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

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART I)  
[A/5571]

1. Mr. VOLIO JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (Rapporteur of the First Committee) (translated from Spanish): Although the First Committee had decided to consider the question of general and complete disarmament as the second item of its agenda, at the 1311th meeting the members of the Committee unanimously approved a proposal, submitted by the Mexican representative at the 1310th meeting on 15 October, that urgent consideration be given to a draft resolution [A/5571, para. 4], jointly submitted by the seventeen Member States participating in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, which called for a ban on the placing in orbit of nuclear weapons or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

2. The Mexican representative suggested that the First Committee should consider this draft at its next meeting. As a result, the Committee broke off its consideration of agenda item 73 on the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, and at its 1311th meeting considered the seventeen-Power draft resolution, which was approved by acclamation.

3. I should like to take this opportunity of informing the General Assembly that, during the consideration

of the draft resolution in the First Committee, a number of speakers made statements in the course of which they warmly welcomed the agreement, arrived at between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, not to station in outer space any objects carrying nuclear weapons or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. This agreement and the fact of the joint sponsorship of the draft resolution were looked upon as a further example of the lessening of international tension and of the continuing endeavours of the great Powers to strengthen international peace and security.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee (part I).*

4. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the decision that has just been taken, statements will be confined to explanations of vote.

5. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, has on more than one occasion stressed the importance of international collaboration in the peaceful conquest of space. In line with this policy of the USSR Government, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, stated in an address to a plenary meeting of the General Assembly that the Soviet Government was "prepared here and now to take steps to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space, and desires to create the best possible conditions for the utilization and exploration of space for the good of all peoples. It therefore considers it necessary to agree with the United States of America to prohibit the placing in orbit of objects carrying nuclear weapons". [1208th meeting, para. 184.]

6. The President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, the following day expressed in this hall [1209th meeting] a willingness to hold talks in order to work out practical measures for that purpose. These talks have taken place.

7. The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction that an understanding was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America concerning the resolution on refraining from placing in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of mass destruction [A/5571, para. 4]. This understanding, as we all know, was welcomed by the States represented on the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

8. We express the hope that the draft resolution submitted by the States represented on that Committee will in turn receive support from the General Assembly as a whole, and that States will act in conformity with the decision adopted by the General Assembly.

9. The adoption of this resolution would undoubtedly represent a new and important step towards reducing

international tension and improving relations between States.

10. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): I can only echo what has already been reported to the Assembly by the Rapporteur of the First Committee, Mr. Volio Jiménez, the representative of Costa Rica, and what has just been said by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Fedorenko.

11. The approval of this draft resolution [A/5571, para. 7] by acclamation by the First Committee yesterday, a draft resolution which is directed against the orbiting of weapons of mass destruction in outer space, is most gratifying to my Government.

12. This draft resolution, which was introduced in the First Committee by Mr. Padilla Nervo, the representative of Mexico, is co-sponsored by all of the participants in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

13. In my statement yesterday before the First Committee, I explained in detail the views of the United States on this matter. Today rather than impose upon members by setting forth again the reasons why my Government welcomes this draft resolution, I want only to repeat that it has been, that it is, and that it will be, the policy of the United States to keep this newly explored environment of outer space free of these dreaded weapons.

14. I am confident that all the Members of the General Assembly are fully aware of the significance of the draft resolution. In that connexion, I stated in the First Committee [1311th meeting] yesterday:

"My Government is gratified at the important step we are about to take. We believe it should help to reduce international tension. The United States hopes that there will be unanimous agreement to this draft resolution. We believe that by faithfully following the policy expressed in it we will help to make the world a safer place in which to live. By avoiding a nuclear arms race in outer space, we will have taken one further step on the road to disarmament." <sup>1/</sup>

15. Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The motion which I submitted in the First Committee calling for suspension of the discussion on the first item of our agenda with a view to the immediate consideration of and voting on the draft resolution [A/5571, para. 7], sponsored by the seventeen nations that had taken an active part in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, which I had had the honour of submitting [1310th meeting] was fully vindicated by the immediate and favourable response of the members of the First Committee, who approved that proposal by acclamation.

16. Formal recognition has thereby been bestowed on the agreement arrived at between the nuclear Powers, pursuant to which those Powers have entered into an undertaking towards the world not to place in orbit, or station in outer space or on celestial bodies, nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction.

17. All Members of the United Nations parties to the said draft resolution have also expressed their conviction and determination that outer space should be

kept clean and free from nuclear weapons, and should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes of benefit to mankind. It would be useless for nations to endeavour to disarm on earth if they were to arm in outer space, and it would be vain to try to denuclearize various zones of the earth if the nuclearization of outer space were not prevented. In this draft resolution, the existing nuclear Powers make a profession of faith and set an example to future nuclear Powers.

18. In the political circumstances of today, and their future development, this agreement is no less important than the Moscow Treaty,<sup>2/</sup> and represents a new step forward on the road of understanding and good will—the only road on which we can advance towards disarmament and maintain peace.

19. The treaty partially banning nuclear weapon tests and this new agreement not to place such weapons in orbit or station them in outer space represent highly important decisions which complement and strengthen each other, and both of them are indispensable conditions for disarmament. These two agreements will lend substance and meaning to the negotiations which are to be pursued with a view to reducing international tension, creating an atmosphere of confidence among nations, halting the arms race, preventing the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and, in the last analysis, making possible general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

20. Mexico, which has striven hard and long for the conclusion of such an agreement, is pleased to have been able to co-operate with the other States in securing the adoption of a draft resolution the aim of which is to make outer space into an area of international co-operation, and which will contribute to the preservation of peace on earth and beyond it, as high and as far as science, determination and hope can carry the astronauts of the future.

21. Permit me to suggest that the records of this memorable meeting shall state the desire of this Assembly and the equal support of each and all of its Members for the noble aims enshrined in this draft resolution. Let us express, by means of our vote, our unanimous hope and determination that the space ships of today, tomorrow and the future will always, and solely, be messengers of peace.

22. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The draft resolution [A/5571, para. 7] recommended by the First Committee was approved by the latter by acclamation. May I take it that the General Assembly likewise adopts this draft resolution by acclamation?

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Secretary-General will make a statement concerning the resolution which has just been adopted by acclamation. However, as he has been called away to receive the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, he has asked me to announce that he will make this statement immediately after the address by the President of Cameroon. As a result, we shall now suspend our meeting in order to hear the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Thereafter we shall hear the Secretary-General's statement regarding the resolution that has been adopted. We shall then continue our debate on agenda item 80.

<sup>1/</sup> This statement was made at the 1311th meeting of the First Committee, the official record of which was published only in summary form.

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

Address by Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the  
Federal Republic of Cameroon

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I invite His Excellency Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, to address the General Assembly.

25. Mr. AHMADOU AHIDJO (President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon) (translated from French): On coming to this rostrum, Mr. President, I take great pleasure in conforming to the tradition of this Assembly by offering you first all my own congratulations and those of my country on your election as President of the eighteenth session. This choice recognizes your brilliant capacities, provides evidence of the high esteem in which you are held by this Assembly and does credit to your country.

26. For a Head of State, it is always an honour to address the General Assembly, representing as it does, wherever and whenever it meets, the concentrated conscience of our world, a world which finds it necessary periodically to undergo a process of searching introspection for the purpose of assessing its performance, if its further progress is to be satisfactory and beneficial. This examination of conscience concerns us all, whether we are large, medium-sized or small Powers. I should now like to embark on it in your company, in the name of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, with a deep awareness of the responsibility placed upon each and every one of us by the fact of sharing a common destiny.

27. Since the Moscow treaty there have been unmistakable signs of an improvement which give hope for a possible relaxation of tensions, and we welcomed the statements made a few weeks ago by President Kennedy [1209th meeting] and Mr. Gromyko [1208th meeting] heralding what we trust will be permanently better days. Nevertheless it is an established and accepted fact that mankind has overstepped the danger point, and that as a result of improvements in weaponry and the accumulation of stockpiles, it finds itself on the very edge of the precipice and is liable in the event of war, whether deliberate or accidental, to plunge into the abyss of complete annihilation.

28. I shall accordingly consider first the main general and universal problems, onto which the regional and local problems are necessarily grafted. In the process, I shall endeavour to explain my country's views on each of these problems, thereby supplying a definition of them and replying to those who are still in doubt as to the nature of Cameroon's policy, which has been stated here each year either in the general debate or in discussions in Committee.

29. From the earliest times to the present day—and undoubtedly until he reaches a higher level of civilization and responsibility—man, collectively or individually, has always experienced a triple need: the need for security, to feel himself safe from attack; the need to feel himself free, to choose according to his will or to consent without constraint; and the need to survive, to grow and to develop. The tragedy of mankind is that, notwithstanding extraordinary successes in other fields, it has not succeeded in achieving and establishing on earth the harmony that it seeks. This, however, lies within its grasp, since it is dependent on mankind's determination to translate the triptych of peace, self-determination and development into reality.

30. Peace, universal peace, is undeniably the supreme good. When man first conceived the idea of using a weapon against a fellow-being, the human race certainly lost its most precious possession. Later on, communities, aping the behavior of individuals, invented all kinds of devices and instruments of death and annihilation. Man was thus led to propound the moral principle that to forestall a hypothetical attack from someone else, one must needs arm oneself against all comers.

31. The logic of this principle, which is expressed in the well-known adage "He who wants peace prepares for war", led naturally to the doctrine of the deterrent force, and its result, the balance of terror, represents a monstrously absurd situation. A balance of terror? What have we come to? Although the two super-Powers have managed to frighten the rest of the world, in reality they have chiefly succeeded in becoming very frightened themselves. A few weeks ago, in the course of the general debate, we heard their spokesmen state that the accumulated stocks of nuclear weapons were sufficient to destroy our planet several times over. Can this be called security in view of the fact that if a war—which nowadays would necessarily be a nuclear war—should break out, there would, so the experts say, be neither victors nor vanquished, since all would perish in the resulting absurd and total annihilation?

32. We must give thanks to God that all of us without any exception have recognized the monstrous character of this grim truth. Has it not come to pass that, displaying a change of heart which rebounds entirely to their credit, the foremost nuclear Powers have given way to the pressure of world opinion and have just agreed, in a treaty, to cease nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water? We hail this treaty as a great victory for common sense and reason and as the beginning of wisdom. We hail its sponsors and all the nations throughout the world that have signed it. My country is proud to be counted among the latter. But, as we have said, this is only the beginning of wisdom. It is not even a full stage; it is no more than a first step in the right direction. The matter must be pressed further. All nuclear tests all the world over must be banned, even tests underground or in laboratories, unless they are intended for peaceful purposes.

33. Even this will not be sufficient; the process of true disarmament must be set in motion, and everything that represents a permanent threat of destruction hanging over mankind must be destroyed. We must achieve complete and controlled disarmament which will lead to a peace such as Jaurès defined at the beginning of this century, "a deep-rooted, lasting, organized, final peace".

34. In this respect, we are gratified to note the favourable atmosphere in which the present session has opened—in happy contrast with the tense and ominous climate of previous sessions. Something important has happened. To the extent that all this has been brought about under the auspices of the United Nations, may I be allowed to see in it and to hail—in addition to the efforts of the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom—the patient, intelligent and ultimately positive action of the Organization and, in large measure, of its highest officer, Secretary-General U Thant.

35. Mr. Secretary-General, in paying you this tribute which you have earned by your clear-sighted and tact-

ful action, we are also not forgetting your eminent predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, that exemplary servant of our Organization who made the supreme sacrifice in the course of duty. However remote that sacrifice may seem today, it can surely not be foreign to the results that we are now witnessing.

36. And in the more recent past, may I recall the memory of another great man who has passed on, a man who will go down in history as one of the outstanding persons of this century. I refer to Pope John XXIII, who made a deep impression on us by his simplicity of life, an ardent love of his fellow-man and the passionate sentiments of charity expressed in one of his last messages, the encyclical Pacem in Terris—the words of which still ring in our hearts.

37. Something important, something beneficial, has thus begun; it must be duly encouraged. The President of the United States, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and other speakers have put forward important and interesting suggestions from this rostrum. We must take them up and study them. Above all, we must encourage their sponsors to go ahead, since such suggestions are in themselves already indicative of a favourable frame of mind. Yes, let us take advantage of the impetus thus given to negotiation. Why should one success not lead to another? The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva must make haste to resume its work. It behooves all the peace-loving nations of the world to insist that it should do so.

38. The second panel of my triptych is the need for freedom in making decisions, for self-determination. It can be said that all conflicts between individuals or societies spring from the non-observance of this principle, since it entails in every case not only the enjoyment of one's own rights but also the obligation to respect those of others.

39. And first of all on the level of States—since we find ourselves here in an assembly of nations—freedom to make decisions is indispensable to the independent existence of every nation, whether large, medium-sized or small. It means the sovereign right of a State to decide its own affairs, to determine its own destiny, and to choose its own leaders and form of government. It involves not only the assertion of that right for oneself but also the recognition of the same right for others.

40. At the outset of this debate, we have heard here in turn the brilliant apologetics of the two great rival ideologies which are vying with each other for control of the world. We recognize the value of both. To the extent that the worth of a doctrine can be assessed in terms of technical accomplishments, it must be admitted that they have achieved results which will cause them to be regarded in history as the representatives of one of mankind's great periods.

41. Yet some people, ourselves included, refuse to be forced to choose between those two ideologies alone. We believe that the world need not automatically become either communist or capitalist. One of the great events of this century will have been the entry onto the international scene of a great number of African and Asian peoples who had long been subjugated, humiliated and silenced. Their growing strength has not yet made itself felt. The fact that these young nations are beset here and there by difficulties—which must moreover be attributed to what is commonly called growing pains—is certainly not

ascribable to any failure on their part to attempt to divine what the future holds for them or to steer an original course consistent with their national genius and traditions.

42. In any event, no contribution can be entirely original, since it is a truism that all of us participate in man's universal heritage. Our present flows from our past, which has been built up from the progressive contributions of all. Furthermore, nothing is static. This nascent optimism which we note and which we hail and encourage is surely a sign of that necessary evolution which my great friend, President Léopold Senghor, predicted at this very rostrum on 31 October 1961, when he said:

"Western Europe will become socialized under the pressure of the masses and the need for economic planning; the East will become liberalized, the dictatorship of the proletariat having served to consolidate its system; I might say that it will become spiritualized." [1045th meeting, para. 19.]

43. No, we need not necessarily become either communist or capitalist. Is this not evident from the ideological quarrels that flourish within each group and the standing disagreements between the members of each camp? These facts go to show that although it is easy to lay claim to orthodoxy, this is very often done at the risk of witnessing the triumph within the church itself of the very dogma that has been held to be the most heretical of all. As inhabitants of a land of wide empty spaces, we are accustomed to be wary of mirages.

44. Self-determination for every State, as enshrined in the Charter, means that each one of us accepts the dual imperative that I defined a few moments ago; its means being in full enjoyment of one's own rights while at the same time respecting the rights of others and one's obligations towards others.

45. It will have been clear to all, I am sure, that in making these brief remarks I have had in mind those vital points of international tension which have given us so much cause for concern and continue to command our attention.

46. There is, first of all, the problem of a divided Germany, a situation which is depressingly illustrated by Berlin, a city whose inhabitants God intended to live close together but have none the less been torn asunder by man. There is the problem of Laos, whose distress was described to us a few weeks ago in the address by that country's Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma [1210th meeting]. There is also the problem of the State of Israel and the Palestine Arabs, which has been recalled to our attention by the latest sessions of the Security Council. And lastly there is the problem of those countries which have been split asunder by the cold war, namely, Korea and Viet-Nam.

47. These are all complex and highly difficult situations. Doubtless, as has so often been said, they do not admit of any miraculous, ready-made solutions. We agree with that view. But at least there remains one approach, one method which is as old as the world itself. When people cannot agree, they sit around a table to discuss matters, after first divesting themselves of any violent intentions. First and foremost, they talk things over.

48. Oh, I fully agree that this is neither new nor original. It is if anything a truism—but a truism which is thousands of years old and has proved its worth.

In Africa, all diplomacy and all relations between men and between communities were based on the cardinal concept of discussions, which, because of a failure to appreciate their essential nature and qualities, were referred to sarcastically by foreigners as "palavers"—interminable Negro conferences. Our forefathers experienced proof of their effectiveness; the modern world has not yet proved them to be ineffective.

49. To speak in plain terms, then, I would declare once more that there is only one way to solve all these problems: to put our heads together and then to apply the resolutions we adopt here.

50. I can already hear the query being put to me: "Are you not forgetting history and everyday realities? Germany, for example, lost a war after having inflicted unspeakable sufferings on its neighbours and on humanity as a whole."

51. To that I would reply: we are well aware of that, but why did they die, these millions of martyrs who, in the Second World War, bathed with their blood this earth which they wished to make more full of brotherly love and freedom for every person and every people, if it was not to ensure that, through their sacrifices, a spirit of reconciliation, forgiveness and understanding would prevail? No. The victors over Hitler Germany would be no better than those they had vanquished if they imposed on Germany a perpetual division against the will of its people. The best way to forestall any spirit of revenge among the Germans is to take away from them all reason for bitterness, all impression of humiliation and frustration, now that, after eighteen years, time has done its work and hearts can and must not simply forget, but forgive. We should remember the arguments used by Hitler, and should take care not to do anything which might permit them to be used again.

52. If I have chosen this example, it is because it seems to me to be today's most sensitive and most delicate sore point. Have we not still fresh in our minds the latest incidents which have just taken place again at this time when the first hopes of a relaxation of tension have just begun to dawn?

53. Where in all the problems to which I have just referred, is there anything which precludes their discussion, negotiation and, ultimately, peaceful settlement?

54. In South-East Asia, three States—Laos, Viet-Nam and Korea—are suffering from either uncertainty or division. Who is responsible for that state of affairs? A great neighbour of gigantic size which, drunk with the sense of its size, does not conceal its desire to export its example of the forcible seizure of power to other countries! How we would have wished China, this immense China, to be a land of peace which would enrich and strengthen the international community! In fact, however, China does not shrink from taking up arms against the United Nations itself. It is not without misgivings that, today, we see China's policies arousing still greater misgivings among those whom we rightly believed to be China's good and true friends.

55. Oh! I will willingly render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and wash my hands of an internal dispute in a church which is not my own and which does not, incidentally, have any lack of prophets or pontiffs.

56. On several occasions we have spoken at this rostrum of the singular interest which this Power

insists on taking in us despite our distance from it, and we have proved that this attitude is far from being a peaceful one. Thus, at home and abroad, near and far, Communist China gives proof that it is dangerous. Its behavior towards its neighbours and even towards distant States provides a lesson which, in our opinion, must govern our reply to the insistent demands of those who call for its admission to the United Nations.

57. We shall not, however, insist that Communist China be ostracized. When it has shown its desire for peace and has helped to bring stability to Korea, Viet-Nam and Laos—but only then—we shall be ready to consider the question of its admission. This, of course, will be without prejudice to the rights of the China which is now sitting in this Assembly and which, as a State, has always acted like a worthy and loyal member of our Organization.

58. The self-determination of States implies their freedom and that of the individuals who make up national communities. It also implies respect for that charter of human brotherhood, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—yes, human rights. Because of their common origin, and because they belong to the same unique species, all men should love their fellows and extend to them the same rights which they claim for themselves. Unfortunately, in the world we live in, the most elementary truths and the most obvious proofs are also the most overlooked and scorned, so much so that common sense seems to be the rarest quality there is on our planet.

59. I shall treat of this subject with the gravity it warrants, but also with sincerity. I shall treat of it as a man who shares the quality of humanity which we all have here, but also as a coloured man who belongs to that class of people which, throughout history, has suffered most from discrimination in every clime and in every latitude.

60. Yes, over the whole surface of the globe there are men who have been denied the status of human beings, either because of their origin or even simply because of the colour of their skin, not only outside their own country, but sometimes even in their own native land. Some of them have been bought like so much cheap merchandise; some have been snatched from their cradles to be packed off to all the points of the compass; some have been cooped up on reservations like some new kind of zoological specimen; others have simply been segregated; and still others have been marked for a more systematic type of frustration known, in the dreadful jargon of these matters, as "separate development". Such is the cruel reality of the history of a world which calls itself civilized.

61. If discrimination is odious in itself and is intolerable even among members of the same race, how much more abominable it is when its victims are of a different race.

62. We admired the courage and sincerity of President Kennedy when he spoke at this rostrum [1209th meeting] of the racial problems of the United States. He used the courageous language of a great statesman. He deserves encouragement, and we give him our firm support.

63. Discrimination must disappear from the face of the earth, and the sooner the better, for every time that human rights are trampled underfoot somewhere in the world it is as though another shred of our

humanity has been torn away. We Africans can wait no longer, for we have waited too long and suffered too much. Moreover, discrimination is always the first step and leads eventually to subjection. Discrimination and colonialism are merely different stages in the same process.

64. Clear proof of this is given by the Republic of South Africa. In this case foreigners landed in a country which was not their own and discriminated against the indigenous inhabitants whom they found there. What have they done so far? The indigenous inhabitants have been reduced to a state of subjection, and the Republic of South Africa has laid hands on South West Africa and snatched it away from international jurisdiction and responsibility. In an attempt to justify its action, it flaunts, in the guise of a great sociological and scientific invention, the grotesque formula of "separate development". That reminds us bitterly of Bernard Shaw's penetrating remark that the average American first of all reduces the Negro to the level of a shoe-shine boy, then concludes that the Negro is good for nothing but shining shoes.

65. In South Africa, the Bantus are first of all placed in reservations, and it is then concluded that the Bantus can only develop on reservations! What a strange kind of logic that is. The situation in South Africa is intolerable from every point of view, unworthy of the age we live in, and, as the Security Council has decided, a disturbing influence on peace in Africa.

66. In any event, the time has come to choose between the honour of the United Nations and the Republic of South Africa, which sneers at the United Nations, violates its Charter and openly desires its downfall. For us Africans, the choice is simple and clear, and is indeed already made: the Republic of South Africa is a cancer which the United Nations must cut from its flesh in a clear-sighted and courageous manner.

67. Colonialism is, as I said a few moments ago, the twin brother of racial discrimination, and I shall be just as clear and categorical regarding it. No people has the right to bring another people under subjection. I shall not take up the Assembly's time in order to prove that colonialism is an anachronism or to lay bare the danger which it presents. All those arguments have already been put forward from this rostrum. The adoption of the historic Declaration on the immediate granting of independence to all peoples still under the colonialist yoke<sup>3/</sup>—has taken away all justification for further temporizing of any kind, so why are there still delays?

68. At the present time, when one might reasonably believe the end of decolonization to be near, there are still those who are trying to gain further time for themselves, or, what is worse, who are too stubborn to hear reason and who plead out-of-date theories which have been irrevocably discredited by recent history.

69. With one voice Africa expresses its impatience and irritation to the whole world. We cannot and will not wait any longer. The General Assembly has swept aside all the preliminaries, and we have proved that we know how to conduct ourselves. While there have been a few false starts, these have been due primarily to foreign interference, which, when it originates

with the great Powers, is usually fatal to any State, as has been shown by experience. Africa alone should not be accused of being prone to a situation which is in reality to be observed in all continents. There must therefore be complete decolonization without further delay.

70. As for Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, the patience and indulgence shown them by the United Nations seem quite incomprehensible. It is impossible to condemn them and support them at the same time without laying oneself open to the charge of complicity. While there may be some hesitation about expelling them, there should be no qualms about sanctions, which are simply a means of applying pressure. We are convinced, moreover, that this pressure would be of short duration, because the existing economic interdependence of the world makes it apparent that those countries could not hold out for very long.

71. In Africa, at all events, our minds are made up. The situation may develop rapidly and take a turn for the worse. Let the great Powers weight the responsibility which they bear. There has been no lack of warnings.

72. Here, too, the independent States of Africa are ready to take part in talks, on condition that such talks lead to rapid self-determination for the peoples in question. We have no prejudice against anyone, provided the right to self-government is granted to all.

73. I shall now, last of all, deal with the third panel of my triptych: the need to prosper and develop. It has by now become a commonplace to assert that there can be no real independence without economic independence. This is not, of course, to say that each country must be given the means to become self-sufficient and to live in isolation, for our world today is a world of interdependence in which there is not and cannot be any place for ideas of economic autarky. It simply means that every country must be endowed with an economy sufficient, in the light of the scientific and technical level achieved by mankind, to enable it to derive the maximum benefit from its natural and human resources not only for the benefit of its own people, but also in the interests of world civilization.

74. As the nations of Africa, and in particular the country over whose destiny I have the honour to preside, are conscious of the fragility of their newly-won independence, they have boldly tackled this task of economic development, the success of which is, without the slightest doubt, an essential condition for the assertion of their own personalities in international society. What purpose will be served, however, by this gigantic campaign against poverty, disease and illiteracy which is being put into effect through our development plans and the daily decisions of our Governments, if every day that dawns reveals a still wider gulf separating the industrialized nations from the under-developed nations?

75. The greater part of mankind seems to be faced anew with the problem of the tortoise of Zeno of Elea. Whereas, however, mathematicians found the solution to the problem of Zeno of Elea—which was, by the way, nothing more than a refined mental exercise of the Greeks—it does not appear that economists have as yet found a way to exercise the spectre of underdevelopment from modern society. The mountains of

<sup>3/</sup> Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

studies and reports which have accumulated on this question, which is, to say the least, one of the most dramatic of our era, have left the essence of the problem untouched.

76. The international aid—in the form of both money and of technical assistance—on which we have the right to rely is becoming more and more inadequate. We say aid on which we have the right to rely because it should not be forgotten that we made an indispensable contribution to the creation of the wealth which many industrialized nations are enjoying today. And yet, in order to give our economies an initial impetus, it would be sufficient for the advanced countries to devote barely 1 per cent of their national income to fostering the growth of the so-called under-developed countries.

77. Furthermore, we continue to witness a deterioration in our terms of trade. The prices of primary commodities, the mainstay of our economies, continually fall, while those of manufactured goods increase. The improvement of the external trade of the developing countries, which is discussed at all international conferences, has not yet brought into our countries any surplus income. The outstanding economists of the world have stated, however, that such an improvement, while it might not make international aid completely superfluous, might well make it less vital.

78. To speak frankly and realistically, the attitude of the industrialized countries does not take sufficient account of the effective solidarity which, in the general context of our times, binds and will increasingly bind all nations in the world and all men. We feel that the time has come to realize that the arms race, and even the atomic arms race, is not the only factor threatening world peace and collective security. Another factor, although undoubtedly less spectacular but more insidious and enduring, is under-development. The arms race and the cold war, which is its corollary, are merely the consequence of the basic imbalance of the international community.

79. How can we build a balanced international community if we do not eradicate within each nation composing it the causes of that instability, of which under-development—that is to say, poverty, disease and illiteracy—is surely not the least important?

80. In view of the lesson of history that civilizations die from injustice, that is to say, from the inability to distribute equitably the fruits of mankind's achievement, it is to be hoped that co-operation will become the keynote of our times. Otherwise, it seems to us that mankind can only prepare for itself a bitter morrow.

81. We accordingly express the hope that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>4/</sup> organized within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade, will mark a new turning point in man's desire to eradicate under-development from the face of the earth. The fact that this initiative has been taken by the United Nations is not without significance. It is, indeed, within that framework that all efforts must be united. There is, of course, no question of renouncing bilateral relations, which have demonstrated their effectiveness in certain fields. But it must be understood once and

for all that since under-development is a problem which concerns all mankind, it must be met head on and be solved by the co-operation of all.

82. It will not, of course, be enough for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to devise theoretically satisfactory solutions; in addition to this, the United Nations must be given adequate means to apply those solutions effectively. In the first place must come financial means, and it is perhaps appropriate here to give thought to the solidarity tax or cosmic tax to which economists refer and which would be based on the national income of each country. Consideration might also be given to the immense resources which would be released by the end of the arms race.

83. It is not enough merely to find new sources of financing; attention must also be given to appropriate legal procedures and machinery that would make it possible to cope with the increased and ever-growing responsibilities of the United Nations. Without wishing to enumerate these legal procedures, which our specialists could examine in due course, we should like, by way of example, to suggest that the Special Fund should, in addition to the pre-investment activities to which it is now limited, be able to assist in financing industrial projects on a scale to be determined.

84. In our divided and threatened world, the United Nations must increasingly become the instrument for safeguarding peace, freedom and the dignity of man as well as universal brotherhood and co-operation.

85. There have undoubtedly been errors, mistakes and surrenders to expediency. My country, like some others, is a child of the United Nations. We owe it much for the speed of our development and liberation. How can I be silent, however, on the evil role of certain great Powers, which, with ulterior and perfidious motives, frequently arrogated to themselves common prestige and certain decisions? How could the Chief of State of Cameroon forget the alienation of a part of our national territory which, as the result of an iniquitous and rigged referendum, has today been placed under another flag? It is, moreover, odd that in the International Court of Justice, where the dispute has been brought,<sup>5/</sup> the United Kingdom now claims that the Court does not have jurisdiction. In the matter of electoral disputes—and we had given ample proof of voting irregularities—the International Court does indeed have jurisdiction; a political decision based on political motives was taken in this instance. We have faith in the Court and are confident that it will state the law, that is to say, re-establish law, justice and equity, which politics is often tempted to ignore.

86. Regardless of criticism, such as this, that we can legitimately address to the Organization, we must admit that the balance-sheet of its actions is largely positive. With regard both to the maintenance of peace and to decolonization, the United Nations has played an irreplaceable role. This role would be even more decisive tomorrow if the Organization could muster up the strength to adapt itself to the fundamental requirements of our times.

87. The world of today is no longer that of the immediate post-war period. At the time when the United Nations Charter was drafted, the majority of African

<sup>4/</sup> The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is to be convened at Geneva on 23 March 1964.

<sup>5/</sup> Case concerning the Northern Cameroons (Cameroon v. United Kingdom), I.C.J., Application instituting proceedings, filed in the Registry of the Court on 30 May 1961.

and Asian nations which are seated here today were not sovereign States. Today, they ask to play their part as full-fledged members of the international community. Moreover, the problems facing the international community have become more complex and their solution more urgent. Basic reforms are therefore called for in order to remain true to the deep-laying intentions of those who, through their faith in mankind, peace, justice, liberty and co-operation among men, created the United Nations.

88. We ask that Africa and Asia be given increased representation in all United Nations organs and at all levels, that is to say, in a manner which would be more equitable and in conformity with the principle of geographical representation. Each organ of the United Nations should reflect the profound changes which have taken place in the international community since the last World War.

89. While we are aware of the special responsibilities which the great Powers continue to assume in the world and which confer upon them a privileged position in the Security Council, it is none the less true that in the present state of affairs the maintenance of peace and the promotion of co-operation depend on the goodwill of every nation and on the adherence of them all to the common work.

90. We ask that Africa and Asia should be more effectively represented in the Security Council so that that body might correspond more closely to the human and political structure of the world and thus be better able to fulfil the particularly vital tasks entrusted to it. Consideration might even be given to expanding the powers of a more representative Security Council so as to relieve the General Assembly of the responsibility for certain items which burden its agenda and which could be examined to greater advantage in a forum of smaller size but provided with equal moral force.

91. At the same time, however, the right of veto enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council should be reconsidered. This right has too often enabled to great Powers, if not to impose their will on the Organization, at least to paralyse its decisions. Let us repeat that the responsibility for peace no longer rests completely on the shoulders of the great Powers and that they have not always shown themselves to be good judges of the collective interest.

92. The best solution might perhaps be to increase the number of permanent members of the Council as well as that of the non-permanent members so as to give the under-developed countries the possibility of checking certain aims that they would deem contrary to their interests, which are precisely those of the majority of mankind.

93. We have faith in the United Nations, and that is why we consider that it must be made more and more capable of fulfilling its functions. Its primary function will always be the maintenance of peace, and during the current session, the Assembly must again turn its attention to the machinery and operations for the maintenance of peace. Many suggestions have been made which merit careful study. They call for our reflection and imagination. They will perhaps also require further sacrifice. It is in this spirit that we urge that whatever has been done should be preserved. For example, the effort that has been made in the Congo (Leopoldville) must be continued for the addi-

tional period asked for by that country's Government. In politics, as in pathology, relapses are often fatal. Yes, if we have faith in the United Nations, let us not spare our efforts and support. In the last analysis, they will always bear fruit.

94. The quick general survey which I have just made will, I hope, be sufficient to define my country's stand and its policies. Like many others, we are committed to peace, self-determination, justice, international development and co-operation.

95. It is now almost exactly three years and seven months to the day since I appeared before a committee of the Assembly to ask it to end the trusteeship and grant independence to my country. It is with infinite pleasure that I have renewed acquaintance not only with the faithful friends of that time—which was, as far as we are concerned, a heroic one—but also with all the others with whom we achieved greater understanding and created new ties. We are happy to note that we have only friends in this assembly of nations. We extend a fraternal greeting to them all, to the veterans of many years and the new-comers, to those from the old countries of the new world, those from Asia and my brothers from Africa.

96. I am all the happier because our meetings are very frequent, even apart from this periodic rendez-vous. Faithful to my commitments, I have been able, despite great difficulties, to re-establish internal order and, after strengthening the structure of the State, to bring about the unity and reunification of the nation and, lastly, to enable the Federal Republic of Cameroon to look outward to the world at large. First in Africa, with our immediate neighbours and gradually, in an ever-widening circle, with all those who were bound together by the special ties of a recent common history, Cameroon has been present at all stages of African organization. In the Equatorial Customs Union, in the African and Malagasy Union, at Monrovia, at Lagos and, most recently, at Addis Ababa, we have brought the same faith, the same objectivity, the same love and the same will to promote understanding, encourage co-operation, revive and weld brotherhood, and, in a word, to help to build a continent animated solely by good intentions.

97. Our task will be hard and our journey long. The awareness of our difficulties is the best stimulant to our courage. What we must do is not easy, and that is why we pool our forces in accordance with the centuries-old proverb that "in unity there is strength". At no time and at no stage have we intended to halt in order to mark time. Did we not quite recently, at Yaoundé, on 20 July 1963 to be exact, sign the Convention of Association with the Common Market,<sup>5/</sup> thereby making known that in building Africa, we are not breaking our ties with other continents? That is why we shall go to the International Trade Conference with an open heart and our hand extended, in the same spirit in which we deal with all the countries of the world on a bilateral basis.

98. I do not know whether I have succeeded in defining my country's stand and its policies. These policies cannot yet be reduced to a concise formula which grips the imagination and brings prosperity. We are open-minded and approachable people, confident and practical—in a word, optimists with faith in man and in his destiny which we temper with an

<sup>5/</sup> Convention of Association between the European Economic Community and the African and Malagasy States.



exact evaluation of the realities of every-day life. Faith in man? History has shown, in spite of errors which might have had a negative influence on the future of mankind, that common sense—and let us speak frankly—luck and nature have put things in order and set them upon the right road.

99. Great scientists of our time, fascinated and dazzled as they have acquired further knowledge of the atom, have learned from it that the order of the universe is the very image of the order which resulted in man, the supreme development of all creation.

100. Now, after many thousands of years, man-made machines are cruising through space among the stars. Indeed, the super-Powers are making an appointment to meet among the stars in the very near future. Cameroon will not find fault with them for this, since it does not wish to speak in the same way as those who did not understand in their time the significance of the explorations of Christopher Columbus and his fellow discoverers.

101. A new era is dawning before us. However, if we wish to carry the message of our civilization to the vast assemblage of the heavenly bodies, let us take care that as we fly away from this earth—our earth, as it was put so well by an eminent speaker—that our message will be one of a happy and beneficent civilization.

102. Twice in half a century, this civilization—our civilization—has shown that it knows how to wage war. Let us now prove that it is capable of keeping the peace. To this end, Cameroon stands ready; I am sure, Mr. President and distinguished representatives, that your peoples are also ready. Let all of us then go forward together, with courage and love, children of mankind that we are.

103. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express to His Excellency the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon our thanks for the important address that he has just delivered.

#### AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (continued)

##### REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART I) [A/5571]

104. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the announcement made earlier, I now give the floor to the Secretary-General for a statement regarding the resolution which was adopted by acclamation this morning.

105. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have asked for the privilege of addressing the General Assembly because of the importance of this occasion and because of its significance for the United Nations. The adoption of this resolution by the General Assembly implies the acceptance by the Organization of the continuing political and moral responsibility for its implementation. The resolution is the result of joint efforts by the two great Powers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Today's Assembly action demonstrates that these efforts conform with the interests of all man-

kind and with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

106. The purpose of the resolution is to exclude nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction from outer space. Its implementation should assist the Powers principally concerned, as well as all other Members of the United Nations, to give practical effect to their desires to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to place the necessary restrictions on the use, for military purposes, of scientific and technological developments.

107. Agreement on this resolution is significant as another collateral measure which could facilitate the achievement of general and complete disarmament. It takes us an important step further along the road to that goal. In addition, it is significant as registering another area in the relaxation of tension between the great Powers and as a positive advance towards stable international peace and world security.

108. In the existing circumstances when there is an evident easing of the international situation accompanied by the conclusion of concrete agreements, it is necessary to persevere with renewed determination in making progress towards the solution of the central problem of our time: that is, the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

109. I am sure that I speak for all Members and all peoples in expressing great satisfaction at this favourable development and in voicing the hope that this agreement is a good augury for the future.

#### AGENDA ITEM 80

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

110. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I wish to announce that the list of speakers on this item will be closed at 1 p.m. today.

111. Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia): This morning this Assembly witnessed an important event: the unanimous adoption of a resolution excluding atomic arms from outer space. The spirit of constructive co-operation which has this year brought about the Moscow Treaty and which has been so strongly voiced by so many speakers in the general debate at the present session has proved stronger than the elements of the cold war. We cannot but associate ourselves with all the expressions of satisfaction made by our colleagues at this happy and important event.

112. Now, returning to the debate on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, my delegation cannot suppress a feeling of disappointment at observing a sharp contrast between the present debate and this morning's discussion and voting. Whereas in the consideration of and voting on the question of denuclearizing outer space there prevailed reason and a sense of responsibility based on recognition of basic facts, the present debate confronts us with a saddening picture of the United Nations unable, under the influence of certain Member States, to recognize certain realities on our planet. In fact we have been witnessing and taking part in a controversial discussion resulting from attempts to keep the eyes of the United Nations closed to facts. Because of the resistance of a group of States, the United Nations has not been able to recognize one of the principal realities of the present world

situation: namely, first, that China means the People's Republic of China, a country with nearly 700 million inhabitants, a country covering a larger area than the European continent or the United States, and, secondly, that that great country, which is a founding Member of the United Nations, must be represented in the United Nations, as everywhere, by the only legitimate Government it has, one which was established fourteen years ago.

113. Those facts are so evident and unquestionable in common sense that, from the point of view of the majority of people at present and even more from the point of view of the judgement of future historians, the present debate will seem very paradoxical. The attempt to influence the General Assembly to persist in such an unreasonable position—namely, to maintain the fiction that China is not China but that China should be identified with a handful of persons expelled by the Chinese people fourteen years ago and maintaining themselves on the island of Taiwan, only through the support of a foreign Power which is unlawfully occupying that island—this is not only absurd but it constitutes direct intervention and an obvious violation of the Charter. Such a position is certainly not to the benefit of the United Nations. It is a gross contradiction of the fundamental principles of the Charter, since it makes it impossible for a founding Member of the United Nations and permanent member of the Security Council to exercise its lawful right to participate in the activities of the organs of the United Nations. It weakens and undermines the authority of our Organization.

114. We were happy to welcome here a number of new Member States which appeared here as a result of the liquidation of colonialism and whose admission to the United Nations substantially enhanced the prestige of the Organization. This has been pointed out many times. On the other hand, we are not able to welcome here the representatives of a country which has contributed in such a substantial degree to the process of the liquidation of colonialism, representatives who have a lawful and undeniable right to be present. This state of affairs is contrary to the principles of the universality of our Organization, a principle which we must increasingly recognize if the Organization is to contribute to a still greater degree to the solution of the cardinal problems connected with the maintenance of world peace and international security.

115. Let us turn to a very practical and important example. One cannot deny that the question of the attainment of general and complete disarmament, the urgency of which has again been stressed by an overwhelming majority of delegations in this year's general debate, cannot be settled in the absence of such an important country as the People's Republic of China. May I call the attention of this Assembly to an item which appeared in The New York Times of 16 October 1963, in which President Kennedy is quoted as having observed that "in a year or two" it will no longer be possible to negotiate a disarmament treaty without the participation of communist China. President Kennedy is reported to have made this statement in an interview given on 14 June 1963 and on 1 August to the editors of seven American magazines.

116. This position of course also follows implicitly from the United States plan on general and complete disarmament, which was submitted in 1962 at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on

Disarmament in Geneva. From that plan it is evident that progress in the process of general and complete disarmament as a whole cannot be achieved until all militarily important countries have joined the treaty. May I quote from the United States proposal that transition from stage 1 to stage 2 would take place at the end of stage 1 upon a determination that the following circumstances existed, and further among those circumstances "that all militarily significant States had become parties to the treaty".

117. It is quite evident that the People's Republic of China belongs to the category of militarily significant States. It is further evident that—and this results from what has been said here by many speakers and from what has been stressed in resolutions of the General Assembly—the United Nations must play a very important part in bringing about general and complete disarmament.

118. In view of all this, we would like to ask the authors of the United States plan how they envisage the implementation of these conditions. Their present attitude toward the representation of China might raise serious doubts as to whether they take seriously their own plan on general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, in view of yesterday's article in The New York Times concerning President Kennedy's statement on this specific problem and the attitude of the United States delegation toward the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, these doubts about the seriousness of their intentions with respect to general and complete disarmament can only increase.

119. A similar situation prevails with respect to questions on the development of economic co-operation, not only on a world-wide scale but particularly with respect to the regional co-operation of the Asian and Far Eastern countries. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from economic and technical talks and conferences as well as from activities organized under the auspices of the United Nations and its specialized agencies results in serious damage to all these activities. My delegation can only consider this as direct sabotage of all these undertakings.

120. Many delegations spoke in the general debate about the further tasks of the United Nations and its role in the world. It is precisely in this connexion that the United Nations, in the interests of promoting its own role, cannot permit itself to antagonize a country which represents one quarter of mankind by keeping it illegally outside its ranks. This state of affairs is not in the interests of the majority of Member States. It is certainly contrary to the interests of the countries of Asia and Africa in many respects, since it prevents the participation in the United Nations of the largest Asian country and of a leading factor in the historical process which liberated Asia and Africa from imperialist colonialism. Neither can it be in the interests of a number of Western countries which are interested in expanding commercial and other relations with the People's Republic of China.

121. All that has been said by the opponents of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations clearly demonstrates that the only real reason for their attitude is their

opposition to the economic and social system which the great Chinese people chose by their determined struggle against imperialism and its puppets. That is definitely a cold war policy which the adversaries of the People's Republic of China are trying to maintain and pursue in the United Nations.

122. In order to defend this untenable position, the adversaries of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations used tactics to confuse and distort the whole situation.

123. It must be pointed out once more that there is no question of the admission of a new member or of the expulsion of a certain country. The situation is obvious. In the world there is only one Chinese State, which is the People's Republic of China and which, since the founding of the United Nations, has been a Member, but whose legitimate representatives have been prevented illegally from participating in the activities of the Organization. Therefore, my delegation rejects any distortion of this fact based on the so-called theory of two Chinas. Consequently, Article 4 of the Charter cannot be invoked since this is not a case of admitting a new Member to the United Nations. As we have emphasized, China has been a Member since the inception of the Organization.

124. In 1949 the Chinese people transformed its system and its form of Government and installed a new Government. But changes of government have taken place in many other countries, and yet the question of their membership of the United Nations has not arisen. Even the most sophisticated attempts of some representatives who spoke yesterday offered no pertinent reasons why this attitude of not questioning the government applied generally in many countries which changed their governments, but did not apply in the case of China. Therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation supports the view that this question should be decided by a simple majority vote as being a question of recognizing credentials.

125. It has been stressed at this session of the General Assembly that mankind expects that after the first steps have been taken, other resolute measures will be taken leading to peaceful coexistence.

126. Many speeches have been made here about the necessity of eliminating all elements of the cold war. It would only be in the spirit of those expectations if the General Assembly uprooted from its proceedings such a monstrous factor in the cold war as its ignoring of, and discriminating against, the great Chinese people and, on the contrary, moved towards the victory of common sense, justice and the interests of mankind as a whole, by inviting the Government of the People's Republic of China to take its place in the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations and expelling from them the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek group.

127. Proceeding from this position, which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has maintained consistently, the Czechoslovak delegation supports the draft resolution [A/L.427 and Add.1].

128. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): This year the General Assembly has once again to take a decision on one of the oldest questions before the United Nations, namely, which régime should represent China—the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Taipei Government. Had this question been resolved in the manner advocated by Indonesia and a growing number of the Members of the Organization, many

of the problems that now plague the United Nations would never have arisen.

129. Indonesia has always taken the stand that it is the Government of the People's Republic of China that has the right and the competence to represent China in the United Nations and in all its organs, and over the years we have advanced a number of arguments in support of this stand during the annual debate on this item on our agenda. It is not my intention to repeat all these arguments. I do wish, however, to draw the Assembly's attention to what we consider the three most compelling reasons for immediately admitting the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China.

130. The overwhelming necessity for the universality of United Nations membership remains the paramount reason. And how can we speak of the universality of our Organization when a nation with a population of 700 million is at present represented here by a Government which, as everyone knows, might at best, be considered to speak only for the people of Formosa, a small part of China whose population does not exceed 12 million?

131. The second argument which we wish to mention is the simple fact that world peace cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China; for, in the last analysis, no decision or recommendation concerning world peace and security that might be taken by the United Nations with the full support of all its Members, including the veto Powers, could be made to work if the People's Republic of China refused to participate in implementing those decisions. And what guarantee do we have, or for that matter could we expect to have, that the Government of the People's Republic of China would consent to implement United Nations decisions and recommendations so long as the United Nations denies it the right to share in their preparation, consideration and adoption? On the contrary, we can be sure that the Government of the People's Republic of China would oppose them, thus rendering any United Nations decision or recommendation concerning peace and security in the world virtually meaningless.

132. In this context it may be pertinent to call Member's attention to a small paragraph that appeared in The New York Times of 16 October 1963, as already mentioned by the representative of Cambodia, and just now by the representative of Czechoslovakia. Because of its importance I should like to quote:

"President Kennedy has said that 'in a year or two' it will no longer be possible to negotiate a disarmament treaty without the participation of Communist China."

This was a statement which the United States President apparently made during the summer in the course of a series of interviews with magazine editors and which makes moral and other objections unacceptable.

133. Lastly, it seems to my delegation that throughout our annual debates the General Assembly has too easily gone on the assumption that whenever we finally take the decision to recommend the representation of China by the Government of the People's Republic, it will be enthusiastically welcomed by that Government. Personally, I believe that at present the People's Republic of China is indeed desirous of joining the United Nations. But can we be certain that

it will always continue to do so, in the face of the repeated rebuffs it has received over the years?

134. We should ponder this question well, and we should take into account certain factors. As I have already mentioned, the Peking Government now represents a people of about 700 million. On the basis of China's present annual rate of growth, we can expect that with the next decade this will have increased by another 180 million, that is, by a figure which is roughly equal to the combined populations of the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain, and on top of this, China may very soon become a nuclear Power. Is it not conceivable that a nation with an industrious 700 million people, whose number is increasing at a phenomenal rate each year and which, besides being on the verge of becoming a nuclear Power possesses the largest standing conventional army in the world, and which is therefore potentially the most powerful country in the foreseeable future, might one day reject an invitation to join the United Nations? The invitation could be proffered too late, and at all costs we must prevent such a fearful possibility from materializing.

135. Hence my delegation will vote for the draft resolution sponsored by Albania and Cambodia [A/L.427 and Add.1].

136. Mr. KIZYA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Since the arguments put forward against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China are unfounded and have already more than once been convincingly refuted in this hall, there is no need for me to expatiate on them now. I would, however, clearly emphasize that the Government of the Ukraine has firmly advocated the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and continues to do so. Our position in this highly important and very simple question is governed by the following considerations: first, a desire to make the United Nations into a truly universal organization; secondly, the important part which will be played in the life and work of the United Nations by the People's Republic of China as a great founder Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council.

137. The Chiang Kai-shek people have long since passed the station at which they should have got off the train of history. But since they themselves do not wish to leave the United Nations, we should help them to do so. In other words, we should free the seats in the United Nations for the representatives of the People's Republic of China, the only legitimate representatives of that great people.

138. The existence of the People's Republic of China, which has every right to represent China in international affairs, is an indisputable fact. And this being so, the People's Republic of China should be given its lawful place in the United Nations and other international organizations. But this is precisely what the representatives of countries still pursuing a hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China do not want.

139. A serious consideration of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations convincingly shows that there is no justification for depriving the People's Republic of China of its right to participate in the work of the United Nations and in other international organizations.

140. Behind all the objections raised by the opponents of the People's Republic of China lie an unwillingness to recognize the changes which have taken place in the world, and an attempt to persist as long as possible in the illusion of maintaining, in the United Nations, the status quo under which the great Chinese people is deprived of the possibility of solving, together with us, important international problems.

141. Some delegates have put forward the Indo-Chinese border dispute as a pretext for not admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. But remember that India, the country involved in this conflict, nevertheless considers that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored. Consequently, only those who wish the People's Republic of China ill are using the conflict as a screen for their subjective unwillingness to admit that Republic to the United Nations.

142. The Ukrainian delegation cannot agree with the so-called concept of "two Chinas". How can it be seriously argued that there are two Chinas and that Taiwan is a separate State? Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek never were and never will be either China or a separate State. Taiwan is like Katanga, with the difference that in Katanga the colonizers have already suffered defeat and their "President" is no longer in business, whereas in Taiwan he is still consuming dollars and poisoning the international atmosphere.

143. As far back as 1950 the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, wrote in a memorandum that, where a revolutionary Government claimed to represent a State in the United Nations in competition with an existing Government, the right of representing the country in the United Nations should go to the Government which is fact was in a position to fulfil the obligations of membership in the United Nations. In that memorandum we read: "In essence, this means an inquiry as to whether the new government exercises effective authority within the territory of the State and is habitually obeyed by the bulk of the population."<sup>8/</sup>

144. Consequently, has not our Organization expended too much time on clarifying a matter which has long been clear? It is obvious to all that only the People's Republic of China can fulfil the obligations of membership in the United Nations on behalf of the Chinese people.

145. We understand the policy of those who, both inside and outside the United Nations, oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization. But we find it difficult to understand why some States, which only recently freed themselves from colonial dependence, do not vote in favour of enabling the People's Republic of China to use those rights. I think that this is a temporary phase and that the representatives of those countries will ultimately evolve a sound attitude in respect of this question—that of restoring the lawful rights of a Member of the United Nations, the People's Republic of China.

146. This optimistic conviction of the Ukrainian delegation is supported by recent events, which cannot pass unnoticed. All will undoubtedly remember the events which took place at the last session of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for January-May 1950, document S/1466.

and then in the Security Council, in connexion with the consideration of the question of racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa. As is well known, the African countries unanimously demanded the exclusion of the representatives of the Republic of South Africa from the meetings of the International Labour Conference, because the Government of that Republic was pursuing a policy of discrimination and did not in fact represent the South African people.

147. Now, do Chiang Kai-shek and his men represent the Chinese people? We, the socialist countries, have supported the movement of independent African Governments against the racist policy of the Verwoerd Government. It is not difficult to imagine the position which the People's Republic of China would adopt on this question if it were able to exercise its right of participating in the work of the International Labour Organisation.

148. Since the African countries have so resolutely opposed discrimination against ten million Africans in South Africa and have demanded the expulsion of the representatives of the racist Government of South Africa from international organizations, they are likely to be equally consistent and unanimous in fighting discrimination against the 700-million-strong Chinese people, and to support the proposal for the removal of the Chiang Kai-shek men from the United Nations and the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization.

149. This unanimity and solidarity among the African countries is a feature of the current discussion, in the Special Political Committee, on the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Natural logic causes many delegates to wonder why we tolerate racials from South Africa within our walls while for years on end we have been discussing the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

150. Mr. Amri Abedi, Tanganyika's Minister of Justice, has in particular spoken very convincingly about this:

"It is indeed perverted diplomacy", he stated, "that an honourable nation, the Republic of China, should, for no crime at all, be prevented from joining the world Organization while South Africa, with

all of its abominations, should be protected from being thrown out."<sup>9/</sup>

151. Unfortunately some delegations still do not understand that the way to the solution of many problems, including problems connected with the liquidation of the consequences of colonialism, lies largely through restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. If anyone opposes by a vote, with one hand, discrimination against Africans in South Africa, and with the other hand encourages discrimination against great China in the United Nations, he is thereby undermining his own efforts in the struggle for Africans' rights and for the decisive implementation of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

152. It was highly important that Africa should be represented in the United Nations by genuine representatives of its peoples, and it is equally important to secure genuine representation of great China in the United Nations. And the sooner this is done the better it will be for the success and fruitfulness of the Organization's work.

153. The Ukrainian delegation will therefore vote for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

154. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): As it is nearly 1 p.m. I propose, if there are no objections, to adjourn the meeting. The discussion on agenda item 80 will continue at the plenary meeting to be held tomorrow, Friday, in the afternoon.

155. I also wish to announce that, in deference to the requests of certain delegations, the list of speakers on agenda item 80 will be closed this afternoon at 6 p.m., instead of at 1 p.m. as previously announced.

156. The next plenary meeting will begin this afternoon at 3 p.m. sharp, when we shall hear His Excellency the Prime Minister of Ireland.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

<sup>9/</sup>This statement was made on 14 October at the 383rd meeting of the Special Political Committee, the official records of which were published only in summary form.