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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHAWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 90

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

1. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): The issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations is again before us. It has been before us in one form or another for sixteen years. In spite of all our best efforts the United Nations has not yet been able to discover a way out of the impasse in which it finds itself today.
2. One reason why better progress has not been made is that the options we have had before us do not reflect the real nature of the problem. The real nature of the problem is that the China of today is not the China of 1945.
3. One of the options which has been before us would have us ignore altogether the changes that have taken place. It would have us act as if the People's Republic of China did not exist. It would have us continue to exclude from our deliberations and from the whole framework of international co-operation a Government which has the capacity to influence the shape of world affairs for good or for ill.
4. The other option also asks us to close our eyes to a part of the reality of the Chinese situation itself. It would have us do so by extinguishing for all practical purposes the international personality of a Government which controls the destiny of some 12 million people, a greater population than that of three fifths of the Member States of the United Nations.
5. That is why these options in my judgement have not carried us forward. These options do not take account of the fundamental changes which have occurred in China since the United Nations was established. They do not point to a rational solution of the problem. They do not point to a solution which is in accord with that common interest which should be the basis of a world organization.
6. I do not think we shall ever be able to resolve this question on a reasonable basis so long as we proceed from the narrow concept of a contest of votes. If we are to proceed in the spirit of the Charter, any solution should be sought in terms not of contest, but

of consensus. Our difficulty in this problem arises out of intractable positions, fixed positions, that have enslaved us and have prevented us from making the kind of advance that must be made on so vital a question.

7. Only by agreement among ourselves on a way out of the dilemma, followed by negotiated acceptance of a reasonable solution by the parties concerned, can we hope to reach any just and satisfactory outcome. I do not suggest that this can be an easy process, or that what we in Canada have been proposing in our extended consultations is a short cut to a solution. There are no short cuts which do not violate both common sense and the spirit of the Charter. What I do suggest is that, unless we are to throw up our hands and turn away from our responsibilities, a start must be made in the effort to find a consensus on this issue.

8. What we have to decide at this point in time is this: Are we content once more to choose—or refuse to choose—between a set of unsatisfactory options? Or should we devote our full efforts and energies to the search for a constructive alternative? We cannot afford to shelve this issue for very much longer if the realities of a diverse world are to find effective expression in the United Nations. I also want to make it clear that the Canadian Government is not prepared to stand by and see this situation perpetuated indefinitely, without doing its part to solve the representation issue in this Organization. My colleagues and I in the Canadian Government have devoted much time in the last few months in an effort to open the way for a forward move on the question of Chinese representation at the United Nations.

9. I do not propose to linger over the question of importance on which we are being asked once again to pronounce ourselves. It has been the view of my delegation in previous years that this is an important question and we do not think that the passage of time has in any way detracted from its importance. It is important for this Organization. It is important for the maintenance of international peace and security. And it is important, in the final analysis, because the people of China are important. My delegation, therefore, does not propose to seek a resolution of this issue by denying its importance.

10. We also have before us once again the proposal of the Albanian delegation and other sponsors [A/L.490 and Add.1]. The intent of this proposal is to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Let me make it clear: with this we are in full accord. But the draft resolution embodying this proposal goes on to stipulate that this can be done by expelling the representatives of the Republic of China. The Canadian position on this

resolution has been that two wrongs do not make a right. We can see neither sense nor justice in the General Assembly denying to the Government of the Republic of China the right and responsibilities of United Nations membership or in withholding from its people the benefits of international co-operation. If we are to seek a rational and realistic answer to this problem before us, I cannot see that such an answer is to be found in the terms of the Albanian draft resolution, although, as I said a moment ago, the Canadian Government believes in the seating of the People's Republic of China in the Organization.

11. I wish now to turn to the third proposal which we have before us. I refer to the proposal tabled by the delegations of Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Italy and Trinidad and Tobago [A/L.500]. I do not think that I shall be revealing any secret if I say that Canada took an active part in initiating the consultations which resulted in the tabling of this proposal. The countries with which we consulted are countries whose views of what must now be done appeared to us to be in general harmony with our own. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the representatives of these countries our sincere appreciation of the efforts they made to accommodate themselves to our approach to this issue. I should like particularly to pay a tribute to the United States delegation, to Mr. Goldberg, for the spirit in which they endeavoured to meet our position, and to say that I fully appreciate the value of the United States now being able to announce its support for this alternative draft resolution. When I spoke in this Assembly in September of this year [1413th meeting], I interpolated into my prepared text the observation that I detected in the statement that had been made the day before by Mr. Goldberg an indication of a possible advance by the Government of the United States on this question.

12. It is a matter of great regret to Canada that the proposal which has emerged as a result of our joint deliberations is not one which, in our view, goes far enough in charting the course which this Assembly should now take in the interest of the United Nations and that of the larger world community. The proposal before us, to which I am now addressing myself, provides for the establishment of a committee to explore and study the whole situation pertaining to Chinese representation and to make appropriate recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly. This proposal represents very little forward movement over a similar proposal which Canada initiated at the fifth session of the General Assembly [277th meeting] in 1950. I would have hoped that, with the experience of the intervening years, this twenty-first session of the General Assembly might see its way clear to laying down a much more specific mandate by which the proposed committee would be guided in exploring the elements of an equitable solution of this question. In the absence of such a directive I fear that much valuable time may be lost by any committee which this Assembly will establish.

13. I must say that I have been disturbed by some of the statements which have been made concerning the tasks of the proposed committee. I want to make it clear that what is now required, in my view, is not a matter of study or research. What we look to the committee to do is to act on behalf of this Assembly

in mapping out a viable solution and paving the way for forward movement on this issue. This surely is the basis on which the committee must pursue its endeavours if it is to make the sort of recommendation which we have the right to expect it to put before us at our next session.

14. It has been suggested that one question which should be put to the Government of the People's Republic of China is whether it is willing to be seated in the United Nations. I am quite ready to acknowledge that statements which have come from Peking have been such as to implant real doubts in our minds about the general attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China towards the workings of the United Nations. And I note even within the last twenty-four hours observations that are reported to have been made by the Government of the People's Republic of China in this connexion. On the other hand, countries friendly to the Government of the People's Republic of China have in successive years tabled proposals aimed at the seating of that Government in the United Nations. We must assume, I think, that this would not have been done without the consent of Peking.

15. It has also been suggested that the Government of the People's Republic of China be asked whether it is willing to adhere to the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations. Now it is obviously of the greatest importance that all Member Governments respect and observe the obligations of the Charter. The question is properly put, in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter, to any State which is applying for membership of the United Nations. But China is a Member State of the United Nations. The issue before us is not one of admitting China to membership; it is rather how China as a Member State can be represented in our midst in such a way as to reflect the realities of the present political situation.

16. But I can see a further drawback to this whole procedure of asking questions at this stage. I would submit that the real responsibility of any committee that we appoint is to devise a basis on which this Assembly would consider it reasonable for the people of China to be represented in our midst. The time for asking questions is after, not before, such a basis has been devised. The real responsibility which is ours, as I see it at this time, is to formulate proposals which can be put to the parties in full confidence that they represent a reasonable approach to this issue. We can commend our proposals to the parties but we cannot compel their acceptance. At the very least, however, we would have absolved ourselves of the responsibility for perpetuating a situation which lacks the elements of common sense. I have the strong conviction, based on our experience of human nature, that a positive decision would create a climate to give the national and personal satisfaction we all really seek.

17. In providing guidelines for an appropriate solution, the proposal before us [A/L.500] refers to "the existing situation and the political realities of the area". What are these realities? Among the most important are the fundamental changes which have taken place since the founding of the United Nations. When the Government of the Republic of China signed

the United Nations Charter, the island of Taiwan was under the control of the Government of Japan. By 1949, a revolutionary upheaval on the mainland of China resulted in the removal of the Nationalist Chinese Government to Taipei and the establishment of a Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking. The real situation since then has been and continues to be that we have two Governments exercising control over two areas of territory, each claiming to be the Government entitled to the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

18. One of these is the Government of the Republic of China, with which my country has had long and close diplomatic relations. This Government has been a Member in good standing of this Assembly and its subsidiary bodies ever since the founding of the United Nations. It controls a territory whose economic development can serve as a blueprint for progress in other developing countries. Its representatives have played an important part in the economic and social organs of the United Nations and in the programmes which are designed to raise standards of living throughout the developing world.

19. The other Government of the People's Republic of China, which controls a far greater area and a far greater population, is not represented here and never has been. That is a situation we deplore both because we firmly believe in the principle of universality and because we believe that lasting solutions to certain important problems facing the world community today can not be found without the participation of the Government of Peking.

20. The Canadian Government for its part has consistently, both by its statements and by its actions, done whatever it could to encourage mutually advantageous contacts between Canada and Continental China and, for that matter, between it and the rest of the international community. This position should not of course be considered by anyone to involve any endorsement of the policies or ideology of the régime in Peking.

21. I do not believe that this Assembly has the right to pronounce judgment on the conflicting territorial claims of these two Governments. I think that the decisions or actions of this Assembly on the Chinese representation issue should be without prejudice to the eventual settlement of that dispute or to the view strongly held by both Governments that China is a single sovereign entity. But if we have no rights in that regard we do have a moral obligation under our Charter to see that, pending a final settlement of this dispute, we make the sort of arrangements in this Assembly which will allow the maximum participation of the people of China in the work of this Organization without depriving those who already belong of the voice to which they have as much right as anyone else in this Assembly.

22. How do we do this in practice? That is the question to which we must address ourselves. When we consider the voting pattern and voting procedures and the fact that these have not provided a solution and really will not by themselves, we must ask ourselves: how do we do this in practice? The essence of the position which we have been advocating is that representatives of both Governments should be seated in

this Assembly. This could be done as an interim solution pending the settlement of the jurisdictional dispute between the two Governments. We believe that such an interim solution should be reflected in all the organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

23. I would also go one step further than this and suggest that if the study committee is to make a realistic appraisal of the problem, it should include in its recommendations some reference to the Security Council. I realize full well that the Assembly cannot impose its views on the Security Council. I do not think, however, that any credible proposal for a solution of this issue can afford to ignore the problem of the disposition of the Chinese seat in the Security Council.

24. It was with these practical requirements in mind that my Government, in the course of the consultations we have held, for some months, suggested the following guidelines as the basis for a reasonable interim solution: first, the participation of the Republic of China in the United Nations General Assembly as the Member representing the territory over which it exercises effective jurisdiction; second, the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations General Assembly as the Member representing the territory over which it exercises effective jurisdiction; third, the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council as a permanent member.

25. I want to make it clear at this point that the solution my Government envisages is in no way intended to imply the existence of two Chinas. Both the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of China firmly adhere to the concept of one China, and it is not for the United Nations to propound concepts which are at variance with the hopes and aspirations of the people of a Member State. That is an internal matter which is for the Chinese people to resolve and from which the United Nations, in accordance with the clear dispositions of the Charter, is bound to stand aside.

26. Some eleven years ago my delegation was instrumental in helping to break the deadlock which then debarred a substantial number of States from being admitted to membership of the United Nations. The action which we took at that time was prompted by our concern for the principle of universality which was so eloquently commended to us in the memorable address given in this Assembly last year [1347th meeting] by His Holiness Pope Paul VI. Many of us were here and heard that memorable statement of one of the great religious leaders of the world.

27. We were all impressed with that statement, and it is well that we should remember some of the things that were said to us—not as an expression of political policy but as an expression of direction to us in our effort to strengthen this Organization and to promote international collaboration. Here is what His Holiness Pope Paul VI said:

"Once more We repeat Our wish for you: go forward. We shall say more: strive to bring back among you any who may have left you; consider means of calling into your pact of brotherhood, in

honour and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it. Act so that those still outside will desire and deserve the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting it." [1347th meeting, para. 31.]

28. We are under no illusion that a more genuinely universal organization will necessarily be able to solve all the problems to which solutions have stubbornly eluded us so far. On the contrary, we do not exclude the possibility that the injection of new and perhaps radically different points of view may—in the short run at least—retard rather than accelerate the momentum of our work.

29. But there are advantages in the concept of universality which we cannot discount. Even if a more broadly based United Nations is not able to find solutions to some of the crucial problems of peace and security which confront us in the world today, it will at least have established a much better claim to bringing these problems within the framework of its discussions. Moreover, it seems to me that if the United Nations is to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of common ends, as the Charter intended it to be, then it must be concerned to bring into its deliberations at least those nations which are bound to have to assume a major share of the responsibility.

30. Let me say this. My country believes that we must stop marking time on this issue. We must try to end the stalemate that has attended our discussions for a full sixteen years. We think the proposal to set up a committee falls short of what is required at this time in the way of specific directives. Nevertheless, the committee does afford us an opportunity of moving forward if we are prepared to seize that opportunity and provided the committee is so constituted as to enable forward movement to be made.

31. We think that what is at issue here is the capacity of the United Nations to live up to the purposes of the Charter, to represent the world as it is, and to bring the great weight of its influence to bear on the issues of peace and security. Although, in the nature of things, we can move forward only on the basis of resolutions, I think I have made it clear that, in our view, this issue is not amenable to solution on that basis alone. It will require the exercise of diplomacy, goodwill and accommodation on all sides, within our Organization of course, but without as well. If that is the spirit in which the solution of this issue is approached, then I am not unhopeful that, difficult as the problem is, we may be able to unblock the road to progress towards making the United Nations a more effective, a more representative and a more credible forum of international deliberation and action.

32. This debate, of course, is not over. We shall follow further discussion in this debate with interest, in the determination that we think ought to be made to try to ensure that the step already perceptible in this Assembly is guaranteed further opportunity for progress. I am sure that we shall all recognize the importance of the issue before us, and it is in that spirit that my country has sought to examine this problem in its effort to provide further guarantees for international collaboration in the world.

33. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (translated from French): As in previous years, Romania is one of the

countries which has asked for the insertion on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the item concerning "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [A/6391] and, as in previous years, Romania is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which contains the only just, realistic and possible solution of the problem we are discussing, a draft submitted this year by eleven countries [A/L.496 and Add.1].

34. In our case the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations is, primarily, a question of legality. International life is based on rules, on principles created and accepted by States, principles which cannot be infringed without entailing unfavourable consequences for the whole structure of international relations. That is a further reason why the United Nations, whose fundamental purposes include the promotion of legality and a spirit of justice, cannot admit any exception to the application of its basic rules without jeopardizing the confidence placed in the ideals it upholds. From the standpoint of legality, therefore, the Organization presents a distorted image. For the past sixteen years an illegality has been perpetuated in respect of a problem which imperatively cried out for solution. The elementary rule followed by the United Nations on the problem of membership or representation is that there should be a mutual relationship between the representative and the party represented. Every Member State has its place reserved for it in the United Nations and the persons occupying it are the authorized representatives of the Government of the State in question.

35. That basic rule has ensured the normal progress of our activities: it has been strictly applied to all Member States and rigorously observed every time there has been a succession of régimes and governments during the twenty-one years of the existence of the United Nations. Every time, except in the case of China where this principle has been disregarded, the Charter and the rule of law governing the representation of States in the United Nations have been contravened. Those who occupy the place of China submit credentials which do not emanate from the Government of China and therefore they do not represent that country.

36. Strict application of the system of representation laid down in the United Nations would mean that China's place would be occupied by the representatives of the Government which effectively and permanently exercises authority over the territory of the Chinese State. That Government is the Government of the People's Republic of China which has its seat in Peking, the age-old capital of the State, and which has, since 1949, been governing the great Chinese people and exercising all the attributes of State power and authority. That is the only reply supplied by the criterion of legality to the question we are discussing.

37. The application, in the case of China also, of the basic rule on representation and the restoration of legality in this matter are two aspects that are indissolubly linked together and coincident in time. The occupation of China's seat by the legal representatives of that State must necessarily coincide with that seat being evacuated by those who are at the moment usurping it. These two indivisible elements

are provided for in the operative part of the draft resolution which we and the other ten States have the honour to submit. They have the same strict, imperative effect as the physical law which rejects the possibility of the same space being occupied by two bodies at one and the same time. This operation was not carried out at the proper time and in our opinion perpetuation of the illegality over seventeen years has merely had the effect of piling up difficulties and contradictions in the work of the United Nations.

38. Denial of the right of a State to discharge its duties as a Member has not only weakened the ability of the United Nations to further international legality itself; it has not only impaired the moral authority of the United Nations to act as a world Organization in international problems; it has not only diminished its possibilities of contributing to the effective solutions of such problems; it has also created what we feel to be a serious and disquieting trend—remoteness from reality.

39. In our view the degree of adjustment to reality is one of the surest signs of the viability and normal functioning of an international body like the United Nations. Remoteness from reality and refusal to take account of the changes that have occurred in the world and to act accordingly modify the direction followed by the Organization's activities. On the contrary, continuous adjustment to reality is, in our opinion, the hallmark of any healthy organism. Similarly, the real source of an organization's prestige and efficiency lies in its ability to adjust itself to reality at the proper moment, to reflect realities and not to persist in the mistakes which it has at a given moment been involved in committing.

40. The world nowadays is undergoing a complete transformation. It is a world where the process of secession to independence is occurring and dozens of new nations are affirming their entity and personality, a world which gives pride of place, among the principles of international relations, to the sacred right of peoples to decide their own destiny freely; it is an era in which relationships of enslavement and dependence are being replaced by those based on dignity, equality of rights and mutual respect.

41. One of the most remarkable of contemporary transformations has been the Chinese people's conquest of complete independence, the combining in a creative effort, that has no precedent in the age-old history of China, of the energies of 700 million human beings. In the seventeen years of its independent existence China has achieved substantial results in the industrialization of the country, the development of its agriculture, the steady improvement of the Chinese people's standard of living. The People's Republic of China is exhibiting great scientific activity which places it on a level with States which are making headway in scientific research and in present-day technology.

42. The fact that certain Member States—and I have primarily in mind the United States of America—have not yet regulated their relations with China and have taken up an openly hostile attitude toward it should not in any way affect the restoration of that State's legitimate rights in the United Nations. The attempt

made to force the Organization to adopt a particular attitude creates the danger of this forum becoming intolerably subordinated to narrow, unilateral interests.

43. The question of the representation of China is one that appears not only in the agenda item which we are debating today. It can be said that there is not a single item on the General Assembly's agenda in which the absence of the fifth great Power is not felt.

44. The maintenance of peace and security is the fundamental task of the United Nations. Can it perform this task effectively as long as one great Power, which is also, under Article 23 of the Charter, a permanent member of the Security Council, is prevented from taking its proper place in the structure of the Organization? Can the major problems which, by their nature, affect the interests of all States, problems like disarmament, for instance, be tackled and effectively settled without the participation of all the States concerned? What will be the outcome of solutions the effectiveness of which depends on their being universally recognized and implemented, if the People's Republic of China and other States are prevented from taking part in their elaboration?

45. These questions have also been raised by the sponsors of the draft treaties in the sphere of disarmament, drafts which are invariably drawn up in the five working languages and envisage signature by the five great Powers, including the People's Republic of China. The "laboratory" engaged in finding solutions for world-wide application should also be world-wide in membership.

46. Though the United States has envisaged the need to invite China, i.e. the People's Republic of China, to accede to agreements on disarmament, it has nevertheless, by inserting discriminatory clauses, precluded China from participating in drawing up and acceding to all the other agreements on international co-operation in the most varied fields—from meteorology and postal communications to human rights.

47. After all that, how is one to describe the reproach that is made against the People's Republic of China that it holds itself aloof from the circle of international co-operation when all the routes of access to this circle have been systematically barred to it?

48. We have also witnessed another kind of anomaly—when conferences styled "world conferences", devoted to the study of various problems of universal interest, have limited the participation of States by applying the same discriminatory criteria. United Nations surveys and publications which try to give a complete picture of social and economic development in the world make no mention of the significant experience of a quarter of the world's population.

49. The above are only a few of the contradictions in which the United Nations has found itself involved because the requirements of legality have not been observed, no account has been taken of reality and the principle of universality has been infringed.

50. The need for an immediate restoration of China's rights is making itself more and more powerfully felt. At the same time we hear views expressed in favour of a so-called admission of the People's Republic of China to the Security Council, the General

Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations but which, by means of the "two Chinas" theory, call for the creation of a new seat for the usurpers of China's place. In our opinion, this means blocking the real solution by saddling it with an unacceptable and illegal condition. One cannot claim to remedy one evil by a still greater evil or repair one injustice by an even greater illegality. *Ex injuria jus non oritur*. The creation of a new seat in the United Nations, as envisaged by the sponsors of these schemes, presupposes the creation of a new State on the territory of an existing State.

51. Taiwan is part and parcel of the territory of China which is indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptible. There are not two Chinas. There is only one China—the People's Republic of China.

52. The Government of the People's Republic of China is prevented from exercising its authority over a part of Chinese territory—Taiwan—because of the armed intervention of a foreign Power. The military occupation of Taiwan by the United States and the encirclement of the continent of Asia by military bases and armed forces are but symptoms of the same policy which introduces the primacy of force into international relations and finds its most blatant expression in United States aggression in Viet-Nam.

53. The international offence committed against China cannot deprive it of its sovereign rights over any part whatsoever of its territory. For centuries past Taiwan has been part of the territory of China—until 1895 when, following the peace treaty of Shimonosaki,^{1/} it was annexed by Japan.

54. The Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945 reaffirmed the fact that Taiwan belonged to China. These Declarations were confirmed by the Act of Surrender of Japan in 1945 and by the Treaty of Peace with Japan concluded in San Francisco in 1951.

55. The "two Chinas" theory which envisages the division of Chinese territory is in no sense an effort to solve the problem facing the United Nations but rather a refusal to solve it. What is ultimately suggested is that the Chinese Government should agree to the occupation by a foreign Power of a part of the territory of China—Taiwan.

56. Is it conceivable that a country should have to pay for being regarded as a Member of the United Nations by surrendering its rights to a part of its territory? The United Nations cannot associate itself with such an action. The historical experience of the nations here present, the passion they have devoted to securing their national unity, the fervour with which they have laboured in face of the danger of their country being dismembered, as, for example, the United States did 100 years ago, have given the principle of unity and territorial integrity the character of a fundamental rule of international law.

57. The "two Chinas" theory cannot be accepted in the United Nations family, whose activity is based on respect for the sacred right of peoples to decide their destiny, on respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Whatever be the intentions of the

sponsors of such proposals, they are unacceptable and, basically, they tend to divert us from the only possible solution—the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The formulation of unjust and unacceptable solutions cannot salve the conscience of those who find the existing situation intolerable and cannot relieve them of their responsibility for the continuance of a situation that is lacking in common sense.

58. The record of the discussions in the General Assembly shows that the opponents of the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations have resorted to differing tactics and methods, the essential purpose of which has invariably turned out to be to prevent the just solution of the problem.

59. Matters have not changed at the present session. The draft resolution [A/L.494 and Add.1], submitted by the United States and some other countries, revives the theory first formulated in 1961 that a two-thirds majority is necessary in order to restore to China its legitimate rights.

60. In support of this theory the problem of China's representation is represented as an important problem within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. The problem of representation is, of course, an important problem in the every-day acceptance of the term, like all the problems with which the General Assembly has to deal, but not in the technical sense where it is used to decide the categories of problems for which Article 18 makes a two-thirds majority necessary.

61. So we arrive at the inadmissible situation where the contravening of legality might be decided by a simple majority, while a two-thirds majority would be needed to restore legality. The Romanian delegation will vote against this draft.

62. The third draft resolution [A/L.500], which has been represented as a step forward, takes us back to 1950 when the General Assembly set up a special committee [see resolution 490 (V)],^{2/} which, it will be remembered, met only to record the failure of its mission. Is there any need for the problem of the representation of a State Member of the United Nations to be studied by a body other than the Credentials Committee? Have not seventeen years of discussions clarified all the aspects of the problem? Would the aim of such a proposal not be to create fresh excuses for a further adjournment of the solution of the problem?

63. The Romanian delegation, considering that the problem of the representation of China concerns an incontestable right and not a problem to be studied, cannot support this draft resolution either.

64. The United Nations has only one reply to give to the problem we are discussing: the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This would make it possible to discard the burden of inert ideas which hamper the Organization from discharging its international functions.

65. Such is the reply of a country that feels concern for the Organization's future, a reply that is inspired by the desire to see the principles of law and legality

^{1/} Treaty of Peace between China and Japan.

^{2/} Special Committee on the Representation of China.

respected, by confidence in the future and the usefulness of the United Nations and by the desire not to find a fresh adjournment of the positive solution of the problem being added to the numerous opportunities already lost.

66. Mr. DEKIC (Yugoslavia): The absence of any independent State, especially a State which represents a very important factor and has great bearing upon international relations, and which, to a certain extent conditions the functioning of this Organization, prevents us from discharging more effectively the duties for which the United Nations was established twenty-one years ago. For this very reason, the question of the "restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" constantly appears on our agenda, and it will continue to do so until a positive solution is found.

67. However, with the passing years this problem is becoming more acute. It is closely linked with many questions and problems and it is ever more burdening the United Nations and the entire world. Two years ago in Cairo, on 10 October 1964, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries unanimously adopted the following decision:

"Recalling the recommendation of the Belgrade Conference, the Conference asks the General Assembly of the United Nations to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations." ^{3/}

68. My delegation is of the opinion that it is superfluous to analyse the legal aspects of this question, the solution of which is being foiled by a manoeuvre of a procedural nature. The legal aspect is very clear: in this international Organization, China should be represented by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

69. We, however, are concerned about the political aspect of this problem, that is, the lack of political realism among some States which refuse to understand that they have no right to keep shut the doors of this Organization to almost one quarter of the world's population.

70. Our concern for the solution of this problem is multifaceted. Very frequently we have witnessed a situation in which many problems have been solved through extreme efforts, while it was not possible to find adequate solutions for some of them. Furthermore, the solution of some was postponed to the next session or to future sessions. Many reasons can be given for such a state of affairs, but the absence of the People's Republic of China undoubtedly is one of the main reasons. For the solution of many issues, in particular key issues ranging from the general international situation to the war in Viet-Nam, and disarmament and colonial, economic and social problems, the presence of the People's Republic of China is becoming more and more essential and vital.

71. In the course of the twentieth session, and especially during this session, many delegations, including my own, have spoken with a certain amount

of concern about the status of our Organization. Secretary-General U Thant on many occasions has also drawn our attention to this problem. In our opinion, those problems are closely bound together. One of the major obstacles standing in the way of the solution of many problems lies in the fact that our Organization is defective because it is not universal, and because a great Power, the People's Republic of China, is not represented in it.

72. Many questions have been raised during this debate in connexion with the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China. However, without entering into an analysis of them, we feel that all these questions are of a secondary nature in relation to the essential problem at present under discussion, the representation of China in the United Nations, in the solution of which we should display political realism.

73. Yugoslavia has always at every session pledged itself to the principle of the universality of our Organization. It is only through universality that all of humanity, and each State separately, will be able to participate in decision-making on its fate and future and, with all of us together, about the whole of mankind. It is hardly possible to speak about universality when one large territory, comprising a single State, finds itself outside the Organization. Recent history, especially that of the Second World War, has compelled us to create an international organization in which all of us would be rallied and where we would have the conditions and the possibility for resolving disputes and settling difficulties in a peaceful manner. The entire world, as it is, should be represented in the United Nations. Discrimination is incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

74. In speaking about this problem, actually the problem of universality, permit me, Mr. President, to quote the chief of my delegation, Marko Nikešić, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, when taking part in the general debate, said, inter alia:

"Essential international problems cannot be solved adequately without the participation of a broader circle of countries and without representation of all the regions of the world. From this point of view the absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China is the main shortcoming of our Organization. Neither other States nor the United Nations, without endangering peace and their own interests, can challenge this right of the People's Republic of China to participate on an equal footing in international affairs. In keeping with this concept, Yugoslavia supports the right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent that country in our Organization." [1432nd meeting, para. 37.]

75. Mr. MWEMBA (Zambia): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has provoked debate in this Organization since the final, revolutionary overthrow of the Kuomintang by the new leadership in Peking in 1949. The span of seventeen years, with all its pertinent historic illuminations on the Chinese horizon, has apparently not impressed its irrevocable lesson on those pockets of reaction which are bent, it would seem, on turning back the

^{3/} Document A/5763, sect. IX.

clock of history and human progress, even when this must have as its inevitable culmination the provocation of a third world war.

76. Those who are prepared to lead the world to this global catastrophe, perhaps to boost their own ego—for, indeed, disaster would be the sure consequence of the stubborn imposition of an international order of perverted unreality—must be warned in no uncertain terms that the peace-loving peoples of the world would hold them totally responsible for their arrogant disregard of the noble wishes of mankind.

77. If the United Nations, in this year of its adulthood, continued to succour and support the minority régime in Taiwan at the expense of the Government of the People's Republic of China, then this Organization, that we hold so dear, that we have repeatedly adorned, indeed, with such platitudinous encomiums of greatness, would, sad enough to say, be the living expression of convictions far behind the common realities of our day. But this would be a tragedy—a tragedy, indeed, reminiscent of the closing days of the now defunct League of Nations. And in this regard we should ponder whether history is not on the verge of repeating itself.

78. The United Nations is nobody's private club where Members meet in isolation from the realities of the outside world to propagate and applaud pet obsolete theories—theories that have long been dispelled by the common man on the street. Therefore, it is the duty of all men of peace, all men of forthright conscience who feel a sense of responsibility to the entire human community, to speak out and to avert the impending gloom.

79. What is our purpose here in the United Nations? Our function should be to pilot the human ship, to lead, to clear the air of all iniquitous mistiness fabricated by fraudulent elements of distortion, to impose the will of reason, and above all to stimulate, harness and direct human evolution to realms of infinite beauty and peace.

80. This Organization cannot survive for ever in the wake of human progress, like a backlash of reaction, holding on to the past and registering voluminous documentary comfort therefrom. On the contrary, in order to survive and be a worthy part of posterity, the United Nations must perforce be the functional antenna of the international community, proven in its excellence and wisdom. If it is not, how then could it aim at anything so lofty as saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war"?

81. I should like to echo and reiterate the impelling and convincing reasons which repeatedly have been sounded and upheld by most delegations during this debate on this important subject. The first is the question of the universality of the United Nations. Membership in this Organization does not depend on ideological considerations. It depends on the universality of States. It cannot be argued that the People's Republic of China, which has established a stable State based on its own ideological principles, is not a State. We know too well that there are States in this Organization which believe and impose a Government based on the principles of master race and inferior race. Such States are recognized and sit

in this Organization in spite of their intransigence with regard to the provisions on human rights of the Charter of this Organization.

82. The People's Republic of China is an orderly and stable State, managing with extreme efficiency to look after the interests both physically and spiritually of more than 700 million people. The fact that their political ideological orientation is different from some is no reason for isolating such a viable State; the fact that China today is divided and a small group maintains itself with the support of a big Power on the island of Taiwan is not a sufficient reason to justify a policy of isolating mainland China.

83. This Organization believes in the respect and acceptability of all sovereign States. The People's Republic of China cannot be said to be a puppet or even a province of Taiwan—in fact, it is Taiwan which is a province of mainland China. The principle of universality of all nations must be taken and upheld to its logical conclusion. It is utter irresponsibility to insist on isolating mainland China from this Organization.

84. Secondly, my delegation would like to remind this Organization that it is an anachronism to isolate the People's Republic of China from this Organization when this Organization is earnestly seeking to conclude a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. I need not remind this Organization of China's achievements in that field. There can be no binding or meaningful treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as long as the People's Republic of China remains isolated; there can be no basis for meaningful and lasting peace as long as the State with one third of the world's population remains isolated; there can be no secure basis for world peace as long as the most virile and dynamic people of the People's Republic of China remain isolated.

85. These considerations supersede any ideological differences. The people of China have chosen a way of life that accords with their natural gifts. Let it not be said that non-compliance with an old dogma is contrary to all recognized governmental institutions. The young, dynamic States of Africa seek their own identity. They are not gullible to the old dogmas. Let it not be said that Africa, by departing slightly from the old political theories and ideologies, has lost its birthright and cannot claim its right for membership in this Organization. The Greek concept of democracy is not the same as in our present day. We have evolved, we have revolutionized the concept and we will continue to evolve it.

86. The People's Republic of China is isolated on erroneous premises. Taiwan, too, is supported on erroneous premises. To support Taiwan to the exclusion of real China because of its compliance with the whims of another Member of this Organization is to forget and sacrifice the fundamental principles on which this Organization is founded. Those Member States which continue to believe in the continued isolation of the People's Republic of China are committing a crime against humanity, and besides, are unfaithful to the very principles they profess to stand for in this Organization.

87. The question has become a perennial matter. My delegation is pleased to note a slight change in the

attitude of those Powers which uphold the so-called rights of Taiwan. We are not, however, satisfied with a mere slight modification in their stand; we expect a bold and definite departure from the dangerous course they have been pursuing. It will be noble and gracious of them to heed the warnings and pleadings of the bulk of the nations of the world. Let us remove the cancer in our flesh while there is still time. Let us accept the inevitable.

88. It is sad to note the draft resolution [A/L.500] whose purport is to establish a committee to study the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China. My delegation cannot support this draft resolution, which is based on the principle of delay. This draft resolution, if adopted, will put the issue in the ice-chest for another twelve months. It must be clear to all that the time to admit the People's Republic of China is now and not next year. The People's Republic of China is a sovereign State and has been so since 1949.

89. It would appear that an issue which provokes doubt in the minds of some Member States in this Organization is the question of what to do with Nationalist China. My country recognizes only the People's Republic of China and therefore will support the draft resolution, sponsored by Albania and other States [A/L.496 and Add.1], which seeks to remove Taiwan and admit the People's Republic of China.

90. That is the only basis acceptable to my delegation. We should like to uphold and restore the principle of universality. We wish to uphold the principles of this Organization. We cannot hope for a non-proliferation treaty without the co-operation of all nuclear Powers, one of which is China. We cannot hope for peace and security if one of the strongest Powers in the world remains isolated from the family of nations.

91. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): With each passing year, with each passing day, the anomaly of the absence of China from the United Nations and from international forums becomes more obvious and more glaring. Recognition of this anomaly imposes itself upon even larger strata of political opinion. The unreality of the present situation and its absurdity—more, its harmfulness—are more and more widely felt. Those who continue to oppose the presence of China in the United Nations may have been defeating, through painfully mustered voting strength and recourse to dubious procedural devices, the proposals to restore China's rights in the United Nations; but in doing so they have been defeating the very principles of the United Nations; they have been weakening the role which our Organization is called upon to play; they have been rendering more difficult efforts towards the solution of many international programmes of utmost importance.

92. The United Nations is an organization of States as they exist, with all their differing political and social systems, outlooks and approaches. It is not, and cannot be, a forum in which those present engage in a vendetta or pass judgement on those absent without permitting them to share what is their inalienable right. The question of China's rights in the United Nations must be resolved not on the basis of subjective likes or dislikes but on the basis of all the objective arguments of law, logic and political reasoning, which

so decisively command the immediate restoration of its rights in our Organization.

93. China is a great Power. No one can deny it. Indeed no one is denying it. It is so legally, by virtue of the Charter. It is so in practice, by virtue of fact. The Chinese people, as one of the founding nations of the United Nations, belongs to this Organization and should have taken their rightful place in it a long time ago. The present situation becomes even more absurd if we realize that People's China now maintains normal diplomatic relations with all other permanent members of the Security Council except one and active trade relations with more than a hundred countries.

94. What was a weak, backward, divided, feudal, dependent State seventeen years ago is today a strong, rapidly developing Power. Everybody recognizes the weight of that Power in world affairs, in particular in Asia, including those who oppose the restoring of its rights. Yet they cling to fiction as against reality and maintain a fictitious representation in the Chinese seat here, thus prolonging a situation which historians may well describe as the greatest disservice to the United Nations.

95. Year after year, this Assembly has been exposed to the same repetitious clichés and arguments which are meant to defend one of the most indefensible of theses, maintaining that there is no place for the People's Republic of China in our midst. One of the so-called arguments which have been used on so many occasions invokes the fact that People's China is not recognized by some Members of this Organization; but let me ask: has it any bearing on the subject under discussion? All of us know full well that there are many States Members of the United Nations which not only do not maintain diplomatic relations with one another but do not recognize one another and even question other Members' statehood. It is one of the basic rules of international law that the political existence of a State is independent of its recognition by other States.

96. It has also been argued here that the People's Republic of China should not be represented in the United Nations, because there exist serious reservations concerning China's policies; but is it not true that many of us do not share the political views of many other Members? The United Nations has now a membership of 121 nations—121 nations with various and often divergent views, opinions, aims and policies. Their diversity is a fact. It is not a question of liking each other's systems or approving of them. We meet here in the United Nations as representatives of Governments pursuing different policies. As a matter of fact we meet in order to iron out our differences. Never has it been advanced that approval of a State's political structure should be a precondition for its participation in the United Nations. Governments do change. In fact we have witnessed a number of such changes during the year that has passed since the last session of the Assembly. But States remain, and their membership in the United Nations remains valid. New Governments are seated upon acceptance of their credentials as a result of a procedural decision taken by a simple majority. In most cases, actually, no formal objection is ever raised.

97. This is a normal recognized practice. On many questions we are indeed divided, but in no case has such a change constituted grounds for denying a State its legitimate title and right to be represented here. And yet, in the case of China, law, logic, political realism and the interests of our Organization are pushed aside and discarded.

98. One Member, the United States, has for seventeen years transposed into and imposed onto the United Nations its national policy of active hostility towards China. It is the United States which at first refused to recognize the People's Republic of China and which then pursued the same policy, pretending that the People's Republic of China did not exist. Now that same Power continues to maintain on a part of the Chinese territory an artificial régime and to encircle China with hundreds of military bases.

99. The adamant policy of the United States has found expression in the continued manoeuvring by the United States in the United Nations to prevent, by every means at its disposal, the long overdue solution of the problem of Chinese representation. By refusing even to consider this question, by yearly postponements and by juggling with the rules of procedure, up to the outright violation of those rules, the United States has consistently worked for the prevention of the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations.

100. Throughout the past seventeen years, this Organization has passed through, as has the world at large, many serious crises and difficulties, some of which have caused setbacks to the authority of the United Nations as a world-wide political institution. But perhaps the most serious of the Organization's ills is the continued absence of Chinese representation, which constitutes an untenable situation, a challenge to law, to logic, to sound politics, and, in fact, to the very principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

101. In these troublesome days when tensions mount and acts of aggression do not cease, for the United Nations to be fully effective it must truly reflect the world as it really is and it must be universal. It cannot be so without the Chinese People's Republic.

102. It is becoming more evident every day that no international problem of universal portent can be successfully solved without the participation of the Chinese People's Republic. This is so in the field of disarmament, and it is so in many other fields. There is a feeling of a partial void and of unreality in many of the decisions on important issues that we are taking here. Uneasiness is present and it visibly extends to those who are opposed to the restoration of China's rights in this Organization. They manoeuvred themselves into a dilemma, into a situation where many resolutions adopted by the United Nations cannot be fully implemented without the presence and participation of China, while at the same time they stubbornly resist this presence and participation in our work. And perhaps the saddest reflection of this is that they continue knowingly to walk this dead-end street.

103. There is no way out of the present situation through the so-called "two China" policy concept. Taiwan was and is part of China, just as is Hainan. This historical truth was solemnly recognized at the

Cairo Conference in 1943, at which the United States was one of the participants. One of the aims of the Allies in the Second World War was precisely to undo the wrong that was done to China by the dismemberment of its territory through the foreign occupation of Taiwan. To advance now the concept of an independent Taiwan is tantamount to breaking this solemn undertaking; it would be an attempt at violating the territorial integrity of China. In practice it would mean the continuation of the military occupation of Taiwan by the United States and the maintenance there of the American military presence for an indefinite period. No one can expect China to agree to this. No one can expect China to remain indifferent when faced with such abuse of its territorial integrity and its security. Such a solution would be illegal and would be the same as creating a permanent hotbed of tension and a threat to peace in Asia. We cannot accept it. Indeed, we are resolutely opposed to it.

104. For all these reasons, my delegation gives its full support to the eleven-Power draft resolution [A/L.496 and Add.1]. Its adoption is a condition for restoring to the United Nations the role which is its due, the role which is necessary for its work and for its proper functioning with regard to many issues.

105. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) (translated from French): Once again the General Assembly's attention is centred on the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The present world situation calls more demandingly than ever for a speedy and just solution to be found. There has sometimes been a great temptation to regard this question as one of the chronic troubles of the Organization.

106. If any doubt should still persist about the fact that this problem is still affecting the evolution of the United Nations and international relations, the critical point reached today in the deterioration of these relations and its effects on the life of the United Nations prove, if proof were needed, that the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her rights not only in the United Nations but in the concert of nations is one of the essential factors in the maintenance of international peace and security.

107. Indeed, as my Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized during the general debate:

"The entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations is no longer only a problem of restoring the rights of a country. It has become imperative for the Organization if it wishes to create the conditions for a revival which would give it the necessary political authority to accomplish its mission." [1447th meeting, para. 137.]

Today this question, which concerns all the Members of the United Nations, presents itself more than ever in these terms.

108. Actually, the legal points involved in this problem have been extensively discussed by the General Assembly during the successive sessions at which it has been considered. These discussions show that the attempt to represent the restoration of its rights to the People's Republic of China as a new admission has completely failed, for the obvious reason that, when the United Nations Charter was

drafted, China, as an essential factor in the balance of world affairs even at that time, was, as a State, given not only the status of founding Member of the United Nations, but also that of permanent member of the Security Council. Thus, under Article 24 of the Charter itself, that great Power was recognized as having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

109. As an international treaty, the Charter signed at San Francisco in 1945 concerns States as legal entities, and not Governments. The latter are merely the political expression of those entities. Accession to the Charter creates a legal bond between Member States and the United Nations. The permanence of the States constitutes its basis and ensures continuity of the legal relationship between the United Nations and the Member countries. Recent history has amply proven that a change of Government, or even of régime, in different countries Members of the United Nations has not in the slightest degree affected their membership of the latter. Thus, to persist in regarding the delegates of Chiang Kai-shek as representatives of the Chinese State in the various organs of the United Nations constitutes a negation of the legal reality.

110. As for the proposals put forward by certain delegations for approval of the so-called "two Chinas" theory, these neither concord with legal concepts nor, still less, with reality which remains the fundamental factor in, and objective of, any kind of peace and security in the world. One fact remains: China is one and indivisible. That is the major political factor with which the international community must reckon. All the rest can only be regarded as an erudite exercise in delaying tactics designed not to solve the real problem but to maintain the status quo.

111. This is the framework within which the procedural device of 1961 falls—the device of presenting the problem of the restoration of its rights to the People's Republic of China as an important question which has to be decided by a two-thirds majority under Article 18, paragraph 2. The attempt to uphold the "two Chinas" theory and the proposal today to set up a committee to examine certain aspects of the question of Chinese representation [see A/L.500] flows from the same dilatory attitude. It is, moreover, a dangerous precedent: since this kind of policy is not in accord with either the Charter or the rules of procedure; what is more, it would tend to introduce a discriminatory and vexatious system to which no other country has ever yet been subjected. All the more so, since the problem is to restore to a country its lawful rights and not to consider a new candidacy. To act in such fashion would be the most flagrant demonstration not only of the political crisis which our Organization is experiencing but also of its moral crisis. While recent history offers numerous examples of the humiliations inflicted by European imperialism on the great people of China, it would today be intolerable that an Organization that includes a large majority of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries should expose that people yet again to gratuitous and dangerous annoyance.

112. Whatever be the reactions of the People's Republic of China, the blockade inflicted upon it and the daily provocations from which it suffers would amply explain them. To take such action would be one of the

cardinal errors from which it is hard to see how the United Nations could recover. Such an attitude would merely exacerbate the insuperable contradictions into which the United Nations is plunged. Whatever be their considered opinion on China, the numerous representatives who have followed one another on this rostrum could not envisage outlining a solution for a problem vital for international peace and security without finding themselves faced with the absolute necessity to take account of the political factor of the participation of the People's Republic of China in our proceedings.

113. It is no mere chance that the centre of gravity of the crisis that is upsetting the world is located in Asia. World peace and security are increasingly affected by the evolution of the armed or latent conflicts occurring in that area of the globe which cannot be solved as long as forces foreign to that part of the world try to keep the People's Republic of China out of any settlement. Were it not for this deliberate resolve to isolate China militarily, economically and diplomatically, a start might have been made in solving many conflicts. The conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in 1954, to which one of the principal signatories was the People's Republic of China, surely evoked a great hope that the whole area of the peninsula of Indo-China might regain peace and stability. Unhappily, though the 1962 Geneva Agreements guaranteeing the neutrality of Laos, and of which the People's Republic of China is a signatory, aroused some hopes, it is failure to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements that is responsible for a renewal of the fighting which today, because of the scale it is assuming, is seriously jeopardizing international peace and security. One of the direct consequences of this situation is the paradoxical position in which the United Nations finds itself.

114. Conceived "to preserve succeeding generations from the scourge of war", the United Nations, lacking one of its essential components—the People's Republic of China—finds itself paralysed and doomed to stand helplessly by, watching a dangerous process that is leading inevitably to a world conflict, some of the elements of which are outside the United Nations. The two protagonists in this conflict are two permanent members of the Security Council and founder Members of the United Nations: the People's Republic of China, allied to the people of Viet-Nam in its just fight, and the United States of America, which is endeavouring to maintain an uneasy status quo.

115. As long as the Members of the United Nations continue to accept this state of affairs, it will be difficult for the latter to play the role that its founders intended for it—and this applies in all spheres of major importance. Whether it be the problems involved in operations to keep the peace or problems of disarmament—to mention only these two essential questions—our daily experience, here in the United Nations itself, shows that the participation of the People's Republic of China in our proceedings and its accession to the treaties and conventions on all the aspects of these problems constitute an element without which any results that might be achieved would be futile.

116. We were entitled to believe that the advent of the area of peaceful coexistence, which followed the

long cold-war period, was going to help to strengthen the role of the United Nations, for the decolonization of numerous countries in the world, brought about by the national liberation struggle of the peoples, was opening up, with the advent of young nations, new and promising prospects for the human community.

117. Faced with many kinds of difficulties inherent in young sovereignties, these young nations have the imperative duty to transform the United Nations into a genuine instrument of peace and co-operation in the hands of the international community—no longer in the service of one Power or a group of Powers. To act otherwise, to help in depriving the United Nations of a main component, would mean to condemn this Organization to the discredit which we all keenly deplore. That is a contradiction which no institution can tolerate without having its very basis jeopardized. It would be useless to go on maintaining that the United Nations has made the concept of peaceful coexistence a fundamental principle which must govern all international relations, whereas the very essence of the principle—imposed by circumstances in this second half of the twentieth century—means that all peoples, whatever their political, social or economic systems, are bound to accept one another and co-operate together or disappear. Thus, it seems more and more ridiculous to refuse to let the People's Republic of China return to this body on pretexts based on subjective evaluations by certain circles of the political and social system which the sovereign people of China have adopted since 1949 or of internal happenings that are the sole business of that country. In a word, to make the restoration to China of its rights in the United Nations dependent on such considerations amounts to interfering directly in the domestic affairs of a Member country.

118. While we are convinced that no world order is conceivable nowadays without the existence of the

United Nations, the oppressive atmosphere in which the present session opened—due to the continued pressure of events which may plunge the world into chaos and war—reminds us that the role of the United Nations can be effective only if it remains dynamic and open to all the trends that govern the international community today. That objective will be fully achieved only if all the vestiges of the concept of domination are eliminated.

119. This process of genuine democratization will assume its full significance on the day when the General Assembly, ignoring partisan pressures, restores its legitimate rights to the Power which represents one fourth of the human race. By so doing, it will be possible for all the nations of the earth, on a footing of equality and mutual respect, freely and peacefully to have a confrontation of ideas on the problems facing us. In this way it will be possible to forge an instrument capable of supplying the context of, and the means for, fruitful co-operation between the peoples. This time may be the last chance. Tomorrow it will be too late.

120. The PRESIDENT: As agreed upon by the Assembly, the list of speakers in the general debate on item 90 of the agenda is now closed. I intend to close the list of speakers on the proposals forty-eight hours after all proposals have been submitted, with full regard to the time-limit for submission of proposals. The time-limit for proposals or amendments to proposals now before the Assembly, as already agreed upon by the General Assembly, is at noon on Friday, 25 November. I should like to remind Members that, on the basis of the understanding reached, once the list of speakers has been closed it is expected that representatives will be ready to speak when they are called upon, in the order in which their countries have been inscribed on the list.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.