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

**AGENDA ITEM 35**

**Draft International Covenants on Human Rights**

**REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/500)**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before we resume the debate on agenda items 90 and 91, I would ask the General Assembly to discuss the report of the Third Committee on the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights (A/5000), since yesterday was 10 December, the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I call upon Miss Pelt, Rapporteur of the Third Committee, to present her report.

*In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided that there would be no discussion of the report of the Third Committee.*

2. Miss PELT (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: The Third Committee has now completed consideration of the substantive articles of the two Draft International Covenants on Human Rights, the text of which was elaborated by the Commission on Human Rights. Except for any additional articles which may be submitted at our next session, the Third Committee, generally speaking, has completed its task of casting into a form suitable for treaty obligations the rights and freedoms which this Assembly proclaimed as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations when, thirteen years ago yesterday, on 10 December 1948, it adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. There now remain for the consideration of the Committee's very important general clauses—the crucial articles of implementation and the formal and final clauses of the Covenants—a considerable task indeed.

4. In the words of the Chairman of our Committee, Ambassador López, the Third Committee has been engaged in "a revolutionary effort to lay down a suit-

able philosophical and juridical groundwork for the new world order". It now remains for us to secure this groundwork by providing for the commitment of national effort and the creation of international machinery for the protection of human rights.

5. In conclusion, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 130 of the Third Committee's report [A/5000]. This draft resolution, couched in terms similar to those contained in recommendations made at the fourteenth and previous sessions, requests the General Assembly to give priority to this item at its next session.

6. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If no member of the Assembly wishes to explain his vote, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee [A/5000, paragraph 130]. Since the draft was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee, if there are no comments or objections I shall consider that the General Assembly has also adopted it unanimously.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

**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)\***

7. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): During the past ten years the General Assembly has had to decide at each of its annual sessions whether or not to inscribe the question of the representation of China on its agenda and throw it open to discussion. Up to now, the General Assembly has decided each year against that course. In recent years, we in the Irish delegation have doubted the wisdom of that decision for the reasons which I have explained more than once at this rostrum. In our view a great world assembly such as this, broadly representative of mankind as a whole, cannot be consistent with its responsibilities and refuse to subject any question vitally affecting international relations to the sovereign test of free and full debate.

8. For our part, therefore, we were glad when the Assembly decided [1014th plenary meeting] with the concurrence of all concerned, to inscribe the question of the representation of China on its agenda and to debate that question at its present session. With that decision, of course, the whole matter enters an entirely new phase. We are no longer concerned, as in previous years, with whether or not to include the

\* Continued from the 1074th meeting.

question of the representation of China in the agenda of the session. What confronts us now is the question of substance: how and by whom should China be represented in this world Organization?

9. This, of course, is one of the most important and momentous problems which the Assembly has been called upon to consider within recent years. It is a problem with many aspects and far-reaching implications. China is a country larger than the whole of Europe with a population roughly equivalent to a fourth of the population of the globe. However it is represented in the United Nations, the role of so large and populous a country in the evolution of events in the Far East is bound to be immense. Indeed, China's importance in world affairs extends far beyond the Far Eastern theatre. As has been pointed out so often here, no international agreements limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, nuclear testing or the evolution of world law and disarmament can be made fully effective unless so large and potentially powerful a State as China accepts and observes their provisions.

10. If the question is viewed in the abstract, in the light of these and similar considerations, a case can no doubt be made for having the Government which is in effective control of the vast majority of the Chinese people represented here in the United Nations. But the question is not a purely abstract one. What confronts us is a concrete *de facto* situation in which China is at present represented in the United Nations by the Nationalist Government in Taiwan and the mainland of China is governed by the People's Republic of China which has repressed civil and religious liberty and has shown by its aggressive action in Tibet and on the Indian border anything but respect for the principles of the Charter which membership of this Organization demands. No consideration of the question of the representation of China can be fruitful or constructive which fails to take realistic account of this *de facto* situation with its serious implications for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far Eastern area. The question before us, therefore, is a problem not only of great importance but of great political complexity as well.

11. It is hardly necessary for me to say, I am sure, that the system of government existing in the People's Republic of China, as well as the doctrines on which it is based, are completely anathema to us in Ireland. The Irish nation has stood, throughout the centuries, for national freedom, personal liberty and respect for the rights of the human person. The Peiping régime is based on a completely different—indeed, a completely opposite—set of values derived from a doctrine to which we are unalterably opposed. But I do not wish to dwell on that aspect of the matter. We must accept the fact that, if the United Nations is to be a world Organization and not simply an alliance of like-minded States, there will be differences of systems of government and political convictions among its Members and, as we all know, vital differences do in fact exist.

12. What is directly relevant in the present context, however, is the systematic disregard which the Peiping Government has shown for the principles upon which the United Nations is based. This is something which must be taken into account in considering whether the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be seated in this Assembly. We deeply deplore the systematic violation of fundamental human rights within the People's Republic of China itself. The

suppression of personal liberties and the persecution of religious and other beliefs cannot be reconciled with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We strongly reprobate, also, the aggressive actions of the People's Republic of China in Korea and Tibet. We consider the aggression committed by the Peiping Government against Tibet in 1959 to be a violation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter and we were very glad when at its fourteenth session the Assembly condemned it as such by a convincing majority. We are also concerned at the Peiping Government attacks on India's established frontier. These and other aspects of the policies of the Peiping Government have deeply perturbed world opinion. World opinion would certainly be gravely shocked if the People's Republic of China were now to be seated in this Assembly without steps being taken to obtain all possible assurance that such breaches of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would not occur in the future.

13. We admit the force of the argument that the efficacy of the United Nations must depend in a large measure on its universality. We fully recognize also how desirable it is that Governments represented here in the Assembly should be in effective control of the countries for which they claim to speak. Nor, in our view, can the seating of the representatives of a particular country here in the Assembly be taken to imply in any way approval by other Member States of the policies or governmental system of the country concerned. We would dearly like to see a situation in which this would be true—a situation in which every Member Government would determine its actions by the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But if the United Nations is to achieve its principal purpose, which is to maintain peace and to spare mankind the horrors of nuclear war, it must be possible to discuss here, with the participation of all parties concerned, problems and developments, wherever they arise, which closely concern international peace and security. The Far East is unfortunately an area fertile in such problems, an area of great and wide-spread tensions which constitute a standing threat to the peace of the world.

14. The presence of the People's Republic of China here could increase the effectiveness of this Organization as a shield for world peace if its leaders could be induced to commit themselves to join sincerely in the task of promoting peace in the Far East and to guarantee fundamental human rights to those over whom they rule. I do not know to what extent the Peiping Government is prepared to give effective assurances on these points but, in my view, that aspect of the matter should be thoroughly explored before we are asked to take a final decision on the question before us. On an earlier occasion, I suggested here in the Assembly that before any substantive decision is taken, an effort should be made through negotiation to secure from the Peiping Government an undertaking to refrain from the use of force against any of their neighbours, to respect the personal rights and liberties of the Chinese people and to allow the people of all Korea to decide their own destiny freely in an internationally supervised election. As I indicated in previous years, the nature of the assurances forthcoming regarding these vital matters which are already covered by the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, must determine the final decision of the Irish Government on the issue before us.



15. No resolution passed by this Assembly, however, can alter the realities of the de facto situation existing in the Far East. In his very informative speech on 7 December [1072nd plenary meeting] the representative of Japan gave us a most interesting account of that situation and of the historical background of the relations between China, Japan and Taiwan. As he said, whatever we decide here, the Governments of Peiping and Taipei and their respective armed forces will **continue to confront one another across the Straits of Formosa**. In the opinion of my delegation, what we must ensure above all is that no decision which we may take here can be used in any way to justify or legitimize the use of force by one side against the other in this situation. The consequences of any such decision would be incalculable. In view of the treaties to which both sides are parties, it could easily precipitate a world conflict. For this reason, it seems to me that no decision on the question of the representation of China in this Organization can provide a satisfactory solution of the problem and help to ensure peace in the Far East unless it is accompanied by firm undertakings by the Governments of Peiping and Taiwan respectively not to resort to force against one another.

16. In other words, we believe that our approach to this problem must be governed strictly by the terms of Article 1 of the Charter. Our aim must be not simply to pronounce at the end of the present debate on the rival claims of the Governments of Peiping and Taipei to represent China and Taiwan in the United Nations but to do our best to ensure that the differences between them should be settled by peaceful procedures. The negotiations taking place in Geneva on another acute problem in the Far East which at one time seemed impossible to solve peacefully, the problem of Laos, are reported to be making progress. This should encourage us not to despair of finding a generally acceptable solution to a problem which cannot be solved by pitting rival claimants against one another but which, if it is to be settled satisfactorily, can only be settled by a process of negotiation.

17. In the opinion of my delegation, therefore, the Assembly should not at this moment take any decision which might be regarded as providing a pretext for the use of force between Peiping and Taiwan. What is required, we believe—irrespective of the outcome of the present debate—is a serious effort to find through some suitable procedure, a solution of the problem of Chinese representation in the United Nations which would meet with the acquiescence, if not the agreement, of all concerned. In short, my delegation is firmly of the opinion that we are in duty bound by Article 1 of the Charter not to take irrevocable decisions here and now without exploring energetically every possibility of negotiating agreements based on the principles of the Charter which might lead to peace and stability in the Far East.

18. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): One of the most important questions which has been raised in the General Assembly year after year and which has not yet been solved in accordance with the Charter, is the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

19. For a number of years, at each session of the General Assembly, a debate of this important question has been postponed. Yet the problem has always been one of the chief concerns of the Organization. In

previous sessions a steadily growing number of delegations, discussing the question on many occasions, have strongly deplored the abnormal situation created within our Organization by the absence of the People's Republic of China and have maintained, with obvious and unanswerable arguments, that it is urgently necessary to allow the People's Republic of China to take its proper place, as of right, in the Organization. Many Heads of State or Government who took part in the last General Assembly dealt with this question with the seriousness it deserves and put forward objective arguments, having the force of truth, to show that the injustice of which the People's Republic of China is a victim is harmful both to the authority and to the efficiency of the United Nations and is inadmissible, inconceivable, senseless and against the letter and spirit of the Charter, the generally recognized principles of international law, and the cause of strengthening international peace and security and co-operation among nations, which are the fundamental purposes of this Organization. They pointed out that the situation which has thus been brought about within the United Nations is abnormal, and asked that it should be ended without delay.

20. Despite the fact that many Member States have exerted their efforts to this end, and progressive men of every peace-loving country in the world have raised their voices to demand an immediate end to this arbitrary situation, which endangers the cause of peace, the injustice committed against the great Chinese people of over 650 million has continued, and the People's Republic of China still has not taken its place in the United Nations. Thus there is still an abnormal situation within the Organization.

21. One might well ask how such a state of affairs can have existed for so long within the United Nations which, according to its Charter, is based on the principle of the universal representation of all countries of the world, and which should serve the cause of peace and co-operation among nations. There is only one answer to this question: this has happened simply because it is the will of the United States of America. It would be useless to try to find reasons justifying this attitude of the United States Government, for there are none.

22. But, you may ask, how can the United States take it upon itself to lay down the law in this Organization? Obviously it has no right to do so, yet it is unfortunately true that the United States has so far been able to use its relations with certain countries as a means of imposing its attitude towards this question, which is vital to the United Nations. Nor is this the only case. Whether or not they will admit it from this rostrum, representatives in this Assembly are bound to acknowledge in their hearts that this state of affairs is purely and simply a result of the arbitrary wish of the Government of the United States of America, which, taking advantage of what is often called the mechanics of the vote, has succeeded in preventing the consideration and solution of the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

23. But what is the reason for this obstinate attitude of the United States Government? It is a result of the profoundly hostile policy of the United States of America towards the People's Republic of China, whose régime does not happen to be to the liking of the United States monopolies and leaders. The United States can-

not bear it that the Chinese people have chosen the socialist system and have committed themselves to free and independent development and to building socialism in their country. The attitude of the United States towards the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is part of the policy of hatred and aggression which it is relentlessly pursuing towards that great socialist country. This is only one aspect of that policy.

24. The United States of America has never ceased its policy of aggression and provocation against the People's Republic of China since it suffered a setback in 1949, when the Chinese people triumphed in its revolutionary struggle and drove the Kuomintang clique, together with its foreign masters out of the mainland. Despite this setback, the United States still hopes to return to China and has not renounced its warlike plans to overthrow the system of people's democracy established by the Chinese people and to bring the country into American bondage. China is a victim of the United States aggression which began in 1950 with the armed occupation of the Chinese island of Taiwan, and which is still continuing. The United States of America still occupies the island of Taiwan, an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and has turned this island into a base for aggression against China; it is constantly fortifying and extending the network made up of hundreds of military bases close to that country, both in Asia and in the Pacific, in which armed forces of about a million men, equipped with modern weapons, are concentrated. The United States continually commits acts of military provocation against the People's Republic of China and systematically violates that country's territorial integrity, seriously threatening peace in that area and throughout the world.

25. Of course there cannot be a shadow of doubt that the United States' designs on China are built on sand. The events of past years have proved to the whole world that such dreams are vain and impossible of achievement. The People's Republic of China, which belongs to the invincible camp of socialism, is becoming steadily more powerful, and its importance and prestige are growing daily.

26. But it is important to remember that this short-sighted policy of the United States Government and these schemes to reduce great China to bondage are the real reasons for the obstructive attitude which the United States has always taken towards the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

27. Moreover, the United States and certain other Powers supporting it in this line of conduct are afraid of seeing the People's Republic of China take its place in the United Nations side by side with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and all the peace-loving States. They tremble at the idea of seeing the representatives of this great socialist country come to this rostrum in order, alongside the representatives of other peace-loving countries, to fight for the implementation of the principles of the Charter, contribute to the struggle of the peoples for liberation from the colonial yoke and for the strengthening of national independence, make their invaluable contribution towards the solution of important international problems—such as general and complete disarmament and other questions now in abeyance—and also endeavour to reduce international tension,

to which the aggressive imperialist policies are constantly adding, and strengthening world peace. They are terrified, for they realize that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations would increase still further the difficulties with which the United States is faced in its efforts to use our Organization as an instrument for the implementation of its aggressive policy.

28. Of course the United States of America, which has never dared to admit the true reasons for its hostile attitude towards the People's Republic of China, has not failed, in the course of the twelve years that have elapsed since the triumph of the popular revolution of China, to invent all kinds of baseless allegations and to spread all kinds of calumnies against the great Chinese Republic. Since the People's Republic of China sprang into existence, successive United States Governments have in particular constantly accused that country of following an aggressive policy, and they have used all their propaganda media for that purpose. That is what the United States representative was again trying to do in the course of the present debate.

29. Naturally, such calumnies cannot deceive world public opinion. The peoples of the world know how matters stand. The reality of present-day China completely wipes out the assorted calumnies drawn from the arsenals of imperialist propaganda.

30. The triumph of the people's revolution in China twelve years ago marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Chinese people. At the same time it stands as a great historical event which has profoundly altered the balance of power in the world. As the Burmese weekly *The Path* so aptly wrote on 1 October 1961, the appearance of the People's China in the East has changed world history.

31. In the course of the twelve years of the people's rule, the Chinese people, under the direction of the Communist Party and its Government, has completely remoulded its national way of life, removing forever all traces of feudalism and colonialism. It has accomplished a gigantic task in reconstructing the country along socialist lines, ensuring amazingly rapid advance in the economic, social and cultural fields.

32. Despite the difficulties encountered owing to natural calamities during the last three years, the People's Republic of China, thanks to the selfless efforts of its hard-working people, has developed and transformed and modernized its agriculture. In industry, the second five-year plan of 1958-1962 was carried out for the main sectors by 1960, two years ahead of schedule. In the course of ten years, industrial production has increased tenfold and agricultural production two and a half times. The clear-cut results already achieved by the great Chinese people and the striking progress accomplished in turning the country into a great socialist Power with a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture, provide a brilliant justification of the Political course followed by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

33. Although the remarkable transformations and great successes accomplished in China are well known, we think that it will perhaps not be without point to quote a passage from a statement made last year, after his visit to the People's Republic of China, by a well-known figure, Marshal Montgomery, whose loyalty to the capitalist system cannot be questioned.



In order to be sure of rendering that statement faithfully, I shall quote it in English:

"I said earlier that there are many misconceptions in the Western world about the new China, and that cannot be stated too clearly. China is commonly supposed to be a nation of unhappy and depressed people, down-trodden and exploited by ruthless leaders and starved into submission, with fear abroad throughout the land. This is not a true picture of China today; it was possibly very true of the old China.

"Such ignorant comment about China does immense harm to the affairs of the Western world, just as does the ignorant comment on the affairs of Europe; too many people exploit falsehood as truth, and imaginaries as realities. I visited three of the biggest cities in China: Shanghai, population eight million; Canton, three million; Peking, five million. I passed through the countryside by train and car; I visited a commune of nearly 50,000 people, I visited two large factories. When returning to Hong Kong by train from Canton, I asked to be allowed to travel by the slow train which stopped at every station so that I could see the people—rather than by the non-stop express. Everywhere I saw a happy, laughing people—cheerful, friendly, and seemingly contented with their lot."

And a little further he went on to say:

"Such things as banditry, teddy-boys, pickpockets, house-breaking, prostitutes, indecency of any sort and particularly with children—all are forbidden and have ceased... There are tremendous problems of reconstruction, of housing, of industry, of education, of agriculture, and in many other fields. But China has one great asset—a virile population who work hard, possibly the most industrious people in the world, all unified and imbued with a sense of purpose, all determined to work for the prosperity of China under their new leaders."

34. It must be admitted that this statement gives a sufficiently clear picture of the real situation in the People's Republic of China. Despite the slanders of a frenzied imperialist propaganda, and despite the attempts made here by the representative of the United States and by several other representatives to blacken the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China in order to justify the untenable position of the United States Government with regard to the legitimate rights of that great country in the United Nations, the fact is already recognized all the world over that the People's Republic of China has been consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy. The foreign policy of that great socialist country is based, as are the foreign policies of all the socialist States, on the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different political systems. This is in keeping with the vital interests of the Chinese people, as well as with the nature and structure of socialist society and with the principles upon which all socialist States are founded.

35. The Chinese people and their Government are in the forefront of the struggle to defend peace and the right of peoples to self-determination. The People's Republic of China is making an enormous contribution to the cause of international co-operation and to the settlement of the important problems of today. It now plays a leading part in international affairs. Its influence is growing daily. It maintains diplomatic

relations with more than forty States, and commercial and cultural relations with practically all the countries of the world, despite the efforts and the pressure brought to bear by the United States in order to isolate it, and it is in the forefront of the countries which are striving for peace and international security.

36. Everyone knows—and many speakers have stressed here—the important part played by that great country at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries in 1955, its great contribution in helping to end the war in Korea and in Indo-China and its active participation in the Geneva Conference of 1954.<sup>1/</sup> The People's Republic of China is at present actively co-operating in the Geneva Conference for the peaceful solution of the Laotian question.<sup>2/</sup>

37. In the course of this latter period, the People's Republic of China has concluded treaties of friendship and peace with such countries as Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia and Indonesia. It has recently signed two frontier agreements, one on 5 October 1961 with Nepal and the other on 13 October 1961 with Burma. The conclusion of these agreements testifies to the goodwill of the parties and to their sincere desire to put an end to old frontier disputes; where China is concerned, this is an important diplomatic success won by that country, which is guided by a sincere desire to strengthen friendly relations with neighbouring States. At the same time, it deals a severe blow to the imperialist policy which seeks to use frontier disputes as a means of sowing discord and stirring up conflicts between the States concerned; just as the answer given here by many Asian countries is a crushing rejoinder to the slanderous statements made by the United States representative about the People's Republic of China.

38. In an interview given in Geneva on 2 July last to Canadian news correspondents, Chen Yi, the Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, said *inter alia*:

"The Chinese people has always been peace-loving, and it struggles resolutely against aggression. China is a socialist country. It has no need of colonies, absolutely no need of them. Nor does it allow other countries to despoil it. This is the healthy basis of the peaceful foreign policy consistently followed by China. We are resolutely in favour of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and we are tireless in our efforts to relax international tension and safeguard peace in the world. We have been foremost in proclaiming, and we rigorously respect, the principle of peaceful coexistence."

39. Here, in a few words, is the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, as described by its Minister for Foreign Affairs, and as it is in reality. This policy is in line with the profound aspirations and interests of the Chinese people, as well as the interests of all the peoples the world over which are struggling for national liberation and for the consolidation of peace. Through its policy of peace and international co-operation, the People's Republic of China has gained the respect and sympathy of all peace-loving peoples and States and of all progressive forces in the world.

<sup>1/</sup> Conference on the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China, Geneva, 16-21 July 1954.

<sup>2/</sup> International conference for the settlement of the Laotian question (opened on 16 May 1961).

40. I cannot help pointing out on this occasion that the slanders aimed at blackening the peaceful foreign policy of the People's Republic of China stem principally from the United States, the foremost imperialist Power in the world, which not only bears the main responsibility for the present international tension, so dangerous for peace, and for the lack of any settlement of the main international problems, such as general and complete disarmament, the suppression of colonialism, and many others, but is also directly responsible for acts of armed aggression. Is it not the United States which is engaging in provocative and aggressive activities in many parts of the world? Is it not the United States which is feverishly preparing for another armed intervention in South Vietnam, preparing to stir up civil war again in Laos and to commit another armed aggression against Cuba, and planning other aggressive acts and displays of force against the peoples of other countries? Is it not the United States Government which recently led its allies in rejecting constructive USSR proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and replied to the Soviet Union with threats of war, with further increases in its already enormous military budget and with other preparations for war? And is it not the United States Government which has taken the German revanchists under its wing and has speeded up measures to equip the West German army with modern armaments? Who is following an aggressive policy? Is it the People's Republic of China which withdrew the Chinese volunteers from the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1958? Or is it not rather the Government of the United States, whose troops are still occupying South Korea, thousands of miles from the United States, turning the territory of that country into a base for aggression against China and a dangerous breeding ground for war in the Far East? Who is maintaining an aggressive stand? Is it the People's Republic of China, which has shown itself ready to settle its disputes with the United States by negotiation, and which is making proposals such as that for the conclusion of a treaty of peace and non-aggression between all the countries of Asia and the Pacific, including the United States, in order to turn this region into a denuclearized zone? Or is it the Government of the United States, which not only displays a negative attitude towards all these efforts and proposals, but continually expands and reinforces the numerous military bases set up near Chinese territory, and continues to carry out military manoeuvres in the Far East, particularly in Taiwan and in the Straits of Taiwan? And how can the occupation by force of the Chinese island of Taiwan, which the United States is continuing to use as a base for its provocative acts and aggressive plans against the People's Republic of China, be described otherwise than as an armed aggression? The answer to these questions is obvious. The mere act of asking them will enable anyone to realize what is the truth of the situation.

41. The stubbornly obstructionist attitude of the United States Government regarding the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can thus only be explained, as we have already stressed, by its profound hatred of socialist China, and by its imperialist policy; the United States continues to dream of making China once again a semi-colony over which it would have the whip hand. However, the wheel of history cannot be turned back and such ambitions are futile in our century, which is

marked by the awakening of the peoples and the crumbling of colonialism and imperialism.

42. As regards the socialist system which the Chinese people adopted with the triumph of its revolutionary struggle in 1949, that is a matter which concerns the Chinese people and no one else. Whether the United States Government likes it or not, China, that powerful socialist State, will continue to forge ahead and its role on the international scene will go on growing. But it is most necessary for our debate to bear in mind that a State's political system is the internal affair of that State, that it is the business solely of the people concerned and that the United Nations has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of States. That is categorically forbidden by the Charter.

43. Moreover, it should be pointed out that one of the characteristics of our Organization is the very fact that States with different systems are represented in it. Is that not in accordance with our Organization's principle of universality?

44. Thus, from whatever angle the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is considered, the attitude hitherto adopted is unjustifiable and inadmissible; it constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and the purposes of the United Nations.

45. Realizing the absurdity of their objections to the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as well as the ever-increasing difficulties encountered by its manoeuvre to postpone consideration of this question, of what has been called the "moratorium", the United States has started looking for other tactics to achieve the same end, i.e., to go on preventing the real representatives of China from taking their place in this Organization. As we know, among the theories thought up by the competent United States authorities, one which has enjoyed wide publicity is the so-called theory of the "two Chinas", upheld by both the last United States Government and the present one. This "theory" has been exploded and condemned by numerous peace-loving countries and by many progressive personalities and organizations in the world, as a manoeuvre designed to delay the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations and to perpetuate the United States occupation of the island of Taiwan.

46. After the theory of the "two Chinas" and in connexion with it, the United States has recently invented what came to be known as the "question of procedure". All this summer, the Press and information agencies have been talking about this new stratagem by which the United States proposed to submit the question, should it find itself obliged to agree to a debate on it in the General Assembly, no longer as a question of procedure but as an important question requiring a two-thirds majority and not a simple majority, as is the case for procedural questions. On this point, Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, said this very summer:

"If the question of the representation of China in the United Nations were regarded essentially as a question of mandate, if it were a matter of deciding which delegation should be seated in the Organization, and if the measures adopted on this point should lead to the installation of the Peking representatives and the exclusion of those from Taiwan, we would be faced with a very serious problem."



47. Similarly, on 29 August, the United Press International let it be known that the United States intended to use its new manoeuvre, the so-called "question of procedure", to prevent the exclusion of Kuomintang China from the General Assembly. These statements and pieces of information have now been confirmed for us by the United States draft resolution (A/L.372) and the speeches of its sponsors, but we believe it is important to bear in mind the material I have just quoted in order to understand the hidden aims of the United States. These aims have been confirmed in particular by the statement of the United States representative on 1 December [1069th plenary meeting], when he spoke to us of his country's concern at the danger which would threaten the Chinese island of Taiwan if the Chiang Kai-shek clique were to be expelled from the United Nations and the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China restored.

48. Thus, whatever the manoeuvres it uses, the aims of the United States Government remain the same: to prevent the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and to ensure the continuance of its own occupation of the island of Taiwan.

49. But the United States Government, despite all its efforts and manoeuvres, is trapped in a blind alley. Everyone knows that there are not two Chinas but one and one only, the great People's Republic of China. Taiwan is an integral part of the territory of that country and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has been rejected by the Chinese people and has fled to the island of Taiwan, where it enjoys the protection of the United States whose troops occupy that island, represents nothing. The United Nations cannot therefore allow the United States, which has committed aggression against the People's Republic of China by forcibly occupying a part of Chinese territory, the island of Taiwan, to use the very object of that aggression to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its seat in the United Nations. Otherwise, the United Nations would willy-nilly be playing into the hands of the United States Government, which aims above all at perpetuating its occupation of the Chinese island of Taiwan.

50. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The question of China's representation in our Organization is simple and perfectly clear. It does not call for any study. Such a question should not even have arisen.

51. When, with the triumph of the popular revolution in 1949, the Chinese people overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the feudal régime which it represented, it set up in its place the people's democracy, and since then the sole representative of China has been the Government of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the confidence and full support of the Chinese people and exercises full and effective sovereign authority over the whole territory of China, with the exception of a few islands, including Taiwan, which are still kept by force under United States rule.

52. It is not for the United Nations to intervene in the question of the system which the Chinese people has chosen for itself. That is the business of that people. The duty of the United Nations has therefore been, since 1949, to take account of the change of régime in China and to seat the representatives appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of China in the place hitherto occupied by representatives of the former régime in the pay of foreigners.

53. The question of the representation of the People's Republic of China has thus been created by the United States alone, which clings obstinately to its hostile and aggressive policy towards this country, so that a nation of 650 million, representing one-fourth of mankind, has now been kept out of our Organization for twelve years.

54. Not only is this an intolerable injustice towards this great people, but it also does serious harm to the cause of our Organization, which indeed has the most to gain from the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China. Numerous delegations have stressed here how important and urgent it is that the great People's China should participate in the work of the United Nations, for without such participation none of the international problems, such as general and complete disarmament and others, can be genuinely solved. This abnormal situation has gone on long enough. It is time to put an end to it, to expel from the United Nations without further delay the Chiang Kai-shek clique and to allow the People's Republic of China to take its seat in the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the organs of the United Nations.

55. The latest attempt by the United States and the other States co-sponsoring draft resolution A/L.372 to distort and complicate the question we are considering must be rejected as a dangerous manoeuvre directed towards the same familiar United States aims in this matter, and in flagrant violation of the Charter. The fact is that questions requiring a two-thirds majority are expressly listed in the Charter, and this list is an exhaustive one. Naturally, this is not a question of admitting a new Member, but of restoring the legitimate rights of a Member State, rights being usurped by a clique which represents nothing. For many years, we have regarded this question as one of procedure, and if that means nothing to the United States of America, that country finds it easy to regard the same subject now as a procedural question and now as a question requiring a two-thirds majority, the General Assembly cannot allow itself to follow such a dangerous course and to tread underfoot the provisions of the Charter.

56. The People's Republic of Albania, which is bound by close friendship to the People's Republic of China, has always strongly supported the legitimate rights of this great socialist country in the United Nations. The Albanian Government has firmly supported all efforts by the Soviet Union and other countries to put an end to the injustice inflicted on the People's Republic of China in this regard.

57. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania notes with satisfaction that many delegations have supported the USSR draft resolution [A/L.360] calling for the immediate expulsion from the United Nations of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and the simultaneous invitation to the representatives of the People's Republic of China to take their rightful place in the United Nations and all its organs.

58. My delegation firmly supports this draft resolution, which it regards as the only possible solution in conformity with the Charter. We are convinced that Member States are fully aware of the unjustifiable and intolerable attitude of the United States in this matter. We hope that the General Assembly, firmly grasping its responsibilities and abiding by the Charter, will adopt draft resolution A/L.360. The sooner it does so,

the better; international peace and co-operation can only be strengthened thereby.

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

59. Mr. YASSEEN (Iraq) (translated from French): More than ten years have passed since the whole world, and above all the United Nations, became aware of a manifest reality: the People's Republic of China. But since that time desperate and systematic efforts have been made to oppose even the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of so clear and simple a question as that of the representation of China; the result is that this great State is denied its right to be genuinely represented in our Organization. We may therefore rejoice this year that we have reached a milestone on the way and that the General Assembly is finally broaching the substance of the problem. May this milestone augur well for a realistic and just solution and one which would do justice to the great people of China.

60. The Government of Iraq recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the authority competent to represent China. Only the representatives of this Government have the right to occupy China's seat in the United Nations and other international organizations; in my delegation's view, this position is eminently just legally and highly useful politically.

61. It is first of all just from the legal point of view, since this is simply a matter of checking the credentials of a State's representatives. It is not a question either of the admission of a State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter, or of the recognition of a Government. China is a founding Member of the United Nations; as a great Power, it holds a permanent seat in the Security Council. There can be no doubt that the Government which represents China must be that which effectively governs it and which is recognized by its people, whatever its political complexion, and nobody today could question that this Government is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, whose effective authority has for twelve years and without any sign of weakening embraced the whole of continental China and the neighbouring islands.

62. It is therefore the representatives of this Government who may and must occupy China's seat in our Organization. For the presence of China in the United Nations is not conditional upon the maintenance of a particular political or social system. Whether we like the change which has taken place or not, it is for the Chinese people and it alone to judge it and decide on its future. That is the very essence of national sovereignty, and it is significant that this attitude was endorsed in 1950 in a document prepared by the United Nations Secretariat, which contains an opinion on the legal aspect of the problem of the representation of States in the United Nations. According to this opinion:

"The United Nations is not an association limited to like-minded States and Governments of similar ideological persuasion (as is the case in certain regional associations). As an Organization which aspires to universality, it must of necessity include States of varying and even conflicting ideologies".<sup>3/</sup>

63. In opposition to that, people have invoked Articles 2 and 4 of the Charter, without realizing that it is

not a question of admission under Article 4, and without even claiming that it is a question of exclusion under Article 5.

64. We must therefore not hesitate to allow the representatives of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China to take their rightful place among us. One might understand and even sympathize with this hesitation if it were a question of the usurpation of power by a foreign group. But these were no foreigners landing in a territory which did not belong to them; the change of political and social system was made by the Chinese people themselves.

65. It is both surprising and regrettable that some of those who—on the pretext of following certain provisions of the Charter—firmly oppose the recognition of the legitimate rights of China have not shown the same enthusiasm in respect of those who openly disregard the fundamental principles of the Charter or of those who launched a truly perfidious war of aggression against a sovereign and peaceful State and founder Member of the United Nations at a time when the age of the United Nations had already dawned.

66. We have also been told that many States do not recognize the People's Republic of China. Recognition can be understood in more than one way, but the best rebuttal of this argument is contained in the document I have already quoted:

"The Members have therefore made clear by an unbroken practice that:

"(1) 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

"(2) Such a vote did not imply recognition or a readiness to assume diplomatic relations".<sup>4/</sup>

67. To admit representatives of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations would be not only very just from the legal point of view, but also very useful from the political point of view. Its founders intended the United Nations to be universal in nature, and its great purposes can only be achieved by universal efforts. To give only one example, should not the maintenance of peace be the responsibility of all men everywhere, since universal peace is an indivisible whole? Can anyone imagine that it is the responsibility of only a few States in one part of the world?

68. We do not need to defend this concept of universality here. Yet we think it necessary to recall how important it is for China to play an effective part in international organizations, since it has a quarter of the population of the world and great resources and possibilities. Is it not unfortunate that the great country of China is still kept outside the United Nations and is forced to assume that it is not bound by the Charter of the United Nations or affected by the resolutions of its organs? Is it in the best interests of our world to continue to ignore the great dangers inherent in such a situation and to do nothing to reduce them?

69. Certain Powers which have opposed, and still oppose, the recognition of China's rights have already been forced to admit the necessity for its participation in the solution of certain very important international problems. We have not yet forgotten the Geneva

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for the Period 1 January to 31 May 1950; document S/1466.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., p. 22.



Conference of 1954 on the so-called Indo-Chinese War or the Geneva Conference of 1961 on the Laotian question. It is likewise illogical to attempt to solve various other more general problems without China's participation. Without the co-operation and participation of this great Power, would it ever be possible to reach a final and complete solution of the problems of disarmament or the banning of nuclear tests, or other vital problems of war and peace?

70. Membership in the United Nations not only confers rights but also implies duties. Thus it is in the interest of the world and of our Organization to acknowledge the lawful rights of the great country of China and in so doing to confront it with the responsibilities arising from the obligations of the United Nations Charter.

71. Before concluding, I should like to explain my delegation's attitude towards draft resolution A/L.372, submitted by Australia, Colombia, Italy, Japan and the United States, under which a two-thirds majority would be required for any proposal to change the representation of China.

72. My delegation does not wish at this point to discuss the political reasons for this draft, but simply to object most strongly to its legal foundations, for it is in direct conflict with the principle of the equality of States and with Article 18 of the United Nations Charter. It involves discrimination against a State. The question here is one of credentials, and such a simple procedural question cannot become an important question within a meaning of Article 18 of the Charter simply because it concerns a great State and is controversial. The controversy which has arisen could not possibly affect the essence of the problem. Moreover, the practice of the United Nations in such matters has already been established. The intense controversy about the representation of the Congo (Leopoldville) did not justify anything more than a simple majority, and it is significant that, although the draft resolution would make it necessary to obtain a two-thirds majority in order to change the representation of China, it does not seem to require any majority in favour of maintaining the present representation of Taiwan. This reminds us of the disastrous policy of the double standard, which the United Nations Charter, in particular, has unequivocally condemned by establishing and upholding the principle of equality between States. Moreover, Article 18 of the Charter cannot be invoked to justify this draft. The wording of that Article is very clear in this respect. It provides not that a particular question may be declared important, but additional categories of questions, and this is plainly intended to prevent any possible injustice which might arise if such a decision could be taken in a specific case and with respect to a particular State.

73. It is in the interests of our Organization to divest the problem before us of unfortunate complications that are basically irrelevant and to consider it for what it is: a procedural question of credentials. It is time to stop denying the undeniable and to admit the representatives of the People's Republic of China to the seats in our Organization to which they are legally entitled.

74. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): Now, for the first time in twelve years, the General Assembly has taken up the substance of one of the key questions that are responsible for international tension and for the chronic crisis which is undermining our Organization.

75. It is a fact that the statesmen who met in 1945 at San Francisco to organize peace and, for the sake of all peoples, to avoid a return to war, had planned and built the United Nations as a balanced structure resting mainly on five basic pillars, namely, the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and which bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

76. In the circumstances, it is easy to understand the exceptional gravity of the situation brought about since 1949 by the deliberate policy of systematically preventing one of these great Powers, the Republic of China, from playing its proper part although it is essential that it should do so in view of its undeniable importance and out of regard for the United Nations Charter. Ever since that time, a policy of systematic obstruction, carried out in broad daylight and by the most varied means, has successfully prevented the Central Government of the Republic of China, which had just been brought to power by a popular revolution, from occupying its rightful seat in the United Nations. This unrealistic policy also involved a series of procedural manoeuvres which successfully prevented any discussion of the matter in the United Nations General Assembly.

77. This question should have been treated as a normal matter with which the Credentials Committee was competent to deal. Yet, when the adoption of the agenda for each session has been discussed, these manoeuvres have been repeated for the undisguised purpose of maintaining the status quo and the present fictitious representation of China.

78. This is how, from year to year, the General Committee has deliberately violated the explicit provisions of the rules of procedure which forbid it to take any decision of a political nature. At the beginning of each session, the General Committee has submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution designed to prevent any discussion of this important question. The most serious part of the matter is that there has always been a sufficient majority in the Assembly to support this dangerous policy, which is as unjust as it is irrational. Naturally, as one might have expected, this utterly disastrous policy was opposed from the first, and the opposition has constantly grown stronger and more general. This situation has gradually become distinct from the cold war between blocs and has taken the form of increasingly passionate opposition by the United States Government to the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. On this occasion, it is quite obvious that the Western Powers are divided on this important question. The United Kingdom lost no time in recognizing the Peking Government, although in the United Nations it continued to support obstructive measures against that Government. However, several States belonging to the Western alliances now speak realistically in favour of restoring the lawful rights of the Peking Government within the United Nations.

79. This, however, is not all, for over the last few years, as we all remember, this policy of obstruction regularly involved certain partisan moves, including attempts to condemn the Central Government of the People's Republic of China without a hearing on charges of aggression in Korea, Tibet and elsewhere. But the most serious consequence of this policy has always been the creation, maintenance and strengthening of the fiction that China is represented by the refugee govern-

ment in Formosa that is under the military protection of the United States of America.

80. By this policy, the United Nations was thus clearly meddling in the domestic policies of a Member State, for it gave the lawful seat of the Chinese Government to persons whose authority had very clearly been rejected by the Chinese people itself, although it was obvious that those persons could not effectively assume any of the essential obligations which the Charter imposes on every Member State, and particularly on the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council.

81. Thus it is not surprising that this obvious injustice to the Chinese people has deeply disturbed international opinion. From year to year it has had repercussions within the United Nations, and has finally led to the abandonment of the time-worn procedural manoeuvres designed to prevent all discussion of the representation of China.

82. In the circumstances, there seems to be no doubt that the mere inclusion of the question on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly is a step forward, brought about by the pressure of facts and the demands of international public opinion.

83. It seems to us appropriate at this stage to draw attention to the important part which Africa has played in this hopeful development. The appearance on the world stage of a host of African States emerging from the ruins of the colonial empires in Africa that have been toppled through the efforts of our peoples has been universally hailed at recent sessions as an important step towards the achievement of the principle of universality in the United Nations. This massive admission of African States to the United Nations has shown more clearly than ever that the policy of obstruction carried out in this Organization against the great people of China is reactionary, unjust and unrealistic.

84. In this respect, we think it is enough to recall that, because of the excessive and criminal fragmentation of Africa by the colonial Powers, twenty-six States, or more than a quarter of the total membership of the Organization, now represent in the United Nations about 150 million Africans who have been freed to some extent from the foreign yoke, while more than 650 million Chinese are deprived of any effective representation.

85. It is the duty of all peoples—and particularly of Africans—to put an end to this paradoxical situation which has lasted far too long. It would be tragic and scandalous if for any reason African and Asian voices were somehow to contribute to the perpetuation of this grave injustice. The support which the peoples of Africa and Asia have given to each other in their struggle and their common aspirations to freedom and the independent conduct of their own affairs cause them to bear a special responsibility in the important problem we are now considering. Everyone knows this, and the Chinese people are aware of it, just as they are aware of the intolerable pressures which are being brought to bear on the representatives of these young States to persuade them to betray their natural and historical links of solidarity with the peoples of Asia. The Government of the People's Republic of China expects the peoples of Africa and their representatives to show the same spirit of solidarity which that Government itself has shown ever since the success of the national revolution which brought it to power.

86. How could it be otherwise? In the eyes of the peoples of Africa and Asia, the restoration to the legal Government of China of its rightful seat in the United Nations is simply one aspect of decolonization, which is the objective of the general struggle they have undertaken in order to reaffirm their personality and their wish for complete liberation from all forms of foreign domination, either direct or through puppet governments.

87. We know that, before the irresistible movement of the peoples of Africa and Asia, direct occupation by the foreigner is gradually being superseded by a policy of puppets, installed here and there by the neo-colonialists so that the same policy of exploitation and oppression can be continued through straw men manipulated from outside. We are not and never shall be deceived by this new policy, which is bound to fail.

88. The solidarity that the peoples of Africa and Asia, and all their freely-chosen governments, must thus display unequivocally towards the great Chinese people is fully justified on all counts. It is impossible, of course, to forget the great contribution made by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China towards the preparation, holding and success of the historic Conference of Bandung, which, for the first time, officially stated the claims of the peoples of Africa and Asia to enjoy full and entire responsibility in shaping their own destinies.

89. Since the time of that Conference, the Chinese Government has everywhere supported—in Africa, in Asia and elsewhere—the struggles of the peoples to free themselves from foreign oppression and occupation. That Government has never stinted its moral and political support in the struggles for national liberation. It is only fair that the liberated African States should in return unequivocally express their support of, and solidarity with, the Government of the People's Republic of China in the trial to which it is now being subjected.

90. The Government of the Republic of Guinea has always made its position quite clear. From the time of its independence of 1958 onwards, it has proclaimed on high its total support for the justified claim of the People's Republic of China to occupy the seat to which it is rightfully entitled in the United Nations.

91. Independently of the stand taken by Guinea at all the great meetings of the peoples and States of Africa and Asia, the Head of State of Guinea, President Sékou Touré, has spoken twice—in 1959 and 1960—from this rostrum on this important matter. In the course of the fifteenth session, speaking on 10 October 1960 in the General Assembly, he described the position consistently taken by the people and the Government of the Republic of Guinea as follows:

"At this point we ask whether, in the light of genuine co-operation for the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes, the United Nations will continue to deprive the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the international community? It is time for this grave injustice to be remedied. It is impossible to speak of peace and international co-operation, while refusing legitimate representation to the People's Republic of China. There is no more direct way of undermining the foundations of the United Nations than by making of it an Organization in which there



is much talk of equality and peace while at the same time one part of the world is refused admission and is denied justice".<sup>5/</sup>

92. These are the various reasons why, when confronted at the beginning of the fifteenth session by the usual procedural manoeuvres, our delegation did not hesitate to take a very clear and precise course of action intended to restore to the Peking Government its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

93. Our delegation was all the more justified in adopting such a course since our country had had the honour, in April 1960, of receiving at Conakry and presiding over the Second Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, at the end of which more than seventy delegations representing political parties, youth movements, women's organizations and trade unions—and, in short, all the vital forces of Africa and Asia represented in these great movements—unanimously came out in favour of restoring to the Peking Government its legitimate seat in the General Assembly and in all organs of the United Nations.

94. This same position was upheld at the recent Conference at Belgrade<sup>6/</sup> by the Heads of State and of Government of the non-aligned countries who have recognized the Peking Government. On that occasion they proclaimed in their final declaration that they considered the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to be the only legitimate representatives of that country in the United Nations.

95. The stands thus unanimously taken up justify our own consistent attitude in the past and add to our considerable satisfaction at the success, in the course of the sixteenth session, of the action which we, together with Asian countries, had no hesitation in initiating at the fifteenth session in order that the important question now before us might at long last be discussed. It is our hope that this discussion will enable the rights and prerogatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China in our Organization to be finally and definitely recognized and confirmed.

96. How is it that a policy which so deliberately ignores the facts, a policy which is so unjust and, what is more, so contrary to the most clear-cut interests of the United Nations, a policy so fraught in all respects with explosive dangers on the international level, can have triumphed in the United Nations for eleven long years? The reply to this disturbing question reveals better than anything else the weaknesses in our Organization and the grave dangers which thus ensue for international peace and security.

97. Two kinds of comments are called for in this respect. In the first place, a considerable amount of confusion has arisen with regard to the question of China's representation in the United Nations. Wittingly or unwittingly, many delegations have spoken and continue to speak of the admission of China, which is referred to sometimes as "continental" and sometimes as "communist". It is hardly necessary to emphasize that such a concept is totally mistaken, for in reality China is a founding Member of the United Nations and one of the great Powers referred to by name in the Charter, so that the United Nations could not exist without China. The only problem that should be discussed in the General Assembly is the question of

which Government is qualified to occupy the seat of that Member State. It follows that the whole question is simply a matter of credentials.

98. On that score, we are convinced that the solution is to be found in the reply to the following question: which Government effectively controls the country and is in a position to act in the name, and on behalf, of the Chinese people? Seen thus in simple and clear perspective, the problem of the representation of China should not give rise to any difficulty, for it is evident that the Central Government, with headquarters at Peking, has exercised both effective and exclusive control over the Chinese State ever since 1949, and appears in the eyes of the world as the only Government to have been chosen by the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. It is not for a State, whichever it may be, nor for a group of States, nor even for the United Nations itself, to choose a Government for any people whatsoever. And this is even more true of the great Chinese people which alone accounts for more than a quarter of the world's population.

99. Thus the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations, which boils down to a mere question of credentials, is entirely outside the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter, which lays down the conditions for the admission of new Member States.

100. It is accordingly clear that all the reasoning based on those provisions of the Charter, and in particular the question whether the Chinese Government is peace-loving or not, has absolutely nothing to do with the merits of the question before us. If, in verifying the credentials of the representatives of the various Member States, it should become necessary to consider the peace-loving nature of the Governments concerned as a basis for the admission of their delegations, it is quite probable that dozens of the present Member States would be expelled from the Organization.

101. Aside from the permanent aggression that the colonial Powers have committed and are still committing in Africa and Asia, as well as from the colonial wars being waged in Algeria, Angola, Rhodesia, South West Africa and so-called Portuguese Guinea, it is fitting to recall the flagrant acts of aggression committed against Egypt in 1956, by two great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, amongst others.

102. In addition to this deliberate confusion, a large number of pretexts, mostly of a fallacious nature, have also been concocted and advanced in order to denigrate the Chinese Government and deny to it its legitimate right to play the part, within the United Nations, assigned to it by history and recognized by the Charter.

103. The most futile of these pretexts is no doubt that which invokes the domestic policy of the Peking Government in order to justify the obstacles placed in that Government's way in the United Nations during the last twelve years. This pretext, which itself embodies a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, does not even deserve a serious rebuttal. It should be sufficient to point out that at the very time when certain Governments are invoking the domestic policy of the Government of China as an argument to prevent its entry into the United Nations, those same Governments are opposing by every means within their power the slightest sanctions

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session (Part I), Plenary Meetings, vol. I, 896th meeting, para. 82.

<sup>6/</sup> Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries; held at Belgrade from 1-6 September 1961.

against Governments which, in their respective countries, are blatantly violating the United Nations Charter in connexion with fundamental aspects of their official policy.

104. The partisans of apartheid in South Africa and of the Policy of genocide in Portugal, not to mention the dictatorships and other unpopular régimes, are assured of impunity thanks to the backing of those who resolutely oppose the restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China of the seat that rightfully belongs to it.

105. The truth is that none of the pretexts which have been put forward can stand up to objective criticism, for all of them collapse at the first serious examination. In our view, the Korean war, which is so often mentioned, is one of the direct consequences of the policy of obstruction and isolation directed against the Chinese people. If the Peking Government, in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese people, had occupied its lawful seat in the United Nations immediately after the success of its revolution in 1949, the Korean war would probably never have happened.

106. We have been told that the admission of the Peking Government to the United Nations would have a demoralizing effect on certain Member States. We do not hesitate to say that such demoralization, if it existed, would be a good thing in every way. We have among us supporters of apartheid, potentates who terrorize their peoples and Governments which oppress their colonies and carry on wars of genocide against defenceless peoples. If all this does not demoralize the States concerned, then those States, by their presence in the United Nations, are themselves the real cause of demoralization.

107. In fact, as everyone knows, we have only too many causes of demoralization. To mention only the most recent and sensational, there were the serious charges made only a few days ago by the highest civil and military officials of the United Nations in the Congo (Leopoldville), chiefly against the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Rhodesia. Specific acts were mentioned and serious charges made by men who cannot be suspected of prejudice, particularly against permanent members of the Security Council, and it seems clear that these charges may well demoralize the soldiers and the civilian and technical staff of the United Nations, endanger the success of the operations and do grave damage to the prestige and authority of the United Nations and to its voice in the world. We do not think anything could be more demoralizing for the United Nations and for international opinion than these tragic revelations which led immediately to the resignation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Katanga and to the decision by the commander of the United Nations troops, who is responsible for all military operations in the Congo, to leave his post on 31 December 1961.

108. We and the rest of the world are waiting impatiently to see how those who make such a show of fighting demoralizing factors in our Organization react to the crass forms of sabotage that have been denounced and what measures they take against it.

109. And what of the loss of public confidence, which, it is alleged, will occur as soon as representatives of Peking arrive in the United Nations? Public opinion has, we are convinced, made it very clear on several

occasions that it condemns the policy of excluding the Government of the People's Republic of China, which has been followed in the United Nations. All dynamic forces in Africa and Asia agree on this point. At Bandung, Cairo, Accra, Tunis, Addis Ababa, Conakry and Belgrade, these forces have spoken clearly in calling for the restoration of the Peking Government's rightful seat in the United Nations.

110. The last of the pretexts which have been put forward is a concern about the fate of the former rulers of China, who have been under military protection in Formosa for the last twelve years. Our reply to this argument is that it is not for the United Nations, and still less for a group of States or any one State, to ensure that a particular Government survives against the wishes of the people it claims to represent. In our opinion, the problem raised here is no problem at all. It is the concern of the Chinese people, who have already given a reply that the United Nations is neither entitled nor able to question if it wishes to remain faithful to the Charter and to act in the interests of international peace and security.

111. To rebut the theory of "two Chinas" which certain delegations have put forward it is enough to recall that the dismemberment of the independent States of Africa and Asia is the commonest and most pernicious of the new forms of intervention by neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism in their former empires. It is a standing threat to all our States. The examples of Katanga and West Irian, among others, would be enough to remind us of this, if that were necessary. In any case, there is no need to convince the African States that this is a real and serious danger.

112. Our attitude towards this fallacious theory will consequently be determined by our constant concern to preserve the unity and integrity of all States. This is why when the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples was being drafted, we were led to insert the provisions which were subsequently embodied in operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). This paragraph provides that: "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". This, in the view of the Guinean delegation, should be the final reply of the United Nations to the attempts to dismember the People's Republic of China.

113. We must yield to the evidence: the United Nations has everything to gain by finally casting aside the fictions of the past and resolutely taking the only course open to it, which is to restore to the Government of the People's Republic of China its rightful seat within our Organization. There is here an important choice to be made. The great country of China exists and is growing like a giant. Whether we approve of it or not, whether we recognize it or not, the People's Republic of China will continue to exist and to grow in importance because of its achievements. It has already played an essential part in the Far East, in the African-Asian world and in international life, and it will continue to do so.

114. First of all, in Asia, all truly independent peoples and States recognize the great importance of the Chinese revolution and the stimulus which the new Peking régime has given to its hard-working people. This Government, which has become steadily stronger



over the last twelve years, has already bound itself by treaties of friendship and co-operation to many neighbouring States, such as Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan and many others. The Peking Government has taken bold action to restore peace throughout the Far East and is always directly or indirectly influencing the solution of all problems which arise in that part of the world.

115. The People's Republic of China helped to bring about the historic Bandung Conference and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference at Cairo, and has played an active and important part in all phases of progress in the African-Asian world. Over the last ten years, it has resolutely followed a policy of encouraging complete decolonization and of restoring to the peoples of Africa and Asia their personality and the responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs.

116. On the international level, it is enough to recall that the Government of the People's Republic of China has been invited, by the very countries which have brought about its temporary exclusion from the United Nations, to take part in the settlement of all the important crises which have arisen in Asia. This happened, for instance, at the Geneva Conference of 1954, after the Indo-Chinese fiasco, and it is happening again at the Conference which has been trying since last May to settle the Laotian crisis. A few days ago the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cambodia spoke solemnly from this rostrum [1069th meeting] of the important part played in both those conferences by the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

117. This beneficent influence of the Peking Government in the settlement of the Indo-Chinese conflict and in the present attempts to resolve the Laotian crisis would certainly be very helpful in the search for solutions to the serious problems before the United Nations.

118. In the first place, the restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China of its lawful seat in this Organization would in itself be an important factor in reducing international tension. This alone could create a new atmosphere in which it would be easier to solve the great problems of the hour. There is no important problem—whether general and complete disarmament, possible agreements on nuclear testing and weapons, latent crises in Korea or South Viet-Nam, decolonization, the effective organization of international co-operation or the harmonious development of the under-developed countries—which does not depend, more or less directly, for its ultimate solution on the active participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China. As our delegation said only a few days ago in the debate on general and complete disarmament,<sup>7/</sup> no effective treaty in this matter is conceivable without the active participation of the Peking Government in the negotiations, since there can be no disarmament without effective control, and no control can be exercised over any Government, in particular the Government of the People's Republic of China, by a United Nations organ until the Organization has radically altered its policy towards Peking.

119. Agreement appears to be unanimous on this problem. We have proof of this in the lucid statement

made by Mr. Christian Herter, then United States Secretary of State, on 21 January 1960, and reported in The New York Times the next day, to the effect that Chinese Communist participation was "inevitable" if a disarmament agreement were to be concluded between East and West. This is exactly what we ourselves have always thought and said. We would simply add that what is true of disarmament is also true of all the important problems facing the world today.

120. Special attention should, however, be drawn to the decisive role which the Government of the People's Republic of China could play in the structural reforms affecting the United Nations.

121. There are many of us who are urgently requesting this essential reform in order that the Organization may be adapted to the realities of today and that there may be a fair representation of the African and Asian States in the Secretariat, as well as in all the executive organs of the United Nations and in its various specialized agencies. It is particularly vital to carry out as soon as possible the essential reform which will allow the States of Africa and Asia to play their proper role in the two principal organs dealing with questions of capital importance for the evolution of their continents, namely the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. However, it has become clear during the last few sessions of our Organization that the slightest amendment to the Charter, and a fortiori a radical reform of its structure as a result of a revision, require the agreement of the Governments of the five great Powers, including the People's Republic of China.

122. Once the problem has been viewed in this way, it is clear that a radical change in the attitude of the United Nations towards the representation of China would have so many advantages in every respect that the possible results of further tergiversation and further delaying tactics must become a matter of concern for which we all have a special responsibility. In this context and for all these reasons, we must be frank in expressing our complete disagreement with the spirit and letter of draft resolution A/L.372, which tends to perpetuate and considerably aggravate the procedural manoeuvres which have forced the United Nations into the regrettable deadlock in which it finds itself today.

123. It is obvious that this draft resolution, by the expedient of procedure, is aimed at creating a situation even more dangerous than that with which we had to contend at previous sessions. What, after all, is the draft resolution about? It is clearly aimed at insisting on a two-thirds majority for the restoration to China of its lawful seat, although established practice, which has never been disputed, has always allowed a simple majority for all questions of this kind. Indeed, this text would in fact leave this important question to the discretion of the United States Government, to whom the General Assembly would thus be giving an indirect right of veto in a matter in which, unfortunately, that Government has for twelve years been following a policy that is completely unrealistic and obviously contrary to the accepted interests of the international Organization.

124. Since this is the problem in its true light, there should be no doubt as to our attitude. We rebel against this new manoeuvre which would merely prolong and accentuate international tension, aggravate the regrettable state of crisis between the Government of the United States and that of the People's Republic of

<sup>7/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, First Committee, 1203rd meeting.

China and dangerously jeopardize the solution of all the great international problems.

125. It is because we are convinced that true friendship demands frankness and not submission that we think the time has come for the friends of the United States and its allies to display frankness and far-sightedness and to induce Washington to make the radical change of attitude required by the manifest interests, the joint interests, of the American and Chinese peoples, who both have everything to gain and nothing to lose by genuine co-operation within the United Nations.

126. A quite reasonable theory has been advanced that one of the basic reasons for the Second World War was the policy of isolationism followed after 1919 by the Government of the United States of America, which thus deprived Europe and the world of the co-operation of the great American people. Are we going to allow the action of a few governments, which are imposing on the great Chinese people an isolation that is as unfair as it is ineffective, to create conditions likely to plunge us for the same reasons into a third world war? For us, the reply is obviously no.

127. We think the time has come to act. In the interests of the United Nations, we should not wait until the last minute when our Organization, because it did not make up its mind in time, will be in the painful position of being forced to beg the People's Republic of China to take its lawful seat in its midst. That time is perhaps not very far distant, as the spokesman of the Cambodian delegation recently stated here. It would be wise for us to think about this seriously and to act accordingly while there is still time.

128. In the interests of the United Nations and of safeguarding the purposes and principles for which the Charter was drawn up and for which we are assembled here, and in the interests of world peace, we must squarely face our responsibilities and decide without delay to restore immediately to the Government of the People's Republic of China its exclusive rights and privileges in all United Nations organs.

129. This is a step dictated by justice and by political foresight. It is the wise decision which the world expects from us at this sixteenth session in the interest of fruitful co-operation between all peoples and in particular between the American and Chinese peoples.

130. It is clear that our decision at the end of this debate will determine not only the strength but perhaps, and above all, the actual fate of this fragile and precious hope of the small countries and oppressed peoples which the United Nations, despite everything, continues to represent.

131. These are the basic considerations which will determine the Guinean delegation's attitude and voting in connexion with the various draft resolutions submitted for our consideration and approval.

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

132. Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): The attitude of Pakistan on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is the same today as it was eleven years ago. I had the honour, as Foreign Minister of Pakistan, to explain our position in some detail in my statement of 25 September 1950, made at the fifth session of the General Assembly [283rd plenary meeting].

133. It is not necessary to occupy the time of the Assembly in repeating on this occasion the considerations then set out. The question before us is not the admission or non-admission, as it is often described, of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. It is a State that is admitted to the membership of the United Nations and not a government. China has been a Member of the United Nations since its inception and is a permanent member of the Security Council. The sole and simple question is, who is entitled to represent China in the United Nations? The People's Republic of China has exercised effective authority and jurisdiction over the whole of the mainland of China for more than twelve years. Pakistan recognized that Government nearly twelve years ago. In the circumstances, it is clear that, in the view of Pakistan, the People's Republic of China is entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

134. Mr. President, to avoid having to ask for the floor again for explanation of vote, I would beg your indulgence to indicate our position with regard to the five-Power draft resolution (A/L.372). We are unable to support or oppose this draft resolution as, in our opinion, the question of the requisite majority needed for a resolution cannot be determined in advance without reference to the exact language of the resolution which is to be voted upon. It is the language of the resolution that would determine what we are voting on and that, in turn, would determine whether the question is an important one within the meaning of that expression in Article 18 of the Charter. If we were to support or if we opposed this draft resolution, we would not know what we were voting for. An item could well relate to a question which is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 and yet resolutions might be moved on that question which would be confined to some aspect which would not be an important question within the meaning of that expression found in Article 18. In such a case, the question to which such a resolution would relate would not be an important one. Consequently, we shall refrain from voting either way on this draft resolution, and we shall abstain from voting on it.

135. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland): The delegation of Finland is among those that have consistently and for many years wanted the question now before us to be inscribed on our agenda and discussed by the Assembly. We have had numerous occasions to state our views on this matter in this hall. It is therefore with a sense of satisfaction that we note that this item has finally been included in our agenda at the present session without objection.

136. For our part we have not been able to see how the success and the prestige of the United Nations can be advanced by not considering this matter here. An important step has thus been taken in the right direction.

137. Many arguments have been put forward during the present debate by those who consider it urgent and necessary, as we do, to have the seat of China occupied by its true representatives. There are undoubtedly weighty and imperative reasons for which all the great Powers must of necessity be parties to a number of our most crucial decisions if we want them to be effective. We have said so in the proper context. It is without question odd, to say the least, that a nation of more than 600 million people should remain outside our Organization.



138. We know, as everybody knows, that the present régime in China was established over twelve years ago. But the attitude of my delegation toward this question would hardly be different from what it is if those facts had themselves been different. I do not, in fact, believe that our attitude would be in any way different if we were discussing here the representation of a smaller country.

139. The Government of Finland recognized the Government of China in 1950. Finland maintains, and has maintained for many years—as so many other Members of the Organization do—normal relations with the People's Republic of China. The seat of China in the United Nations is, however, still today occupied by representatives of its former Government, which cannot possibly claim to be in control of the country for which these representatives speak.

140. My delegation believes that steps ought to be taken by the United Nations to ensure that China is adequately represented among us and admitted to share with us the growing duties and increasing responsibilities of the United Nations in our world. For our part, we do not think that it would be justified to subordinate such an overdue action to any preliminary conditions, nor do we think that anything could be gained by postponing this action.

141. We are, of course, aware of the difficulties of adjustment already mentioned in this debate by several speakers, but we do believe that those difficulties might perhaps have been smaller if this necessary action had not been deferred for so long. We fail to see how they may become less if we postpone this action now.

142. My delegation believes that it serves best the interests of the United Nations in contributing, as far as it depends on us, to having the Members of this Organization represented here by actual representatives deriving their status and their power from the proper national authorities, having, in other words, duly established credentials.

143. We have always maintained that this matter is an important one, but we do not consider that this debate as such would be important if it did not lead to results. What is important, in our opinion, is that the question of the representation of China should at long last be settled.

144. We shall, therefore, not find it possible to vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.372. My delegation can see no need for a change in the voting procedure, and we shall consequently have to oppose the adoption of this draft resolution. We in Finland firmly believe, as we have often stated, that a necessary condition for the success of the United Nations is that this Organization should include all nations. We would once again like to stress in this connexion the importance that we attach to the universality of the United Nations. Our approach to this matter is in no way different from our approach to any other matter discussed here. It stems from our constant desire to do our best to increase the possibilities for a better mutual understanding among nations all over the world and for the peaceful development of international relations in the spirit of the Charter, and for the benefit of all.

145. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): Having listened carefully to the speakers who have preceded me on the question of the representation of China, and recalling what I have stated on previous occasions on this

subject, I find that there is not much for me to add. However, while welcoming the consideration of the question at this session, we deeply regret the increasing controversy that is demonstrated at a stage when a solution of the problem should have been found in the interests of the United Nations and of the people of China. In these circumstances, I find it necessary only to state once again the position of the Afghan delegation on this question.

146. In considering this question, I must stress that our greatest concern is the interests of the United Nations and that of the Chinese people, which should not be obscured by argumentation based on any other considerations. Therefore, we have followed with great interest what has been said by other Members of this Assembly, particularly those who favour the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

147. In speaking for the Afghan delegation in the past I have not argued that the People's Republic of China should be represented here because of the great population it represents. I have not argued that the People's Republic of China should be represented here because of its vast geographical area. I have not argued that the People's Republic of China should be represented here because it is potentially a powerful country. I have not done this because, in the first place countries may be larger in area, stronger in force or greater in population than others are, but, as nations they are equal in their rights and they have the same position in this Organization; secondly, we are not considering the question of size, population and military power of States for admission to this Organization. We are considering the question of who should represent a Member State in the United Nations. Such a question is of equal importance to us in the case of all countries large and small. Thirdly, our support for China is not based only on the fact that we have recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China. Our recognition of that Government was, in fact, emanated from our awareness as a neighbouring country that it is the only legitimate Government of China. Moreover, we know of the People's Republic of China only as a peaceful neighbour. It is for those reasons that we support the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented here in the United Nations and also for the reasons that follow.

148. (1) We have always supported the principle of the universality of the United Nations in all cases, a concept which has received increasing recognition every year. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the Organization is difficult to reconcile with prevailing opinion.

(2) It cannot be received that the refusal to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China is based on the existence of ideological differences since this Organization is and should be composed of representatives of different ideologies and different social systems.

(3) It is inconceivable to base the refusal on political differences, particularly when the fundamental purpose of the United Nations is coexistence and peaceful negotiations for the solution of problems among Member States.

(4) The People's Republic of China can make a great contribution to the United Nations in the economic and political fields. It should also be noted that in the

political field China has already taken part in international conferences, together with some countries which do not agree with its representation in the United Nations, and in this way the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the peaceful settlement of international problems has been recognized.

(5) The Government of the People's Republic of China has been recognized as the legitimate Government of that country by many States, including Members of the United Nations. Even if recognition of the People's Republic of China is ignored in some parts of the world, the fact that its recognition in the area to which it belongs is continually increasing should be admitted and given the significance it deserves. In the interests of peace in Asia—a part of the world to which we belong—the aspirations of the Asian people should not and, we believe in the long run, cannot be overlooked in considering this matter.

(6) No other question has attracted the attention of world opinion more than the question of the representation of China. Developments show that world public opinion has given increasing recognition to the Government of the People's Republic of China, and inside the United Nations there has been greater support each year for the rightful representatives of the Chinese people to take their places in this Organization.

(7) Even in countries which have been unalterably opposed to the seating of the People's Republic of China, large segments of public opinion and outstanding leaders, institutions and organizations have expressed their views in favour of the representation of the People's Republic of China.

(8) References have been made to the aggressive policies of the People's Republic of China, but, as so many others have pointed out, there are among us representatives of countries which have been referred to by other countries as followers of aggressive policies.

149. While we fully recognize the significance of the constructive impact that the participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will have on the improvement of the international situation and the practical solution of many international problems—and consequently on the achievement of international co-operation which we deeply desire to come about—I should like to say that as a small country we do not associate ourselves in principle with the argumentation based upon the idea that as long as China is not admitted to the Organization the decisions of the General Assembly are completely worthless. The exclusion of any one country, no matter how large in population or great in power, should not, in principle, be brought to annihilate the power of all the right and just principles on which this Organization is based. In saying this, we do not in any way deny the importance of large Powers. But although we are living in a world of might, we should like to think in terms of the world of right.

150. There are so many valid reasons to defend the case of the People's Republic of China that it is not necessary to argue on the basis of what would infringe on basic principles. As we see it, we are not discussing the admission of a new Member, we are faced with a question of credentials. Although the issue has wide political implications, the character of the question itself cannot be changed. If the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China must be decided by a two-thirds vote, my delegation dissociates itself

from the grave consequences of such an action. My delegation therefore believes that it is most undesirable to attempt to change the voting procedure and hopes that such an action will not be forced on the Assembly—in which case my delegation will be compelled to vote against such a proposal.

151. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): My delegation takes the floor to make a few observations on the question of China's representation in the United Nations. The facts of the case are very clear. It was stated in this Assembly that the Republic of China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations, that it was the first country to sign the Charter at the San Francisco Conference, that the Constitution of the Republic of China provides that its foreign policy shall be based on respect for the Charter in order to promote international co-operation, advance international justice, and ensure world peace. It was also explained that throughout the past sixteen years the Republic of China through its representation in the United Nations has given full support to the United Nations Charter. This being the case, it was claimed that the Republic of China is entitled to seek the complete protection of the Charter to its seat in the United Nations as the true representative of China.

152. On the other hand, we have heard the other point of view adduced in this Assembly that the People's Republic of China is the true representative of China and should be recognized in the United Nations as such.

153. Thus, the question before us is not one of admission of a new Member within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter. It simply involves a question of representation—the question of recognition of a Government, not the admission of a State.

154. The crux of the problem as my Government sees it is this: to whom did the Chinese people accord the right to be represented in this international Organization? And this also raises another important legal issue: who has the right to determine which Government should represent a Member State in the United Nations? Is it the Member State itself or the United Nations?

155. The Government of Jordan is of the opinion that under the acceptable principles of the law of nations every State has the full right to determine who its true representative is. A State derives its full power from its people since the sovereignty itself resides with the people. Therefore, if any rival authority claims sovereignty it must show beyond doubt that it reflects the true representation of the people. The Charter of the United Nations recognizes one China with one sovereignty. This sovereignty continues to exist, and the continuity has not been interrupted. Jordan recognizes the Republic of China and has exchanged diplomatic missions with the Republic. My Government has no evidence to show that the great people of China have through legitimate means denied to the Government presently represented in this Assembly the right to continue to represent them. Unfortunately, many of the speeches and of the debates in this Assembly have concentrated on political considerations. Much irrelevant material and less facts have been put before us during our deliberations. This question calls for more facts and less charges and counter-charges, attacks and counter-attacks which add to the confusion and complexity of the problem.

156. The Charter does not permit the United Nations to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic



jurisdiction of a Member State. We are mindful of the fact that the Charter recognizes all ideologies, because the United Nations is meant to be a meeting place for all ideologies. It is a house championing coexistence of the community of all nations desiring to live in peace, with no designs for aggression or expansion, and in a spirit of togetherness. Ideology, however, is not the criterion in this matter. What is important is the proper and adequate application of the United Nations Charter which regulates practices in this Organization.

157. The present question should be carefully examined in all its aspects in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter. What is needed in this Assembly is a careful consideration and evaluation of all aspects of the two items before us. This Assembly is the competent body to discuss the two items. We feel that no fruitful purpose can be served by referring the matter to a special committee to be appointed by the Assembly. With adequate understanding of the problem and all its circumstances, this Assembly can certainly reach a decision inspired by law and justice. The items do not pose technical questions calling for their consideration by special qualified experts. They pose a challenge to this body, to its effectiveness and the sanctity of its Charter. Since my delegation is not convinced that creating a special committee is needed or helpful, we shall not support any more of this kind.

158. No matter how we look at the present problem, it has, to its misfortune, become an important factor in the cold war. It is connected with almost every problem in the Far East. It is connected with many vital problems between East and West.

159. The draft resolution introduced by the United States and co-sponsored by others (A/L.372) involves a matter of interpretation of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 18 of the Charter. This is a question of principle which, we believe, should be carefully pondered over so that we do not create a bad precedent.

160. Paragraph 2 of Article 18 requires that: "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting..."; paragraph 3 on the other hand makes it clear that: "Decisions on other questions... shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting".

161. Thus, paragraphs 2 and 3 distinguish between "important questions" and "other questions". And the question arises as to where one draws the line between what is important and what is not, that is, "the other questions" referred to in paragraph 3 of Article 18 of the Charter.

162. At the very outset let me state that through the two draft resolutions before it, the Assembly is called upon to adopt a decision within the meaning of paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the Charter. The term "decision" in the said Article is used in a broad sense to cover all types of actions by United Nations organs. It certainly embodies all actions which the General Assembly takes by vote while performing its functions under the Charter. If another restrictive meaning is given to this term, the whole Article defeats its purpose and becomes meaningless simply because all that the Assembly can do is to recommend. Unlike the Security Council, it never passes decisions. This being the case, my Government is of the opinion that an action such as the one now being considered here by all

Members of the Assembly and in which, we have every reason to believe, all Foreign Ministries are now engaged, is certainly an important question within the meaning of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

163. We do not share the view that what we are discussing is a procedural question which falls within paragraph 3 of Article 18. The Chinese question is important; every phase of it is important; it is an indivisible question. We cannot call parts of it important and other parts unimportant to suit our convenience. The question is one of representation, purely and simply. The fact that this question, or any phase of it, is now before us for consideration, with divergent and conflicting points of view, is in itself sufficient evidence of its importance. Indeed, any item giving rise to prolonged and special discussion in plenary is certainly important.

164. It is, of course, the right of this Assembly to decide by a simple majority whether or not the proposed recommendation requires a two-thirds majority. But even with this vote the Assembly cannot rewrite the Charter. Its decision must derive its force and meaning from the Charter and must reflect the intention of those who wrote it. The question might have a different degree of importance in the minds of some Members. What is important to someone may be of lesser importance to someone else. That is true; but we are of the opinion that the text, the spirit and the intention of those who wrote the Article should be taken into consideration in reaching a conclusion.

165. If we permit any liberal interpretation on such an important matter, we shall be creating a bad precedent which may have very serious consequences. There would be nothing to prevent the Assembly in the future from deciding by a simple majority that any given delegation was not the true representative of a State and thus, by a simple majority, unseating any Member of the United Nations through the application of Article 18, paragraph 3. This certainly was never the intention of those who drafted the Charter. If such action is permitted to take place it will destroy the very effectiveness of the General Assembly.

166. We are determined not to be a party to this and, therefore, we shall vote in favour of the restrictive interpretation which treats the matter before us as one of importance.

167. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): The question of recognizing the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to the place to which it is entitled in the United Nations, or in other words the question of the representation of China in this Organization, has remained unanswered for the past twelve years. The position of Yugoslavia in this matter has been set forth a number of times by the Yugoslav representatives to the United Nations and on other occasions. This position is known to all the Members of our Organization.

168. On the basis of the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only *de jure* and *de facto* Government of China and the only one competent to represent China and its interests at the international level and in international organizations, my Government has from the outset stated its support for giving effect to the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to the place to which it is entitled in the United Nations. This approach to the problem is the only one that is realistic and entirely in ac-

cordance with the principle of the universality of our Organization.

169. In conformity with this position of principle, and despite the systematically negative attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China towards Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav delegation will give its support to any proposal to grant the Government of the People's Republic of China the rightful place of China in the United Nations.

170. The Yugoslav delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.372, which requests the application of a two-thirds majority to settle this matter, because it is contrary to the rules of procedure and the practice of the General Assembly. In addition, the adoption of this draft resolution would, in the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, constitute a harmful precedent and a new obstacle to the full achievement of universality in our Organization.

*The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.*