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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 92

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

1. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is once again on the agenda.

2. May I say that my delegation considers it highly important that we should discuss this problem thoroughly and hence that we should find a positive solution within a very short time. The Hungarian delegation has already stated my Government's point of view on this question many times in the General Assembly of the United Nations and in other forums. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Mr. Janos Kadar, who is now Prime Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, stated in the Assembly:

"The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is already over-ripe; it should be solved, and it would increase the prestige of the United Nations, the efficiency of its deliberations and the strength of its decisions. My delegation stands for the enforcement of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China..."^{1/}

3. I should like to state, first and foremost, that in my opinion the fate of the United Nations must be determined by the ability of the majority of Member States to think in terms of political realities. A glance at the agenda of the General Assembly will show us that there are a large number of urgent tasks to be accomplished. Those who are prepared to contribute, not only by words but also by deeds, to the successful accomplishment of these tasks are undoubtedly of the opinion that the United Nations must adopt a realistic and reasonable attitude if it is to find a solution to the most important problems confronting it in the new historical circumstances. This realistic and reasonable attitude is inconceivable without the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 883rd meeting, para. 38.

4. A number of representatives who spoke before me have acknowledged how valuable the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Geneva Conferences of 1954^{2/} and 1961-1962^{3/} was in settling the situation in Viet-Nam and Laos. The People's Republic of China has respected and is still strictly respecting the obligations imposed upon it under the relevant agreements. It is also necessary and in keeping with reality that China should take part in the disarmament negotiations and should contribute to the conclusion of an agreement on this subject. That is why there is a clear correlation between the settlement of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations and the success of the disarmament negotiations. The tasks with which the United Nations is faced in its efforts to solve these two problems are closely related.

5. The People's Republic of China has already, on various occasions, expressed its desire to co-operate. It now behoves the United Nations to take a decisive step and to repair the injustice it has committed in preventing China, that great country, from exercising its lawful rights in the Organization.

6. During this period of the final liquidation of the colonial system, China has a historic role to play in that it has by its own efforts freed itself from colonial slavery and has thereby made a great contribution to the liquidation of colonialism. Its historic example has gained it immense popularity amongst peoples fighting for independence and it is now giving the colonial peoples not only its moral support but also economic and cultural assistance.

7. The accomplishment of the United Nations' tasks in this field would be greatly facilitated if China could take part within the Organization in the efforts being made to ensure the complete liquidation of the colonial system as soon as possible.

8. It stands to reason that until the representatives of the People's Republic of China take their place in the United Nations, the Organization cannot claim to be the universal forum of the whole of mankind, despite the considerable increase in the number of its Members as a result of the admission of new independent countries which have come into being in territories which were part of the former colonial empires. It is time this question was settled, and precisely with the help of these new forces admitted to the United Nations in the changed historic circumstances.

9. During the past thirteen years, the United States Government has hampered the positive actions of the Chinese people by its efforts to carry out a policy which has been a constant source of tension in the Far East. In ignoring the established balance of power and the political realities of the times, and by persisting in its freakish ideas, the United States Government has con-

^{2/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, 16 June-21 July 1954.

^{3/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, Geneva, 16 May 1961-23 July 1962.

stantly pursued its policy of hostility to the Chinese people and State, both within and outside the United Nations. This policy has often hampered the Chinese people in their struggle for liberation and their work of socialist construction, created tension in international relations and betrayed the cause of international co-operation; that is precisely why it has become indefensible.

10. In addition to progressive world opinion, there are now some sensible United States politicians who openly admit that this unrealistic policy has damaged, not China, but first and foremost the prestige and interests of the United States. The question is whether the system of discriminatory treaties introduced into China by the United States and the other colonialist Powers, the use of oppressive methods, interference in the domestic affairs of that country and the series of armed interventions could halt the Chinese people's struggle for liberation. It is clear that the answer to this question can only be in the negative. That was recognized more than ten years ago by some American statesmen of that time, who said that the United States had lost China. That avowal also shows that the United States policy was already behind the times then and was straying into the path of unreality.

11. The decisive factor in the United States attitude towards China's victorious revolution was not whether the United States Government was playing its part well or badly, but the fact that it failed to take into account the whole historical process and the realities of the post-war period and did not understand that at a time when colonial empires were disintegrating it was no longer possible, by way of a new partition, to create areas of interest and spheres of American influence in China.

12. The result was the birth of the People's Republic of China, which accounts for one quarter of the world's population and which, by solving age-old social and economic problems through the construction of a socialist society, has overcome and is still overcoming its backward state and possesses the political and economic strength to ensure it the authority of a great Power. That is why the peoples of Asia and Africa who are recovering from their colonial subjugation are following the magnificent advances of the Chinese people with attention and sympathy.

13. In the present situation, it is obvious that the great efforts the United States Government has made to dissuade other countries from establishing normal relations with the People's Republic of China can scarcely be described as effective.

14. In the pamphlet entitled The U.S. Got Red China All Wrong, we find the following observation:

"... As many observers have already noted, China has been actually benefited in various ways by American non-recognition and boycotts, while the same have worked more and more to the disadvantage of the U.S., causing resentment and disunity even among her NATO Allies."

15. Apart from the fact that the People's Republic of China maintains normal diplomatic relations with nearly half the States Members of the United Nations, and commercial and cultural relations with almost all the Member States, attention should be drawn to an article which appeared in the October 1962 issue of the American review Foreign Affairs:

"... The Japanese have indicated that they will increase trade with China to the same level as that of

West Germany and Italy. The Chinese are already negotiating with the British for aircraft, and they also have indicated an interest in turbines, generators, and other equipment ... Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are reportedly forming ambitious plans to develop a wool market in China, and Canada seems to believe that China can provide a steady and expanding market for food products. The Commonwealth countries, in particular, will be under heavy pressure to increase trade with the (Communist) bloc if their traditional markets are constricted as a result of Britain's joining the Common Market. A new trading relationship between these countries and Communist China would probably lead to the granting of diplomatic recognition by those which have not already done so."^{4/}

16. All this means that the Americans have recognized two facts: on the one hand, that the People's Republic of China is really ready to take part in international co-operation by carrying out its foreign policy of peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and, on the other hand, that the United States has failed in its intention, since in the last few years the People's Republic of China has achieved wide international recognition, while the United States has become more and more isolated as a result of its political objectives which are adverse to China.

17. By what right does the United States Government—already the third since the People's Republic of China was proclaimed—block the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations?

18. So far, Washington has not been able to produce any acceptable arguments in support of its attitude. The obstructionist policy of the United States Government is based entirely on the fact that the social system chosen by China after its victorious revolution is not to its taste. It is obvious that since the Charter, as an integral part of international law, forbids interference in the domestic affairs of States—this is, moreover, accepted throughout the world as one of the most important principles of modern international law—all peoples and all States have the sovereign right to choose their own social system. Consequently, there is no justification for the policy of the United States regarding the representation of China in the United Nations.

19. On 22 October 1962 [1156th meeting], during the debate on this question, the United States representative made a theatrical speech in which he referred to the Korean war in an attempt to prove that the People's Republic of China was an aggressor. Other speakers before me have stated the facts in accordance with the historical truth. I simply want to point out the irony of events in that Mr. Stevenson's accusations were made only a few hours before the President of the United States unleashed a world crisis by his statement.

20. With respect to the President's statement. The New York Times published an article the following day [23 October 1962] entitled "U.S. Intervention Has Long History". It is stated in the article that during the past 164 years the United States armed forces have openly intervened at least ninety times on foreign soil. Then the author of the article corrects this figure himself and says further on that according to a State Department document there have been 160 instances of the use of United States armed forces abroad:

^{4/} Foreign Affairs, vol. 41, No. 1, October 1962, p. 178.

21. We see, therefore, that the accusations made by the United States have no moral basis. This needs no commentary.

22. Let us examine closely who is in fact the aggressor. Which State sees the People's Republic of China and its territory as a potential theatre of operations and which State sends its U-2 planes of sinister memory there? Which State keeps its Seventh Fleet on the alert and ready for attack off the coast of the People's Republic of China? Which State has for more than ten years maintained the occupation of the island of Taiwan, an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and used it as a base of operations in the Far East in pursuit of its aggressive military goals?

23. The governing circles of the United States, seeing the international prestige of the People's Republic of China increasing and realizing that their own hostile policy towards China will soon be defeated, have resorted to new propaganda tactics. They have put forward the so-called "two Chinas" theory. I don't think it necessary to give a lengthy explanation of this, for it is not at all a new theory and is not even worth mentioning in the great forum of the United Nations.

24. Mr. Walter Lippmann, the well-known American columnist, wrote in the New York Herald Tribune on 3 April 1958:

"There is a central fiction in the Far East that Formosa is China and that the actual government of China, on the mainland, ought to disappear. No propaganda can make a policy based on that fiction credible, much less convincing and inspiring."

The present theory of the "two Chinas" is based on the same fiction and no propaganda of any kind will succeed in making it convincing.

25. I must, however, recall the real reasons for the theory of the "two Chinas".

26. Recently, even the United States Press has been obliged to admit that, contrary to the official attitude, there are many people in the United States who are in favour of restoring normal relations between the United States and China. The United States periodical War/Peace Report writes in its August 1962 issue:

"Gallup Polls have indicated that more than fifty per cent of Americans are in favour of improving relations with Communist China, and thus a move to bring Red China into the United Nations would likely not prove as politically unpopular as many people believe." 5/

27. That is what the United States Government is afraid of and it has started the theory of the "two Chinas" because it knows very well that this theory is unacceptable to the People's Republic of China.

28. The attempts to divide the Chinese people from their Government by saying that the Chinese people are not following the Government are also illogical and conflicting. We even heard one statement a few days ago in which the speaker first claimed that the Chinese people were not following their Government and then eloquently explained that he was opposed to the restoration of China's rights in the United Nation for the simple reason that the Chinese people living in his country support the People's Government of China.

29. Regarding the question of procedure, my delegation made a detailed statement in the debate at the six-

5/ War/Peace Report, August 1962, p. 6.

teenth session [1073rd meeting], when it explained that as it is not a question of admitting a new Member State but only of the validity of credentials—that is to say, of deciding whose credentials the United Nations should accept as valid for an existing seat—the General Assembly must decide by a simple majority vote to restore lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its organs. On this point my delegation feels that the solution of the procedural question is to be found in rule 85 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, which gives a restrictive list, not merely a number of examples, of the questions on which the decisions of the General Assembly shall be taken by a two-thirds majority. Any other interpretation conflicts with the rules of procedure.

30. If the United Nations takes the mission and the tasks which I have mentioned seriously, and if it considers them to be among the most important problems of our era, it must understand that it cannot accomplish its work without the full and complete participation of the People's Republic of China. My delegation therefore considers that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is an urgent matter and it fully supports the Soviet draft resolution on the subject [A/L.395].

31. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a question which the General Assembly has been considering for several years now without reaching an equitable solution and without respecting the fundamental principles of the Charter. In our view, this is a regrettable inconsistency, the continuation of which is a violation of the principle of the universality of the United Nations.

32. The Government of the Republic of Mali, which maintains friendly relations with the People's Republic of China in the diplomatic, economic and cultural spheres, considers that the obstacles and manoeuvres that are being resorted to in order to deprive the Chinese people of their lawful rights are neither just nor objective nor realistic.

33. Some delegations have proclaimed from this rostrum their hostility to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

34. It is regrettable, however, that these delegations have not produced a single convincing argument in support of their stand. They spoke about the Communist régime in China and the origin and revolutionary character of its Government. We do not feel that these are serious arguments. It is a well-known fact that the United Nations was the outcome of a joint effort by Governments with different social and political régimes. It was precisely to bring these Governments, most of which differed in form and in their conception of how to organize society, closer together that the United Nations was established. It was precisely to provide a meeting place for all nations where they could settle their differences by negotiation and mutual understanding that the United Nations was founded immediately after the Second World War. The Preamble to the Charter is most explicit about the aims and the universality of the Organization. The United Nations cannot be regarded as a club monopolized by the great Powers. It is open to all peoples which sincerely wish to make their contribution to the maintenance of peace and to the progress of mankind.

35. For reasons which it is not for us to judge, the people of China have instituted a people's democracy

in their country. That is their right, for all peoples are free to choose their own régime. In this building we work side by side with the representatives of Colonialist Governments and the representatives of Governments whose social system is based on racial discrimination, that is to say, on lack of respect for human dignity. We tolerate the presence of these Governments in the hope that they will finally understand the absurdity of their obstinate determination to perpetuate a policy which is contrary to the march of history and to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

36. We cannot, however, allow those who support such Government to continue their dishonest manoeuvres in an attempt to postpone indefinitely the restoration of the lawful rights of a democratic Government whose main concern is to build a nation on a basis of social justice. I say "dishonest manoeuvres" because we have heard the argument that because the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the outcome of a revolution it is anathema. It is true that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the outcome of a revolution, a revolution which was an epoch-making event because of its specific character and the aims which inspired it.

37. For our part, we think that it is for that very reason it is worthy rather of our admiration and support, for it expresses and embodies the deepest aspirations of 700 million Chinese, who have carried out a combined peasant and proletarian revolution in order to overthrow a social system which no longer met their requirements. I do not propose to enumerate here all the Governments which are the outcome of a revolution or a military "putsch" and are Members of the United Nations. I should like to say only that as the case of China is not unprecedented, it should be possible to deal with it objectively and without delay. The fact is that there is a nation called the People's Republic of China. This nation occupies the whole territory which has been known for centuries, even millennia, as China. This nation, which has democratic institutions, has been governed since 1949 by a Central Government whose stability and whose efforts to ensure the well-being of a population of 700 million call forth our admiration. It is the representatives of that Government who should be occupying the seat of China in the United Nations.

38. For all the reasons that I have just given, my delegation hopes that the General Assembly will examine the facts realistically and that, rising above passion and partisan considerations, it will take the necessary steps to restore, without further delay, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. I am sure that such a solution would be in the interests of world peace and would improve co-operation between all peoples, including the peoples of Asia.

39. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): This year, again, as in the preceding session, the General Assembly finds itself confronted with one of the most important and momentous questions, namely, the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". The position of my delegation regarding this question is very well known to all. My Government recognizes the People's Republic of China as the only Government which represents the Chinese people and believes that this Government can justly claim the seat of China in the United Nations, and rightly occupy it. We are convinced that it is right, both from the political and from the juridical points of view, to adopt such an attitude.

40. As to the political aspect, the United Nations is, in accordance with the intent of its founders, an Organization for the whole world. Its main objectives can be achieved only through efforts in which the whole world takes part. The maintenance of peace—to cite just one example—must be the responsibility of all nations, large and small, regardless of their political beliefs and ways of life. Therefore, the United Nations loses its character of universality if it continues to disregard the People's Republic of China, which has a population of almost one quarter of the population of the entire globe, and which also has tremendous resources and possibilities. Moreover, by disregarding China we force it not to feel bound by the provisions of the Charter or affected by any of the General Assembly resolutions.

41. Certain Powers which have opposed the admission of China to this international body have already found themselves obliged to recognize the necessity for China's participation in solving international problems of great importance, such as the Geneva Conference of 1954 concerning the so-called Indo-China war and the Geneva Conference of 1961 on the Laos question. We furthermore believe that it is not logical to expect to solve problems of a universal character without the full participation of China. For instance, no one can expect to arrive at a positive solution for the most intricate questions of our time—such as disarmament—without the participation of China in the negotiations, nor can we expect a lasting agreement on the question of the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the absence of this great Power.

42. Now, I should like to dwell briefly on the juridical aspect of the question. In the opinion of my delegation, the question under discussion is simply one of verification of the credentials of the representatives of a State; there is no question of the admission of a State, in terms of Article 4 of the Charter, nor of the recognition of a Government. China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations and, as one of the great Powers, is a permanent member of the Security Council. The Government which represents China must be the one which governs it effectively and is able to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. No one today can deny that that Government is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, whose authority has been effective for the last thirteen years.

43. Indeed, the presence of China in the United Nations is not contingent upon its maintaining any particular political or social system. Whether one likes the change which has taken place or not, the sole judge in the matter is the people of China alone. This is the essence of the concept of national sovereignty, and it is significant to note that this very approach and this very attitude were fully affirmed in a Security Council document of 1950, a memorandum containing an opinion on the legal aspects of the problem of representation in the United Nations. According to this opinion:

"The United Nations is not an association limited to like-minded States and governments of similar ideological persuasion (as is the case in certain regional associations). As an Organization which aspires to universality, it must of necessity include States of varying and even conflicting ideologies."^{9/}

Therefore, there should be no hesitation in permitting the representatives of the Central Government of the

^{9/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for 1 January through 31 May 1950, document S/1466, p. 22.

People's Republic of China to take their rightful place. One might understand such hesitation and even appreciate it if it were a matter of the usurping of power by a foreign group. But it is not foreigners who have come into the territory of China. The change in the political and social régime in China was effected by the Chinese people themselves.

44. It has been argued that many States do not recognize the People's Republic of China. We may hold different views on the question of recognition, but the best rebuttal of this argument is again to be found in the document to which I have already referred. According to this memorandum:

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

"(1) A Member could properly vote to accept a representative of a government which it did not recognize, or with which it had no diplomatic relations, and

"(2) Such a vote did not imply recognition or a readiness to assume diplomatic relations."⁷

45. My delegation believes that it is in the interest of our Organization to separate this problem with which we are dealing from the unfortunate complications which have nothing to do with its true essence, and to regard it as what it is: a procedural question concerning credentials. The time has come to recognize the right of the People's Republic of China and to give it the seat which belongs to it in this Organization.

46. By keeping the People's Republic of China outside this international body, we serve no peaceful purpose, nor do we settle a long-standing and crucial problem. On the contrary, by so doing we only further complicate this very delicate question and intensify the climate of antagonism which already exists between China and those countries which stand in the way of its membership in this Organization and particularly those which take the lead in this regard.

47. For these reasons my delegation feels justified in supporting the draft resolution introduced by the Soviet Union [A/L.395] and voting for it.

48. In conclusion, I must express the deep concern of my delegation regarding the fighting which has broken out on the Chinese-Indian borders. In our opinion, the settlement of border disputes and differences between neighbours, however old and complicated, should not be effected by means of force. Therefore, we sincerely hope that the statesmanship of the leaders of the two great Asian countries will overcome the present difficulties in the general interest of world peace and the future of the Asian peoples in general.

49. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is on the agenda of the General Assembly for the thirteenth time. It is only the second time, however, that the substance of the question has been discussed in the Assembly. It was not until the sixteenth session that the United States was forced to agree to such a discussion because world public opinion was concerned about the possible consequences of a continued refusal to include the question of the representation of China in the agenda of the General Assembly, as had been the case at previous sessions.

50. It was stated in the debate which took place last year, at the sixteenth session, that as China was a very important country the decision about its representation would require a two-thirds majority. As to China, we entirely agree that it is a very important country and a very great country, a country which has the largest population in the world—more than one-fifth the population of the globe. China is also a great Power.

51. China is a Member of the United Nations, and a founder Member. It is also a permanent member of the Security Council. Therefore the question that we are discussing is not whether China should or should not be a Member of the United Nations, but a question of the examination of credentials. It is therefore nothing more than a question of procedure. No one could deny this and nothing can alter its fundamental significance.

52. That being so, it is difficult to see why so many difficulties have arisen and why such efforts should be required to solve a problem which is really purely procedural. All we need do, really, is to ask the Credentials Committee to deal with it. The question would easily be settled. All that is necessary is to consider who represents the country which is a Member of the United Nations and to see who holds the power and who is really able to speak, to make commitments and respect them, on behalf of a country and a people of 700 million, and the problem will be solved at once.

53. It seems, however, that the normal procedure of examining credentials—identity papers, so to speak—is not to the taste of certain countries.

54. In the past, these countries—particularly the United States—were able to wield a great deal of power—far too much power—in the United Nations. They could violate the fundamental principles of the Charter and of international law with impunity, and they are still trying to do so. They have presumed to issue false identity papers to some of their employees, so that they can pass themselves off here as the representatives of China. This has enabled the United States, the instigator of these forgeries, to have not only its own vote—the United States vote—in the United Nations, but, through its employees, sent her with false identity papers, China's vote also.

55. And yet, as everyone agrees, they are not the real representatives of China. Even the representative of the United States, who has the unrewarding task of defending this position and this clique of puppets before the Assembly, does not dare to affirm that China is represented in the United Nations. He recognized this clearly and frankly when he said that he cared very much about the 600 million inhabitants of China and about what would become of them and added: "We could do them no greater disservice than to give the stamp of legality and approval to their rulers". [1156th meeting, para. 82.]

56. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the United States representative manipulates the figures as best he can to suit the requirements of his case, lowering the population of China by almost 100 million inhabitants. Those are apparently trifles for the United States representative. What is important, however—and we should like to lay particular stress on this—is that the United States representative acknowledges from this rostrum that, in fact, the leaders of this nation of 700 million inhabitants, i.e., the Government they have chosen of their own will, are not represented here. We should also like to stress that it is neither the United States nor any other country whatsoever

that will place the stamp of legality on the Government of China. Only the confidence of the Chinese people and the authority which the Government possesses and exercises can be, and are, the genuine stamp of its legality.

57. Each time that the question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been discussed, one question has been asked: why does the United States object so fiercely to the admission of the People's Republic of China, why is it so vehement in its efforts to prevent the representation of this country in the Organization, what accusations and complaints does the United States make against China?

58. The truth is that there is no valid argument that the United States can adduce to justify its stubborn opposition to the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—absolutely none, apart from its desire to continue its policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China, its desire to continue its policy of aggression against China and against the countries of the Far East and of South East Asia without encountering any opposition. The fact that it encounters determined opposition on the part of the People's Republic of China to the realization of its imperialist policy leads it to organize this campaign of slander and provocation against the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China and prompts it to violate the rules of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

59. What are the arguments which the adversaries of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are again advancing this year in support of their opposition to the participation of its representatives in the work of the United Nations? According to the United States representative, the People's Republic of China is guilty of wishing to put its own house in order and of putting down certain elements which, with the support of the United States, were endeavouring to stir up trouble in the country. The fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is determined to put an end to the provocations embarked on by certain counter-revolutionary elements, agents of foreign imperialism, of the imperialism of the United States, who have fastened on to a part of China's territory, is presented here by the United States delegation as an act of aggression by the People's Republic of China against a State Member of the United Nations. The United States representative went even farther. He accused the Soviet Union and other countries which are faithful to the principle that every Government has the right and the duty to put a stop to any subversive activity calculated to cause a disturbance within the country of being in favour of the use of force in international relations. There is no doubt, however, that the island of Taiwan constitutes an integral part of Chinese territory; no one, not even the Chiang Kai-shek clique or the United States, denies that.

60. That being so, not only have the Government of the People's Republic of China and its people the right to suppress the Chiang Kai-shek band by whatever means they deem necessary but it is their duty to do so, inasmuch as the continuation of such a state of affairs might endanger the peace and security of all the countries in this part of the world. This is a domestic affair of China which the Government of the People's Republic of China should deal with as it thinks best in conformity with the interests of its

people. In such a case, it is not admissible for other Governments to intervene in the domestic affairs of an independent and sovereign State. China is not only an independent and sovereign State but a great Power.

61. It did not occur to anybody, during the recent events in the State of Mississippi, to prevent the United States Government from taking such steps as it deemed consistent with the requirements of a very special situation or to deny it the right to take such steps. Why should it be another matter in the case of a country like China, or should there really be different standards for different States? Should a distinction be established between States which are entitled to take steps with their own countries and States which are not? At a time when all mankind is striving to ensure the elimination of racial discrimination, it does not seem to us altogether appropriate to establish discrimination between States simply because the United States or certain United States circles like or do not like the domestic system of a given country.

62. Another out-worn cold-war argument, used by the adversaries of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, is that the People's Republic of China would try "to export its revolutionary doctrines" to South East Asia. Is it not strange indeed for a politician like the United States representative to the United Nations and the people he represents to brag constantly, in season and out of season, about a way of life and institutions which—may I say in passing with reference to events in the State of Mississippi—allow racial discrimination to exist in their country, while complaining about, and even objecting to, the peoples of South East Asia adopting revolutionary ideas? The Chinese revolution has spread its radiance throughout the world. The victory of the Chinese people and the very existence of the People's Republic of China have been a powerful stimulus to the struggle for national and social liberation in the whole world. This great national and social liberation movement, as Mr. Stevenson himself noted, has resulted in the liberation of dozens of countries from colonial and imperialist rule and, consequently, in the profound and revolutionary changes which have marked the end of the imperialist epoch.

63. It must not be forgotten, however, that even before the establishment of the People's Republic of China the idea of the emancipation of peoples from foreign rule and the idea of social change had already made headway and aroused the awareness of the peoples. The Chinese people's revolution is only the result of these ideas and of these profound changes in the contemporary world, which found a powerful stimulus in the great socialist revolution of October 1917 in Russia. To use all that as an argument against the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is to try to halt the movements for national independence and social change that are now active in all countries, in other words, to try to arrest the course of history. It must be noted that the United States does not confine itself to making propaganda in South Viet-Nam, as in other countries in which it has military bases. In violation of the most elementary rules governing relations among States and of the 1954 Geneva Agreements,^{8/} on Indochina in particular, it has sent to South Viet-Nam an entire army and thousands of specialists, whose sole purpose and concern is to assist in the extermination of the people of Viet-

^{8/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed 23 July 1954.

Nam who are heroically struggling against imperialist oppression and the puppet Government of Ngo Dinh Diem.

64. During the debate on this question, many delegations stressed—and some of them brilliantly developed the idea—that without the active participation of the People's Republic of China it is impossible to find a satisfactory solution for the great problems confronting the world today. The representative of Ceylon presented abundant arguments to show the salutary effects that the participation of the People's Republic of China would have on the settlement of many important problems concerning Asia and, consequently, on world peace [1157th meeting]. He demonstrated convincingly that without the participation of the People's Republic of China it would not have been possible to settle the problem of Indochina, and particularly that of Laos. On the other hand, where the People's Republic of China has not had an opportunity to participate effectively, problems have remained unsolved and still represent a threat to world peace: the problem of Korea is one such case, among others.

65. Along these lines it has been pointed out with particular emphasis that the most important problems, the crucial problems of our time, those on which the peace of the world depends—the question of general and complete disarmament and the associated problem of the cessation of nuclear tests—cannot be settled and the corresponding agreements cannot be put into effect without the participation of the People's Republic of China. That has not only been proved by the delegations of the socialist countries and the non-aligned countries; on several occasions the United States delegation itself has had to acknowledge the fact. It appears, therefore, that, on the one hand, the United States delegation tells us that it is not possible to solve the problem of disarmament and of the elimination of war without the participation of China—and it is an undeniable fact that it is really impossible to reach a solution of these problems without the participation of the People's Republic of China—and, on the other hand, it vehemently opposes the participation of China in the debates of the United Nations, which is the principal forum in which these questions are discussed and their settlement sought.

66. How, then, are we to understand the United States position? In their public statements, the representatives of that country affirm that they want these problems to be settled and even that they would like an agreement to be reached on the cessation of nuclear tests and on general and complete disarmament as soon as possible. At the same time, by opposing the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its participation in the settlement of the most important problems of our time, they destroy any possibility of reaching an agreement on these questions, on which world peace depends. Such a position forces us to the conclusion that the United States is not sincere when it states that it wishes to find a solution to these important questions. It is interested, rather, in continuing the arms race and in increasing tension in international relations, as was demonstrated unmistakably in its action with respect to Cuba.

67. While, however, the United States shows no interest whatever in the problems of general and complete disarmament and the cessation of nuclear tests or other problems on which peace and the peaceful development of the world depend and does not want these problems to be solved, that is not true of the great

majority of countries and, above all, of people. They, on the contrary, want all the problems of our time, and especially of the problem of general and complete disarmament, to be settled as soon as possible. It is for that reason, that the number of countries fighting more and more resolutely for the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations is constantly increasing.

68. Despite the hidden and overt pressures exerted by the United States on many countries in order to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations at this session, the General Assembly must make every possible effort to see that this question is settled without further delay. In the face of the grave dangers which the world must confront today, in the face of the threat represented by such acts as the blockade of the coasts of Cuba and other acts of war on the part of the United States, it is absolutely essential to close ranks and to make the United Nations a genuinely universal and effective organization, so that it can satisfy the aspirations of mankind. It has become clearer than ever that without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations cannot be an effective agency for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. As the representative of Ceylon rightly said: "One can make fable out of propaganda, but one cannot make peace out of a myth." [1157th meeting, para. 42.]

69. It is accordingly high time to remove those who unlawfully occupy China's rightful place from the United Nations and from all its organs and to invite the People's Republic of China to send its representatives to the United Nations. Only then will the United Nations be able effectively and successfully to accomplish the lofty tasks assigned to it by the Charter.

70. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): For a number of years now we have been called upon at each session of the General Assembly to take a stand on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

71. For thirteen years the United Nations has been unable to bring to this very simple and clear question the solution required by justice and common sense. This unfortunate situation, which is undermining the Organization and is an important factor in its ineffectiveness and in the discouragement of peoples who love peace and justice should be regularized as soon as possible in the interest of the lofty purposes for which we have all gathered here, for apart from its vexatious, unjust and unfriendly character with respect to the Chinese people, this situation constitutes an unprecedented discrimination against one of the founding Members of the United Nations.

72. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the restoration to the Chinese Government of its lawful place in the United Nations is one of the essential factors for political and economic stability in Asia and for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world. No one can seriously deny that the authority of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is exercised in a regular and effective manner over the whole of mainland China and a good many off-shore islands.

73. That being so, is it not paradoxical that the success of their revolution should be used here to deny the Chinese people their natural rights and prerogatives at the international level?

74. Is there any reason why the Chinese people, as indeed any other people, should be restricted by external forces in the choice, the orientation and the organization of their domestic system? It is clear to everyone that that is a matter for the Chinese people, and the Chinese people alone. No other State should interfere with their sovereign choice, on any pretext whatsoever. That is one of the basic fundamentals of international law which govern peaceful relations between States.

75. It has been said time and again that to go on trying to exclude the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is an unrealistic policy and one not conducive to the solution of the major problems of the day, such as general and complete disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear tests and other vital questions of peace and of war. I take pleasure, in that connexion, in recalling the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea in this Hall on 25 September 1962, during the general debate:

"We are profoundly convinced, however, that any purportedly serious discussion of general and complete disarmament would be illusory without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, we must point out that—as is generally realized—it is impossible to settle any international problems relating to the peace and security of peoples without the participation of that great country. When our Organization considers such important and vital questions as those of disarmament, the production of nuclear weapons and the discontinuance of nuclear tests, it is inevitably obliged to recognize that in agreement on these subjects must be reached among all the great Powers, including the People's Republic of China. Without going so far as to say that the failure of successive disarmament conferences has been due to the absence of the People's Republic of China, it can at any rate be stated that the shadow and weight of that absence have always made themselves felt." [1131st meeting, para. 60.]

76. All these statements, and those that have been heard from this rostrum, make it very clear that it is vital to the United Nations that the Governments represented in this Assembly should genuinely and adequately derive from the peoples for whom they speak.

77. In that light, the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its specialized agencies could not but increase its effectiveness as a bulwark of world peace. It would also be in keeping with the universal character of the United Nations and, furthermore, it would bring into our midst the true representatives of China, who would thus be called to share with us the heavy trusts, obligations, duties and responsibilities which we bear before the conscience of the world.

78. Some representatives have come to this rostrum and supported their refusal to see the lawful seat of the Central Government of China restored to it by referring either to their personal disagreements with that Government or to their political opposition to the social system established by the Chinese people. We, for our part, consider that these are not only obvious errors of judgement, fraught with serious consequences, but a flagrant violation of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

79. How many Governments now represented in the United Nations would have been obliged to see the mandate of their representatives annulled as a matter

of course if such criteria were allowed to prevail where credentials were concerned? Merely to ask this question makes one realize the obvious danger of such arguments, which are clearly incompatible with the peaceful coexistence of States with different political and social systems—a coexistence which is fundamental to the United Nations Charter.

80. In this same context, we cannot but note with satisfaction that the representative of the Government of India, by speaking clearly in favour of the restoration of its lawful seat to the Government of China, brought to this very rostrum, on 26 October 1962 [1159th meeting], the decisive and inevitable reply to those who had taken as a pretext for rejecting, once again, the just restitution we are seeking for the benefit both of the Chinese people and of the United Nations, the unfortunate frontier dispute which so unhappily sets at variance the two friendly Governments of Peking and New Delhi—a dispute which is a legacy of the colonial past and which we hope will be settled at the earliest possible moment by peaceful means and by negotiation between the two parties concerned.

81. By very reasons of the gravity of the present circumstances, such a reply should be seriously pondered by the General Assembly at a time when it must again take a decision upon a question directly relevant to the maintenance of peace among States and friendship among peoples. In these circumstances, how can anyone persist in blocking the just representation of China, which, in the Far East in particular and the non-aligned countries in general, is playing an even greater role in the solution of the problems that arise in those parts of the world. No one can underestimate China's great contribution to the 1954 Conference on Indo-China^{9/} and the great part it has played, only recently, in seeking a peaceful solution to the Laotian question.^{10/}

82. The People's Republic of China now maintains diplomatic relations with more than fifty States and trade relations with a hundred or so countries, most of which are Members of the United Nations. In addition, it is linked to many countries of the world by agreements relating to cultural co-operation and other matters, through all of which it contributed greatly to the maintenance and strengthening of friendship among peoples and peaceful relations among States.

83. On the African-Asian front, as is well known, China has played and is playing an important role. It has chosen to respect the great decisions of the historic African-Asian Conference at Bandung, of which it was one of the organizers.^{11/} It has always expressed support for peaceful and negotiated settlements of disputes between States. It has also concluded treaties of friendship with a number of Asian and African countries, including the Republic of Guinea.

84. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, defining its foreign policy of peace and good neighbourliness, said at the Geneva Conference in July 1961:

"The Chinese people have been consistently devoted to peace and they fight resolutely against aggression. China is a socialist country and it does not need colonies, it has absolutely no need of them; nor does it allow itself to be plundered by any other country.

^{9/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

^{10/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held at Geneva from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

^{11/} Bandung Conference, held from 18 to 24 April 1955.

That is the sound basis of the peaceful foreign policy consistently pursued by China. We are staunch supporters of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and we strive untiringly to relieve international tension and to safeguard world peace. We were the first to proclaim the principles of peaceful coexistence and we respect them scrupulously."

85. How does anyone fail to see the vital importance to the international community of giving this Government the opportunity to put into practice in every organization, and particularly in the United Nations, such a policy, which conforms in every respect to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter? We should all make every effort to restore its place and its natural role to the People's Republic of China.

86. If there are any Governments which have no place in the United Nations, it is those which practise the degrading policy of apartheid and those which for years have consistently refused to implement the most reasonable United Nations resolutions on the liberation of peoples and which openly resist the imperatives of the changed times. If any sanction should be taken in international organizations, it should be against these and their various accomplices.

87. At this session, the General Assembly should once again reaffirm the absolute necessity of allowing only such representatives as are qualified and valid spokesmen for their peoples and Governments to occupy a seat in the United Nations. Only thus would the United Nations fully discharge its task, which is to reflect the true face of the world and not to serve as a haven for Governments repudiated by their peoples.

88. How, then, can we fail to take into account the many statements made from this rostrum concerning the need to give consideration to the deep-seated wishes of most of the peoples of Asia, Africa and elsewhere that the exclusive rights and prerogatives of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored without delay.

89. Common sense, justice and universal morality require us to take this reparative decision, which has been delayed all too long. It will certainly be in the interest of the Chinese people, who constitute a large part of mankind and who are therefore always of concern to us, but it will be above all in the true interest of our Organization, the effectiveness of which is a source of prestige; in addition, it will contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, an essential objective of the United Nations.

90. These are the considerations which have hitherto determined and will continue to determine the position and votes of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea in favour of any step for the restoration, in the United Nations, of all the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

91. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) (translated from French): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has once again come before the General Assembly. The urgent necessity of solving this problem has become so apparent that the item proposed by the Soviet Union was included in the agenda of this session without objection.

92. Both during the general debate and in the present discussion, a large number of delegations have supported the restoration of the lawful rights of the Peo-

ple's Republic of China in the United Nations and have drawn attention to the negative effect on the proper conduct of the work of the United Nations and on international life in general of any equivocation in settling this question. It is significant that the new Members of the United Nations are speaking out against this injustice, which has been perpetuated down the years at the insistence of and under pressure from the United States.

93. The solution of this problem, intrinsically a simple one, has become one of the most urgent questions before the Organization. It must, of course, be solved, despite the attempts of the United States delegation to sow confusion, with the help of procedural devices or calumnies aimed at the People's Republic of China and its great people.

94. Today, as in the past, the United States delegation has adopted on this question a position in defiance of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental interests of the Organization.

95. The isolated voices which have supported that position have been quite unconvincing and have demonstrated nothing but a complete lack of logic and political realism.

96. The Romanian delegation, for its part, declares its staunch support for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the exclusion from all United Nations organs of the representatives of the political wreckage under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. The Romanian delegation is sure that reason and common sense will prevail and that the Assembly will adopt the only just solution, which international political life itself demands. The People's Republic of China must occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations and in all its organs.

97. In his speech of 27 September 1960 to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Chairman of the Council of State of the Romanian People's Republic, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, said on this subject:

"The fact that the United Nations was deprived of the contribution of one of the great Powers, the People's Republic of China, that the great Chinese people is systematically prevented from occupying its legitimate place in the United Nations, is one of the most serious blows to the prestige of this Organization, to its effectiveness in the fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to it by the Charter.

"To be able to live up to its great historic mission, that is, to save mankind from the cataclysm of destructive war, the United Nations must become a truly universal nation upon which all States and people can rely, a just and impartial arbiter, an organ which by its very composition and structure would be true to the great principles inscribed in the Charter".
[873rd meeting, paras. 8 and 9.]

98. China, as is well known, is a founder Member of the United Nations. It participated in the San Francisco Conference, it signed and ratified the United Nations Charter. What is more, under Article 23 (1) of the Charter, China is also a permanent member of the Security Council. The particular role of the permanent members of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security is well known, but for the past thirteen years one of the five permanent members of the Council has been arbitrarily excluded from its work. A handful of individuals have arrogated to

themselves the role of representatives of a great Power, when in fact they represent nothing and nobody. When they speak, no one listens, or, if anyone does, no one attaches any importance to what they say. In place of the representatives of the Government of a sovereign State, there has been introduced into the United Nations a fiction in which no one in this Hall believes—not even the representative of the United States. Both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and other United Nations organs, an attempt has been made to place sovereign States, Members of the Organization, on the same footing as a group of impostors who, having been driven out once and for all by the Chinese people, have found political refuge under the protection of the United States Seventh Fleet and, in New York, behind the coat-tails of the United States delegation.

Mr. Rakotomalala (Madagascar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

99. The harm suffered by the United Nations as a result of this policy has been and still is considerable.

100. A whole series of important resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations during this period without any participation by one of the largest countries in the world, whose population represents nearly one fourth of the World's population.

101. Certain problems which have been and continue to be a source of concern to a large number of Members of the United Nations are still pending. It is very difficult to see how these problems can be solved so long as legality is not restored in the United Nations and one of the permanent members of the Security Council continues to be excluded from the Organization. This abnormal situation also has negative repercussions on the international situation in general, diminishing mutual trust between States and making the solution of the major international problems more complicated.

102. In these circumstances a logical question arises: what is the explanation for this absurd state of affairs imposed on the United Nations? What is the principal reason for which the United States delegation stubbornly opposes the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this hall?

103. Thirteen years ago the people's revolution triumphed in China. Thus, for the first time in all the thousands of years of their history, the great and heroic Chinese people were given the opportunity to live in dignity as masters of their own fate and to look to the future with courage. This nation, which had made a great contribution to the development of civilization and human culture, was thus enabled to take its place at last beside the other free nations in building a new life. The old China of colonial spheres of influence, of concessions to foreign monopolies, disappeared forever.

104. The Chinese people took power into their own hands, setting up their own Government to administer the country, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. In a relatively short period of time the Chinese people have achieved remarkable successes in all fields of activity.

105. The economic, social and cultural successes of the People's Republic of China, as also its important role in international affairs, are today recognized, even by the enemies of the Chinese people. The United States itself is obliged to take these realities into account, to have dealings with the authorized repre-

sentatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China in connexion with various international problems and even to join with those representatives in signing agreements which are of great significance for world peace.

106. In consequence of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, all the rights of China in the United Nations should legally be vested in the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people. That is a universally accepted principle of international law which has been confirmed by numerous precedents in the history of the United Nations.

107. As far as its attitude towards the United Nations is concerned, the People's Republic of China has been requesting since 1949 that its representatives should occupy the seat to which they are entitled in the United Nations as the sole legitimate representatives of China.

108. But the social and political régime established by the Chinese people in their country is not pleasing to the United States. Cherishing the hope of recovering the positions which it has lost and of maintaining the régime of occupation in one part of Chinese territory, namely the Chinese island of Taiwan, the United States Government continues to give its support in the United Nations to the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who were driven out once and for all by the Chinese people.

109. The role which the Chinese island of Taiwan plays in the strategic plans of the United States is well known. On that island, as in the neighbouring areas, the United States maintains twelve military bases, with a total of more than 500,000 troops. The United States Seventh Fleet, which has become the policeman of the Far East, keeps 125 warships in that area.

110. Hatred for the revolutionary achievements of the Chinese people and for the socialist régime established in that country, the occupation by force of an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and the organization of aggressive activities against the Government of that country. These constitute the real position of the United States Government with regard to the People's Republic of China.

111. The rapid development of the People's Republic of China will not be arrested by either the aggressive acts of the United States or the hostile campaign organized by the United States representative in the United Nations.

112. The representatives here in this Hall can well remember what used to happen prior to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly every time the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was brought up. The United States, having an automatic majority on its side, managed for eleven years to prevent even the discussion of this question in the Assembly.

113. Nevertheless, the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was a topic of paramount concern to world opinion and the international Press. Discussions concerning the representation of China were held in the United States Congress and during United States electoral campaigns.

114. The situation was different, however, in the United Nations, where all discussion of the subject was

prevented by the machinations of the United States and the procedural manoeuvres to which it resorted.

115. That situation changed when a large number of new States freed from the colonial yoke took their places in the United Nations. The result was an appreciable increase in the number of countries favouring the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and favouring the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all United Nations bodies. In these circumstances the United States delegation was obliged at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly to abandon the tactics of "postponement" which it had used until then. No longer having a sufficient majority of votes favourable to its position, the United States delegation resorted to a new manoeuvre, a procedural one, claiming that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was an "important" question and that, consequently, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, a decision with regard to it would require a two-thirds majority. What the United States is actually trying to do by these tactics is to impose on the General Assembly, on the basis of only one-third of the total vote, a similar result, namely the exclusion of the United Nations. That is why it was necessary to decree that the question was "important".

16. The position of the United States and of those who support it is a complete paradox.

17. On the one hand, they recognize that this question is "important" and, consequently, that the earliest possible solution is required; on the other hand, they invoke all sorts of arguments to prove that this urgent question is so important that its solution should be indefinitely postponed.

18. In reality these procedural devices are being used in an attempt to prevent a vote by the General Assembly on the substance of this question, namely the continued occupation of China's seat both in the General Assembly and the Security Council and in other United Nations bodies by impostors, the ghosts of a régime which has been dead for thirteen years. Is there anyone in this Hall who thinks that the General Assembly could adopt such a resolution by a two-thirds majority? In our opinion, such a resolution could not even obtain one third of the total number of votes.

19. Thus the United States position is based on a false presentation of this problem and on a distortion of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

20. It is true that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is important and urgent. Yet, even taking into account the importance of this question, we cannot alter its character—we cannot alter the fact that it has been and is a question of representation and that as such it is a question which, as is well known, should be settled in the General Assembly by a simple majority vote. In substance, the question with which we are dealing is that of determining what should be the source of the credentials which establish and authenticate the right of a certain person to speak and act in the United Nations on behalf of China, on behalf of the Chinese people. That person cannot be anyone other than a representative of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, who, in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure, should submit his credentials to the General Assembly.

121. In the course of the discussion some speakers have tried to distort the facts and complicate the solution of this question by supporting the idea of the so-called existence of two Chinas. The Romanian delegation, together with many other delegations, resolutely refuses to lend itself to such a manoeuvre. There is only one China: the People's Republic of China. The so-called "Nationalist China" is actually nothing but a fiction. The island of Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which the United States Seventh Fleet is occupying by force. The Chinese people are asserting the right to the integrity of their country and no force will keep them from realizing their legitimate aspirations.

122. The question of the restoration of the lawful right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its seat in the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies is a question of paramount importance.

123. It is the duty of the General Assembly to take immediate steps to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. If a positive solution of this question is reached at the current session it will be an important contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations and of its prestige. The peoples will see in this act a proof that the United Nations is on the way to becoming a truly universal Organization in which all States will be represented without distinction as to their political and social régime, a proof that it is truly dedicated to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

124. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will also help to relax international tension and promote normal relations among States and will make the settlement of other important disputes easier.

125. In examining this question the General Assembly should base itself on respect for legality and on the general principles of international law. According to those principles, since China is a Member of the United Nations the right to speak on behalf of China is vested in the effective Government of that country, the Government which is upheld by the immense majority of the population and which controls almost the whole of that country's territory, the Government which is really in a position to fulfil the obligations incumbent on China under the terms of the Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations and international law.

126. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, a vote in favour of the resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.395] will be a vote of confidence in the United Nations as a whole, a vote of confidence in the Charter and its principles.

127. The Romanian delegation will cast such a vote.

128. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): At this session the General Assembly is once again called upon to express its views on one of the most important questions ever to appear on its agenda, that of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—a question the solution of which is of the utmost concern to the United Nations and on which depends in large measure the settlement of the major international problems of our age. For thirteen years this question has been raised, in one form or another, at every session of the General Assembly, yet the latter has not been in a position to adopt the necessary solution, in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure. As a result, an unprecedented and abnormal situation has prevailed in

the United Nations throughout this period; the great State of the People's Republic of China, which accounts for one quarter of the population of the globe, is not represented in the United Nations and, what is worse, its place is illegally occupied by individuals sent by a clique of traitors whom the Chinese people have long since defeated and driven out of the country. Thus we see sitting here in this august Assembly not only the official representatives of Member States but also certain private persons who represent nothing.

129. It is now recognized by everyone that this illegal state of affairs in the United Nations is due to the arbitrary position which the United States of America has adopted on the matter, its hostile and clearly aggressive policy towards the powerful socialist country which is the People's Republic of China.

130. The most elementary logic compels us to recognize that the United Nations has thus been driven into an illegal position which constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter. It has reached a deadlock which has inevitably impaired the efficiency of the United Nations and its authority and prestige throughout the world.

131. The denial of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a striking example of the manner in which, under the influence of certain Western Powers, led by the United States of America, the Organization has deviated from the road prescribed by the Charter. During the discussions of this item at previous sessions and on many other occasions, two diametrically opposed views have emerged in the General Assembly: on the one hand, the States which, faithful to their policy of peace and peaceful coexistence between States with different political systems and faithful to the fundamental principles of the Organization, are resolutely trying to guide the United Nations along the road prescribed by the Charter, as an Organization with a universal vocation whose task is to contribute efficiently to the maintenance and consolidation of peace, to the settlement of world problems through the widest possible international co-operation, based on the equality of sovereign States, large or small, and on respect for the right of peoples to self-determination; on the other hand, certain Western Powers, headed by the United States of America, which, incapable of renouncing their traditional policy of dominating and exploiting peoples, are trying to lay down the law in this Organization, to impose their wishes upon it and to use the United Nations as a tool for the achievement—in however disguised a manner—of their imperialist desires.

132. We can state that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a typical case, a view which is confirmed if we consider the background of the question and the constant efforts of the United States to deprive the People's Republic of China of its rights in the United Nations.

133. The question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations came up for the first time thirteen years ago, after the success of the Chinese people's revolution which overthrew and drove out forever the corrupt Kuomintang clique, at the same time inflicting a total defeat on the American interventionists.

134. Since then, the Government of the People's Republic of China has appealed over and over again to the United Nations. Declaring that the only legal Government empowered to represent China and the Chinese

people in the United Nations and in other international organizations was the Government of the People's Republic of China, it has asked for the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to be expelled from the United Nations and its organs and for the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people to be installed in their place.

135. In spite of the repeated requests of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the sympathy and support of all peace-loving States and all progressive peoples throughout the world, in spite of the numerous debates which have taken place in the General Assembly during previous sessions, an abnormal situation, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter, has been tolerated here for thirteen years. The United States, using what may be called the mechanical vote, has forced the United Nations to accept the usurpation of the rights of the Chinese people by a group of mercenary traitors.

136. In order to do this, the United States Government has resorted to all sorts of manoeuvres and subterfuges. First of all its representatives tried to link the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations with the question of the recognition of that country by the United States. This inadmissible and unfounded pretext was, however, rejected by many Member States and by eminent experts on international law, as also by the United Nations in certain official documents. The United States of America, finding itself in a difficult position and short of arguments to justify its arbitrary opposition to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, then resorted to the well-known procedure of forcing the General Assembly at each session to postpone the debate on this problem.

137. This illegal tactic, however, which was used for so many years, was finally revealed to public opinion in its true light, so much so that certain Member States, including allies of the United States, advised the United States to find another procedure, for otherwise they would find themselves unable to support postponement. The situation became even more difficult for the United States because of the changes which took place in the membership of the United Nations following the admission of new States which had just thrown off the colonial yoke and which were in sympathy with the peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China and with its immense contribution to the cause of peoples oppressed by imperialist colonialism.

138. In the face of these constantly increasing difficulties, the United States sought other subterfuges which would serve the same purpose, namely, to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its lawful place in the United Nations. Thus, the specialists of the State Department of the United States began to fabricate certain so-called theories, including that of the two-Chinas, to which United States propaganda gave wide publicity. This theory has been revealed in its true light and denounced by numerous peace-loving States and eminent public figures as a new manoeuvre without any foundation and designed to postpone indefinitely the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations and to serve as a pretext for the occupation of Taiwan by the United States.

139. It was also in these circumstances that the United States was compelled to accept the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the sixteenth session for examination by the General Assembly. At the same time, however, the United States invented, for the same pur-

pose, what it called "the procedural question" and imposed on the Assembly a resolution requiring that the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be settled by a two-thirds majority vote, which in fact constitutes a violation of Article 18 of the Charter.

140. Thus, by a whole series of manoeuvres and stratagems the United States has succeeded in obstructing for thirteen years the rights of the great Chinese people in the United Nations, trampling under foot the principles of the Charter and dealing a serious blow to the very foundations of the Organization.

141. We must ask ourselves what are the reasons behind the obstructionist attitude of the United States with regard to the incontestable rights of the great People's Republic of China. It is important to examine the aims underlying this attitude and the consequences deriving therefrom to the prejudice of the United Nations and of the cause of peace and international co-operation which it should serve.

142. Undoubtedly, the position of the United States on this question is inspired mainly by its hatred and its profoundly hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China, whose régime is not to the liking of its leaders and its monopolies.

143. The ruling circles of the United States, imbued with their imperialist ideas, cannot bear to think that the Chinese people have chosen a socialist régime, have become masters of their fate and are resolutely taking the road towards free and independent development and the building of a socialist system.

144. Since the time of the people's revolution in China in 1949, when the victorious Chinese people drove the United States imperialists and the remnants of the reactionary Kuomintang clique from the mainland, successive United States Governments have steadily pursued a policy of aggression and provocation, towards the People's Republic of China, thus creating a direct threat to peace and security in the Far East and in the entire world.

145. It is obvious that the United States has never renounced its hope of restoring the reactionary Chinese régime of the past and of regaining its domination over the Chinese people. United States aggression against China began in 1950 with the armed occupation of Taiwan, which is an integral part of Chinese territory. The United States continues to occupy this island, which it has transformed into a military base and which it wants to use as a spring-board to attack Chinese territory, in order to extend its aggression to the whole Chinese mainland.

146. It is certain that the aims of the imperialists will never be achieved. Whether the United States rulers like it or not the People's Republic of China is becoming daily more powerful; it has become a bastion of peace in Asia and throughout the world and its role in international affairs becomes more important each day.

147. Of course, the essentially aggressive nature of United States imperialism blinds it to the reality of modern life and makes it incapable of understanding that the wheels of history cannot be turned back. It is this short-sighted policy of hatred and aggression that explains its obstructionist attitude towards the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

148. Furthermore, the United States is afraid that the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United

Nations will swell the ranks of those States which are fighting for the implementation of the principles of the Charter and trying to make the United Nations a real centre in which the problems of our times may find a just solution in keeping with the aspirations of the people. The imperialists are already showing their concern and anxiety over the recent changes which have taken place in the membership of the United Nations following the admission of new States recently released from the colonialist yoke. The United States Government is afraid that the representatives of the Chinese people will unite their efforts here with those of other peace-loving States in order to lead the United Nations firmly along the path prescribed by the Charter, thus making it more difficult for the United States to use the United Nations as an instrument for its own imperialist and aggressive policy.

149. Of course, the United States dares not reveal the real reasons behind the maintenance of its obstructionist and intolerable policy towards the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, it tries to justify itself and for that purpose invents all sorts of false charges against the great People's Republic of China. During the present debate, as in previous sessions, the United States representative has indulged in all sorts of calumnies drawn from the arsenal of United States propaganda against the People's Republic of China, accusing it in particular of following an aggressive policy.

150. Obviously, such calumnies can deceive no one. The facts speak for themselves and the peoples of the world know what to believe. The triumph of the people's revolution in China has marked a new era in the life of the Chinese people and has brought about a great change in world history. During the thirteen years of the new régime, the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party and its People's Government, has scored unprecedented successes in the economic and cultural development of the country. It has swept away the remnants of colonialism and imperialism and has radically transformed the life of the country.

151. Thanks to their work and abnegation, the wonderful Chinese people have created a powerful industry and have started to modernize their agriculture. By the end of the first decade of the people's régime, industrial production had increased tenfold and agricultural production had increased two and a half times.

152. Malek Haddad, the Algerian writer, who visited China last summer, wrote, *inter alia*:

"It is scarcely thirteen years since China emerged finally from its long night of feudal and imperialist rule ... and this is a decisive proof and an amazing demonstration of the fact that no force in the world can halt a people on the road to freedom, democracy and peace. After the long march of war, China has started the long march towards happiness, the long march of rebuilding the country, which is eighteen times larger than France, the long march of justice, equality and happy work."

153. The tremendous progress achieved so far by the hard-working and talented Chinese people in their task of transforming the country into a great socialist Power with modern industries and agriculture and modern science and culture is a striking illustration of the soundness of the policy followed by the Chinese Communist party in the Government of the People's Republic of China.

154. These obvious successes are a striking testimony to the force and vitality of the socialist régime in China and the adamant unity of the great Chinese people behind its party and Government. This unity can never be broken either by the calumnies and black-mail of the United States Government and its agents or by the acts of aggression undertaken by the United States against the People's Republic of China.

155. The attempts made here by the United States representative to blacken the peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China constitute the most monstrous calumny against a people which is devoting all its strength to the peaceful building of its country, a people which has been pillaged in the past by those very imperialists who are now committing acts of provocation and aggression against it in order to impede its efforts to build a new life.

156. It is already recognized throughout the world that the People's Republic of China is pursuing a consistent foreign policy of peace and is resolutely upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social and political systems.

157. China is the initiator of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, to which it adheres strictly. Everyone knows how it contributed to the conclusion of the armistice in Korea and Indo-China. The Chinese people and its Government are in the vanguard of the struggle for the defence of peace and the rights of people to self-determination. Guided by its policy of peace and international co-operation, the People's Republic of China has never spared its efforts for the peaceful solution of the important problems of our time. It has diplomatic relations with more than forty States and economic, cultural and friendly relations with more than one hundred States. It has become a great factor for peace, stability and progress in the Far East and in the entire world. Everyone knows the important role played by this great socialist country at the Bandung Conference and its great contribution to the Geneva Conferences on Korea, Viet-Nam and Laos. It has supported all constructive proposals and has itself proposed numerous measures designed to consolidate peace and security; in particular, it proposed the conclusion of peace and non-aggression treaty between all the countries of Asia and the Pacific, including the United States, with the object of transforming that region into a deneutralized zone.

158. Guided by its policy of peace and good neighbourliness, the People's Republic of China has concluded treaties of friendship and peace with Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia and Indonesia. Last year it signed agreements settling frontier problems with Nepal and Burma and is now engaged in negotiations with Pakistan, with a view to solving the further problems between the two countries.

159. Such facts provide undeniable proof of the sustained efforts and the sincere desire of the People's Republic of China to strengthen its friendly relations with neighbouring States.

160. The United States representative and some others have tried during this debate to use the recent events on the frontier between India and the People's Republic of China in order to accuse China of aggression.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

161. We, for our part, are not in the least surprised to see the imperialists and their representatives trying

to speculate on such regrettable events and rubbing their hands with glee on seeing conflicts arise between traditionally friendly neighbouring countries; this is in conformity with their traditional policy, which is founded on the axiom "divide and rule", but we must express our regret at seeing the representative of one of the parties to the conflict raise the question here unilaterally and in the absence of the other party. Naturally, the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of China from this Assembly puts the representative of India in an advantageous position in that respect, which would seem to me to be a further reason for him not to raise the question here and not to launch into biased accusations which do not correspond to the truth. We think, however, that the truth must not be obscured. I shall venture, in the interest of truth, to say a few brief words about the circumstances that led to the present regrettable situation in which two neighbouring countries find themselves at loggerheads.

162. As is well known, the frontier between the two countries has never been officially delimited, but there did exist a frontier based on custom and tradition. The Government of the People's Republic of China has constantly endeavoured to settle the question peacefully, by means of negotiations between the two parties. In April 1960, for example, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of the Council of Affairs of State of the People's Republic of China, went to New Delhi for the purpose of holding conversations with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. Unfortunately, despite the sincere endeavours of the Chinese Government, it did not prove possible, either during that encounter or in the course of subsequent meetings of official representatives of both countries, to find an agreed solution to the problem. The Chinese Government has always urged that the controversy should not lead to a frontier dispute and that the two parties should meet in round-table negotiations.

163. In the course of the last three months, the Chinese Government has made three proposals for negotiations, but the Indian Government has persisted in subordinating any negotiations to a preliminary condition which is unacceptable to the other party, namely, the withdrawal of the Chinese troops from their own territory.

164. On 20 October 1962, strong Indian forces launched a general offensive on both the Eastern and the Western parts of the border between China and India. It was in those circumstances that the Chinese forces found themselves obliged to retaliate.

165. On 24 October 1962 the Chinese Government once again made a proposal calling for an immediate cease-fire and the opening of negotiations. The following are the three main points of the proposal which I consider it necessary to quote:

- "(1) Both parties affirm that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a peaceful settlement, the Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government will agree that both parties respect the line of actual control between the two sides along the entire Sino-Indian border, and the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from this line and disengage.
- (2) Provided that the Indian Government agrees to the above proposal, the Chinese Government is willing, through consultation between the two parties, to withdraw its frontier guards in the eastern sector of the border to the north of the line of actual control;

at the same time, both China and India undertake not to cross the line of actual control, i.e., the traditional customary line, in the middle and western sectors of the border ... (3) The Chinese Government considers that, in order to seek a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, talks should be held once again by the Prime Ministers of China and India. At a time considered to be appropriate by both parties, the Chinese Government would welcome the Indian Prime Minister to Peking; if this should be inconvenient to the Indian Government, the Chinese Premier would be ready to go to Delhi for talks."

166. The statement by the Chinese Government dated 24 October 1962 ended with the following words:

"The Chinese Government appeals to the Indian Government for a positive response to the above three proposals. The Chinese Government appeals to the Governments of Asian and African countries for an effort to bring about the materialization of these three proposals. The Chinese Government appeals to all the peace-loving countries and peoples to do their part in promoting Sino-Indian friendship, Asian-African solidarity and world peace."

167. My delegation expresses its sincere hope that the two parties will enter into negotiations with a view to finding common ground leading to a joint solution of the problem, in conformity with the mutual interests and friendly and good neighbourly relations of the two great Asian countries.

168. In order to reply to the slanderous statements made by the United States representative with respect to the People's Republic of China, may I refer to the message of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia, to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in which it is stated inter alia:

"Some countries justify their opposition to China's admission to the United Nations on the grounds of its 'aggressiveness'. Cambodia, which is a close neighbour of China, has never known any such aggressiveness; it has, on the other hand, for many years been suffering from the aggressiveness of countries which are full Members of the United Nations. We would add that it is China which has invariably and disinterestedly given us its support against threats, armed incursions and attempts at annexation at the hands of our neighbours. By doing so, China has helped considerably to safeguard peace in Asia and the freedom of the peoples of small countries which are the victims of imperialism and ideological hatred."

169. Such a statement needs no comment, but I must draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that, whilst the imperialists are hastening to speculate on the current conflict between China and India, they are not prompted in any way by the interests of the two neighbouring countries concerned, but by their imperialist policy, which seeks to sow discord between nations and to foment war. It is indeed interesting to note that these monstrous slanders against a peaceful socialist country, such as the great People's Republic of China have come precisely from the representative of the foremost imperialist Power, the Power which is mainly responsible for the most critical international situation that has arisen since the end of the last world war.

170. The United States of America is at the head of the aggressive blocs of NATO, SEATO and CENTO. It has established numerous military bases all round the

countries of the socialist camp and is constantly provoking those countries and interfering in their domestic affairs. It hampers the peoples in their struggle to rid themselves of the colonialist yoke. It creates hotbeds of tension and is feverishly preparing for a thermo-nuclear war against the socialist countries and for aggression against the peace and freedom of the people.

171. The United States Government has always devoted itself feverishly to the arms race and to preparing for war and it is doing so now on an unprecedented scale and at an unprecedented rate; its direct military expenditure has increased to \$52,700 million, the largest peace-time military budget in the history of the United States. This military expenditure surpasses even the amounts spent during the years of the aggressive war against Korea.

172. The American imperialists are opposed to the settlement of the principal international problems, such as general and complete disarmament, the banning of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, the suppression of colonialism and still other important problems.

173. The notorious fundamental strategy of the United States Government is to subjugate all countries, to crush the struggle of peoples for national liberation and to intimidate the socialist camp in order the better to pave the way for nuclear war. Did not the President of the United States state recently—thus advocating so-called preventive war—that the United States should be ready in certain circumstances to use nuclear weapons, from the very outset and whatever might be the consequences?

174. During the past few days the attention of all peace-loving States and of all peoples throughout the world has been focused on certain extremely serious events, fraught with danger, which have just taken place in the Caribbean as a result of the naval blockade set up by the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba and of the disembarkation of United States troops at the Guantánamo base, which is part and parcel of Cuban territory. Thus the United States of America, having undertaken increasingly aggressive action against this peaceful country which is forging a new life for itself and striving to safeguard its independence, has perpetrated an act of war against a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, thereby committing an unprecedented violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter and threatening to precipitate the world into the catastrophe of nuclear war.

175. In so doing the United States Government does not hesitate to accuse the small country of Cuba of threatening its security. Furthermore, it protests against the assistance which the Soviet Union is rendering Cuba in order to enable that country to defend itself, but it regards as just and humanitarian the assistance which the United States is itself rendering to the torturers of the peoples of South Viet-Nam and South Korea and to the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, assistance which has been used to turn these countries into colonies and bases for aggression. The criminal acts of the United States Government against Cuba are being perpetrated because the United States does not like the régime that the Cuban people have adopted. All peace-loving States and all peoples who cherish peace and freedom, including the peoples of Latin America, have expressed their profound indignation and have protested vigorously against the criminal

acts of the United States of America towards the peaceful Republic of Cuba.

176. The people and Government of Albania are completely at one with the Republic and the heroic people of Cuba in condemning with the utmost vigour the belligerent acts committed by the United States against Cuba.

177. The openly aggressive policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China and the aggressive behaviour of the American imperialists in the Far East are common knowledge. The United States continues to occupy the island of Taiwan, which is part and parcel of the territory of the People's Republic of China; it continues to reinforce and to extend the network of hundreds of military bases near that country in which considerable forces, equipped with modern weapons, are concentrated. It systematically violates China's territorial integrity and carries out constant acts of aggression and provocation against that country, making use of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, too, for that purpose. On 9 September 1962, a U-2 spy plane, flown by Chiang Kai-shek's mercenaries, was shot down in the air space of the People's Republic of China. Quite recently, the People's Republic of China revealed the Chiang Kai-shek plans for invading the coast of the Chinese continent. There is no doubt that such plans are drawn up at the instigation and with the support of the United States imperialism. The United States Government has interfered brutally in the civil war in Laos and has supported the régime of Ngo Dinh Diem which is massacring the population of South Viet-Nam, all this in the vain hope of preventing the peoples of Laos and of South Viet-Nam from exercising their right of free choice.

178. Thus, as we have stressed earlier, it is this hostile and aggressive policy towards socialist China which explains the obstinately obstructive attitude of the United States Government towards the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is this imperialist policy, the purpose of which is to perpetuate the United States occupation of the island of Taiwan and to make China a semi-colonial country again, which explains this abnormal situation created in the United Nations by reason of the absence of the representatives of the great Chinese people.

179. There is no doubt that the schemes of the United States imperialists against socialist China are built on sand. Whether the United States Government likes it or not, socialist China will continue to flourish and will play an ever greater part in international affairs. The socialist régime that the Chinese people have adopted is a matter which concerns that people alone and no State is entitled to interfere in their domestic affairs. Is it not true, moreover, that one of the features of the United Nations is the fact that States with different régimes are represented in it?

180. The "two Chinas" theory is an absurd manoeuvre which is bound to fail. There is only one China, and that is the People's Republic of China, and its one and only Government is the Government of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the support of the entire Chinese people.

181. It is high time to put an end to this flagrant violation of the rights of 700 million Chinese in the United Nations, a violation which at the same time seriously undermines the very foundations of the United Nations, for it has become apparent that none of the problems

facing the international community can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China. The Government of that country has already made it clear that international agreements in which it has not officially taken part will be invalid as far as it is concerned.

182. All Member States which are devoted to the cause of peace and co-operation are in duty bound to vote in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the immediate exclusion of the puppets of Chiang Kai-shek from all United Nations bodies.

183. With regard to procedure, the question of the representation of Member States is a matter of verifying credentials. I would point out once again that this is not a question of the admission of a new Member, but of the confirmation of the mandate of the representatives of a Member State, a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. Although the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is an extremely important one, it is not permissible that the rule regarding a two-thirds majority vote should be applied for the purpose of hindering the adoption, on that subject, of an important resolution which, under the Charter, should be adopted by a simple majority vote. It was not by a mere whim that the authors of the Charter decided that the question of the representation of a State could be settled by a simple majority vote in the General Assembly.

184. The people and Government of Albania have always staunchly supported the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In his statement made before this Assembly on 3 October 1960, Mr. Mehmet Shehu, the President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, said on this subject:

"Those who take a stand against restoring the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are in fact taking a stand against international co-operation and are trying to turn the United Nations into a weapon of imperialist policy; those who vote against restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are voting against peace, against disarmament and for the triumph of the aggressive war policy conducted by the United States of America; that is, they are voting for imperialism and colonialism." [84th meeting, para. 52.]

185. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania firmly supports the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.395], requiring that the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique be immediately removed from the United Nations and that at the same time the representatives of the People's Republic of China be invited to occupy the place to which they are fully entitled in our Organization and in all its organs.

186. We voice the hope that the General Assembly, taking a firm stand against any manoeuvres on the part of the United States designed to trample the principles of the Charter underfoot and arbitrarily to deprive the People's Republic of China of its rights in the United Nations, will adopt the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union.

187. Mr. OKAZAKI (Japan): The delegation of Japan naturally has a very special interest in the question of China's representation in the United Nations. There

exists now, and there will always exist between Japan and China a unique, an intimate and a close relationship, due to geographical propinquity, a common historical and cultural background and close economic ties. I believe that all other Member States of our Organization are also seriously concerned with this question, because it has in its nature a far-reaching influence on the peace and security of the Far East and the whole world; and it also has an important bearing on the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

188. The fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is actually in effective control over a population of more than 600 million on the Chinese mainland cannot be ignored. On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that the Government of the Republic of China is in solid and effective control over Taiwan and the adjacent islands, an area large enough to allow its eleven million people to enjoy a very high standard of living. Furthermore, each of those authorities insistently claims exclusive status as the lawful Government of China, and they are confronting each other with great military forces across the Taiwan Straits. In such circumstances, any solution of this question which would result in forcing a change in the present situation by supporting one of them and excluding the other would not only unnecessarily worsen the existing state of tension but it might also eventually incur the danger of war in the Far East.

189. The draft resolution placed before us by the Soviet Union ignores the facts and circumstances I have just described. It undertakes to simplify and bypass the real issue by taking up a mere section of this important problem. In other words, by presenting the case as if no more were involved than examining letters of credentials, the Soviet Union is trying to assert that the problem we have before us is a mere matter of procedure. However, it has been made clear by a series of statements on the part of the majority of the Member States that the question is not as simple as that. It embraces serious substance of the utmost importance. I should also like to point out that the voting records on various draft resolutions on this question, which were submitted at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, clearly expressed the views of the Assembly as a whole.

190. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the motives of the Soviet Union in introducing a draft resolution similar to that which was rejected last year, as there has not been any change or development in the situation since that time.

191. Another fact which we should not overlook is that the operative paragraphs of the Soviet draft resolution envisage, in effect, the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations in spite of the existence of two authorities which, as I stated earlier, confront each other. In this connexion, no one can deny that the Republic of China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations, that it has contributed substantially to the establishment and development of the United Nations, or that it has faithfully performed its duties under the Charter for seventeen years. If we take these and other pertinent facts into account, the Soviet draft resolution is nothing more than an unjustifiable charge against the Republic of China. It is to this point that the delegation of Japan raises its strongest objection.

192. The enviable record of the Republic of China in the United Nations raises in turn the question of

whether, on the other hand, the People's Republic of China is, in reality, a peace-loving country or not, despite whatever claims might be made on behalf of that authority.

193. I should like to repeat and emphasize that there exist at present two rival authorities, both claiming the lawful status of representing the entire territory of China. I should also like to repeat and emphasize that each of these authorities confronts the other equipped with massive armed forces. In the face of these circumstances, I regret to have to say that the problem seems to have been introduced into the General Assembly by the author of the draft resolution in a style that suggests a manoeuvre in the tactics of the cold war. Thus, any reasonable solution of the problem with which we are all so seriously concerned has been rendered more difficult.

194. Therefore, in dealing with such important questions as the present one, it is absolutely necessary that we avoid hasty and immature approaches. Instead, we must exert our utmost efforts to seek an appropriate solution that would take into account all of the realities and complexities of the situation. We believe that the resolution [1668 (XVI)] adopted by the General Assembly at its last session, which designated the problem of China's representation as an important question under Article 18 of the Charter, was sound and proper. However difficult and remote the solution of this question may seem to be, my delegation not only hopes, but is confident, that every Member State will face this question with the utmost clarity of mind and with the prudence required so that a solution satisfactory to all concerned may be found just as soon as time and circumstances permit.

195. At the beginning of my statement I referred to the close affinity between the Japanese and Chinese peoples for reasons of geography, race, history and culture. Quite apart from any of the other factors which I have mentioned, we believe that we have, perhaps, the special privilege to speak about this problem. My delegation would like to recommend that the solution of this problem should be based on the following three factors: first it must be in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter; secondly, it must be sought by peaceful means; thirdly, it must contribute to the peace and security of the Far East and of the entire world.

196. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Ceylon who has asked to exercise the right of reply.

197. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon) Since the representative of Spain, in his speech here last Friday [1159th meeting] referred to my statement [1157th meeting] in an interpretative way and made what I consider some erroneous deductions, I would seek the indulgence of the Assembly for a very brief reply.

198. I am grateful to the erudite and courteous ambassador for his kind references to my speech. In fact, he endorsed what he was good enough to call the eloquent and compelling logic which my delegation advanced on behalf of the People's Republic of China. But he quarrels with what he describes as the two weights and two standards implicit in those who, like ourselves, support the admission of the People's Republic of China, while great nations like Germany, and others, are kept out. In other words, he charges us with following a double standard, and naturally we do not wish to be so branded. We made no mention at all of Germany, or any other country in similar circumstances,

because the item before us is the specific and very limited question of the representation of China.

199. Nor do I seek to hide behind this limitation on a technical basis. In fact, I pointed out that there is a denominator common to all States barred from membership for reasons which my Government does not condone. Our position, let it be noted, with regard to the basic ideologies and the aims of the United Nations, is the principle of universalism. So that, while we argue that there is a common denominator, what the representative of Spain omitted to point out in his reference was the fact which I mentioned in my speech that there is no true equivalent to the People's Republic of China.

200. I said that non-member States have no claim and make no juridical claim on the United Nations. The basis for their claim—if and when they do assert it—is purely political. On the other hand, as I pointed out, the People's Republic of China does make that claim on a juridical basis, not only as a founding Member, for it is already a Member, and not merely that. China is a permanent Member with all the special rights of such a Power which accrue to a permanent Member under the Charter. The United Nations may ignore this claim. That is a different matter. But the United Nations cannot go on ignoring it forever without eventual dire

consequences. Having stated this, I would add that there was no implication in my speech of a position for or against any other application, from one applicant or group of applicants.

201. I may perhaps be allowed to add one more observation with reference to the representative of Spain. The whole basis of his argument rests on his moral judgement of the Peking régime. Let us remember that here we are passing moral judgement not on an issue but on a State, judgement involving that State's right to exist. Was it not precisely the same kind of judgement that kept Spain out of the United Nations for so many years? And, is it not also true that the fact that it now occupies its seat was made possible only through a process which was crudely, but frankly, described at the time as a horse trade?

202. My delegation is glad that it was the kind of horse trade in which at least horse sense prevailed, and we would welcome even a modicum of such horse sense in the present issue. But since we are all members of the human family, we would prefer not the limited sense of horses but the higher attributes of man, his ability to act on principles, in this case the principles of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.