concluded on 29 January 1960.

<sup>6/</sup> Agreement concluded on 5 October 1961.

without saying that a great Power like the People's Republic of China should not be disregarded when this problem is discussed. This view was expressed very clearly in 1960 in an article by Mr. Stevenson,<sup>7/</sup> with whom we can agree on this point. He said:

"Yet it is clear that no general control of disarmament has any value unless it includes China, and it is difficult to see how China can accept international control when it is not, formally, a member of international society."

70. We can only regret that Mr. Stevenson did not think it necessary to use the same kind of language during the present debate. The United States obviously knows from experience that the People's Republic of China cannot be intimidated. The liberation army of the Chinese people cut to pieces the armed forces, several million strong, of Chiang Kai-shek despite the assistance of the United Nations. China is strong enough to defend itself and to resist any aggressor. A solution of the disarmament problem would, however, also help China to speed up the work of construction within the country.

*Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

71. One of the most important tasks of the United Nations is the total liquidation of the colonies. This programme could hardly have a more enthusiastic advocate than the People's Republic of China. It is obvious that the contribution which China is making today in the search for a solution to this problem could be much more effective and could accelerate the liberation of the oppressed peoples, if this country could also play its part in securing the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

72. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations would immediately resolve one of the major problems of cold-war politics and greatly contribute to the reduction of international tension. By upholding the principle of universality, the United Nations could become more effective.

73. It may seem absurd to the whole world, and rightly so, that for over a decade, the United Nations should have proved unable to resolve this procedural question. Never has there been a greater need to solve this problem than today, when we are seeking a definitive solution to such urgent questions as general and complete disarmament and the liquidation of the colonial system. We must put an end to this policy of obstruction; we must face the facts, the manifest political truth that in law and in fact there is only one China, the People's Republic of China. The famous jurist Hans Kelsen, among others, made the following observations as long ago as 1951:

"The only government of the Republic of China is the communist government which is in effective control of the territory of China and its people."

That amounts to saying that it is not a question of admitting a new Member, as the Nigerian Minister for Foreign Affairs has said [1071st meeting], but one of simply recognizing the validity of the credentials issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The true representatives of China must be allowed to take the place which is theirs by right, and those who do not represent China must be removed.

<sup>7/</sup> Article entitled "Putting First Things First", published in *Foreign Affairs* for January 1960 [vol. 38, No. 2].

74. Since the importance of solving this problem is apparent not only to countries which have already established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, it follows that a number of other countries will also support China in the voting.

75. Mr. Trygve Lie, a former Secretary-General of the United Nations, ably defined the position in regard to such votes; he stated that:

"... a Member could properly vote to accept a representative of a Government which it did not recognize, or with which it had no diplomatic relations, and that such a vote did not imply recognition or readiness to assume diplomatic relations".<sup>8/</sup>

This procedural question can be settled by a simple majority vote. We must resolve this problem in good faith and with all the necessary care, because China's continued exclusion from the United Nations may have the effect of increasing international tension. That is why we must categorically reject any attempt to complicate the relatively simple solution of this important problem. And we are in fact faced with such an attempt in the form of a draft resolution sponsored by five Powers [A/L.372]. In our view, the purpose of this draft resolution is to lead the General Assembly astray by taking an unscrupulous advantage of the importance of the problem. We agree that the problem is important. Let us add that it is important above all for the United Nations. But the solution is simple: it is a procedural issue which is involved. Anyone attempting to complicate or postpone its solution will be doing a great disservice to our Organization and a great service to those who profit from international tension.

76. But all the indications are that this is not the only attempt we shall have to face. For the United States Press, basing itself on official sources, informs us that the United States wants to prevent us yet again from solving this problem. Since the Chinese revolution, the United States has given ample proof of its aversion to the Government of the People's Republic of China. But the Chinese people did not wait for the permission of the United States to carry through their revolutionary struggle and have achieved impressive results without even asking for its advice or assistance.

77. According to the United States Press, the United States is seeking to thwart the solution of this problem by raising issues which in one way or another would preclude its solution. By way of illustration, I need only mention the principle of the "two Chinas", a principle which China itself can certainly not accept. Secondly, it appears that the United States wishes consideration to be given to the possibility of dispatching a commission of inquiry to China, which would submit a report in a year's time on whether China fulfils the requirements for admission to the United Nations. That would enable the question to be deferred to a later date.

78. The whole world knows that there is only one China; that is, incidentally, the only point on which even the Chiang Kai-shek clique agrees with the Chinese Government. Taiwan is not yet under the authority of the Chinese Government because the Chinese civil war is not yet over and because armed intervention by the United States is preventing its

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for Period from 1 January to 31 May 1950, document S/1466, p. 5.



conclusion. In adopting this attitude, the United States is violating Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter because it is using force against the territorial integrity of another country. This attitude is strange, to say the least, for it is the United States which has mobilized its vast propaganda machinery and is accusing the People's Republic of China of having violated the Charter. It was against this interference that Mr. Wu Hsiu-chuan, speaking as the representative of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council, protested on 28 November 1950 in the following terms:

"I am here ... to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan—including the Penghu Islands."<sup>9/</sup>

79. It is objected that Taiwan is nevertheless a territory with a separate administration and Government, which must therefore be considered as a separate State. But any objective observer can see at a glance that had it not been for the protection of the United States Seventh Fleet and for United States military and economic aid, the so-called Government of Chiang Kai-shek would have been overthrown immediately. The principle of the two Chinas is an absurdity invented by the United States Government to further its own political and military plans by maintaining aggressive military bases in the vicinity of China, which is building socialism. The facts reveal the intentions of the United States, which has no right to claim that it is defending the interests of the peoples or safeguarding peace in the Far East. The safeguarding of peace in the Far East is the affair of the peoples and States of that area itself.

80. In this connexion, it is high time the Assembly heeded and acted on the wise and thoughtful views expressed by statesmen of that region such as the representative of Ceylon, the representative of Burma or the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cambodia, who rightly said:

"... we are among the countries best situated to see the realities of a situation which has to be confronted by the people of South-East Asia" [1069th meeting, para. 51].

81. It is common knowledge that one of the main causes of the tension in the Far East is unquestionably the occupation of Taiwan by United States armed forces. It is under the protection of his United States masters and with the help of United States weapons and United States trained soldiers, spies and saboteurs that Chiang Kai-shek is attempting to injure the People's Republic of China. But all these facts can have no influence on the course of events or prevent Taiwan from being returned to China. In occupying Taiwan, the United States has trampled underfoot an historic decision: the announcement made at Cairo in 1943, which provided that Taiwan, at that time under Japanese occupation, was to be restored to China.

82. In 1950, President Truman likewise recognized that Taiwan was an integral part of China. In December 1949, the State Department had defined its position, affirming that, politically, geographically and strategically, Taiwan was part of China. President Truman subsequently said on 5 January 1950, that

the United States would not intervene in the Chinese civil war on Taiwan's account. Unfortunately he broke his promise six months later. The United States' position and attitude are tantamount to a violation of international law and to a contempt for historical facts.

83. It follows from all this that there are not two Chinas and that, consequently, there cannot be two delegations in our Organization.

84. Some people are wondering whether there is a solution to the problem of Taiwan and how this hotbed of war can be eliminated and peace safeguarded in this part of Asia. The first and most important step is to put an end to United States aggression as soon as possible. United States armed forces must be withdrawn from the island of Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait, and the Chinese people must be allowed to decide its own fate. The Government of the People's Republic of China has already proposed on a number of occasions that Taiwan should be liberated peacefully, but the Chiang Kai-shek clique, encouraged by the United States, has always categorically refused. The solution of the Taiwan problem is not in any case within the competence of the United Nations, since it is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China.

85. It is evident from all that I have said that the Chinese policy of the United States is not realistic. To block participation by the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations is a futile political gesture. History has shown that no matter how persistent a struggle is waged against facts, such a struggle is bound to fail sooner or later. Just as people all over the world are coming to realize that there is only one possible solution to the Chinese question, so are an even greater number of United States leaders beginning to appreciate the indefensibility of the United States position.

86. The General Assembly has already heard a number of quotations from the book War or Peace, which Mr. Dulles, the former United States Secretary of State, wrote in 1950 before his appointment as head of the State Department and in which he expressed the view that the People's Republic of China should properly be admitted to membership in the United Nations. It is interesting to note that, after assuming office, he was unable to give practical effect to his sound opinion. Since he was in the service of United States foreign policy, which was designed to increase international tension, he was obliged to follow a course that ran counter to principles which he had hitherto advocated.

87. The Pittsburg Press, in its issue of 11 October 1960, published a statement by Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and by Senator Morse, to the effect that the admission of China was inevitable. Mr. Stevenson made a similar statement on 18 January 1961 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which he said that it might be impossible to prevent the admission of China.

88. Although the need to solve the problem of China is becoming clear to more and more people, there are many who fear a solution because they see it is a threat to the unity of the Western countries. One of the United States representatives at the present session, Mr. Arthur Dean, expressed this idea as follows

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., Fifth Year, No. 69, 527th meeting, p. 2.

in an article entitled "United States Foreign Policy and Formosa"<sup>10/</sup>

"... this would be a major political defeat, shaking the unity of the West and damaging our ability to mobilize allies on more crucial issues."

89. In the face of this fear, it may be asked which course is the less disadvantageous: to abandon a policy which has failed and evolve a new policy in keeping with the facts, or to pursue the wrong policy to the point of total bankruptcy. It is clear that the United States will lose far more prestige by failing to draw the necessary conclusions from the facts than by adopting a realistic policy.

90. The United States policy towards China was succinctly criticized by Mr. R. P. Newman in his book Recognition of Communist China?

"Blocking Communist China from a seat in the General Assembly is an American project which seems as hopeless as our 1918-1919 attempt to overthrow the Soviet régime in Russia."<sup>11/</sup>

The so-called "conservative" policy of the United States is thus once again setting that country against historical progress. The Government of the United States would show great political foresight if it broke with its policy, which is doomed to failure, and at the same time eased the way to the only possible solution to the question of China. If it acted in this way, it would considerably enhance its prestige in the eyes of the world.

91. I have tried to show on the basis of these few facts that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a most urgent and inescapable problem, and that all those who are trying to prevent its realistic solution are doing grave harm to their own cause. The solution of this problem is also essential from the standpoint of developing international co-operation and the useful activities of the United Nations.

92. If the General Assembly fails to adopt a positive resolution, it will cause a deadlock on a whole series of vital problems concerning international relations and, what is more, it will increase international tension at a time when it should be resolving problems crucial for humanity. But if—as we would like to hope—this international forum at last resolves the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, it will not only enhance the prestige of the United Nations but will also facilitate the settlement of a number of grave problems of world politics.

93. For these reasons the Hungarian delegation fully supports the Soviet draft resolution (A/L.360).

94. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): I should like to give a brief statement of my Government's position on the agenda item under consideration.

95. Before going into the substance of the matter, I wish to express my satisfaction that, this year, no difficulty arose over the inclusion of this item in the agenda. The moratorium which the General Assembly has declared on this subject at every session for a number of years was, in our opinion, detrimental to

the Assembly's prestige. That attitude gave the impression that the Assembly was afraid to deal with this burning issue. Thus a step in the right direction has now been taken.

96. The issue before us today may be summed up in a few words: Who is entitled to represent China in the United Nations?

97. The Government of the United Arab Republic recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the true Government of China, and has done so for the past seven years. This political position has determined our attitude on this question in the General Assembly. For us the Government of China is in Peking.

98. All the arguments that have been advanced in this debate against the People's Republic of China and its right to occupy China's seat in the United Nations have failed to convince us.

99. The first point I would like to make is that we are not discussing the question of admitting China to the United Nations. China is a Member of the Organization and has occupied a permanent seat in the Security Council since the adoption of the United Nations Charter. Hence, the arguments on the question of China's admission are not pertinent to the issue under consideration today.

100. Furthermore, as we have stated on many occasions, we cannot exclude a State with 650 million inhabitants from the international community. That is contrary to the principle of the universality of the United Nations, a principle which we support.

101. In this connexion, we also have to face a number of political facts that cannot be ignored. No political agreement involving the great Powers to which China is not a party can, in our opinion, be regarded as a complete agreement. If, for instance, an agreement were to be reached on disarmament, it could not be considered complete without the participation of the People's Republic of China, which possesses a large number of modern weapons. The same might be said of many treaties dealing with other issues relating to international peace and security, particularly in Asia—in Laos and Viet-Nam, for example.

102. The influence of the United Nations on Governments with regard to obligations imposed by the Charter will be greater if these Governments are represented in the Organization. I think there can be no doubt on this score. It is for this reason that certain countries favour the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations even though their relations with China present certain problems.

103. It is unreasonable to claim that the Taiwan Government, which cannot play a leading role in international affairs, legitimately occupies a permanent seat in the Security Council and should be treated as a great Power representing the Chinese people. To treat it in this way is to ignore the 650 million inhabitants of the People's Republic of China, a Republic which for twelve years has had a stable Government recognized by at least forty States.

104. I should like to point out in this connexion that operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 396 (V), under which we are empowered to deal with this question, reads as follows:

"Recommends that the attitude adopted by the General Assembly or its Interim Committee con-

<sup>10/</sup> Article published in the April 1955 issue of the review Foreign Affairs (vol. 33, No. 3).

<sup>11/</sup> Robert P. Newman, Recognition of Communist China? New York, the MacMillan Company, 1961, p. 167.



cerning any such question should be taken into account in other organs of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies."

Accordingly, this resolution gives the General Assembly the right to deal with the question of credentials and recommends that other organs of the United Nations should take our decision into account. Thus our decision will be a decision of policy.

105. I shall now refer briefly to the various draft resolutions. A word first about the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Colombia, Italy, Japan and the United States of America [A/L.372]. With respect to the procedure to be adopted here and the majority required in the matter of the credentials of the Chinese delegation, it is, in my view, impossible to maintain that this question is an important one on which a two-thirds majority is required, because it has been established by the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and by the precedents that the majority required in the case of credentials is a simple majority. The important thing is not the designation attached to the issue or agenda item. The criterion is the substance of the issue, and the substance of the issue we are discussing is simply who is entitled to represent China. This issue resolves itself into one of the verification of credentials, an act for which the rules of procedure do not prescribe a two-thirds majority.

106. Last year we considered another controversial question—the representation of the Congolese Government. That question might have been regarded as an important one, yet it was settled by a simple majority vote.

107. In these circumstances my delegation will not be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the United States and four other countries. We shall vote in favour of texts which recommend that the People's Republic of China should occupy China's seat in the United Nations. Lastly, we believe that a decision in this matter should be taken this year and that the People's Republic of China should be invited to occupy China's seat in the United Nations as soon as possible.

*Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.*

108. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): For my delegation the decision to hold a substantive discussion of the so-called question of the representation of China in the United Nations is to put to the test the fundamental principles on which our Organization is based. It is from that standpoint, and leaving aside the political interests of the great Powers, that we wish to set forth our position on a matter that we regard as of vital importance for the survival of those nations which, though lacking military strength, form an integral part of the United Nations. Our interest can be summarized in a statement which was made by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary-General, and which might be regarded as his political testament, namely, that it is the little nations which most need the United Nations. It is thus for us to watch over and protect with reason and law, which are our best weapons, the integrity of this Organization as an institution. It is on the basis of these premises that my delegation is taking part in this debate and will attempt to show that the question is one of vital importance which can be resolved only in accordance with the legal rules applicable to such questions, namely, to questions on which a two-thirds majority vote is required.

109. Immediately after the Second World War the armed conflict broke out between the Chinese Communist and the Nationalists, who were then in power and who carried on the Government as an organ representing the State and acting on its behalf without any question of legality being raised. In view of the area and population of China, that stage of the war was a terrible one, mainly because international communism intervened on the side of the rebels. It is important to remember that, far from denying their communist origin, the rulers of Red China have confirmed it by their subservience to foreign influences based on theories which do not recognize the State as the specific reflection of local national characteristics, but seek to substitute the universal system which is regarded as the inevitable means to the full development and implementation of the communist doctrine. The political concepts of the Chinese Reds are thus not derived from the traditions, conditions and general atmosphere of China but form a part of the Marxist philosophy, which has its headquarters in the Soviet Union. In our view, communism is opposed to our Christian concept of history, which has produced what is known as Western civilization; it is also opposed to and conflicts with the traditions and origins of the age old Chinese people, which is fighting not to preserve feudal privileges but to improve its social and economic institutions within the democratic system.

110. The course of the Chinese civil war deserves close attention and study from the standpoint of resistance to the inroads of Marxist fanaticism. The Reds won military victories and succeeded in forcing from the mainland the Chinese Government—I repeat, the Chinese Government—which had to withdraw to the island of Formosa, where it settled with the remnants of its army, a step which has never implied the renunciation of military action or plans for reconquering the mainland. In our opinion, the Chinese civil war has not ended. The two factions, the Communists and the Nationalists, are on a war footing and on and off Red guns and aircraft bombard the towns of Taiwan. This long battle has not ended; indeed the Red rulers say that when they enter the United Nations, they will occupy Formosa and liquidate its Government.

111. To continue this juridical examination of the legitimacy of a Government as the representative of a State, let us take the case of countries like Korea, Viet-Nam and Germany. These countries are not Members of the United Nations and do not aspire to membership because there is some question as to which is the legitimate Government. Although China is divided, the legal situation is quite different. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and the inaugural meeting of the Organization was attended by a delegation accredited by that same Government which, as a result of the fortunes of war, has today taken refuge in Taiwan. Until the civil war has been decided in one way or another, the present Government of Formosa is the lawful Government and possesses the essential attributes of a State despite the fact that it is at war. We say this because there are precedents which go to show that certain legal principles are recognized during a state of war in the interests of safeguarding justice.

112. We may recall, for instance, that during the Second World War the monarchs of the Netherlands and Norway fled to London from the Nazi invasion and established their Governments-in-exile, which were recognized by all the countries then fighting

against Germany. Of the Netherlands and Norwegian States, nothing remained but a lawful Government, which did not have the smallest piece of metropolitan territory or the smallest inhabited hamlet under its control. However, the law recognized that there had to be a lawful Government in order to fight for the continued existence of the State it represented. This example provides us with a very close parallel and endorses our view that the Chinese Government of Formosa, which has territory under its absolute control and a well administered population, and whose legitimacy is beyond question, must continue to be recognized as the only lawful representative of China so long as the civil war has not ended either with the reconquest of the mainland by the Chinese Nationalists or with the subjection of Taiwan to Communism.

113. The partisans of Red China tenaciously press for a realistic approach on the ground that the Communists hold sway over a vast territory and a huge population. This argument is inconsequential to us who believe in law, because it is not a question of size but of being right. We small nations would be finished, if the scales of justice were tipped by the area of our territory or the number of our inhabitants. The law was created to govern the relations among men or States, regardless of colour, creed, race, size or strength. This is a universal concept symbolized by a blindfolded woman who has no eyes for the persons seeking justice, but who weighs the arguments of the opposing parties. Without doing violence to our principles, we cannot concede the validity of the argument that Red China should be admitted to the United Nations and Nationalist China expelled because the former is large and powerful, whereas the latter is small and weak, although it has justice and law on its side. We must choose between legitimacy and illegitimacy without regard to the power of either party. We who have principles choose the government we consider to be legitimate, namely, the Formosa Government, with which we have maintained diplomatic and cultural relations because it has from the outset made a brave and stalwart stand against communism, which we believe to be the negation of our own civilization, of our freedom and of our God.

114. In the previous discussions, my delegation has upheld the principle that although Red China might have the attributes of statehood, it does not meet the requirements laid down in the Charter for membership in the United Nations. Article 4 stipulates that "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations". The Red Government's spokesmen have many times proclaimed their belief that communism must be imposed by force on the other peoples of the world so that their system may be fully established. They have been so arrogant as to defy the free world and to state that not even nuclear war would prevent them from achieving this objective, because there would always be enough millions of Chinese left to impose communism. These are the messages of peace that they send us, and these the qualifications with which they present themselves for membership in this Organization created to promote peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes among its Members.

115. I listened with astonishment in this debate to a representative of high intellectual attainments who spoke in favour of admitting Red China and said that

from a realistic standpoint it was inconceivable to exclude from the Organization so powerful a nation which might well be almost, if not actually, in possession of the atomic bomb. According to the realists, this is a decisive point in support of their argument. In our humble view, the possession of nuclear weapons would be a requirement for entry into a military alliance, an alliance of military Powers, an atomic club, as we say today, but not for sitting down with peoples who crave peace. Why should we, the small nations of the world, wish to receive someone who bears not an olive branch, but a monstrous nuclear weapon of destruction and death?

116. It seems to those of us whose intellectual accomplishments are less extensive that this is an argument which militates against admission and that those who vaunt their destructive powers rather than their powers for peace are disqualified. We also find it difficult to understand how a nation which, the news agencies inform us, is suffering from serious food shortages and is on the verge of starvation as a result of successive poor harvests, can devote all its economic resources not to provide for the needs of its people, but to the production of nuclear weapons, apocalyptic devices that foreshadow the end of today's world.

117. Therefore, we believe that so-called Red China is not capable of assuming the obligations which the Charter imposes on those who would be Members of this Organization, nor is willing to respect and abide by the resolutions adopted here. We already have enough Member States that are undermining this Organization's prestige by their defiance.

118. Referring to United Nations resolutions, the Soviet Prime Minister has said that the Soviet Union would not only not recognize a decision that was not in accordance with its interests or threatened its security, even though such a decision were adopted by all the nations of the world, but would defend its rights by force.

119. Why should we want new Member States which proclaim in advance their unwillingness to comply with decisions of the United Nations? This is not too bold a conclusion, although we know that there are differences between the communist Powers in that Red China accuses Russia of weakness and vacillation in applying the Communist-Leninist doctrine. To close our eyes to this truth, to hesitate before this choice between loyalty to our principles and the realism of brute force is to do away with the United Nations which, because of the danger of nuclear war, needs the strength of moral convictions more than ever today. In the final analysis, only such convictions can uphold great causes, and the United Nations is a great cause.

120. Speaking recently on this topic from this rostrum [1035th meeting], we expressed our surprise that Red China was not requesting admission to the United Nations directly. We do not see why other Members should be asking for its admission. One of the attributes of sovereign statehood is to assume international commitments. Acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations implies a sovereign action. Sovereignty cannot be transmitted, ceded or accorded to one State to be exercised on behalf of another. If, as a sovereign act, Red China has empowered the Soviet Union to act on its behalf, let it say so; let it declare its reasons for becoming a Member of this Organization and its willingness to respect the prin-



ciples of the Charter. We should not have to speculate as to the intentions of Red China. We believe that the procedure hitherto followed of handling so important a matter through unofficial agents is irregular. Let us not forget that Red China defied the United Nations and waged war against it. Could this be why it does not now apply directly for admission to an Organization against which its armies fought?

121. In discussing this substantive issue, the delegation of Costa Rica has been guided by the eternal principles of justice and has relied upon the wisdom of the law, which is the only way of preserving the rights and the existence of small nations. Large though Red China may be and however vast its military power, we cannot bow before its might unless that might is based on law. We cannot therefore agree to the expulsion of Nationalist China from the United

Nations, for its only sin has been to sustain a war against those who are acting contrary to the deepest principles of China's history, and it has suffered hardships and sacrifices of all kinds as a consequence. We who decide everything democratically would only agree to change our views if free and honest elections were held in continental China, so that the people themselves might determine their ultimate destiny. So long as all who are able to do so, daily flee Red domination and seek sanctuary in neighbouring lands and so long as no one leaves Formosa or Hong Kong to seek happiness under the communist régime, we cannot concede that life there is free, that human rights are respected and that we are not faced with an oppressed people. These are our views on this most important and vital matter.

*The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.*