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AGENDA ITEM 92

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

1. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly once again has to discuss the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It must be said at the outset that the agenda of the General Assembly contains no more urgent nor at the same time more simple question, the solution to which is obvious to all: the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored, and the indisputable facts of life must be faced in this Assembly. Yet the will of the imperialist Powers, headed by the United States, has turned a clear and simple matter into a question which still remains unresolved and which has now been before us for more than ten years. This is a striking example of how the Western Powers react to the course of history and the demands of the peoples; it is an illustration of the obstacles which the policy of the imperialist Powers is piling up against the solution of the most vital and urgent questions.

2. How many manoeuvres have there been, over the years, to prevent the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations! Those who have attended the various sessions of the General Assembly, up to the sixteenth, are quite familiar with the objections raised by the United States delegation to the very consideration of the question of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization. At the last session we saw how the United States was forced to resort to the more contrived device of illegally requesting that this question should be decided by a two-thirds majority. This time, perhaps, the United States delegation will resort to procedural manoeuvres with which we are already familiar, or possibly it will think up new ones; but there is no doubt that the main device, in its arsenal of devices and arguments, remains the same: behind-the-scenes pressure on those who are still susceptible to it and who agree to act as accomplices of the United States in this unseemly affair, involving scandalous violation of justice and of the United Nations Charter. Yet one thing is indisputable:

the time is near when justice will prevail and the representatives of one of the world's greatest Powers, the People's Republic of China will take their lawful place in the United Nations and in all its subsidiary bodies. The cause of those who protest against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China was long ago irrevocably lost. Those who protest against the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations will have missed the bus of history. It will probably take time for them to realize this, but they will have to realize it. And the longer the time they take, the more unenviable their position will be.

3. In urging the General Assembly to invite the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's seat in the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies, the Soviet Government can adduce literally innumerable arguments in favour of doing so immediately. Permit me to refer merely to a few of them. First, China's rights in the United Nations are the rights of a founder Member of the Organization, which are specifically mentioned in the Charter. Refusal to acknowledge these rights of the People's Republic of China is a violation of the United Nations Charter. The right to represent China was entrusted to the Government of the People's Republic of China by the Chinese people as a result of the victorious revolution which set China on the road to national recovery, the reinforcement of the sovereignty of the State, radical social transformation and the building of socialism. To ignore the right of the People's Republic of China to representation in the United Nations is to ignore the rights of the Chinese people, numbering over 650 million and accounting for one fifth of all mankind. The Chinese people is successfully developing the economy and culture of the People's Republic of China and is placing its country among the most industrially developed States. The almost total illiteracy of China and its age-long backwardness are things of the past. It is the duty of the United Nations to restore to this people its lawful place in the United Nations and to remove from the Organization the persons who are now illegally occupying the seat of the Chinese representatives.

4. Think what the non-participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of the United Nations is leading to. Everyone knows that this abnormal state of affairs is having a very bad effect on the international situation, is preventing the solution of major international questions and is weakening the United Nations itself. Let us take, as an example, the problem of disarmament. Is it really possible to achieve general and complete disarmament without the participation of the People's Republic of China? Even the leaders of the United States Government seem to grasp this point. For example, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, speaking on 12 January 1961 in the Senate Foreign Relations

Committee, said: "It would be . . . very difficult to envisagé any progress being made on disarmament without taking into account the enormous force that is there on the Chinese mainland."

5. Mr. Stevenson too, likewise in January 1961, stated that it was impossible to conclude any disarmament agreement without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

6. I could quote other statements made on this subject by United States leaders. Yet the United States and other Western Powers object to the People's Republic of China taking its rightful place in the United Nations, in an Organization whose main task is to safeguard international peace and security and to bring about general and complete disarmament.

7. Whatever the leaders of the Western Powers may have said on this matter, the truth is self-evident. As the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, said at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly: "Until the People's Republic of China takes its rightful place in the United Nations, it will be impossible to establish conditions for genuine negotiations and a solution of the disarmament problem. . . ." [881st meeting, para. 92.] "Without China there can be no disarmament, without China the United Nations cannot function normally." [Ibid., para. 93.]

8. In this connexion it will be highly relevant to mention the position of the People's Republic of China in the matter of disarmament and the participation of the People's Republic of China in disarmament negotiations. It was said, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on 21 January 1960:

"China is ready unhesitatingly to commit itself to international obligations to which it agrees. However, any international disarmament agreement which is arrived at without formal participation of the People's Republic of China or signature of its delegates cannot, of course, have any binding force on China."

This position is perfectly clear and unequivocal. The Government of any sovereign and self-respecting country would have said the same thing.

9. It may be asked why the United States Government has for the past thirteen years been adopting an unrealistic position, inimical to the cause of peace and co-operation, by preventing the People's Republic of China from occupying its lawful place in the United Nations. Can the United States in all seriousness completely ignore the existence of the People's Republic of China and, what is more, impose its position on the United Nations? Certainly not. Experience has shown that in recent years, when complex international problems had to be solved, the United States and its partners were forced to set aside the arguments they use in the United Nations in order to prevent the restoration of China's rights, and had to agree to negotiate with representatives of the People's Republic of China. This of course was a reasonable attitude, and the positive results of this approach are well known.

10. It is sufficient to recall such major international meetings as the Geneva Conferences of 1954^{1/} and

^{1/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

1961-62.^{2/} The Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference of 1954 was attended by representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the Peoples Republic of China, the United Kingdom, France and other countries, and through their joint efforts a number of important agreements were worked out which opened the way to the restoration of peace in South-East Asia. It was not the representatives of the People's Republic of China but the delegation of the United States which then refused to sign these agreements. It was the United States and the Western Powers which countered these agreements with the aggressive SEATO bloc, directed against peace-loving countries.

11. The present year saw the successful Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held at Geneva. In the general discussion, several delegations emphasized the great positive significance, for the strengthening of peace, of a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. At the Geneva Conference on Laos, the representatives of the People's Republic of China, acting in a spirit of co-operation and displaying a genuine desire to reach agreement, made a most constructive contribution to the common cause. In the Geneva agreements on Laos,^{3/} the signature of the Chinese representative is affixed along with the signatures of representatives of thirteen States, including the delegation of the United States of America.

12. The very fact that representatives of the United States and other Western countries attend international conferences with representatives of the People's Republic of China demonstrates the inconsistency and contradictory nature of the policy of the United States and some of its allies in this matter. By sitting with the People's Republic of China at the same negotiating table, Western representatives are tacitly recognizing the People's Republic of China, but they lack the courage to say so aloud and their words sometimes contradict their deeds.

13. The reason for this hostility towards the People's Republic of China is that the United States does not like the social system of that Republic, does not like the socialist system which has triumphed in China. The history of the United States contains quite a few examples showing how the United States, by refusing recognition, has tried to ignore social systems unpalatable to it. But the development of particular States along socialist lines never depended and never will depend on the wishes of the United States, which cannot stop the onward march of history. It will be unable in this matter either—the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—to turn back the hands of the clock.

14. Even more unrealistic and illegal are the attempts of the United States to force its attitude towards the People's Republic of China on the United Nations. The United States has absolutely no right to do this; under the United Nations Charter the United States and the People's Republic of China have exactly the same rights—which is so obvious that there is no need to dwell on this point in any detail.

15. The attempts by the United States to prevent a settlement of the question of restoring the lawful

^{2/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

^{3/} Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and protocol, signed on 23 July 1962.

rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are doing irreparable harm to the United Nations itself. For without the participation of the People's Republic of China it is impossible to solve not only very important international problems, but also urgent matters affecting the very life of the Organization. The speeches of many delegates at this session have contained demands for a reform of the United Nations, a revision of the Charter and a change in the present position regarding the representation of different groups of States in the main United Nations organs.

16. I need hardly recall that the Soviet Union strongly advocates a number of improvements in the structure of the United Nations, designed to bring the Organization more into line with reality and with the requirements of the times. The proposals for the reform of United Nations organs which we have heard from the representatives of African and Asian countries meet with the sympathy and understanding of the Soviet Government. But we emphatically repeat that no changes in the United Nations Charter are possible until the lawful rights of China in the United Nations, and in all its organs, have been restored. We feel that this position of ours is understandable to all.

17. The forced exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation in the work of the United Nations is a very great evil, and undermines the entire edifice of the Organization. How is it possible to rebuild and repair individual floors of this edifice if its foundations are undermined? It has been proposed to start repairs and rebuilding in the absence of one of the lawful owners of the edifice—the People's Republic of China. If the United Nations set about replanning the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council in the absence of China, it would resemble a rather stupid builder who, in building a house, started with the top floors and neglected the foundations. That kind of construction can only result in the entire building collapsing on top of the builders themselves.

18. Those States which are interested in the development and strengthening of the United Nations cherish the interests of peace and security and desire that the Organization should be able to strengthen peace and security have a wonderful opportunity to take an important and necessary step towards the achievement of these aims, by voting for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

19. The Soviet delegation emphasizes that any fresh postponement of the restoration of these rights will play into the hands of those who aim at an intensification of international tension and at fresh adventures, particularly in the Far East. The seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly would make an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace by taking a decision to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

20. The Soviet Union has submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/L.395] on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This draft resolution is simple, just as the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China is simple. Its operative part provides for two interdependent measures: first, the immediate removal from all United

Nations organs of the so-called Chiang Kai-shek representatives, who represent no one but themselves; secondly, an invitation to the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs.

21. The Soviet delegation calls upon the delegates to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly to assess, soberly and rightly, any fresh attempt at obstructionism in this matter of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China. From the procedural standpoint, the question is, in essence, simply that of approving the credentials of one of the Members of the United Nations. It is absurd to contend that for this question a two-thirds majority decision is required. It is a matter not of admitting a new Member to the United Nations, but of restoring the lawful rights of an old United Nations Member, one of the founders of the Organization. It is a matter of rectifying a patent injustice, of formally legitimizing the rights of a Government illegally deprived of those rights. The recognition of the Government of any State, that is, the recognition of its credentials, has been and should be decided, as we all know, by a simple majority. It is, moreover, for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, completely unnecessary to carry out any "studies" on the representation of China, to set up committees for that purpose, and in general to engage in any procedural complication of this entirely clear issue.

22. We would also issue a warning to those who are making plans or fostering illusions with regard to the creation of "two Chinas" in the United Nations, as a means of escaping from the situation. Obviously nothing will be achieved by such attempts. The "two Chinas" theory conflicts with common sense and with the United Nations Charter. There is and will be in the world only one China—the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is not a State; Taiwan is an integral part of China, one of China's provinces, over which the sovereignty of the Chinese people will sooner or later be restored. The situation on Taiwan is purely a Chinese internal affair, and can concern no one except the Chinese people. It is just as out of place for other States to dictate to the Chinese people and its Government in the manner in which they should solve their internal problems as it would be, for example, to dictate to the United States the measures it should take to deal with individual Governors who challenge the central Federal Government, as happened recently in the State of Mississippi.

23. Nor does the United Nations Charter permit of two interpretations in this matter. Under the Charter (Article 18), each country—including China—has only one seat and one vote in the Organization, and consequently the Charter excludes simultaneous representation of the People's Republic of China and the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek.

24. It must be stressed that the United Nations is in no way making easier the fulfilment of its task of maintaining international peace and security, by allowing people who represent no one—the so-called followers of Chiang Kai-shek—to occupy the seat of China in its bodies. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, having dug itself in on Taiwan Island, is engaging in provocative sorties in the Taiwan Strait, undertaken with the collaboration and connivance of the United States of America. Obviously, time will never make these people see reason; this year the Chiang Kai-shek

olique has started a particularly provocative campaign, threatening to take a "tiger-jump onto the mainland" and to launch an "attack which may begin at any time", etc. On Taiwan military preparations are being carried out ostentatiously and on a large scale, and steps are being taken to mobilize reserves of men and material for an attack on the coastal areas of the People's Republic of China. A steering body for the invasion of the mainland has even been set up on the island—the so-called "Committee of Action for Counter-attack".

25. Of course, the war-cries of Chiang Kai-shek's supporters can only bring an ironical smile to the lips of those who realize the true position. Unfortunately, however, something else is concealed behind them. It is perfectly obvious that the Chiang Kai-shek puppets dare to raise their voices only because they rely on help in the form of weapons, leadership and money from overseas, on direct participation by United States armed forces in the adventure for which they are preparing. On 9 September last a "U-2" Chiang Kai-shek plane of American origin was shot down over the territory of the People's Republic of China. This incident clearly illustrates the dangerous nature of the intentions of Chiang Kai-shek's supporters and their backers, and shows that any connivance at these intentions cannot be tolerated.

26. The United Nations, and all its Members that value its merits and role as an international Organization for the strengthening of peace and the security of peoples, should show that it is not a miserable clique of renegades but the great Chinese people which is finally intitled to take its rightful place in the United Nations, and that the time has come to put an end to the illegal state of affairs which is depriving the Chinese people of its lawful representation. The renegade clique which has been rejected by the Chinese people should be expelled forthwith from the General Assembly Hall and from all United Nations organs, and the delegation of the People's Republic of China should at once be enabled to take the seats which belong to it.

27. An immediate and positive settlement of the question of the restoration of lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would undoubtedly have a vastly favourable effect on the international situation as a whole, and would strengthen the cause of the peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems. The Soviet delegation is firmly convinced that all delegations which are inspired by the desire to strengthen peace, and by common sense, will support the equitable solution we propose in the question of the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

28. Mr. LIU (China): Only ten months ago the General Assembly, in its wisdom, rejected the Soviet proposal for seating the Chinese Communists. That decision, it may be recalled, was arrived at after long and exhaustive discussion [1080th meeting]. Now we are witnessing the spectacle of another Soviet campaign on behalf of the Chinese Communists. This, I submit, is more than a challenge to the rightful position of my delegation in the United Nations. It has the gravest implications for the future of the United Nations itself. The Soviet representative speaks of "the restoration of the lawful rights" of the Chinese Communists. What effrontery, what absurdity. Can any rights be restored to a party that has no legitimate claim to such rights?

29. The Chinese Communist régime which the Soviet Union wants to be admitted to the United Nations came into being in 1949 as a result of Soviet aggression against my country. The facts are well known. On 9 August 1945, on the eve of the Japanese surrender, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. Soviet troops poured into the North-eastern provinces of China, known to the world as Manchuria, until the whole region was under their military occupation. Moscow had pledged to my Government that its armed forces would evacuate Manchuria within three months of the Japanese surrender. Actually, the Soviet forces delayed evacuation until they could get the Chinese Communists to move in and receive from them the vast stores of arms and ammunition surrendered by the Japanese Kwantung army. They in fact handed over Manchuria to the Chinese Communists. My Government was denied access to Manchurian ports and railways for the re-establishment of its authority in that strategic area. Thus, with Soviet support, and with Manchuria as their base of operations, the Chinese Communists launched their armed rebellion for the seizure of the entire Chinese mainland.

30. This is the origin of the Chinese Communist régime. Whatever speculation there may be about the régime's present relations with Moscow, there is no denying the fact that it owes its very existence to the Soviet Union. And there can be little doubt that it will continue to conspire with the Soviet Union for the communization of the world.

31. Thirteen years have passed since the régime's establishment. What a criminal record it has written for itself during these years. Here are some of the entries in this record: From October 1949 to December 1952, the régime carried out what was euphemistically called a "land reform program". In the name of the suppression of "feudal landlords" and "counter-revolutionary elements", some twenty million innocent men and women were liquidated.

32. The period between 1953 and 1957 was known as one of "Socialist transformation". During this period land was collectivized, private enterprises were confiscated, and all workers were compelled to undergo brain-washing. Unco-operative elements, numbering some three million, were either liquidated or put into labour camps.

33. The year 1958 was the year of the so-called "Big Leap Forward", the "People's Communes", and the backyard furnaces. The masses of the people were so regimented that human beings were reduced, according to a first-hand report of the eminent Indian sociologist, Dr. Chandra-Sekhar, "to the level of the inmates of a zoo" living in conditions "more terrifying than all the conceivable hells put together". That year saw another Communist military venture in the Taiwan Straits. In forty-four days of continuous bombardment no less than half a million Russian-made shells were indiscriminately poured on the island of Quemoy. It was only after their failure to destroy the morale of the garrison and of the civilian population on the island that the Chinese Communists declared that for "humanitarian" reasons they would henceforth only fire on odd days. And this alternation of "humanitarianism" and murderousness has continued to this day.

34. The consequences of the "Big Leap Forward" have been most tragic for the Chinese people. The abuse of nature, as well as of human nature, has plunged the country into a man-made famine of unpre-

cedented gravity. For more than three years now the Chinese people have been facing hunger and starvation. In the countryside the only people who get enough to eat are the communist cadres—soldiers and security police. Driven to desperation, the peasants have resorted to frequent acts of riot, sabotage and other means of resistance.

35. In 1959, the Chinese Communist carried out their so-called "reforms" in Tibet in flagrant violation of their solemn promise to give the Tibetans, as one of the national minorities, within the boundaries of China, the right of regional autonomy and the freedom to preserve their own customs, traditions, and religious beliefs. Resistance was ruthlessly put down. The Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal head of Tibet, was put to flight to India. The crimes which the Communists have since committed in Tibet, according to the report of the International Commission of Jurists,^{4/} add up to genocide.

36. Such is the Chinese Communist Record, a record stained with the blood and tears of the Chinese people, a record of wholesale violation of human rights and of genocide, a record which, in brutality and terror, is unequalled in the annals of man.

37. Now can such an unspeakable and unregenerate régime represent the Chinese people, and speak for them in the United Nations? I leave it to the Assembly to answer this question. My delegation, for its part, is convinced that the Chinese Communists not only do not represent the Chinese people, but that they are bitterly hated and will ultimately be overthrown by the oppressed people of China.

38. Turning to the international field, we find that the Chinese Communists have displayed the same lawlessness and aggressive violence. Less than eight months after their occupation of the Chinese mainland, they waged war against the United Nations forces in Korea, and for this they were condemned as an aggressor by the General Assembly, in its resolution 498 (V). And since the signing of the Korean armistice, they have never ceased to commit aggression against their neighbours in Asia. The role which they play in Laos and South Viet-Nam is too well known to dwell upon. Their subversive activities in Thailand, Malaya and the Philippines are a matter of common knowledge. India, the country which has tried its best to be friendly with the Chinese Communists, has not been exempt from their military adventures. Lately, they have extended their infiltration and subversion to Latin America and to Africa. Only the other day, on 3 October 1962 [1140th meeting], the representative of Cameroon told the Assembly that he has proof that the Chinese Communists have openly trained and armed Cameroon terrorists for the purpose of overthrowing the democratically established Cameroon Government.

39. It is important to point out that the Chinese Communists not merely commit aggression; they make a virtue of it. They regard their expansionist activities as a sacred historical mission. They preach the inevitability of war. They advocate the violent overthrow of all non-Communist Governments. They do so in the belief that there can be no peace until the entire capitalist system will have been liquidated. They consider it their duty to establish Communist régimes wherever their armies may choose to go.

40. An article published two years ago in the Red Flag, official organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, declared that "when the armed forces of the socialist countries fight for justice and go beyond their borders to counter-attack a foreign enemy," they should "exert their influence" to establish "the socialist system in these places". This being the official doctrine, it is obvious that no country sharing common boundaries with the Chinese Communists can ever be safe from their armed incursions or can be sure that its territory would not sooner or later be used for the "establishment of the socialist system". This doctrine of brute force is manifestly a threat to international peace and cannot be looked upon with unconcern by the world community.

41. I believe that I have made it sufficiently clear that the Chinese Communist régime is tyrannical at home and violently aggressive abroad. Yet the Soviet Union has the effrontery to demand that this régime be given the seat of China. To yield to this demand is to betray the spirit, violate the letter and subvert the Principles and Purposes of the Charter.

42. The Chinese people, as I said from this rostrum on 4 October [1142nd meeting], have in fact repudiated the Communist régime. Speaking of the problem of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macao, I said, among other things, this:

"... Yet these men and women, for the most part young and able-bodied, are leaving behind their beloved ones and earthly possessions to seek refuge in a place where they know they are not really wanted. It is more than mere hunger that they are running away from. Their decision to leave home can be accounted for only by their profound hatred of the communist régime. By their action they are asserting, in the clearest and strongest terms, their opposition to all that the Chinese Communist régime stands for. More than that, they are repudiating it. The mass exodus from the mainland has but one meaning: that where the Chinese people have a choice, they vote against Mao Tse-tung and communist tyranny." [1142nd meeting, para. 51.]

43. Now the United Nations was founded in the wake of an unprecedented world conflict. The founders had the memories of the Second World War fresh in their minds, and they wanted the United Nations, in the words of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". To create conditions conducive to peace, the Charter enjoins its Members to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights", to respect justice and international law, and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

44. These are the obligations which all Member States have pledged themselves to uphold. It is not difficult to see why these are important. History bears witness to the fact that a régime that tramples upon the rights of men at home, that holds justice and international law in contempt, that has no concern for the well-being of its people, cannot be expected to respect the independence and freedom of other peoples.

45. These obligations constitute the basic requirements of membership in this Organization. This is what is meant by the word "obligations" referred to in Article 4 of the Charter. Indeed, the very existence of Article 4 indicates that while universality is a desirable goal, it is not the primary purpose of the

^{4/} The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1959).

Organization or the paramount consideration for its membership. The reason is not far to seek. If the United Nations is no more than a motley assemblage of Members who have no deep conviction of shared values and interests and no feeling of trust and confidence in each other's purposes, then it certainly cannot preserve peace and security by the united strength of all its Members.

46. There are those who freely acknowledge the ruthless and aggressive nature of the Chinese Communist régime, but who nevertheless argue that "the facts of international life" require its being seated in the United Nations. The régime, we are told, is a physical control of the Chinese mainland, and it would be unrealistic to ignore its existence. Therefore, say these people, however much one may deplore its tyrannical rule at home and aggressive behaviour abroad, it is not expedient to keep it out of the United Nations.

47. This, I submit, is a dangerous argument. The "facts of international life", I am constrained to say, do not call for the seating of the Chinese Communist régime; they call for a contrary course of action. In 1940, Hitler was in control of much of Europe, but no one except a few arrant appeasers advocated international approval of Nazism or the international recognition of Nazi conquest. These people on the mainland may have, for the time, been deprived of their freedom, but they are far from being subdued. My Government stands as a beacon of hope for these voiceless millions who, if they could only be heard in this hall, would be found to regard my Government as the only Government of China. No one denies the existence of the Chinese Communist régime. But, can it be said that it represents the Chinese people, their wishes, their aspirations, their way of life? On the contrary, that régime is the enemy of all freedom-loving Chinese.

48. The Government and people I have the honour to represent fought on the side of the democracies in World War II, took an active part in the framing of the Charter, and have since fulfilled all their obligations in the United Nations and other international bodies. It is in recognition of their sacrifices in the last war and their contributions to the cause of peace that the Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council.

49. My Government, as the legally constituted Government of China, is firmly established on Chinese soil. It is dedicated to the task of restoring freedom to the millions of our people who are being enslaved by the Communist régime. It therefore represents not only the 11 million in the province of Taiwan, but Chinese people everywhere, including the 600 million on the mainland. Had it not been for this Government, the cries of anguish of the enslaved millions under Communist domination would not have been heard in this Assembly.

50. As a loyal Member of the United Nations, the Government and people of China have looked to this Organization to help them to resist aggression and to uphold international justice. As far back as 1949, my Government brought before the General Assembly an item entitled "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to the peace of the Far East, resulting from Soviet violations of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 14 August 1945 and from Soviet violations of the Charter

of the United Nations". After three sessions of debate, the General Assembly passed resolution 505 (VI), recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union had been in default of its treaty obligations towards China. Unfortunately, as in other cases of communist aggression in the past decade, no effective step has been taken by the United Nations to redress the wrong of which my country is the victim. If the United Nations cannot do anything positive to right the wrong done to my people, it at least should not go out of its way to help the Chinese Communist régime to consolidate its tyranny and thereby perpetuate the enslavement of the Chinese people, by putting upon that régime the seal of international approval.

51. The United Nations is in danger of being perverted to serve the interests of the powerful warmongers and international bullies. The Soviet bloc of nations is here, not to achieve the purposes of the United Nations, but to frustrate them. Members of this bloc do not act as individual Members dedicated to making the world a happier and safer place to live in; they act, on the contrary, as a disciplined unit to forward the objectives of international communism. It is they who have shaken the common man's confidence in the United Nations. If the United Nations is to regain this confidence and survive as a meaningful and effective agency for peace and progress, it cannot afford to strengthen the forces of evil and add to its membership a régime which is the very negation of everything for which the United Nations stands. On this fateful issue no nation can be neutral. If neutrality means indifference to what is right or wrong; if to Member States, the ideals of justice and human rights become a burden and not their inspiration; if the Charter is to be regarded only as a string of pious platitudes to cover a multitude of sins, and not a living guide to true peace, then the future of the United Nations will be dark indeed. But I am firmly convinced that this is not the case, and, so convinced, I have no doubt that the Assembly will once again reject the Soviet proposal in its entirety.

52. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): On Wednesday of this week we shall mark the seventeenth anniversary of the ratification of the Charter of the United Nations. During these past seventeen years we have seen the spirit of this Charter and the promise which it offers extended to an ever-widening area of the earth's population. We can take pride in the fact that, despite the turmoil and travail which this process has involved, it has been accomplished without compromising the essential foundations of the Charter. The preservation of the Charter's integrity and the gradual extension of its principles to the entire world are, in the last analysis, the reason for the existence of this Assembly and for the presence of all of us here today. But there are few circumstances and few issues which more cynically challenge these principles than this item which we are debating here today. I know of no single resolution which more pointedly suggests forsaking the very essentials of the Charter than the Soviet draft resolution that we have before us. Can we honestly be expected to believe that the Soviet Union is unaware of what this resolution proposes to do? Is the Soviet Union to be taken seriously when it argues that Peking is peace-loving; that for more than thirteen years it has been the rightful claimant to the seat of China in the United Nations, and that therefore the United Nations must reject its Charter even as it observes the anniversary of its adoption?

53. The Soviet Union demands, in fact, that the majority of the Assembly wipe out its previous decisions, including the solemn condemnation of the Chinese Communists for their aggression in Korea, and also expel a loyal Member State, in the hope that this will entice Peking to send representatives to sit among us. Does the Soviet delegate really believe his argument is valid? Does the Soviet Union really think so highly of this régime in Peking?

54. Last year when I took this rostrum to discuss the same question [1069th meeting], I felt it important to consider it against the background of the era in which we live, an era of sweeping revolutionary changes. The age of empire is drawing to a close and the end is almost in sight. One billion human beings are marching onto the stage of history, seeking and achieving national independence and economic progress. More than one-third of the Member States of the United Nations have become independent since the United Nations was founded, and their representatives now participate actively in our deliberations and share their counsel with us.

55. We in the United States know how much they cherish their new-found liberty because our own nation was founded in much the same ferment as theirs, and we know how sweet are the fruits of freedom. We understand their pride in taking their place among us; we believe we understand their aspirations for the future, for themselves and for their children. We know too that the new world that is taking shape is a world that yearns for peace and that would do away with the evils of the past. It is a world in which co-operation and brotherhood are no abstract idealisms, but practical, hard-headed, necessities for survival. It is a world that tolerates no more of imperialism, empire, and the subjugation of alien peoples. It is a world made up of a community of independent States, each respecting the other, each helping the other.

56. This is a community, however, which can be created in our time only if we have courage and foresight. It will not be created if we permit new and even more sinister evils to fester and take root and to replace the old. At this phase of history we are confronted with an issue, the outcome of which may well determine whether we shall, in the words of the Charter, "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". And that is why I agree with the contention of the Soviet Union that this question is important and urgent. Its importance and urgency, however, are not in the Soviet demand for the expulsion of the representative of a Charter Member, the Republic of China, one of our founding States, but in the Members of this body recognizing, as they have time and again in these past fifteen years, that force is not a passport for membership in the United Nations.

57. But what of the 600 million people of the mainland? Do we forget them? Do we relegate them to the wings of the stage of history? No, we do not. It is their rulers that do. This body, by admitting the so-called People's Republic of China, would not be admitting 600 million Chinese. We would be admitting a small handful of tyrants who care little about the people and more, much more, about power. Is this representation? Is this giving recognition and representation to 600 million voiceless human beings?

58. I submit that the teeming millions of the mainland are today subjugated by a régime that cares less about

their rights—fundamental human rights reaffirmed by the Charter—than any régime in modern history, perhaps in all history. I do not know. But I do know that its régime is a dictatorship, its ideology is power, its aim, professed with pride and arrogance, is conquest. Do we need the counsel of this régime? Is this a government that would support with a pure heart and with clean hands the Charter of the United Nations?

59. This is a new imperialism, a new colonialism that seeks to carve out a new empire—not only in Asia—and to dash the hopes of liberty the world over. This is what the Soviet Union would have us admit to our halls. No 600 million industrious Chinese, but a cynical government that refuses to renounce the use of force in the settlement of disputes.

60. The world knows well what is going on, even today, in that huge arc which ranges from Manchuria through the Himalayas. And let us consider as examples only those events in the year since our last debate on this subject.

61. The Indian sub-continent today is also the victim of increasing military aggression along its borders. Chinese Communist military forces persistently cross the borders of India and press by force deeper and deeper into Indian territory. These are not undisciplined troops that have lost their way; these are regular units of the Chinese Communist People's Republic armed forces acting under precise orders. By their actions the Chinese Communists again show their scorn for the Charter of this Organization. Even as I speak here, brave men are dying in India as they defend their land against the invaders. According to a news bulletin I received but a few moments before coming to this hall, fighting now rages on at least three fronts. And should there be some among us who think that perhaps the whole thing is a mistake, that it will right itself before long, let me point out that, when a nation moves its troops with tanks and armour, it is no mistake. It is in this case a premeditated act; it is naked aggression, and it has been going on, with gathering momentum, for some three years.

62. But should there still be some among us who think that perhaps I overstate the case, who think that we should politely ignore the fact that communist China believes only in force, let me refer you to a statement just issued by Prime Minister Nehru who has told his countrymen: "We are facing the greatest menace to our freedom". This Assembly would face the greatest menace to its future if it bowed to the demand of the Soviet Union and admitted the representatives of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, I am appalled that we should even be asked to consider, as one of our peers, a government that expresses such disdain for all that the United Nations represents. However, I feel it unnecessary to belabour this point, it must be clear to everyone here.

63. Then, the Chinese Communists stand condemned by the United Nations as aggressors in Korea. They refuse to recognize, either their own wrongdoing, or the righteousness of the United Nations in defending a victim of aggression and in seeking to restore peace to that troubled land. They assert the United Nations had no business in Korea. Having mounted aggression, having thrown massive armed force against the United Nations effort to restore peace in Korea, and having ravaged the country, they now insist that the blame was all Korea's. They even characterized the United

Nations Command, which is in Korea on the peaceful mission of defending the Armistice, as an agent of imperialism. This is a shop-worn technique of calling white black and black white.

64. The Chinese Communist Foreign Minister, on 15 August 1962, declared that "the Chinese people resolutely support" the efforts of the North Korean régime to "compel" the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea; that is, the Chinese communists proclaim the dismantling of the United Nations peace-keeping mission, a mission taken in solemn duty to the principles of the Charter, as an objective of their national policy.

65. Then in Taiwan, on 22 December 1961, the Peiping People's Daily, official organ of the Chinese Communist régime declared:

"However the United Nations may vote, whatever resolutions it may adopt, the Chinese peoples determination to liberate Taiwan will not be shaken."

On 1 August 1962 General Lo Jwi-Ching, the Vice-Premier of the Chinese Communist régime and Chief of the General Staff, speaking at a ceremony commemorating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Army, stated:

"Taiwan is China's sacred territory. The Chinese people have the sacred right to liberate Taiwan at any time, by any means . . ."

Consider the source of this statement, and the occasion on which it was made. Clearly what they have in mind is something even more deadly than so-called "peaceful liberation", the fate which befell Tibet.

66. Then there is South-East Asia, an area where the Chinese Communists even at this very moment are trying to export their revolutionary tactics and subversion against established authority.

67. Take the example of South Viet-Nam. Sun Hsiao-tsun, Chairman of the China-Viet-Nam Friendship Association, at a rally in Peiping, on 31 August 1962, declared, according to the New China News Agency:

"that the Chinese people would staunchly support the patriotic, just, anti-United States struggle of the Vietnamese people and that 650 million Chinese people would forever unite closely and fight side by side with the heroic Vietnamese people".

What is meant, of course, is that they would support the undeclared war which North Viet-Nam is waging to take over South Viet-Nam by force, without regard for the will of the people of South Viet-Nam.

68. And then there is Tibet. In past years this Assembly has debated the tragedy of Tibet. It has repeatedly expressed its grave concern at the systematic violation of human rights by Chinese Communist armed forces which entered Tibet under the banner of "peaceful liberation". Last year this Assembly solemnly renewed " . . . its call for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination" [resolution 1723 (XVI)]. Fifty-six Members of the General Assembly supported the resolution on Tibet last year, while it was opposed by only ten.

69. Peiping's specific reaction to this resolution was voiced in the official statement by its Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 21 December 1961 that " . . . no foreign countries or international organization, the

United Nations included, have any right to meddle [in Tibet]".

70. But it is not only Communist China's neighbours which suffer aggression under the cloak of "peaceful coexistence". Chinese Communist leaders have repeatedly professed their belief in revolution and subversion; they have shown their ability to export revolution; they had even boasted of doing so.

71. In his general debate statement on 3 October 1962 [1140th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cameroon offered proof—as the previous speaker in this debate has told us—of the Chinese Communists' long-standing policy of aggression towards his country, the training and arming on the Chinese mainland of terrorists promoting violent revolution thousands of miles away from China in the heart of Africa.

72. The Official Chinese Communist organ, People's Daily, not only has failed to deny this infamous plot, on the contrary, its editorials have boasted about the wide circulation in Africa, in Latin America and throughout Asia of pamphlets on guerilla warfare and on Chinese Communist revolutionary theories. People's Daily expressed the conviction that these pamphlets will gain favour among those far-distant peoples because "sooner or later they will rise in revolution". People's Daily ignores the fact that most of these peoples have had their revolution and are now free and independent nations.

73. Speaking before this Assembly on 1 December 1961 [1069th meeting], I touched on this affinity for aggressive violence which characterizes the rulers of Peiping and I quoted a statement by the supreme leader of the Chinese Communism, Mao Tse-tung, who summed up his world outlook in the words: "Everything can be made to grow out of the barrel of a gun." Ten days later the same official organ, People's Daily, commenting on my remarks, declared: "All revolutionary people can never abandon the truth that 'all political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'."

74. Once again the Soviet Union asks the General Assembly to sanction the use of force by the Chinese Communists for the attainment of their material purposes.

75. The Chinese Communist rulers have consistently refused to renounce the use of force against a United Nations Member: the Republic of China. And in this they can claim to have Soviet support. Less than a year ago on 1 December 1961, in this very hall, the representative of the Soviet Union stated:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to complete the liquidation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, whether by peaceful means or by the use of armed force; that is its own and nobody else's business." [1068th meeting, para 55.]

Let there be no mistake about it. Those who speak in support of the admission of the Chinese Communists into the United Nations inevitably lend support and encouragement to the aggressive concepts which today govern the actions and policies of that régime, and thereby endanger the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Sir James Plimsoll (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

76. Now, the Soviet Union would maintain the fiction that the world would be more peaceful, that this Organi-

zation would somehow be revitalized by the admission of the Chinese Communist régime. And in equally strident terms the Soviet Union insists that to bring this about we must first expel the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, a founding Member State. We are asked to admit a government which practises and preaches violence in dealing with others and to eject a Charter Member of the Organization whose constitution uniquely commits it to "Respect . . . the Charter of the United Nations."

77. The Republic of China is a loyal and dedicated Member of the United Nations. It has been so since the founding of our Organization. It participates fully in the economic and technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. The Soviet Union cannot seriously expect this Assembly to expel the representative of the Republic of China. Though faced with a constant threat to its very existence posed by the same hostile régime which the Soviet Union proposes to admit into this Assembly, the Republic of China, despite the burden of vigilance and the constant effort in its defence which this threat imposes upon it, has sought to preserve and foster those cultural values and traditions which have, for centuries, been the unique attributes of Chinese civilization. The family is respected as a fundamental social unit whose welfare is the concern of the community. Harmony among men is the goal of society. To each individual is due recognition of his identity as a human being whose wants, desires and happiness cannot be ignored or infringed upon.

78. The Republic of China has demonstrated that these values may be harnessed with great effect for the progress of society. More than 11 million people on Taiwan today enjoy political well-being and unprecedented economic growth under the rule of these social principles. Taiwan's industries have expanded and been diversified. Its commerce carries the products of its many factories to distant parts of the globe. Its farmers, working for themselves on their own land, have steadily pushed agricultural production to new levels, and this year reaped another record harvest. Meanwhile, the sons of these good fathers have gone abroad under the Republic of China's technical assistance programme, to share with farmers of other lands the skills they have developed. Representatives of some of the nations of Africa who sit in this hall can testify to the success of these efforts and to the goodwill these young men have created.

79. The mainland brothers of the people living on Taiwan have not been so fortunate, either socially or economically. The people and the Government of the United States are not happy that the people on the mainland of China are today more oppressed than ever before, more deprived, more hungry. I do not wish to treat the spectre of famine and human misery with anything but the most sincere regret. The Chinese people, however, are now confronted with the cruel emptiness of past promises and exhortations. From all over mainland China come reports of factories closed down, construction projects abandoned in a state of half completion, of shortages of revenue, raw materials and equipment, of increased rationing of consumer goods, inflation, colossal mistakes in agricultural policy, of increasing unemployment, hunger and despair. The increasing severity of the economic breakdown on the China mainland has been so great that the Communists themselves no longer deny it.

The boasts of yesterday have been put aside, and now the people hear Foreign Minister Chen Yi saying:

"The Chinese people are soberly aware that our country is still economically poor and culturally backward, and that it will yet take decades of hard work to turn China into an advanced, prosperous and powerful socialist country."

80. The mismanagement of their economic affairs by the Chinese Communists has led to widespread suffering. Since our debate at the sixteenth session we have learned of many disturbances and disorders, particularly in South China, and of the serious riots of the Canton railway station in early June 1962.

81. The Chinese Communist rulers have failed because they have concentrated not on building up their own country but on tearing down others.

82. I have taken the time of the Assembly for this review because we care very much about the 600 million people of China and what happens to them. But we could do them no greater disservice than to give the stamp of legality and approval to their rulers.

83. We hear much about self-determination in these halls and about the right of every nation to determine its own form of government. My Government fervently believes in this principle. Indeed, we fought a war nearly 200 years ago to win that right for ourselves. Our own Declaration of Independence states clearly and unequivocally our belief that "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed". Have the Chinese Communist rulers derived their power from the consent of 600 million Chinese? Or have they grasped it by force of arms?

84. In our Declaration of Independence, too, we emphasize our belief in "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind", and for nearly 200 years this respect has guided our actions. What opinion, other than their own, do the Chinese Communist rulers respect? I daresay, incidentally, there are those in the Soviet Union who may well be asking the same question. The answer is clear. The Chinese Communists today lack respect not only for the opinions of others, but even for those held by their own countrymen. It would, I fear, be too much to hope, therefore, that some useful purpose can be served by our debate this year, or to voice the hope that the rulers in Peiping will hear what we say and pay heed to the views we express. If they do not, however, it is hard to foresee how much more suffering the people of the mainland must endure.

85. For the sake of the Chinese people, therefore, we must avoid giving their Stalinist rulers any encouragement that would have them believe the United Nations—contrary to the fundamental human rights expressed in its Charter—will turn its head the other way while they starve their people into submission, or that would encourage them to believe they can shoot their way into our Council halls.

86. Rather than taking this rostrum and arguing that the Chinese Communist régime is a peace-loving State that belongs in the United Nations, the representatives of the Soviet Union would better serve the cause of peace and of mankind by telling the rulers of Peiping they must change their way. Rather than pay lip service to the cause of the so-called People's Republic of China, let them show their own sincerity

by demanding that Peiping renounce the use of force. No one, the Soviet Union included, seriously expects the Republic of China to be expelled or the rulers of Peiping to be invited to sit in this hall. Instead, our debate underscores the fact that Communist China is not moving closer to, but farther away from, the United Nations.

87. Once again, I emphasize our belief in the Charter and in the fundamental human rights it reaffirms—fundamental rights in which we fervently wish the people of China will eventually share.

88. For these reasons, the United States opposes the Soviet draft resolution [A/L.395]. As the representative of the Soviet Union said here earlier this afternoon, the two operative paragraphs of his draft resolution are linked: they call for the expulsion of a loyal Member State and for the admission of Communist China in its place. We are confident that this proposal will be rejected by the General Assembly and that the Charter will be upheld.

89. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): When I inscribed the name of my delegation on the list of speakers on this issue, I was thinking that, as always, I would come here, representing my Government and my people, to state our views as a country friendly to all Members of the United Nations, following a policy of strict non-alignment, and basing our judgement of any international problem on the merits of the question. That is what I still intend to do, even though we were told by the representative of Nationalist China that no country could be impartial or neutral on this question. We cannot understand that. I think that countries have their own policies and their own way of thinking and they are all entitled to express them here according to what they think is right.

90. On behalf of the Afghan delegation, I should like to say that we regret very much that once again the Assembly is confronted with the crucial question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, an issue which has been so controversial for so long a time. Our greatest concern in this matter is the interest of the Chinese people and the interest of the United Nations. I repeat that: our greatest concern here is the interest of the United Nations and the interest of the Chinese people. It is on the basis of this concern that we have ventured to ask for permission to speak and to take the time of our colleagues in the Assembly.

91. We do not wish to see this concern clouded in any way by irrelevant considerations. There is one consideration before the Assembly at the present time—in our view, the only consideration before it—and that is the rightful representation of a Member State in the United Nations. On this point we have repeatedly stated our position, and our views are on record—and I do not think that representatives have to repeat everything they said in past years when this issue was before the Assembly.

92. Our support for the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China is not based merely on the fact that we have recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China, for our recognition itself has evolved from our knowledge, as a neighbouring country, that the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate Government of China, now and for many years past, enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. Moreover, in all cases we have always supported the

principle of the universality of the United Nations. The absence of a government representing the people of China and, as I said, the overwhelming majority of the people of China, from the United Nations is a glaring deviation from this concept which in fact excludes the great majority of the Chinese people from among the peoples of the United Nations. Moreover, the refusal to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China cannot be based on the existence of ideological differences since this Organization is and should be composed of representatives of different ideologies and systems. We already have such Governments represented and we think that this is right.

93. This refusal cannot be based on political differences, especially when the fundamental purpose of the United Nations is coexistence, and peaceful negotiation for the solution of all international problems, in a world Organization established only for this purpose. And this refusal cannot be based on the political differences between some countries and the People's Republic of China. Moreover, we know that the People's Republic of China and the Government representing it have demonstrated their willingness to participate, whenever they have been allowed to do so, in the work of the United Nations and in international conferences for the peaceful solution of international problems. It has already taken part in international conferences in the political field, together with some countries which do not agree now with its being represented in the United Nations, and in this way not only the participation and the existence of this Government, but also the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the peaceful settlement of international problems has been recognized.

94. The question of China's representation in the United Nations has attracted more and more attention each year. The course of world opinion has given increasing recognition to the Government of the People's Republic of China, and subsequently within the United Nations there has been greater support for the rightful representatives of the Chinese people to take their places in this Organization. Many Members of the United Nations have recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate Government of that country. Even if the recognition of the People's Republic of China is ignored by some countries in other parts of the world—and this is a very important point we should like to make—its recognition, which is continually increasing in the area to which it belongs, should be given the significance it deserves. In the interests of peace in Asia, the part of the world to which we belong, the aspirations of the Asian people should not and, in the long run cannot, we believe, be overlooked in the consideration of this matter by the Assembly. Furthermore, it is significant to note that even in countries traditionally opposed to the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, outstanding leaders, institutions and organizations, as well as large segments of the public, have favoured the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

95. As I have said, we are not discussing the admission of a new member to the United Nations, but rather we are faced with the question of the credentials of the representatives of a Member State. The nature of the question itself cannot be changed even though the issue has wide political implications—and we are fully aware of all these implications. We fully recognize the impact that the participation of the People's

Republic of China in the United Nations will have on improving the international situation and the practical solution of many international problems. We emphasize this aspect because it is the positive aspect. This in no way means that we are not aware of the negative political implications, but we should like to concentrate on the positive political implications. Therefore, we hope that at this session the General Assembly will, at least, take a decision and adopt a resolution which will be just, fair, right and realistic. We shall consider all suggestions and, on behalf of the Afghan Government, we shall do this with an open mind and with all fairness, based on our own independent judgement of which we hope we can be proud as it is based only on justice and fairness.

3. Mr. Nur ELMI (Somalia): Since the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China is an old one, I will be extremely brief in explaining my Government's position with regard to this question.

7. The Government of the Somali Republic, which enjoys cordial and friendly relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China, reaffirms its previous stand in support of the immediate admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Our judgement is based on our sincere conviction that the People's Republic of China today constitutes the largest single nation in the world as far as human potential is concerned and, furthermore, is one of the most powerful political and military powers and the first on the earth whose membership of the United Nations would undoubtedly contribute to the cause of international peace and security.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan), resumed the Chair.

3. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland) (translated from French): All that there is to say has already been said years ago about the question with which we are dealing today, and, really, I have scarcely anything to add to the views which I have had the opportunity of stating from this rostrum on many occasions. It will perhaps be remembered that in this building we have repeatedly said why we were in favour of putting this question on our agenda. Last December, when we were finally able to deal with the substance of the question, I gave here [1075th meeting] the reasons why my delegation considered it necessary that the real representatives of the present régime in China should be able to take their seats among us.

4. We are certainly not alone in believing that one of the essential conditions to enable the United Nations to cope with its task is that all the States of the world should be represented here. We wished to contribute to the implementation of the principle of universality which we subscribe, and we were able to do so.

10. Obviously, this universality implies that the delegations which take part in our work should truly represent the governments in power in their countries. It is now thirteen years since the present régime was set up in China. It is no concern of ours to examine the events which led to the change of régime, but we have a vivid memory of the masterly description, recently given by one of our colleagues when speaking on a different subject, of the succession of States and Governments, and I would recall his brilliant picture of that procession of ghosts, crowned and uncrowned, which we would see here if we thought that a fallen régime was entitled at all times and in all circumstances to take its place in international organizations

in the name of a nation over the destinies of which it had once presided.

101. It has sometimes been argued in our debates that it was imperative to solve this question urgently because, it has been said, it involves a country of 600 million inhabitants; because, it has been added, we are watching from a distance the dispute between China and some of its neighbours over their respective frontier lines; and finally, it has been argued, because we are also concerned with several matters which cannot be properly settled unless all the great Powers have a say in our decisions and undertake to respect them.

102. These are unquestionably weighty arguments. Nevertheless, I should like to repeat that my delegation cannot take a different attitude towards matters of this nature even if we were dealing with a country with a small population, if everything were peaceful in its vicinity, or if finally the presence or absence of the government in question made little difference to the implementation of our decisions. What is important is that all the nations of the world, great and small, should be present here, and represented by their authentic, true and duly accredited spokesmen. What is important is that our Organization should be a faithful and accurate image of the world as it is.

103. Mr. PELAEZ (Philippines): The Philippine delegation cannot but be aware of a touch of irony in witnessing the proceedings here this afternoon. Yesterday and this morning, when we picked up our daily papers, our eyes were assailed by headlines about the aggression of Communist China against India. A well-known figure in the United Nations—than whom there could have been no greater champion of the admission of Red China to the United Nations—Mr. Krishna Menon, described the well-co-ordinated, well-planned attack of more than 20,000 soldiers of Communist China as "raw and naked aggression" against India, the country which had championed Communist China not only here, but in other international conferences as well.

104. I had the privilege of participating in the historic Bandung Conference in April 1955, and I was there when the great leader of India, Mr. Nehru, went out of his way to introduce Chou En-lai to the other nations present, and to assure all of us that the latter's régime adopted the peaceful ideals of the United Nations.

105. I say that we cannot fail to regard these proceedings with irony because at this very moment, when Red China is engaged in raw and naked aggression against India—which has shown a devotion to the cause of peace that cannot be surpassed—we are being asked to admit Red China to the United Nations.

106. I shall not labour the arguments about the record of the Communist régime, that has now in its hands the mainland of China, because we all know that this Assembly has condemned Red China as an aggressor in Korea; and to this day, China has done nothing to purge itself of that condemnation. I need not labour the record and remind the Assembly of the rape of Tibet, I need not remind the Assembly because Members know that, at this very moment, India is suffering from aggression, and even the small kingdom of Bhutan has been warned by Red China.

107. I simply wish to dwell on some of the things that have been said here. The representative of Afghanistan said that his country—and I would be the

first to acknowledge the good faith in which his country regards this issue, as all of us do—supported the admission of the Communist régime of China to the United Nations in the interest of the United Nations and of the Chinese people. I agree with the standards which he has set. But I would beg of him to add still another standard, namely, to consider the admission of Red China in the interest of the peoples of Asia, whose security hangs in the balance today because of the expansionist activities of Communist China. The Philippines is among these peoples.

108. It has been emphasized that we are not asking—or rather, the Soviet Union, the sponsor of the draft resolution, is not asking for the admission of a new member, but for the replacement of the present representation of China by the Communist régime on mainland China.

109. Let me ask a few questions. It has been assumed that the régime on the mainland of China does represent the Chinese people simply because it is asserted that they have had authority over 600 million Chinese, or they have had power over the 600 million Chinese during the past twelve or thirteen years. I should like to pose this question. Is there any proof that can be presented here that the communist clique that now holds mainland China represents the true voice of the Chinese people? They may have the Chinese people in the grip of their power, but they cannot prove that they have an authority that emanates from the sovereignty of the people.

110. I ask you to turn your eyes to the recent events in Hong Kong when, only in recent months, thousands upon thousands of Chinese from the mainland of China fled to the safety of Hong Kong because they could not stand the brutalization of the Chinese people on the mainland.

111. I ask you to look into the infamous record of the communes where men who, according to the ideals of the United Nations, must live in dignity, were reduced to the status of beasts, where they were herded and made to work, and no one could raise his voice. Is this the representation of the voice of the Chinese people? I beg all of you to make a distinction between a naked Power that holds people in its grip and the authority which arises from the free consent of the governed. The régime on mainland China does not have the free consent of the people of China. It has brutal power, yes, but that does not give it the right to speak in this Assembly for the people it has brutalized, this Assembly that holds the dignity of man as its highest ideal. I beg of you not to assume that, simply because by brute force the communist régime holds mainland China in its grip today, it is the rightful representative of the people of China.

112. It has been said here that this régime on the mainland of China today has expressed its adherence to the principle of coexistence, that it has accepted peaceful negotiations as the means of settling disputes. What an irony. We know that several years ago the communist Republic of China signed the Pancha Shila with India with expressions of good will, and yet what is happening today? Communist China has turned against India. So, in this United Nations, where we are supposed to admit only lawful representatives of peoples, only régimes that are peace-loving, where those who come within the hallowed precincts of the Assembly must pledge that they do not believe in the use of force or the threat of force to settle disputes, is it not strange that today we should be asked to

admit this tiger that is menacing the security of the nations in Asia?

113. I come to another point, the interests of the United Nations. The United Nations, more than a body composed of nations, is a body dedicated to the supreme aspiration that the world will one day arrive at a brotherhood based on the spirit, based on love, and based on compassion. Would it be in the interests of the United Nations today, at this very moment when communist China is engaged in a brutal aggression, would it enhance the moral authority of the United Nations if we were to admit this aggressor today? We have been asked to be realistic; is not this a question of realism? I ask you to ponder this question: What will it do to our moral authority—and that is all that we have, a moral authority—to admit a nation which today is engaged in raw, naked aggression? Let us think of the moral authority of the United Nations.

114. Let me come to yet another aspect. I ask the nations here to think of the security of those who live close to mainland China. The Philippines, during this past year and during the years before that, has been struggling with a very real attempt at subverting and infiltrating our security, inspired by the communist régime in Red China. The Afghanistan representative said that we should listen to the aspirations of the Asian peoples. This is one Asian nation that comes to the rostrum of the United Nations to tell the world that the Asian peoples have no other aspiration than that of peace, and that today that aspiration is endangered because of the expansionist conduct of communist China on the mainland.

115. I beg of you to think of the security of the Philippines, of Thailand, of Malaya, all those of us who have been the intended victims of communist subversion from Red China, of South Viet-Nam.

116. This is the stark reality. Let me talk of realism, since the representative of Afghanistan spoke of realism. This is the reality for us. There are more than 14 million overseas Chinese, and we have almost 1 million of them in the Philippines today. At present, we can control any attempt at subversion by these Chinese elements within our territory, but the minute the United Nations gives its sanction to the communist régime on the mainland, those 1 million Chinese in our country would turn their eyes to the communist régime on the mainland, and we would have a Trojan Horse within our midst. I must confess that a small nation like the Philippines does not have the capacity to deal with subversion of the magnitude we could expect if Red China received the moral sanction of this Assembly.

117. Therefore, the Philippines speaks not only as a Member of the United Nations, but as a country whose security would be immediately threatened were this Assembly to give its moral sanction to the communist régime that now has, in its brutal grip, 600 million people on mainland China. It is for these reasons that the Philippines begs to reiterate its stand. It is opposed to a change of representation of China in this Assembly. It is for these reasons that the Philippines has begged your indulgence to take up this little time to allow us to tell you that for us it is a matter of survival, that the sanction of the General Assembly conferred upon the communist régime today on the mainland of China would immediately mean the support of subversion. It could mean the end of a republic that is trying to give

its people a democratic régime, that is trying to achieve progress within the context of freedom, that is trying to give validity to the aspirations of all Asians to live in peace, contentment and security.

118. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Afghanistan, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

119. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I regret very much to have to speak at this time on this question. I am very sorry if I have really given any reason in my statement for the representative of the Philippines to make references in the manner in which he did when he just spoke.

120. There is no doubt that I said that we are concerned with this matter in the interest of the United Nations and also in the interest of the Chinese people. I reaffirm that statement. He did not object to that statement. But he asked me to add to that the interest of the peoples of Asia. Perhaps he was not listening when I made my statement on this point. I did not forget the interest of the Asian people. I shall repeat what I said for his consideration:

"Even if the recognition of the People's Republic of China is ignored by some countries in other parts of the world—and this is a very important point we should like to make—its recognition, which is continually increasing in the area to which it belongs, should be given the significance it deserves. In the interests of peace in Asia, the part of the world to which we belong, the aspirations of the Asian people should not and in the long run cannot, we

believe, be overlooked in the consideration of this matter by the Assembly."

I hope that the representative of the Philippines has heard me correctly this time.

121. He spoke of the fact that countries close to China should speak about this matter, and I would like to bring to his attention the fact that Afghanistan has a common frontier with China, and we are sufficiently close. We were aware of this fact when we spoke on this item, a fact which is quite relevant.

122. The representative of the Philippines also spoke of political differences between certain countries, they could be between certain countries in Asia and other parts of the world or between the Asian countries themselves. However, in one of my points I make it quite clear that the rightful and lawful representation of a Government cannot be based on its political differences with other countries. I hope that the United Nations will bear this in mind. Otherwise, if any country has political differences with another country, it might be considered not to be the rightful and lawful occupant of its seat.

123. I am very sorry, Mr. President, but I must state that in the last ten years this is the first time that my delegation has felt it necessary to ask to speak in right of reply. I shall not call this a right of reply. It was only my right to make our position clear to the representative of the Philippines, with whom we have always co-operated and cherished good friendship.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.