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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/3670) (continued)

1. **THE PRESIDENT:** Members will recall that the Assembly has already taken action on the inclusion and the allocations of sixty-two items recommended in the report of the General Committee [A/3670]. As for item 63 of the agenda, the question of Hungary, the General Committee informed the Assembly, in paragraph 6 of its report, that it had decided, by 13 votes to 2, to recommend the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

2. I should like to remind Members that rule 23 of the rules of procedure limits debate on this recommendation to three speakers in favour of, and three speakers against, inclusion.

3. **Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French):** In view of the fact that, despite the repeated protests of the Hungarian delegation, the General Committee has recommended that the General Assembly should include the so-called question of Hungary in its agenda, I again protest, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, against this recommendation. I request the General Assembly to set aside the decision of the General Committee and to remove from the agenda the so-called question of Hungary, which has been retained there by artificial means.

4. Complete order and tranquillity have now been restored in Hungary, where creative and peaceful work is proceeding. The Hungarian people ask everyone, including the United Nations, to allow them to go on with their work in peace. A veritable plebiscite is taking place in Hungary today in the form of a wave of protest against the discussion of the "question of Hungary" by the United Nations. Some of the documents, telegrams and protests signed by hundreds of thousands of Hungarian workers have already been transmitted to the Secretary-General. Mutual respect among peoples requires that the United Nations should also respect this unanimous desire of the Hungarian people.

5. The Hungarian Government accepted the United Nations Charter in full and remains loyal to its principles. The Hungarian people have fulfilled this obligation from the moment they took over the government

of the country. Last autumn fascist elements tried to oust the working people from power and to restore the fascist régime. After defeating this attempt the Hungarian Government restored law and order; consequently there is nothing happening in our country today which could warrant discussion by an international organization.

6. Certain States Members of the United Nations are trying to justify the retention of the so-called question of Hungary on the agenda by asserting that it is necessary to examine the steps the Hungarian Government took to hamper the activities of the counter-revolutionary elements.

7. The Hungarian delegation emphasizes that the steps taken by its Government are in conformity with the constitutional system of the country, the provisions of the Peace Treaty signed by Hungary and the interests of the Hungarian working people. In Hungary, fascists, former capitalists and large landowners are considered to be enemies of the people. Their party and their activities are prohibited, for the Hungarian people is convinced that this measure is calculated to safeguard the interests of the country. This, however, is a purely domestic matter.

8. For the reasons I have just explained, the Hungarian delegation opposed the reconvening of the eleventh session to discuss the question of Hungary. Despite this, the General Assembly discussed the question for four days. I should not like to reproduce in a debate on the adoption of the agenda the arguments put forward during that discussion. I shall therefore make one observation only: in the past there has been no point of law that has authorized the United Nations to make an inquiry in Hungary and it is even less authorized to do so today.

9. Consequently I protest on behalf of the Hungarian Government against the proposal that matters concerning the domestic affairs of the Hungarian people should be placed on the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

10. **Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom):** My delegation warmly supports the inclusion of this item in the agenda. The General Assembly, at its eleventh session, in resolution 1133(XI) of 14 September 1957, which was adopted with the support of sixty countries, proposed that the question of Hungary should be placed on the agenda of the twelfth session. So far there has been no sign that the Soviet Union or the Hungarian authorities are prepared to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with this question.

11. The Assembly has asked the President of the General Assembly at its eleventh session to take steps to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in accordance with the Assembly's past resolutions. We all earnestly hope that he will succeed.

12. In his statement on 20 September [681st meeting, para.109], the representative of the Soviet Union said: "At this very moment, while we are sitting here in this hall, the blood is being shed in many parts of the world of people whose only crime is a desire for a free and independent existence." Mr. Gromyko went on to say: "... it is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to foreign military intervention in the lives of the peoples of those countries and to protect their legitimate national rights." I do not think that Mr. Gromyko could have realized how aptly these words apply to the situation in Hungary.

13. In these circumstances, there surely can be no doubt that the General Assembly should include this item in its agenda.

14. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): We are asked to include the so-called question of Hungary in the agenda of the twelfth session. A curious feature of this proposal is that the question, which some delegations would have the Assembly discuss for a second time, does not really exist. It is a fantasy.

15. A year ago an attempt was made to overthrow the people's democratic system in Hungary and to restore to power the feudal magnates and capitalists who had ruled Hungary until 1945 with the aid of the despotic Horthy régime. This putsch was organized by certain foreign circles, using groups of underground conspirators whom they had themselves recruited and armed and who included fascists of every kind, former land-owners, Horthyist officers, gendarmes and common criminals.

16. This attempt ended in utter failure, and an end was put to the acts of bloody terror, lawlessness and violence of the rioters, who lynched Hungarian patriots. Order was restored in full conformity with Hungary's obligations under the Peace Treaty, which prescribes that no fascist organizations shall be tolerated or permitted to exercise their activities in the country. A possible hotbed of aggression and war in Central Europe was thus eliminated.

17. Those who have a bent for interfering in the affairs of other States and imposing their own ways upon them are furious because their attempt to accomplish in Hungary what they had succeeded in doing elsewhere has miscarried. But the Hungarian people has spoken its mind in clear and unambiguous terms. It has chosen and will pursue the path of socialist construction in fraternal co-operation with the people of the other socialist countries.

18. The Hungarian peasant is by no means anxious to give back to the Ezterhazys and their like the land he has obtained from the Central People's Government. The Hungarian workers do not want the plants and factories, which today are national property, to be restored to their former owners.

19. The rapid obliteration of all traces of the havoc resulting from the criminal activities of the organizers of the putsch, the growth of industrial production in Hungary today and the enthusiasm with which the Hungarian peasants are working - these show what the Hungarian people really want. The Hungarian people today need one thing only - to be allowed to work in peace, without any outside interference in their domestic affairs.

20. We can therefore readily understand the indignation caused in Hungary by the offensive plan that the United Nations should be permanently engaged in a discussion of the "question of Hungary". Those who seek to impose this item on the Assembly know very well that in reality there is no such question calling for intervention by the United Nations. To them this question, concocted in the lower depths of the United States Department of State, is only a pretext, a means for attaining certain specific objectives. What are these objectives? In repeatedly placing a false version of the events in Hungary on the Assembly's agenda, the authors of this despicable move seek to poison the atmosphere of this session, to maintain the General Assembly in a state of tension - not, as we know, for the first time - and in this way to prevent the establishment of a calm, business-like atmosphere such as is necessary for the adoption of constructive decisions on truly important pending international questions. They seem to feel ill at ease whenever the Assembly engages in its proper business for even a day, for even an hour. Unless they maintain an electric atmosphere in the General Assembly and keep the machinery of the "cold war" running, they tend to feel bored and sleepy. This is very sad, but it is a fact.

21. If we look back at what happened at previous sessions of the General Assembly, we shall see that this has recurred more than once. The enemies of international co-operation let no opportunity pass to inflame passions and exacerbate differences of opinion. If, nevertheless, the United Nations has on a number of occasions taken decisions contributing to the maintenance of peace, it succeeded in doing so in spite of the efforts of the partisans of the "cold war".

22. In staging yet another discussion of the "question of Hungary", in the General Assembly, the producers of this unseemly comedy are undoubtedly intent on covering up the traces of the part they themselves played in preparing and organizing the fascist riots in Hungary. But no matter how many different committees composed of their obedient servants they set up, no matter how many Horthyist "witnesses" they dig up to distort the events that occurred in Hungary last year in their favour, they are powerless to alter the facts.

23. I might recall that the United States, the United Kingdom - whose representative has just spoken - and West Germany are harbouring not only traitors to the Hungarian people. They are still giving refuge to traitors who fled from the Soviet Union immediately after the revolution of 1917. Would anyone dream of trying to form an opinion on life and conditions in the Soviet Union by questioning these renegades? Yet that is precisely what is being done in the case of Hungary by those who wish to foist on the General Assembly the tissue of lies that goes by the name of the report of the "Committee of Five" and draws its information from anonymous sources. This is an attempt to mislead the unwary.

24. In support of its thesis, the "Committee of Five" has put before the United Nations a thick volume containing its ratiocinations and conclusions. If you assemble a few dozen shady characters and give them a staff of trained stenographers to take down whatever comes into their heads, in three months' time you can probably produce twenty volumes of falsehoods and not just one. But they will be falsehoods nonetheless. Serving up lies in doses strong enough to kill a horse does not make them true.

25. It has been argued in this hall that the proposal to include the "question of Hungary" in our agenda was motivated by concern for the human rights and democratic freedoms of the Hungarian people - an odd contention indeed. Would it not be better for the authors of this farce to show concern where it is really needed, such as concern for the rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of Cyprus, Oman and Algiers, to say nothing of their own nationals? We have all heard that the devil can quote Scripture to prove himself blameless. A similar figure is cut by those who organized the fascist putsch in Hungary and who now pass themselves off as the defenders of the "rights and freedoms" of the Hungarian people.

26. All this leads us to the second objective in pursuit of which this shabby mummery is being so persistently foisted upon us. An attempt is being made to engage the General Assembly's attention on a non-existent problem in order to divert it from really important and urgent matters which must be solved in the interests of peace - in particular, from the fact that the protagonists of the "cold war" are steadily sabotaging any agreement on the question of disarmament, and from the situation in the Middle East, which is by no means a normal one.

27. All this shows that the uproar which certain Western Powers, first and foremost among them the United States of America, have been raising in the United Nations in connexion with the "question of Hungary" is not as harmless as might perhaps appear at first glance.

28. This is no mere lament about the snows of yesterday; it is a carefully laid design to continue the "cold war" and to prevent a strengthening of that international co-operation which all countries and all peoples need as they need air to breathe.

29. One can only express regret that the producers of this farce were able to find persons who allowed themselves to be cast in the unenviable role of self-appointed arbiters. Is there a single person in this hall who can seriously maintain that a continuation of the hullabaloo around this so-called question will lead to a lessening of international tension and an improvement in the European situation? I hardly think so. We all know that quite the reverse would be achieved: an increase in international tension, the undermining of the United Nations and a weakening of its authority.

30. What we have said may not be to the liking of all those present in this hall - or all those outside - but we did not come here to praise the strategists of the "cold war". Twenty States have refused to support the resolution on the "question of Hungary", which the United States foisted on the Assembly, for they saw clearly the objectives pursued by the authors of the resolution and the direction in which they were attempting to lead the United Nations. In our view, the voices of these States ring with far greater authority than the routine statements of the obedient members of military blocs organized by the United States. These States, which refused to obey foreign dictates, know full well that while today priority is given to the question of Hungary tomorrow the same method may be used to create another fictitious question, the discussion of which will be aimed directly at them. The General Assembly at its twelfth session, faces many urgent and important questions, the solution of which will vitally affect the future of the world. If we want to do useful

work, we must not allow ourselves to be misled by those who like to fish in troubled waters.

31. For the reasons I have given, the USSR delegation strongly opposes the proposal to include the so-called question of Hungary in the agenda of the twelfth session.

32. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The Czechoslovak delegation opposes the inclusion of item 63, entitled "The question of Hungary", in the agenda of the twelfth session.

33. The Czechoslovak delegation has already repeatedly protested at the last session, and it now protests once more against the inclusion of the so-called question of Hungary in the agenda of the General Assembly, for neither the General Assembly nor any other United Nations organ is competent to discuss questions which are within the domestic jurisdiction of States.

34. The proposal that we should include the so-called question of Hungary is being made, as in the past, so that a campaign of slander and a series of attacks can be launched against the Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic and other socialist countries. The only concern of the instigators of this campaign is to revive the "cold war" and to bring "cold-war" methods to bear in the United Nations. The purpose of discussing the so-called question of Hungary at the twelfth session is to distract attention from such important political questions as disarmament and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, and from the grave situation which the reckless intrigues of the imperialists are creating in the Near and Middle East.

35. Czechoslovakia protested against the illegal establishment of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary which was set up in January 1957 at the eleventh session. This Committee was established in order that the so-called question of Hungary might be artificially kept on the agenda for as long as possible. The whole of the Special Committee's activities and the discussion of its report at the eleventh session have clearly and convincingly demonstrated the intentions of those who strove for the creation of this illegal Committee.

36. The Hungarian people, at many meetings and assemblies held throughout the country, have indignantly rejected the Special Committee's report as a slanderous document which was intended to serve as a pretext for inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. Following the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary, life very soon resumed its normal course. A tranquil and peaceful way of life is being successfully developed in the Hungarian People's Republic. The Hungarian people are boldly advancing along the path of socialist construction, regardless of whether others like this or not. The Hungarian Government, after successfully overcoming the painful situation created by the onset of the counter-revolution, is now taking resolute steps further to develop the national economy and to improve the well-being of the people.

37. An attempt is being made, by including a non-existent problem in the agenda, to make use of the United Nations for attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. Such attempts can only injure the prestige of the United Nations. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore firmly opposes the inclusion of the so-called question of

Hungary in the agenda of the twelfth session and will vote against the General Committee's recommendation.

38. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): It is really scarcely believable that anyone should seriously oppose the inclusion of this item in the agenda. By a resounding vote of 60 to 10, the General Assembly, at its eleventh session, recommended that the question of Hungary should be placed on the agenda of this session. That really ought to be enough. This recommendation was endorsed last Thursday in the General Committee by a vote of 13 to 2.

39. There are those who claim - and we have heard at least one of them this afternoon - that there is no problem in Hungary, that it just does not exist. These, I might say, are the same people who continue to occupy Hungary and to impose foreign rule upon the Hungarian people, the same people who refuse to allow an impartial investigation. If they had nothing to hide, why would they refuse to allow the investigation?

40. At this moment those Hungarians who object - and it is to the everlasting credit of the human race that there are still many of them who object - continue to be arrested, imprisoned and shot.

41. The statement that it was all a "fascist putsch", was not found to have one shred of substantiation by the investigators. And it is certainly not seriously to be believed that the America which was led by Franklin D. Roosevelt and which furnished General Dwight D. Eisenhower as military leader in the great war against fascism, should suddenly turn around and try to promote fascism.

42. The fact is that all the arguments we have heard today were presented right in this Assembly ten days ago and in the General Committee last Thursday. All were overwhelmingly rejected.

43. It seems to us that it is the clear duty of this Assembly to keep the problem of Hungary in the forefront of its considerations. We owe it to the Hungarian people and to ourselves to mobilize the powerful influence of this body in favour of true freedom and independence for Hungary.

44. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I come to this rostrum because the problem of Hungary is of concern to every nation of the world, and particularly to the smaller nations. The reasons why this item has been included in the agenda of the twelfth session are of both a procedural and a substantive nature.

45. The procedural reasons, which have not been touched upon here, even indirectly, by the representatives of the Soviet countries, are as follows: at its second emergency special session, the General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority of sixty votes, a resolution which in moral and legal force is one of the most important the Assembly ever adopted. Some countries abstained in the vote, but their foremost spokesman condemned the Soviet intervention in Hungary. This resolution has been supplemented by a practical step which we all welcome and in which we all place our hopes: the appointment of Prince Wan Waithayakon, as the Assembly's special representative, to endeavour to secure compliance with the Assembly's resolutions on the part of the Soviet Union.

46. Our special representative will of course make every effort to carry out his mission, in which he has

the support of all mankind. He will have to give an account of this mission, but to whom? He will have to give an account to the General Assembly. The Special Committee, whose report the Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority of sixty votes, has been kept in existence as an advisory body. Consequently, if our special representative is to make a report, how can we omit from the agenda something which we have decided to do, something upon which it is our inescapable duty to take action? The Soviet representative and the speakers who support him in this matter should bear in mind that to omit this item from the agenda would amount to revoking a decision taken by the General Assembly during its special emergency session and such a revocation cannot be permitted, either directly or indirectly. We have, therefore, both a moral and a legal obligation to include the question of Hungary in the agenda of the General Assembly.

47. The foregoing are the procedural reasons which have not even been touched upon by the representative of the Soviet Union and those who have supported him from this rostrum.

48. Besides this, however, there are substantive reasons. We have been told here that there have been changes in Hungary, that the Hungarian people have accepted the present situation, that they have accepted the present Government and the presence of the Soviet divisions which maintain that Government in Hungary today. The Assembly cannot accept this statement, for it is clear to us from the Special Committee's report and from the facts we have studied that the revolution in Hungary which set up the Government of Mr. Nagy was one of the most spontaneous and widespread movements which have taken place in modern times.

49. There is yet another substantive reason: we must comply with the United Nations Charter. The Charter established the principle of respect for human rights. It has been said that until there is a covenant on human rights this principle entails only a general moral obligation and that in the absence of such a covenant the Assembly would be powerless to intervene from a legal point of view.

50. I maintain, however, that in the case of Hungary the necessary requirement for this legal intervention has been fulfilled, inasmuch as the Peace Treaty which Hungary signed in 1947 with the Soviet Union and the other Allied Powers established the principle of respect for human rights and provided for a commission which would ensure observance of those rights. Thus the point concerning respect for human rights and the ensurance of their observance is today embodied not only in the principles of the Charter but also in the explicit provisions, of legal character and international validity, of the Peace Treaty which was concluded between Hungary and the great victorious Powers in the last world conflict.

51. Accordingly, the intervention of the United Nations is not only of a moral character - which in itself would be enough to support our argument - but is also a completely legal intervention which would entitle it to take a decision from the legal and juridical point of view.

52. Moreover, there is something else: the Soviet representative has maintained that this is a mere subterfuge to prevent the Assembly from considering other questions. I venture to ask the Soviet repre-

sentative if these questions are not going to be discussed here. Those other questions to which he has referred are, in fact, going to be discussed here, with the consent and agreement of the Powers concerned. Well then, if new events have actually taken place in Hungary, if the Soviet Union is unwilling to fulfil the provisions of the 1947 Treaty and the provisions of the Charter, let it come before the Special Political Committee or the First Committee, where these questions will be taken up, and present proof of the changes which have occurred. How can it be said that we should make an exception in the case of Hungary, when all the other problems that have been brought up here are going to be taken up by the Assembly as a world forum and as an expression of the world conscience?

53. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to vote on the inclusion of item 63.

Item 63 was placed on the agenda by 57 votes to 10, with 6 abstentions.

54. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): The reason why my delegation voted in favour of the inclusion of the Hungarian question in the agenda was that it is our basic principle to agree to a discussion in the United Nations of any question proposed by a Member State, especially those questions which deeply concern the people of the world.

55. I wish to emphasize that our support for the inclusion of this item in the agenda has no connexion whatsoever with our final judgement of the substance of the matter. Moreover, our position with regard to the Hungarian question remains the same as that which we adopted previously in the Assembly and is known to everyone.

56. Mr. PRICA (Yugoslavia): Only a week or so ago the Yugoslav delegation stated its position [675th meeting] both as to the advisability of raising the Hungarian issue once again and as to the manner in which it was dealt with at the resumed eleventh session of the Assembly. We pointed on that occasion to the harmful consequences that were bound to ensue.

57. The Yugoslav delegation has always recognized the right of a country directly concerned with any issue to ask the General Assembly to consider that issue. Consequently, whenever such a request has appeared, my delegation has voted in favour of its inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly without prejudging the merits of the case. We have always held it to be the duty of this Organization to make its constructive contribution to the peaceful settlement of all such issues.

58. In this case, however, no party directly concerned has requested the inclusion of this item in our agenda. On the other hand, we feel that the main consideration determining the inclusion of this item should be an assessment as to whether it can bring any constructive results or not; and we think it cannot.

59. It appears to us that, by keeping this item permanently on the agenda, we are creating the possibility of further discussion which would serve purposes other than those of the United Nations. The issue is thus permeated with propaganda reminiscent of the "cold war". Any approach of this type precludes from the outset any possibility of accomplishing effective and constructive results. Moreover, it hinders the improvement of the international situation and thus

reduces the prospects of the settlement of other issues. Clear evidence of this was the recent acrimonious and futile discussion.

60. For these reasons we have voted against the draft resolution which provided inter alia, for the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the twelfth session. For the same reasons we have voted against the recommendation of the General Committee for the inclusion of item 63 in our agenda.

61. The PRESIDENT: I now ask representatives to consider paragraphs 7 to 10 of the report of the General Committee [A/3670], which refer to the action taken by the Committee in connexion with the item proposed by India entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations".

62. The General Committee has recommended, by 9 votes to 4, with 2 abstentions, the adoption of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of its report.

63. I also wish to draw attention to document A/L.224, amendments proposed by India to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report of the General Committee. The first amendment is the following: "In paragraph 1, for the word 'reject' substitute 'accede to'." The second amendment reads as follows: "Delete paragraph 2".

64. Representatives are aware, of course, that rule 23 of our rules of procedure does not apply to the present debate.

65. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): The case before us arises from a communication made by the Government of India on 13 September to the Secretary-General [A/3663] asking for the inclusion in the agenda of this session of an item entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations".

66. I should like at this moment to ask the Assembly's indulgence to draw particular attention to what exactly we are discussing, so that it may be possible to argue this case on its own merits.

67. The issue before the Assembly is the inclusion of an item. When my delegation was asked to appear before the General Committee, we informed the President and the Committee that we had no intention of discussing the merits of this question. There was no proposal either to include a representative or to exclude a representative, or whatever the conclusion should be. We are therefore discussing whether there is a case for discussing an item, and I think it is agreed that one of the reasons given each year for not including this item is that it divides the General Assembly.

68. It is a very important question and one on which Member States have different views. That in itself serves as an argument for discussing it. That is to say, there is no difference of opinion with regard to the importance of this issue, and the objection has been raised that if the discussion is not timely, it might divide the Assembly. I submit that if anything divides the Assembly it will be any decision that is reached in this matter; and we have not reached a decision.

69. In our opinion, it will be very wrong for the General Assembly to avoid discussing a matter of such great importance, a matter which concerns the representation of a country of 600 million people, one

of the founder Members of the United Nations. There have been questions as to the correctness of this representation, especially in view of the outstanding issues that confront the world at the moment, such as disarmament, peace in the Far East, etc.

70. We are fully conscious of the very strong views of the United States on this question and we have no desire to anticipate what would be the result of any discussion that took place. When we submitted this item to the General Committee we were entitled to expect that, irrespective of their views, delegations wedded to the idea of freedom of discussion, to the idea of looking at both sides of a proposition, able to make up their own minds or to register the decisions of their Governments, would permit free discussion of the question. Instead of that, we have before us a recommendation in the report of the General Committee in the shape of a draft resolution with two legs. I submit that the procedure of the General Committee is entirely out of order.

71. The General Committee has taken upon itself to supersede the decisions of the General Assembly; it has tried to bypass the Assembly to decide for the Assembly. The Committee has no such power. The General Committee is only a business committee which tries to arrange the work of the Assembly. The rules are very clear in this matter.

72. Under rule 40 of the rules of procedure, "the General Committee shall, at the beginning of each session, consider the provisional agenda, together with the supplementary list, and shall make recommendations to the General Assembly with regard to each item proposed, concerning its inclusion in the agenda, the rejection of the request for inclusion, or the inclusion of the item in the provisional agenda of a future session." So all the General Committee can do, when an item is submitted for discussion, is to make a recommendation, saying that it either accepts or rejects.

73. If the Committee had rejected the item and said it did not want it placed on the agenda, that would have been entirely in order. But to make a recommendation to the Assembly that the item should not be discussed amounts to gagging the Assembly altogether. This is something that the General Committee has no right to do.

74. I now come to the second part of the recommendation. I am at the present moment keeping away from the merits of the question. If we discuss the merits, I reserve the right to reply, since I am the one who requested the inclusion of the item in the agenda. Paragraph 2 of this draft resolution states: "Decides not to consider, at its twelfth session, any proposal to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China". Why should anybody anticipate what will be proposed? No one has proposed either seating or excluding anybody. It is quite possible that there could be other proposals. In fact it was the view of my delegation that having regard for the cleavage of opinion, having regard for the one consideration that we should all have in mind - discussing any question - would be the way to find a solution. Other proposals have been put forward that might have led to a solution. Therefore saying that the Assembly "decides not to consider at its twelfth session" such and such an item, amounts

to telling the Assembly what it can discuss and what it cannot discuss. That is entirely *ultra vires*. The General Committee has usurped the function of the General Assembly. The General Assembly is the master of its own procedure. No doubt the General Assembly can accept and adopt the decisions of the General Committee, and in that way it can establish its sovereignty. But establishing its power, its authority in that way, is very different from a sub-committee, a steering committee, displacing the Assembly in the consideration of these items. So when it ways that it decides to reject the request of the Government of India, the General Committee is making a totally illegitimate recommendation and I am entitled to ask you to revise that decision. The amendment therefore proposes that the General Assembly should accede to the request.

75. When I submit the amendments, I have to a certain extent to go into the question of merits; not merits as to whether there should be an alteration in the representation or what the form of that alteration should be, but only to point out that it is merely a subject of sufficient importance for us to consider it.

76. Year after year the Government of India has requested the inclusion of this item in the agenda - the first time in 1950, and we are now in 1957. Now, is world public opinion to be told that year after year we come here and say, "Not this year, but next year"? This does not seem a very dignified way for the Assembly to deal with a very major issue. Therefore, when we ask that the words "accede to" be substituted for the word "reject", we are not saying that any country that is represented here should change its views in regard to this representation or in regard to the Government or the State of China, but we are merely arguing that this matter is of sufficient importance to merit our consideration. When that consideration has been given, delegations may modify their views to postpone consideration of the item, or whatever it may be. But for the Assembly to be told on important questions, "No, we shall not discuss it", for somebody to prescribe beforehand whether or not we should discuss an item, amounts to treating the Assembly as an undergraduate organization.

77. Representatives of many countries here vote for the inclusion of items on which they have very strong views, and later they say that the Assembly should not consider them. The United Kingdom is one. Steeped in the traditions of free discussions, they say that the Assembly has no right to discuss the question of Cyprus because it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction. But they do not object to its inclusion in the agenda. The same thing applies to the Netherlands. Now if all these countries can discuss matters directly affecting what they not regard as their sovereignty, but they permit discussion, then what about a matter which appertains to a founding member of the United Nations, a country with 600 million people with whom some of us - all Members of this Assembly - have very close relations, and with whose membership in this Assembly our security, our future, our relations are bound up to a certain extent in so far as we want to see in the world a good deal of co-operation.

78. In this connexion, I should like to point out that the Charter itself begins with the words, "We the people of the United Nations". Therefore we are taking into account the people, the 600 million in China. Is it more important to consider whether their government

is right or wrong, or whether the voice of these 600 million people is being heard? It may be quite arguable that that Government is not the kind of government the Chinese people should have; in that case we should know more about it. We have no right, so far as I know, to exclude consideration of a State because of its internal character; there are States here with different internal characters of government - economic or political. Therefore the issue before the Assembly is the consideration of this item. I submit that not to consider it is to shut our eyes in the hope thereby that the world will become dark. If we shut our eyes, we remain ignorant and avoid a very important issue. It is not sufficient to say that China does not exist or that this problem does not exist. It is there and we ask the Assembly to consider it.

79. There are many countries here who recognize China, who recognize the authorities who are now in Taiwan. There are two different points of view. Besides, the Assembly has an obligation. At its fifth session the Assembly adopted a resolution. Questions arose in regard to the representation of countries where there were doubts as to which Government was to represent them. How to recognize a Government is a pretty well-known practice in international affairs. I will not go into that unless, in the course of the debate, speakers go into the merits of the question.

80. In 1950, when we first submitted this resolution - it was also at the fifth session - the Assembly which was considering not the question of China, but the question of disputed representation, adopted resolution 396 (V) of which operative paragraphs 1 and 2 read as follows:

"1. Recommends that, whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations and this question becomes the subject of controversy in the United Nations, the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case;

"2. Recommends that, when any such question arises, it should be considered by the General Assembly, or by the Interim Committee."

This Committee no longer exists. There is already a decision in this matter. It was said in the General Committee that, although this resolution had been adopted three times - this year, last year and the year before - it had been disregarded. The fact that the General Committee has made a mistake three times and the Assembly has endorsed it three times does not make it right. The rule is that, when the Assembly adopts a resolution and it has to be rescinded, then there must be a clear-cut majority. Now, much has been made of the fact that the Assembly says it only "recommends". I think that is a normal form for a resolution: the Assembly makes recommendations to itself. If it will not accept its recommendations, who else will be expected to take notice of them?

81. I say that in refusing to discuss this item, we are disregarding the previous decision of the General Assembly. It is not as though this resolution was adopted before the present issue arose. It was adopted in 1950. The present Government of China proclaimed itself an authority in 1949. It was recognized by various countries, including our own, at the end of that year. In 1950 various other countries recognized it. There-

fore, this resolution was adopted in the face of facts that are now before us. It is not as though it did not apply in that way.

82. For that reason, we feel that the General Committee's recommendation, so far as paragraph 1 of the draft resolution is concerned, should be altered, and altered on the merits, because, whatever decision we may reach, I think we should follow the principle laid down by the great Voltaire when he said, "I disagree with everything this man says, but I stand for his right to say so". That should be our position. Let those who are against any alteration come forward in the debate with a draft resolution to that effect. We might object to it, but we could not challenge the morality or the political rights of voting on that draft resolution.

83. Therefore, paragraph 1, on the merits, is not acceptable to us. It ought to be altered, and the request made by the Government of India on 14 September, and the reasons set forth - as considered by the General Committee and rejected - should now be upheld. It is open to the General Assembly to say, by majority vote, that it should be considered.

84. It may be that there are many countries here whose relations with this particular country are rather remote and who probably do not want to become involved in this controversy. I would submit that for them to cast a positive vote against it would be an action that goes against the whole idea of free discussion. Those whose minds are not definitely made up about it should hear what is to be said about this matter. After all, if after the discussion the majority still want things to remain as they are, then they will remain as they are. Discussion cannot do any harm. Therefore, I move the first amendment; that is, that the General Assembly should accede to our request and permit this item to be placed on the agenda. I hope that the majority will vote for it.

85. The second amendment deals with paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. I submit that this paragraph should be deleted, because it is ultra vires of all the rules of procedure. First of all, it anticipates what is going to happen. It prevents us altogether for a whole year from considering a matter. It cannot work, because the Assembly would be adopting a resolution which it would have to break, inasmuch as in a few days the Credentials Committee will report and, resolution or no resolution, every representative is entitled to discuss the report of that Committee. In that report the same question will appear. Therefore, we would be adopting a resolution which cannot be honoured. I think it is not very dignified for the Assembly to adopt a resolution, in the knowledge that it cannot be observed. However, we shall be discussing it again; we shall discuss it every time the issue comes up. That has been the experience in the Assembly, and the Assembly makes itself rather small in its own eyes by doing this sort of thing.

86. Then to say that we should take no decision which alters the representation - I have not said it should be altered, I have only said the question should be considered - is to anticipate the findings of the Credentials Committee which is a judicial body and which is not concerned with predilections one way or another; we should not adopt a resolution which tells the Credentials Committee what to do. For that reason also the draft resolution is ultra vires.

87. The fact that large numbers of people may vote for a proposition, rejecting or accepting it, does not by itself alter its inherent merit. I have carefully and purposely refrained from going into the merits of this question. I request the General Assembly to accede to this one simple request, and that is, that a complex matter of this kind, a matter in which not only the peoples of China, but millions of others are involved, should at least be discussed.

88. If the General Assembly is a forum for discussion - that is what the Charter says - then I think it fails in its purpose if this question cannot be discussed. Therefore I am making an appeal to the Assembly to accept our amendment in regard to paragraph 1 of the draft resolution and to delete paragraph 2 because it is ultra vires of the rules of procedure; it is a challenge to the Credentials Committee; it anticipates the decisions of the Assembly and the Assembly's powers of decision.

89. This draft resolution should be presented after the item has been included in the agenda, and no one who wants a particular conclusion - as has been the case in past years - is prohibited from making proposals to that end. The item could have been placed on the agenda; this draft resolution could have been submitted; the discussion would have been shorter and more orderly, and if the draft had received the required votes, it would have been adopted.

90. Therefore, the Assembly should reject the present procedure. It should allow the discussion of this item just as it has allowed the discussion of other items with which the majority is in disagreement. It has happened that items have been placed on the agenda and then the Assembly has rejected the proposals put forward by those who requested the item; it happens here year after year. That is all we are asking in this case.

91. I reserve the right to reply in this question if it should be necessary.

92. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): Since this is the first time during this session that the Polish delegation has been at the rostrum, I should like to take the opportunity of expressing to the President the congratulations of my delegation on his election as President of the General Assembly and to pledge our full cooperation in his work. Of course, we would regret to be forced to disagree with him.

93. On behalf of my delegation, I intend to stress the views of Poland with regard to the problem to which we have always attached and still do attach the greatest importance. It is our considered view that the speedy and proper solution of the question of the representation of China and the seating in the United Nations of representatives appointed by the Central People's Government of China, especially at this moment, could promote and stimulate constructive tendencies towards a further easing of international tension.

94. Our attitude stems not only from the deeply rooted desire of my nation to make the work of the United Nations more effective and to see that peaceful cooperation of all nations, irrespective of their political systems, effectively dispel the atmosphere of distrust in relations between States; it also reflects the ties of our brotherly friendship linking the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of China; it reflects

our sincere conviction that the presence of representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would enable the great Chinese nation, with its 600 million people, to play fully the part due to it in world affairs and which it has already played and is playing outside this Assembly - in Asia, and in Africa, as well as in Europe.

95. I think it is hardly necessary to re-emphasize here once more the legal basis supporting the necessity to restore to the Chinese people its rightful representation in the organs of the United Nations. This has been frequently recalled, and its validity has never been undermined. We are fully aware that it is not on account of legal considerations that the present abnormal state of affairs - the absence from our midst of the representatives of the People's Republic of China - continues. The reason for this is the well known political attitude of some countries or, should I say, of a lobby group, which for years has been trying unrealistically to deny the irrevocability of the historical changes in China and which, contrary to the sense of reality, again at this twelfth session presses to maintain a fiction in the United Nations, the representation of the Kuomintang.

96. Now the participation of the People's Republic of China and the active part played by it in world affairs have become a permanent factor in international relations. The continued and growing development of constructive and good neighbourly co-operation by the People's Republic of China with other States, based on the principle of peaceful co-existence, cannot be passed over in silence. Public opinion in an ever-growing number of countries insists particularly upon the normalization of economic relations with the People's Republic of China, and the number of States who follow it is increasing. The extreme measures aimed at preventing trade, cultural and Press contacts with the People's Republic of China in attempts to isolate it are breaking down, even in countries where this policy still persists and remains very rigid.

97. We are all aware, and this was mentioned by the President, at the opening of this session of the General Assembly, that the problem of disarmament is in the forefront of the problems which confront us at the present session. It should be obvious by now that this all-important question cannot be definitely solved without the participation of China and, therefore, again the problem of effective Chinese participation in the councils of the world loomed continuously in the background of the recent discussion of the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission in London.

98. The same can also be said about other problems, those of world importance and those which concern especially Asia, the Far East, Africa and - I repeat what I said a few moments ago - Europe also. It is also an irrefutable fact that the Central People's Government of China is the only Government which is able and willing to carry out on behalf of China the obligations of United Nations membership in accordance with the Charter, as was so rightly stressed in the explanatory memorandum presented by India [A/3663] on the question under discussion.

99. In these circumstances, can we, the United Nations, persist in the present fiction? The ones to suffer could only be those who overlook the realities of life. I submit that it is not so much that China needs

the United Nations; it is to the United Nations that the voices, the counsels and the proper participation of China are indispensable, "from the point of view of the effectiveness of the Organization itself and the obligation which all Members have to strengthen the Organization", to quote once again the Indian explanatory memorandum. In the course of the last years our Organization has made considerable progress towards universality. We should go on striving and indeed we strive, towards the full realization of this principle, rightly assuming that the participation of the largest possible number of nations in the United Nations is of vital importance for peaceful international co-operation, for successful settlement of world problems and for further strengthening the authority of the United Nations - all aims very dear to the Polish heart - and these considerations weigh even more heavily when discussing the problem of the participation of China, the participation of a major Power that has special responsibilities under the Charter.

100. It is therefore understandable that the participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the organs of the United Nations finds an increasing number of ardent supporters. I should like to recall the words of a prominent statesman of Latin America, one of the first Presidents of this Assembly. He wrote recently:

"China should enter the United Nations so that together with other nations she can take the responsibility for democratic, peaceful and dignified life in order that freedom, equality and well-being unite people, and not divide them."

101. Similar opinions have been voiced with equal conviction, although sometimes with less emotion, by a number of West European statesmen who recently visited the People's Republic of China.

102. A sense of justice and equity, as well as realism, is indispensable for promoting constructive, stable and peaceful relations among nations. The United Nations can hardly afford to disregard the paramount problem of the rightful representation of China, which has to be finally settled. That is why the Polish delegation joins in an appeal to the General Assembly to give its support to the amendments submitted by the Indian delegation [A/L.224] and to reject the attempt to have this vital issue shelved once again. We suggest that a roll-call vote be taken on this issue.

103. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): We support the Indian position and the Indian amendments to paragraph 7 of the General Committee's report because for our people diplomatic recognition of a State is based on the recognition of the government in power in those States with whom we have diplomatic relations. From the beginning Afghanistan has recognized its neighbouring country, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. The same principle has been applied in other cases where the Afghanistan Government found itself obliged to renew treaties of friendship which were effected with countries under different régimes. This applies exactly to China.

104. Basing itself on these reasons, my delegation cannot agree to any proposal which would be incompatible with the existing diplomatic relations of Afghanistan. Furthermore, we believe, as was stated by the representative of India, that the Charter of the United Nations, as it states in the preamble, is a

pledge made by the people of the world. It is now high time, for the sake of tranquillity and the preservation of world peace, that we should admit to this Organization one-quarter of the people of the world.

105. Finally, as I stated in my previous intervention, we support the inclusion of the item proposed by India because we favour the discussion of every question proposed by any Member nation. The Afghanistan delegation hopes that this traditional position of Afghanistan will be appreciated and understood by our friends who may have a different point of view.

106. Mr. TSIANG (China): The item proposed by the delegation of India looks innocuous. All it calls for, so the sponsor has told us, is a discussion on the question of the representation of China. The effect of such an item on the agenda of the General Assembly would be to throw doubt on the right of my Government to representation in the United Nations, and thereby undermine the moral position of my Government among the Chinese people and probably other peoples in that part of the world.

107. The proposal for the inclusion of such an item in the agenda of this session is, in my mind, a form of "cold war" against my country. Right at this moment the forces of freedom are contending with the forces of international communism for the allegiance of the minds and hearts of the Asian peoples. A debate here on such a subject might tip the balance in favour of the forces of communism.

108. What right does India have to call into question my Government's representation here? My Government was among the charter Members of this Organization. We have lived up to all the obligations of membership. The record of my Government in the United Nations during the last twelve years is, I submit, above reproach. The legal and moral position of my Government is derived from a Constitution freely adopted by the freely-elected representatives of the Chinese people. And there is only one such government in China. Therefore, there is no justification, legal or moral, for such a debate on such a question in the United Nations.

109. To be sure, my country has been the unfortunate victim of subversion and aggression at the hands of international communism. Surely, if there is a question which should be put on the agenda, it is the question of aid to the victim of such an aggression. Surely, it is not right for the United Nations, founded on its principles and its ideals, to penalize the victim of such an aggression. In the circumstances, the least that the United Nations can do is to refrain from adding to the difficulties of the Chinese people by trying to free their country from communist captivity. An item of this type on the agenda would contradict the ideals and principles of the Charter.

110. India and its associates argue that the practical work of the United Nations requires the participation of the Chinese Communists. They point in particular to the problem of disarmament. Does anyone imagine that the lack of progress on the question of disarmament had been due to the absence of the Chinese Communists from the United Nations? Does anyone imagine that the presence or the participation of the Chinese Communists in the talk on disarmament would help to solve that problem? I believe not.

111. The communist régime of my country is a passing régime. It cannot endure and will not endure. Before this session is over, my delegation will discuss the nature and problems raised by communism in my country and in other parts of Asia, but I will not go into that just now. The fact of the matter is that the communist régime in my country has reached a stage of development which we might call "the beginning of the end". A famine, largely man-made, has driven the farmers of my country to desperation. The programme of hasty industrialization has imposed on the farmers a burden bigger than they can bear. Collectivization of agriculture has introduced inefficiency, bureaucracy and corruption into the basic industry of the country - the growing of food. It has also deprived the farmers of their incentive to work. Throughout the broad land of China many people are dying for the lack of food.

112. In addition to the farmers who constitute 80 per cent of the population of China, the students and intellectuals are in revolt. In the colleges and universities of China, the students have themselves declared their opposition to the communist régime. Every college has what the students call "a democratic wall", on which they write down their grievances against the régime. A network of anti-communist student organizations has spread all over the country.

113. The youth of China have lost their illusions in regard to communism. Now the young people of my country are bent on one aim: to free their country from this tyranny. In the factories and mines of China, the workers are sick of low pay, long hours, inhuman contests, regimentation, inefficiency and corruption. I assure you that the communist régime in China has reached the beginning of the end.

114. The sponsor of this item reminded us of the first words of the Charter: "We the Peoples". My Government and my delegation are more than glad to abide by the wishes of the Chinese people. Last year in the Assembly debate I said that if the United Nations, through a free plebiscite in my country, can find out the real wishes of my people, we would be more than glad to abide by the results of that. But I cannot allow other representatives to come here and say that my people, peace-loving and freedom-loving, prefer to have a foreign ideology proclaimed as a part of the Chinese culture, a foreign régime imposed upon China, and call it a people's democracy. No, that would be against the wishes of the Chinese people.

115. Mr. PRICA (Yugoslavia): I must once again voice the concern of the Yugoslav Government over the situation which still persists with regard to the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. There is really no need whatsoever to repeat the arguments, so obvious that they are self-evident, as to the right of the legitimate representatives of China to their seat in the United Nations. Indeed, it is hardly possible to reiterate all those arguments without a feeling of frustration and weariness. One hardly needs to argue the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is alone entitled to represent the Chinese people. At the same time, I feel certain that everyone must realize how greatly all forms of international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations suffer through the absence of the genuine representatives of China.

116. No one, I trust, is under the illusion that to prevent the settlement of this issue can alter realities.

The Government of the People's Republic of China is a reality with which one has to reckon. The People's Republic of China has its place in international relations and, whether one likes it or not, it plays an important role in world affairs. Without China, we cannot expect to achieve much progress in our work to further international co-operation, not only over so vast and important a geographical area as Asia, but also in the world as a whole. And yet, we still meet with persistent attempts, as unrealistic as they are harmful, to maintain this absolutely untenable situation and even to prevent all discussion of this issue in the Assembly.

117. It is clear that these attempts should be opposed by us all, for surely no one has the right to place his particular interests above the general interests and to impose them as principles which should govern international relations. That would not serve the cause of world peace but would, on the contrary, only have an adverse effect on the promotion of international co-operation and give rise to further tension.

118. Hence, we must not reject the useful initiative of the Government of India, which enjoys the full support of a substantial number of Member States. We should discuss the burning problem of Chinese representation, as proposed by India, and arrive at a solution which is absolutely essential for the successful performance of the mission that has been entrusted to our Organization.

119. For all these reasons, my delegation is categorically opposed to the recommendation adopted by the General Committee on the proposal of the United States delegation, and will vote against it. We will, on the other hand, support any proposal which would put into effect the initiative of the Government of India and give the question of Chinese representation its place on the agenda of the present session. In our opinion, it is only along the lines proposed by India that we can reach a reasonable, realistic, democratic and, I may add, long overdue settlement of this vital issue.

120. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The position of the Soviet Union on the question of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is well known. We have always favoured, and we still favour, a prompt solution of this problem, since any further delay in the matter will undermine the authority of the United Nations and weaken its effectiveness as an international organization. It is for this reason that the delegation of the Soviet Union fully supports the proposal of the Indian delegation concerning the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

121. If there is any important question which our Organization should long since have resolved in the interest of strengthening international confidence and promoting the solution of the international problems confronting us, it is precisely the question of the representation of China or, more precisely, of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

122. It is with some embarrassment - when we think of the role of the United Nations as an international organization - that we have to mention the fact that the General Assembly is now for the eighth time considering the question of restoring the legitimate rights of one of the founding Members of this Organization, a

permanent member of the Security Council. For the eighth successive year we are debating whether or not to concern ourselves with a solution of this problem, whether or not our Organization can ignore the existence of a State whose boundaries embrace one-fourth of the world's population.

123. The absurdity of the resultant situation is particularly obvious when we bear in mind the important and continually-growing role of the People's Republic of China in contemporary international affairs.

124. The fact is that at the present time there is not a single important international problem which can be fruitfully discussed and resolved without taking into account the opinion and interests of the People's Republic of China and without its active participation. For instance, no problems of international economic relationships or of world trade could be really effectively reviewed if the role of the People's Republic of China as a participant in that trade was not taken into account. I shall not even mention the fact that any attempts to solve the political problems of the Far East without the People's Republic of China are absolutely inconceivable. To ignore all these facts is to attempt to live in a world of outmoded illusions and concepts which were dangerous in the past and which are completely out of place at the present time.

125. Regardless of the steps taken by the Governments which are preventing the People's Republic of China from occupying its legitimate place in the United Nations, the people's China is here among us, even though unseen. The People's Republic of China does not cease to be one of the major Powers merely because certain Governments prevent it from taking its legitimate place in the United Nations. On the other hand, the authority of our international Organization and its effectiveness are greatly impaired by the fact that the representatives of the Chinese people are not present in our midst. The delegation of India spoke a profound truth when it emphasized that, "in the absence of the Government of about a quarter of the world's population, the organs of the United Nations cannot successfully pursue their task of fulfilling the objectives of the Charter".

126. It would be irregular to deprive even the smallest State of the right to participate in the Organization, a procedure which is unfortunately still followed in the United Nations. It is all the more inadmissible to support the position of those who stubbornly stand in the way of admitting to our midst the representatives of the People's Republic of China, a country with a great and ancient culture which has made an inestimable contribution to the treasure-house of human knowledge. The Chinese State has existed for several thousand years, but never in their entire history have the Chinese people been so united and so consolidated as at the present time and never has the State been as stable as today, under the People's Republic of China. All reasonably objective foreign observers who are acquainted with present-day conditions in China, including the few Americans who overcame the obstacles of the State Department and succeeded in visiting China, bear unanimous witness to the tremendous progress of the country in all forms of economic and cultural activity and to the unanimous support given the People's Republic of China by the Chinese people.

127. The only reason, as we all know, for the failure thus far to reach a natural and legitimate solution of the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is the United States Government's opposition to such a solution and the pressure which it exerts on certain other States in this matter. The United States does not like the system existing in China, it does not like the unwillingness of the Chinese people to submit to the venal Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is thoroughly corrupt and hated by the people and which has been driven out of the country.

128. It is not difficult to understand why the collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek régime has caused such fury among those who, in their effort to prevent the liberation of the Chinese people from the yoke of feudalists and imperialists, have squandered thousands of millions of dollars in an attempt to bolster the rule of their Chiang Kai-shek agents.

129. It is readily conceivable that the American monopolists are dissatisfied because the Chinese people, having acquired their independence, have proceeded to build a socialist society in their country. On the other hand, it is well known that the Chinese people do not like the capitalist system and especially the capitalist system in the United States of America. They have not, however, attempted nor do they attempt to impose their own system on any one else, considering quite properly that the social structure of a country is the domestic concern of the people of that country.

130. Those who dislike the system in the People's Republic of China have absolutely no grounds for depriving it of its legitimate rights as a Member of the United Nations. In questions of this kind, it is absurd to resort to the argument that the internal system of one country is displeasing to the government of another country. After all, representatives of the Governments of the capitalist United States of America and the socialist Soviet Union sit side by side in the United Nations, and, what is more, they participated jointly in the establishment of the Organization. Present in this auditorium are representatives of Governments which differ widely in social and political structure: socialist and capitalist, monarchic and republican. Do these differences make it impossible for all of us to work together in solving international problems, provided, of course, that there is a desire to work together? If such differences prevented Governments from working together the United Nations would not exist at all as a single international organization and organizations would have to be set up of socialist States, capitalist States, and so on. To be sure, those who initiated the establishment of military blocs apparently find nothing strange in this concept. We must, however, proceed from the point of view that the principles on which the United Nations was founded - principles which recognize the possibility and necessity of co-operation based on the equal rights of States, regardless of their social structure - have to be observed if we all cherish these principles.

131. If we follow the course being urged upon the United Nations by those who are opposed to recognizing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization and make the actions of the United Nations conform to the taste of one Power, in this case the United States of America, it will obviously not be long before we hear the death knell of the Organization. But no one can guarantee that a better

organization would be formed in its stead. In fact the chances are that the result would be quite the reverse.

132. In an effort to find arguments with which to buttress their position, those who are opposed to restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have recourse to hypocritical references to the shameful resolution on the Korean question adopted some years ago, again at the insistence of the United States. I do not believe that there is any need to repeat what has been said from this rostrum - and not only from this rostrum - concerning the identity of the really guilty party in the Korean war. This would lead to a revival of the earlier discussions. However, there is one question relevant to the current situation which does arise: Has the People's Republic of China seized territory of the United States of America or of any other country? The answer is that it has not, but that such an act has been committed by the United States, which has in fact occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan where the followers of Chiang Kai-shek, having fled from the Chinese people, have entrenched themselves under the protection of the American Navy and Air Force. By this action, the United States has committed an act of aggression against China which its people will surely remember for many generations to come. If truth and right were held in greater honour in the United Nations, those responsible for that aggression would now be in the dock here.

133. By following a consistent policy of peace, the People's Republic of China has become one of the decisive factors for peace in Asia and in the entire world. The leading part played by the People's Republic of China in stopping the war in Korea and in bringing about the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China is well known. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world today know and support the principles of peaceful coexistence which have been proclaimed by the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China. In an effort to bring about a relaxation of tension in the Far East and to ensure lasting peace for the peoples of that region, the Government of the People's Republic of China proposed the establishment of a system of collective security in Asia and the Pacific Ocean area. The creation of such a system would make it possible to relax tension and to ensure enduring peace in that area.

134. The People's Republic of China, as we know, is not the impotent China of the distant past, torn by incessant internecine warfare between feudal lords. Present-day China is a consolidated power whose people, for the first time in their history, have breathed deeply the air of freedom and taken their fate into their own hands. The People's Republic of China has persistently advocated a cessation of the armaments race, setting a good example even for the United States of America in this respect.

135. It should be borne in mind that the People's Republic of China, the question of whose representation in the United Nations is proposed for inclusion in the agenda of this session, has now been recognized by thirty-three States with an aggregate population of more than 1,000 million. The American delegation would do well to consult some reference books on history and find out how many States recognized the United States of America in the early years of its

existence after it had become an independent country. Representatives of the People's Republic of China participate in the work of fifty-six international organizations, and it trades with sixty-eight countries of Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America.

136. The opponents of participation by the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations seem to think it essential that the tense relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China should be maintained and that the situation in the Far East should continue to be abnormal and dangerous. Is there any need to show that deliberately to inflame feeling between the United States and the People's Republic of China can in no way serve the cause of universal peace, or even that of the United States itself. As we know, there are many people, even in the United States, who realize the unreasonableness and danger of the present attitude of the United States towards China. These people are voicing their opposition to the barbed-wire fence put up by the United States Government to separate the American people from the Chinese people.

137. Do not the representatives here feel somewhat uncomfortable when they consider that in our midst there are persons who represent no country whatever but who claim to speak on behalf of the Chinese people? I am sure they must. Nor is the situation in any way altered by the scattered applause which may be heard in this auditorium following the speeches of certain representatives who oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Those who still consider it possible to persist in the obviously harmful policy of not recognizing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are assuming a heavy responsibility.

138. The delegation of the Soviet Union firmly supports the proposal of the Republic of India that the item presented by the Indian delegation should be included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. If we cherish the principles of the United Nations and if we do not want the Charter of this Organization to be considered a meaningless scrap of paper, it is essential that we should decide to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We all know that this will be done sooner or later. Would it not be better to do it now, without further delay?

139. Mr. CASEY (Australia): There is little need to speak at length on this item. I shall confine myself to a very few words in expressing the attitudes of the Australian delegation.

140. Ten months ago we decided that the question of the representation of Communist China should not be discussed at the eleventh session of the Assembly. There has been no change in the circumstances surrounding this question. In particular, the Communist Chinese authorities have taken no action to indicate that they are prepared to renounce the use of force in relation to Formosa and so to diminish the tension and give some assurance that peace and stability would be maintained in Asia.

141. We are convinced that the inclusion of this item would lead to a debate of a highly charged character. Opinions are divided and they are strongly held on both sides. It is clear, however, that the vast majority of Governments represented here do not favour dis-

discussion of this subject at the twelfth session. Australia, therefore, supports the recommendation of the General Committee that the question of the representation of China should not be taken up at this session.

142. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Like many others here, we have no sympathy whatever with the ideology of the Peking Government. We condemn its aggressive policies in China itself and, particularly, its conduct in North Korea. No country has a greater horror of despotism, aggression and religious persecution than Ireland has. On all these grounds we reprobate the record of the Peking régime.

143. If merely by refusing to discuss the question of the representation of China in the United Nations we could do anything to improve the situation in China and in Korea, we would vote without hesitation in favour of that course. We are not, however, convinced that refusal to discuss the question can now serve such a purpose.

144. Our aims should be to win acceptance of the principles of the Charter in China and to secure self-determination for the people of Korea. The belief of my delegation is that in the present circumstances progress can best be made toward these ends by having a full and open discussion of the question of the representation of China in this Assembly. We are voting, therefore, in favour of the amendment proposed by the delegation of India.

145. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I understand that the rules require all Members to confine themselves to procedural aspects and not to discuss the substance. I believe that is correct.

146. The PRESIDENT: If I may interrupt, I would say that when this matter is before the Assembly I think there is more room for discussion than in the General Committee, but it is my view that it would be much better to confine the discussion to procedural affairs.

147. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I shall abide by the rules and I shall not yield to the temptation, which I confess is very strong after hearing the speeches of the Soviet bloc, to go into the substance; but I am a great believer in orderly procedure, particularly in a world forum like this.

148. On Thursday, when the General Committee considered the request by India for the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "The representation of China", the United States moved that this request for inclusion in the agenda be rejected and, furthermore, that the Assembly, as it has done since 1951, adopt a decision not to consider the matter during the present regular session. I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 7 of the Committee's report.

149. The representative of India at that time, as he has done today, challenged the validity of this procedure. The President ruled properly, in our opinion that the General Committee was competent, under rule 40 of the rules of procedure, to consider the draft resolution submitted by the United States. No one challenged your ruling. The draft resolution appeared to be wise to most of the members, and the General Committee approved it by a substantial vote. By the Assembly's action and that of the Committee in adopting the draft resolution, there can be no question at

all as to the propriety of this procedure nor, we hope, should there be any doubt as to its wisdom. It is, in fact, the same procedure as that followed last year and in 1951.

150. We believe that the report of the General Committee should be upheld. The Members of the Assembly are all familiar with all the underlying factors. We urge that the Indian amendment be rejected and that the report of the General Committee on this subject be adopted.

151. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (translated from French): I should like on behalf of the Romanian delegation to congratulate the President on his election to the important office entrusted to him by the Assembly.

152. The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic considers that the Indian proposal on the representation of China in the United Nations raises one of the most important problems confronting the Organization. We hope that the majority of the General Assembly will examine this proposal which redounds to the honour of the delegation presenting it, with the care it deserves. The result of our refusing once again to discuss this problem can only be to increase the harm the United Nations has already suffered from the fact that for the last eight years its work has proceeded without the participation of China.

153. China was a founder Member of the United Nations and was given a permanent seat on the Security Council in recognition of the part played by the great Chinese people in the allied victory in the Second World War and of its position in Asia and the Far East. At the same time it was a recognition of the increasing importance of the Asian peoples in world affairs, which has since been confirmed.

154. Since 1949 China has become a far more powerful reality, both historically and socially, than it was at the time of its admission to the United Nations. Thanks to the mighty efforts of its people, the People's Republic of China is developing a modern industry and exploiting the tremendous natural wealth of the country.

155. The Chinese people have displayed enormous energy in the tasks of reconstruction, in the face of the economic blockage of their country by the United States and other countries. An attempt was made, through this blockade, to exclude a great country like China from the world economy and world trade. It is quite clear that this attempt has failed. The People's Republic of China has developed economic relations with many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. Recently some of the countries of Western Europe decided to reduce the restrictions on trade with the People's Republic of China. First and foremost, the embargo on trade with China has proved harmful to the interests of the countries imposing it.

156. It is just as absurd to try to exclude a country like China from international affairs as it is to try to exclude it from the world economy and world trade. The discrimination practised against the People's Republic of China has not prevented the steady growth of China's influence and prestige in international affairs, as a result of the policy of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which is designed to promote peace and understanding among peoples and is in line with the basic interests of all peoples, including those of the Chinese people, who are engaged in their

vast work of reconstruction. Today the People's Republic of China is a powerful force in the maintenance of stability and peace in Asia and throughout the world. It has the great merit of having helped to liquidate the hotbeds of war in the Far East. It would be difficult to over-estimate the pre-eminent role it played at the Bandung Conference, bringing together the countries of Asia and Africa, or the influence in international life of the five principles of peaceful coexistence promoted by China and India.

157. The Romanian people have always had a high opinion of the Chinese people and of their culture and civilization, which while constantly developing are the only ones in the world that have preserved their continuity for thousands of years. During the past eight years, ties of the closest friendship and co-operation, advantageous to both countries, have developed between Romania and China, a relationship based on mutual respect and assistance. The Romanian people admire this wonderful people, who are building a new and better life in the ancient land of China and who, with wisdom and resolution, are throwing China's mighty weight in the scales on the side of peace. Moreover, interest in and admiration for the People's Republic of China is steadily increasing among men of diverse opinions in many countries, not only because it is the direct heir to one of the oldest and most valuable of the world's civilizations but also because it is one of the most important factors for peace in the whole world. There is no doubt that an interest in the policies and achievements of the People's Republic of China is developing even in the United States, despite the persistent opposition of the Government of that country and the restrictions it imposes on exchanges with China.

158. If when the United Nations was set up there were valid grounds for China's participation as a founder Member and a permanent member of the Security Council, there are today even more imperative reasons why the People's Republic of China should participate in the work of the United Nations and of the Security Council, in particular.

159. There are problems on the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly which are of the greatest concern to the peoples of the whole world. There can be no doubt that, unless China participates in the work of the United Nations, these problems, the solution of which is of vital importance for the future of mankind, cannot be solved. It is obvious that no solutions to such problems as disarmament, the development of world economic relations and the consolidation of world peace can be found without the participation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

160. No de jure or de facto argument can be advanced to justify the presence in the United Nations of representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek group of refugees in Taiwan. The greatest authorities in the field of international law are unanimously of the opinion that it is the sovereign right of States to be represented by the Government which exercises de facto control over the national territory or at least over the greater part of that territory. It is interesting to recall the ruling of an American Court on this point, a ruling endorsed by the Supreme Court of the United States, to the effect that "no other doctrine is conceivable, at least among nations which have a conception of international

honour". The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is, both de facto and de jure, the only Government competent to represent the people of China in the United Nations and to commit the Chinese State.

161. It is a true historical fact that the group of refugees in Taiwan ceased long ago to be in control of China. The impressive popular demonstrations in the island of Taiwan this year showed that, but for the American occupation of this piece of Chinese territory and the support of the American Pacific fleet, its population would undoubtedly put a rapid end to the domination of this group and achieve its fervent desire to be reunited with the Chinese mainland.

162. The fact that the actions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China are based upon principles of social progress which do not meet with the approval of a certain great Power affords no legal justification of the anomalous situation in this Organization resulting from the absence of representatives of a Member State which was among its founders and is a permanent member of the Security Council.

163. It is in the vital interest of the peoples of the world that the United Nations should no longer evade its obligation to discuss a subject of such great importance and to give the problem the only fair solution: namely, the restoration of their rights to the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. That is why the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic, in the knowledge that it was acting in the interests of peace and co-operation among all peoples and of strengthening the United Nations, warmly supported the proposal to include the item "The representation of China in the United Nations" in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

164. The Romanian delegation will vote in favour of the amendments submitted by India to the draft resolution proposed by the General Committee.

165. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its views on the decision of the General Committee, the purpose of which is to prevent the General Assembly from discussing the question of the representation of China in the United Nations at any time during its twelfth session. In making this decision the General Committee is exceeding its powers as defined in rule 40 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, according to which the General Committee can only make recommendations to the General Assembly with regard to each item proposed, concerning its inclusion in the agenda, the rejection of the request for inclusion, or the inclusion of the item in the provisional agenda of a future session. Furthermore, from the point of view of substance, the General Committee's decision is a violation of the right of representatives to freedom of speech in the General Assembly. Thus the decision taken by the General Committee is null and void, not only because it is beyond the competence of that body but also because it proposes a solution that runs counter to the principles of the Charter, in particular the principle of universality of the United Nations.

166. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): I should like to assure Mr. Tsiang, for whom I have the highest regard and esteem, that we are not parties to a "cold war" against him or his country. We do know that a "cold war" carried on against the People's Republic of China

for nearly a decade ended in the emergence of that country as a world Power.

167. The question before the Assembly is not whether or not we like the People's Republic of China, whether or not we approve of its social, political or economic system, whether or not it deserves recognition. It is fantastic for anyone to hold that the General Assembly not take into consideration the 600 million people on the mainland of China, who constitute one-fourth of the human race. It is unthinkable that we should proceed with the discussion of questions of great international import when we are blotting from view one-fourth of the human race. I cannot conceive of any problem - economic development, international co-operation, control of armaments, control of nuclear weapons, or any other - which can be satisfactorily considered without taking into account the point of view of 600 million people.

168. It is a stark fact - there is no getting round it - that there is a de facto Government of China, regardless of whether one is prepared to consider it a de jure Government. We think that this de facto Government should be the one to be recognized by this Assembly.

169. This is not the occasion to consider the comparative merits of communism and anti-communism. In point of fact, there are communist countries and anti-communist countries represented in this Assembly; there are various types of countries represented here. For quite a long time - well over a decade - there were six countries within the communist orbit which were Members of the United Nations. Then, in December 1955, we added four other countries to the list. I cannot, therefore, see why two countries in Asia - Outer Mongolia and China - which have the same ideology as ten of the countries represented here should be excluded. I would expect those two countries to have the same weaknesses and the same strong points as the other ten, because they have the same political, social and economic ideologies. We in Asia are quite intrigued as to why it is that, of the countries following the communist way of thinking, only two Asian countries should be excluded from recognition by this Assembly.

170. It is really strange that we should be told that the Assembly cannot even discuss the matter. It is certainly not a very dignified spectacle for an international organization of this magnitude, which commands the respect of the whole world, to evade facing the issue each year, year in and year out. And it is not a very refreshing thing to see the United States representative, for whom I have the greatest respect and regard, submit this draft resolution each year. It is certainly not a very becoming spectacle.

171. The issue has to be faced sooner or later. What is the purpose of the draft resolution and the General Committee recommendation which are placed before us year after year? Each year we are told to postpone the evil day and not to discuss the question at this session. And a time-limit is never given as to when the matter should be discussed. I certainly think that it is extremely unfair to ask the nations of the world to face such a situation. I can even conceive of the possibility of the United States representative's proposing a time-limit, saying that the matter should not be discussed for a year or two, for some specific reason - although I cannot see any reason for such a proposal.

172. The Foreign Minister of Australia has said that the Assembly adopted such a resolution last year, and there is no reason why any change should be made this year. Surely, that is hardly an argument. What did he expect to happen in the meantime? The question is whether between last year and this year, at least, the People's Republic of China has engaged in warfare or acts of aggression against other nations in the neighbourhood.

173. I certainly think that the position which has been taken here defies all reason. A legitimate question is before us: the representation of China. There is no getting round that fact. Even in our Commonwealth of Nations, the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan and Ceylon recognize Communist China. All the countries at the Colombo Conference not only recognized Communist China, but adopted a unanimous resolution to the effect that the non-recognition of Communist China increased the tension in the Eastern Hemisphere. People speak of the Bandung Conference as a landmark in the history of the world, but in the same breath they refuse to accept the existence of the resolution of the Bandung Conference on this matter. When it suits them, the Bandung Conference is a landmark. When it does not suit them, it is not a landmark; it is of no importance. There was no question at the Bandung Conference as to which country should be invited. There was no dissenting voice. It was the People's Republic of China which was invited and which participated in the deliberations of the Conference.

174. Thus, the neighbours of the Asian and African Continents recognize the People's Republic of China as China. All the Eastern nations recognize the People's Republic of China as China. Many nations of the world trade with Communist China - even some which do not have diplomatic relations with it. What, then, is this kind of attitude which says, "Thus far and no farther; we do not want them to come to the United Nations"? Is it that these nations recognize Communist China when it suits their purpose to do so? Is there any morality in such a position?

175. Many countries of the world recognize Communist China in some form or other. Many countries recognize it diplomatically. Many countries trade with Communist China. My country recognizes the People's Republic of China and trades with it; as I have said, so do many others. If in this very body there are several nations, at least, which recognize Communist China, does not the question arise: Which is China?

176. All that Mr. Menon was seeking in the amendments that he submitted in the name of the delegation of India was that this matter should be discussed. In the General Committee, I was one of the four representatives in the minority. I can assure the United States representative that I can see neither the propriety nor the wisdom of his action. On the question of law, it is my respectful submission that there is nothing in rule 40 which gives the General Committee the right to make any recommendation except to include an item or to reject an item.

177. This recommendation in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution does not conform to the rules in that respect either as to inclusion or rejection of the item. It may suit the convenience of some representatives, but I am certainly entitled to my view that it is absolutely ultra

vires and illegal. I cannot understand the propriety of it at all; nor do I see the wisdom of it.

178. It is our confirmed view - we who are directly affected in the Eastern Hemisphere - that the non-recognition of Communist China increases the tensions and makes possible a conflagration. We are directly interested in our nationhood. We are directly interested in holding our status.

179. The question is, what are the fears of the people living in that area? Therefore, I say that there is no wisdom in refusing even to discuss this subject. The question simply does not arise. The fact that some powerful nations do not recognize it cannot change the geography or the history of a nation; it cannot change a map. When there is a territory embracing one-fourth of the human race, and powerful nations continue to say they do not recognize it, they do not care for its presence, they just shut their eyes to it - does that country disappear on that account? It is a foolhardy thing to do.

180. In all sincerity, I think that the question of the recognition of China must be faced and faced squarely, for only then, I believe, can this Organization say that it has conformed to the principle in which we believe, the principle of universality. I hope that before long, wisdom will reign and that we shall recognize the value of the principle of universality, when all nations will be brought into the United Nations so that it may become a strong force for peace and goodness in the world.

181. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): As is well known, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the Government of China. We realize that the question of Chinese representation at the United Nations will one day have to be considered by the General Assembly. We respect the sincerity of those countries which believe that the time has come when discussion of this question in this Assembly would be valuable.

182. It is our opinion, however, that the subject of Chinese representation is one of those questions - and there are others - on which opposing views are so strongly held that discussion of them now in the General Assembly would not contribute to a solution. For this reason, the United Kingdom delegation supports the recommendation of the General Committee that the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations should not be taken up during the present session.

183. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to associate itself with those who have already congratulated the President on his election as President of the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

184. As is well known, the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been raised on a number of occasions in the General Assembly, in the Security Council, in other bodies of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies. The sad fact is, however, that the Chinese people, many millions strong, is still not represented in the United Nations. This situation, which is abnormal because the seat of the great country of China is occupied by a representative of the

Chiang Kai-shek régime, cannot but have an adverse effect on all United Nations activities.

185. Take the Security Council. Can its work be fruitful so long as the great responsibility inherent in membership in this body is entrusted to persons who have no right to speak on behalf of the Chinese people and so long as its composition is not brought into conformity with the United Nations Charter? Of course not. In the absence of the People's Republic of China the Security Council - and this is recognized by eminent authorities on international law - is an improperly constituted body. Kelsen, for instance, in his article "Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations", states that the only Government of China in accordance with public international law is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which has actual control over Chinese territory and the Chinese people. The People's Republic of China is not represented in the Security Council. Consequently, the composition of the Security Council is not what it should be under the Charter.

186. There is no refuting the conclusion, based as it is on ordinary common sense, that the obligations assumed by States under the Charter can be discharged only by Governments which have the practical means of doing so. It can likewise hardly be denied that the only Government of China capable of discharging its obligations under the Charter is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, for it and it alone has for eight years wielded effective authority throughout the length and breadth of the country, with the exception of the island of Taiwan and a few other islands which are under United States occupation. It and it alone is legally entitled to represent China in the United Nations.

187. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is recognized by two of the permanent members of the Security Council - the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom - and also by many other States. The question of the recognition or non-recognition of any country is no doubt a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government concerned, and is decided in the light of its national interests. Yet whether or not a Government decides to grant diplomatic recognition to a country, that Government is required to respect that country's rights in the United Nations. The People's Republic of China is not a petitioner and the refusal to resolve the question of its representation in the United Nations cannot be regarded as other than a flagrant instance of discrimination and a violation of elementary standards of international law.

188. In their efforts to deny the legal representatives of the Chinese people admission to the United Nations, the ruling circles in the United States are resorting to every means at their command, ranging from open threats and false accusations of aggression directed against the People's Republic of China to various procedural stratagems when this question is examined in the United Nations. Open threats against the People's Republic of China cannot produce the results that some persons hope to achieve. The persistent attempts to depict the People's Republic of China as an aggressor have nothing to back them, for the facts indicate that the opposite is true. United States armed intervention in China and particularly in the area of Taiwan, for

example, began long before Chinese national volunteers joined in the hostilities in Korea.

189. In his well-known message on the Far East, the President of the United States said that the United States should be prepared to take appropriate military measures in the event that Chinese communist forces are concentrated or used with the obvious intention of facilitating an attack on Formosa. In other words, if the People's Republic of China were to regroup its forces - a matter within its domestic jurisdiction - the United States would claim the right to attack it, accusing it of aggression.

190. In a speech he made at San Francisco on 28 June 1957, which he himself later described as an official statement of the United States position, the United States Secretary of State announced that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China "would not be in the interest either of the United States or of the United Nations". The Secretary of State would seem to be telling the United Nations what it should do.

191. It might be mentioned in passing that the United States Congress, too, has opposed the restoration of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations on five separate occasions since 1951. In other words, a question which has been for many years under consideration by the General Assembly is also being directly discussed by the United States legislative body, the Congress, which apparently proceeds on the assumption that what does not suit the United States is unacceptable to the United Nations.

192. The People's Republic of China has been in existence, it has been developing and growing in strength for eight years. It will be recalled that it took the statesmen of the United States sixteen years to realize that the Soviet Union would continue to exist regardless of their likes or dislikes. If it should take them equally long to acknowledge the facts in this case, the People's Republic of China will not suffer. But are the interests of the United Nations to be allowed to suffer? The United Nations must certainly not sacrifice its principles because of the slow thought processes of certain statesmen, particularly as the reasons for the attitude of the United States towards the People's Republic of China are quite unacceptable to the United Nations.

193. In the same San Francisco speech, the Secretary of State said, with reference to the political system of the People's Republic of China:

"We [the United States] owe it to ourselves ... to do all that we can to contribute to that passing [of the People's Republic of China]. If we believed that this passing would be promoted by some participation of the present régime in the activities of the United Nations, we would not oppose that."

In other words, the desire to destroy, by all and any means, the socialist system so hardly won by the Chinese people and to overthrow their lawfully elected Government is the alpha and the omega of United States policy with respect to China.

194. The current policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China is, as in the past, based upon the principles of peace and of peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all countries in the world without exception. The People's Republic of China, as is well known, contributed greatly to the peaceful

settlement of the conflicts in Korea and Indo-China. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries and its application of the principles of peaceful coexistence amply demonstrate the peace-loving character of the Chinese people.

195. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will resolutely oppose the recommendation of the General Committee, which rejected the Indian delegation's proposal to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly the question of the restoration of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China. It will vote against this recommendation and for the Indian amendments.

196. The PRESIDENT: I think that both sides will recognize that I am allowing considerable latitude in the debate. We are discussing really whether a matter ought to be discussed. I think that does impose some limitations upon the scope of the debate and I hope Members will pay some attention to that.

197. U THANT (Burma): My delegation supports the amendments presented by India.

198. As my fellow delegates are no doubt aware, it has been the consistent policy and honest wish of my delegation to support any move to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this world Organization. While it is not my intention to deal with the substance of the matter under discussion, let me say that the present policy of many Members of the United Nations is outmoded, ineffective and divorced from reality. This negative policy only deprives the West of the most effective means of waging peace without securing the advantages of waging war.

199. Let us face the facts. China is a country of 600 million, but it is not represented in this world Organization. It is argued that the People's Republic of China refused to comply with the expressed wish of the United Nations and therefore it must be penalized. Let me point out that there are from time to time Members in this world Organization who refused to comply with the expressed wish of the United Nations, but they do not cease to become Members of this world Organization.

200. In presenting these views, let me make it quite clear that my delegation is not prompted by any political or ideological considerations. In fact, Burma and China have very different political and ideological backgrounds. But this difference is no reason why Burma should stand in the way of its admission to the United Nations. Let us give full vent to our views in this world forum. Let the Members of the United Nations present their respective viewpoints for and against the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. If the consensus of opinion is against the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China right now, let us shelve this question for the present. If on the other hand the consensus of opinion is for representation, let us welcome the People's Republic of China with open arms. My delegation does not see any harm in discussing the question openly and comprehensively. In any case, my delegation believes that the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is only a matter of time. Sooner or later we are sure to have among us our new colleagues from the mainland of China. My delegation only wishes that it

would be sooner than later. We strongly feel that it will be in the interest of world peace if the earliest possible action can be taken to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

201. In the circumstances, my delegation supports the Indian amendments.

202. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Such important international political issues as the reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the safeguarding of collective security clearly cannot be solved successfully without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Without such participation not a single problem affecting the Far East can be solved. If the United Nations, which is called upon to safeguard peace and security throughout the world, is to deal with the responsible tasks laid upon it, it should, before anything else, recognize China's legitimate rights in the Organization.

203. Though these facts are known to all, the General Assembly again has before it a proposal that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations should not be discussed at all at this twelfth session. To keep the lawful representatives of China out of the work of the United Nations suits the convenience of those forces which are interested in the "cold war" and in maintaining and increasing international tension, and seriously reduces the prestige of the United Nations.

204. The People's Republic of China, which consistently bases its conduct on the principles of peaceful coexistence, is a bulwark of peace in Asia and the Far East. By dint of the efforts which the People's Republic of China is making towards the peaceful settlement of important international political questions, that country is becoming an essential factor in peaceful international co-operation.

205. The Chinese people, having in a comparatively short time successfully overcome the effects of a collapsed economy - a burden they inherited from the days when the landowners and foreign imperialists were in control - have embarked on the building of socialism in their great country. The results of the execution of the first Five-Year Plan testify to the scope of the constructive effort in every facet of the country's political, economic, social and cultural life. The progress achieved by the peace-loving, talented and hard-working Chinese people is exciting universal admiration.

206. The course of events has shown that attempts to bring about the political and economic isolation of the People's Republic of China have met with utter failure. More than thirty States have already established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and the States which maintain strong economic ties with it are even more numerous. These facts show that the course of international events is leading, not to the isolation of the People's Republic of China, but to the gradual isolation of those who are fomenting and supporting the campaign of hatred against the People's Republic of China and its peace-loving people.

207. The ruling circles in the United States are supporting the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan and unlawfully setting it up as the representative to the

United Nations of the 600 million Chinese people. But anti-United States demonstrations by the Chinese population on Taiwan, directed against the policy of occupation and against turning this Chinese island into an atomic base for the United States armed forces in the Far East, have revealed the real attitude of the Taiwan population both to the United States forces of occupation and to the Chiang Kai-shek puppet régime.

208. The resistance of the Chinese population on Taiwan has provided yet a further demonstration that the Chiang Kai-shek clique has nothing in common with the Chinese people. The fact that, even today, the Government of the People's Republic of China is still prevented, by the discriminatory policy of the United States, from participating in the work of the United Nations gives rise to an intolerable situation. There can be no acceptance of the fact that the lawful representative of one of the founder Members of the United Nations, the representative of one of the five great Powers on which the United Nations Charter lays a special responsibility for strengthening the peace and security of peoples, is being unlawfully kept from taking part in the work jointly accomplished by the peoples in the United Nations. The duty of representing China in the United Nations can be discharged only by a representative appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

209. The Czechoslovak delegation continues to hold the view that, if the United Nations is to do its work successfully and to discharge the responsible tasks laid upon it by the Charter, the abnormal state of affairs existing over the question of the representation of China in the United Nations must be brought to an end forthwith.

210. In view of the foregoing the Czechoslovak delegation opposes the recommendation of the General Committee contained in paragraph 7 of its report [A/3670]. We fully support the Indian delegation's proposal to include in the agenda the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

211. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): This is not the first time that the General Assembly has had before it the question of the restoration of the just rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is now eight years since great Chinese people finally threw off the imperialist rule and became master of their own destiny by setting up a people's democratic government. For a long time now the question of restoring to this nation of more than 600 million people its just rights in this Organization has been raised at each session of the General Assembly and the problem has not yet been solved, owing to the stubborn refusal and hostile attitude of a single Power.

212. The Indian delegation's proposal that the question of the representation of China should be included on the agenda of this session was not even put to the vote in the General Committee, which instead has recommended to the General Assembly the negative proposal of the United States of America that this question should not be discussed during the present session.

213. This manoeuvre of postponing the solution of the problem is an old one and does no credit to its authors. The present Government of China has not the good fortune of being to the liking of the United States

Government but that is no reason for denying the People's Republic of China its seat in the United Nations. The United Nations is not an Organization set up by a single country and bound to serve that country's policy. The great importance of the United Nations lies in the fact that it brings together countries with different political and social systems so that they may work together for the strengthening of peace and for international co-operation.

214. The People's Republic of China is a great world Power. Its existence, the role it plays and its active and growing share in international relations are well established and recognized, in spite of the ostrich policy followed by ruling circles in the United States of America in this connexion. The Chinese people, freed from imperialist rule and the corrupt régime of Chiang Kai-shek, have in a very short space of time achieved under their democratic Government progress that could hardly have been dreamed of in the past.

215. China is well on the way to becoming a great industrial Power; its agricultural production is increasing steadily and the noble culture of the great Chinese people is flowering anew. In freeing themselves the Chinese people have won back both their country and their dignity. They have won by force of arms the place to which they are entitled in the world and in history. The People's Republic of China has become a major factor for peace and fruitful co-operation in Asia and throughout the world. It has diplomatic relations with a large number of countries and economic dealings with most of the States Members of the United Nations. Its Government, together with that of India, proclaimed the famous five principles of peaceful coexistence between nations, which are the basis of the new China's foreign policy.

216. All are aware of the contribution made by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in bringing the fighting in Korea and Indo-China to an end and its persistent efforts to find peaceful solutions to unsolved problems and to establish a system of collective security in Asia.

217. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has always respected the principles of the United Nations Charter. China is one of the founder Members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. Its population represents one-quarter of the whole of mankind. The prestige and authority of the United Nations have suf-

fered long enough from the absence of the true representatives of the Chinese peoples from its various bodies. The participation of the People's Republic of China is essential if we are to solve the great problems facing our Organization, problems relating to the safeguarding of peace and the welfare of mankind. It is high time that the true representative of the People's Republic of China occupied the seat in the United Nations which is his by right, and which is illegally occupied by an individual who represents no one but himself.

218. For years the Western Powers have maintained an economic blockade against the People's Republic of China. What has been the result? It is not China that has suffered from the effects of this blockade, but those who are conducting it, and we have seen recently how the partners of the United States have changed their attitude on this subject. It seems as if the United States leaders want to hide the truth about the new China from the American people. For instance, they place obstacles in the way of the exchange of journalists and police action has been taken against the young students who dared to visit China recently. But closing one's eyes to the facts does not prevent their existence. The United States delegation can again rally enough votes this year to prevent the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, but this will in no way prevent that great country from going forward in its peaceful development, from playing an ever-increasing role on the international scene and from contributing as a great socialist Power to the cause of peace, progress and the welfare of mankind. Sooner or later the People's Republic of China will take its rightful place in the United Nations, and the sooner this happens the better it will be for the cause of the United Nations and for the attainment of the fundamental aims of the Charter.

219. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a matter of urgency if the Organization is to be effective and would be a step forward towards the relaxation of international tension and the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. For this reason we shall support the Indian delegation's proposal and shall vote against the recommendation of the General Committee.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.