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AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)
 FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/4214)

1. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): In the opinion of the Greek delegation the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is not one which can be solved by a clear-cut vote of the General Assembly, first of all because the political prerequisites for such a vote do not exist for the time being. As is well known, many delegations hold very strong views on this matter, which is one of considerable importance to them, and the General Assembly is widely divided on it. On the other hand, in all sincerity, we do not see any chance to bridge or even to reduce the gap separating the conflicting views through a debate bearing on the substance of this issue. Quite the contrary appears to be true. Such a debate would unavoidably envenom still more the atmosphere without any prospect of changing the respective votes. Thus, instead of bringing a settlement closer we would risk making it more remote.

2. If this was true in previous sessions of the General Assembly, it is more than ever so now when we are faced with a very tense situation in Asia. The recent events in Tibet, the disturbing developments in Laos, and the frictions which exist at other points in that area are generating very high feelings on all sides. A debate on the substance of the Chinese representation would necessarily bring into the picture all these, to say the least, highly controversial items. This could have no other result than to exacerbate the existing tensions to breaking point. We submit that to take such a risk would be highly unwise from the point of view of the United Nations. The United Nations are bound to undertake harmonizing and not disruptive actions. Especially in the present prospect of hopeful direct contacts between the Soviet premier, Mr. Khrushchev, and President Eisenhower, the forestalling of any action which could embitter their debate appears to be reasonable.

3. It has been said that it is the duty of the United Nations to discuss controversial issues. This is perfectly true, but in every case the General Assembly is supposed to discuss controversial items with a view to making them less controversial and to achieving some progress towards a settlement. The settlement is the goal, not the discussion. And I should say that, from our deliberations in the past few years and from the debate—although limited in scope—which we have had so far this year on this issue, it is easy to observe

that such a course of action, instead of improving the situation, has made things worse. Even to the cause of Chinese representation it does more harm than good.

4. In our submission, this question must follow the path of negotiations between those mainly concerned after the restoration of peaceful conditions conducive to mutual trust and understanding. On this point we find ourselves in agreement with the Minister for External Affairs of Ireland [800th plenary meeting], but we think that the negotiations should open the way to a constructive consideration of this issue by the Assembly instead of resulting from it. This is our opinion because, in the absence of proper diplomatic preparation, a debate in the General Assembly may once more fail in its objectives.

5. In the course of the last session of the Assembly the Greek delegation welcomed the prospect of diplomatic contacts which, at that time, it was intended to hold in Warsaw between diplomatic representatives of the United States and of the Government of Peking. Unhappily, our expectations were disappointed by the course of events, but it is our hope that the future may succeed where the past has failed.

6. It is in the light of these considerations that we shall vote in favour of the recommendation of the General Committee not to consider this issue for the time being [A/4214, paras. 7-8]. Naturally, we shall vote against the amendments proposed by the delegation of Nepal [A/L.261].

7. Mr. SIK (Hungary): Let me use my first opportunity of coming to the rostrum to express the best wishes of the Hungarian delegation to you, Sir, on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly and the expectation that this session will contribute to further mutual understanding.

8. The Government of India has done well in deciding to propose the inclusion in the agenda of the question of China's representation. Thus, the Indian Government has brought before the Assembly a question which literally affects the very existence of the United Nations itself.

9. One quarter of the world's population lives in the People's Republic of China and, day by day, we are witnessing the appreciable results of great social changes in that country. The standards of living of hundreds of millions of people are being improved constantly through the solution of social and economic problems reaching back for many centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa, who are now in the process of freeing themselves from the status of colonies, are watching these developments of such tremendous proportions with deep interest. No wonder those who would prefer to perpetuate the colonial status of peoples do not welcome this progress.

10. The recommendation of the Indian Government, however, affects not only China—now in the throes of tremendous development—but this international Organ-

ization as well. By failing to solve the question of China's representation, the United Nations can easily condemn itself to the fate of the League of Nations. Every delegation here is well aware that this question is still unsolved. Today, there can no longer be anyone who regards the persons occupying the seats allotted to China as the representatives of the real China—not even those persons themselves.

11. The decision of the Indian Government, therefore, was right from the point of view of the United Nations itself. The correctness of this move by the Indian Government is not overshadowed in the least by the fact that the author of the recommendation himself probably counted on the usual counter-recommendation submitted by the delegation of the United States. Even under these circumstances, it was useful to submit the recommendation because this debate on the agenda is opening the eyes of more and more Members regarding the means used to prevent the solution of the question of representation in the United Nations of a great people.

12. The action of the delegation of Nepal was also correct, because when it realized that the General Committee was intending, again on the usual initiative of the United States, to deprive the General Assembly of an opportunity to discuss this question, it came forward with an amendment to enable the debate to take place. It is primarily those who are afraid of the truth's becoming increasingly widely known who are averse to the debate.

13. It is quite easy to understand, therefore, that the United States delegation first presented to the General Committee a draft resolution [A/4214, para. 7] designed to rule out consideration of a proposal at this session of the General Assembly which would mean the ousting of the persons now sitting among us and installing the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic. It is also quite easy to understand that the United States delegation yesterday came out sharply against the amendment of Nepal.

14. This attitude of the United States delegation actually indicates that it is uncertain of the correctness of its own position. Evidently if the delegation were convinced that after an exhaustive debate the General Assembly would decide to maintain the *status quo*, it would not go out of its way to prevent the debate from taking place. For the past few years the majority of speakers in the General Assembly have demanded a change in the present situation. Therefore, the United States Government is still able to coerce its allies to postpone a debate on this question, but it is unable to force them to regard the present abnormal situation as normal. Therefore, the bypassing of the debate is tantamount to an evasion from looking truth and reality in the face and an attempt to disguise the fact that the United Nations General Assembly resolutions cover up obvious lies.

15. The Government of the United States is still able to make its allies vote for the postponement of the debate—allies who, let it be said frankly, are growing more and more ashamed of their acts—but it is no longer able to make them come forward in open debate and justify the present absurd situation. This explains the efforts to postpone the debate.

16. For this purpose arguments were put forward, primarily by the United States delegation, which have nothing to do with the subject under discussion or which

are travesties of facts. It is known that for years certain leading Western imperialist quarters have been manoeuvring to sow the seeds of dissension between the rapidly progressing People's Republic of China and the great Indian people. Such machinations are doomed at the outset, because no foreign interests are capable of severing the bonds of friendship between these two peoples which have been welded together by many centuries of neighbourly relations and of similar experiences in the struggle against colonizers. Even if there are and will be problems between them, they will be settled in compliance with the interests of the family of Asian peoples through peaceful discussion.

17. Although such efforts are fruitless, we may be witness to similar machinations in the future. The leading quarters in India know full well—and they have given open recognition to this—that in the present stage of development the extremely backward social, economic and cultural conditions of Tibet could not be maintained. Abusing the patience of the popular forces for social change—because no one can deny that for many years these forces did actually demonstrate extreme patience—and making the most of the common border line with India, certain sections in Tibet, anxious to maintain the country's backward conditions, together with international reaction, employed every ruse to undermine law and order and to disrupt good neighbourly relations.

18. It should be mentioned in passing that the speaker who referred to Hungary in this debate only undermined his own argument, because he thereby only helped to pinpoint the role and interests of United States and international reactionary forces in the campaign of slander against the People's Republic of China. What makes the difference is perhaps the fact that the Government of the United States did not offer, at least openly, \$20 million for the purposes of the Tibetan counter-revolution. Certain experiences seem to have made it somewhat careful in this respect. Both these two attempts, however, were doomed to failure in every detail from the very beginning.

19. But this whole issue does not belong here. What does belong here is whether the General Assembly will again let itself be deceived and avoid discussing the question of Chinese representation. By allowing itself to be deceived the General Assembly would do no harm to the Chinese People's Republic or to the Chinese people, but it would do harm to itself, to this international Organization.

20. Relying upon the enormous mass power of its peoples, the Chinese People's Republic will advance unhampered and irresistibly even if the United States and certain other States do not recognize it and even if its representatives are not present at this Assembly. Within reasonable time it will in several fields outdistance its former colonizers, who multiplied their wealth and raised their standard of living partly at the expense of the Chinese people. The delegations present here that are neighbours of the Chinese People's Republic can confirm this for the benefit of those who are not yet willing to believe this news. But I can also bear witness to it from personal experience, for a few months ago I visited the Chinese People's Republic and toured many places. As against the false statements we have heard here, I can tell you from personal experience that I saw a liberated, happy people whose new rich life is being built with mutual confidence among the people and their leaders.

21. However, it is not the Chinese People's Republic but this very Organization that needs to settle this issue. It is mere illusion for an international Organization to deal with the problems of international peace and security, with the universal problems of disarmament and, among other things, with the fate of the peoples of Asia, while excluding from the discussions one of the powerful factors of international life, the Chinese People's Republic, which is ever growing in power. This procedure progressively diminishes the seriousness and importance of the position taken by the General Assembly and, at the same time, it endangers the existence of this Organization.

22. The longer forced resolutions keep up the present mendacious situation, the more they will conjure up the danger that beset the League of Nations; and the longer the Assembly's resolutions fail to come to terms with truth and reality, the more will those delaying the solution of this question have cause to be ashamed.

23. Therefore, in the interest of the good work of the United Nations and in order to strengthen international co-operation among peoples, the Hungarian delegation will vote for the amendments submitted by Nepal, because they promote the implementation of the Charter; if, on the other hand, the General Assembly does not adopt the Nepalese amendments, the Hungarian delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted to the General Committee by the United States delegation, because it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and violates the interests of international peace and security.

24. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I had not expected to have an opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, until the general debate. However, the opportunity has come earlier and the old saying that good fortune can never come too late might well be reversed, for there can be few occasions more agreeable for me, as representative of the oldest of the Spanish-speaking countries, than this opportunity of offering my congratulations to one who is so brilliant an exponent of the Spanish language and so distinguished a representative of Hispanic culture.

25. I have come to the rostrum to say that my delegation is prepared to give its unqualified support to the General Committee's proposal that the Assembly should reject the request of India and should not consider at its fourteenth regular session any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. In consequence we shall of course vote against the proposal of Nepal. We have taken the same stand on this issue whenever it has arisen, but on this occasion, for reasons which I shall explain, we felt that it was not sufficient merely to vote and considered that it was desirable that our views should be placed on record in the Assembly.

26. It is clear that two interpretations of the draft resolution are possible: a subtle interpretation and the realistic interpretation given by the United States representative in one of the ablest and best documented speeches I have heard in this Assembly. The issue is whether or not we should admit representatives of Communist China. The subtle interpretation has been brilliantly expounded by the representative of Ireland and, in keeping with the tradition of his country, by the representative of Greece. These representatives consider that the adoption of premature resolutions would aggravate the problem, which may one day be solved, and that accordingly the Assembly should not vote on

the substantive issue. Our votes will therefore be the same, but not our reasons, since in voting on the resolution my delegation takes the realistic view and will vote in favour because we believe that Communist China is an aggressor nation which does not possess any of the qualifications for admission to the United Nations. On that point there can be no doubt. Chinese aggression is condemned in a solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly in 1951 [resolution 498 (V)]. How can we admit to our Organization a country which has been solemnly condemned by our own resolution, a country which, strictly speaking, is at war with us and with which, but for the flimsy shield of an armistice, we should still be at war, with active hostilities in progress between China and the United Nations forces?

27. As Christians we follow the biblical injunction to turn the other cheek and not to reply to violence with violence. In the case of major political problems, however, that principle must be applied with circumspection, and in this case it would perhaps be stretching the precept too far to humiliate the United Nations by admitting to membership a country which has thus violated the principles of the United Nations and persists, with no sign of repentance, in its aggression against us. For it is a principle of criminal law everywhere and an established penal practice that offenders should be able to earn a reduction of their sentences and clemency from their judges by good conduct. But Communist China, which was solemnly condemned by the United Nations and, morally at least, is serving a sentence, far from showing signs of repentance, continues to shock mankind by violent acts of aggression. It is for that reason that my delegation decided to make this statement: we felt that it was not enough to vote and to pass over in silence the scandalous acts committed by Communist China in 1959. We believed it to be our duty to voice our condemnation. For in 1959 Communist China, which was already guilty of aggression, committed an atrocious act of violence in occupying Tibet. We have read full reports in the newspapers of this shameful act of lawlessness, which is comparable in some respects to that committed in Hungary, we have seen a great spiritual leader, who should in the opinion of religious countries like our own receive all respect, driven from the historic seat of his power and forced into exile, to asylum in friendly protecting countries. We have read reports of the unconscionable acts of aggression and crimes committed against the unfortunate Tibetans who remain faithful to their great religion. This has been followed by frontier violations which are fresh in the minds of us all and on which I shall not comment further. We were therefore unable to remain silent, in the face of this affront to religious sentiments which we hold particularly dear. As a final act of censurable behaviour by this guilty régime which should be trying to make amends in order to obtain a pardon and admission to the United Nations, we have the Laos incident which I cannot discuss in the brief time available for this debate, but which is even now under consideration by the United Nations.

28. In the meantime, as the United States representative pointed out yesterday, aggression and violence, and other kindred acts, have continued in the islands in the Taiwan Straits. Everything points to the conclusion that Communist China in fact does not wish to be admitted to the United Nations, since only a country which did not wish to be admitted would behave as it has done. My delegation is therefore prepared to vote unhesitatingly in favour of the General Committee's

report, first, in view of the original reasons for the condemnation of Communist China; secondly, because of Communist China's relentless attacks against Tibet and Laos during the past year; and finally—why conceal the fact?—because we observe that the Warsaw Pact countries are pressing strongly to have Communist China seated in our midst. It would seem that the world cannot reach agreement or solve its problems unless this violently turbulent power, which is opposed to us, participates in our deliberations. The record is not encouraging and the tone in which the eminent Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union spoke here of pressure was in fact the third reason why we not only will oppose the proposal by our vote but have spoken against it. For that reason, also, the Spanish delegation will support the draft resolution in paragraph 7 of the General Committee's report [A/4214] and will vote against the amendments submitted by Nepal [A/L.261].

29. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, the Bulgarian delegation would like to associate itself with those who have congratulated you on your unanimous election as President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

30. The peoples of the entire world will justly appraise and condemn the desperate efforts of the United States delegation to impose its will on the United Nations in regard to the representation of China, to force the Organization to adopt a reactionary attitude towards China and to prevent the liquidation of the cold war. It is perfectly clear that the cold war, which moved into the background when the great Soviet Union spoke from this rostrum in the person of Mr. Khrushchev, is now being re-introduced into the atmosphere of the fourteenth session by the United States representative. We have before us an example of perseverance worthy of a better cause.

31. For ten years a systematic attempt has been made to trample underfoot the basic principle of the universality of the United Nations. For ten years, openly abusing its influence and manifesting ill will, the United States has deprived the largest nation in the world, the great Chinese nation, of its right to legitimate representation in the United Nations. It has thus robbed every fourteenth person on our planet of his right to be represented here.

32. But the right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its lawful place in the United Nations is a matter of vital concern not only to the People's Republic itself and all peace-loving peoples but, above all, our own Organization.

33. The People's Republic of China will soon be celebrating its tenth anniversary. In this very short period it has made immense and astounding progress in its economic and cultural development. The backward and semi-colonial China of the old days has been transformed into a mighty Power, into an important factor for peace in the Far East and in the world at large. No one who sees how far the People's Republic of China has advanced today could possibly doubt that, even without being a Member of the United Nations, it will still go on developing at the same rapid pace in future. It is obviously prospering, in spite of discrimination by the United States of America. But no one, on the other hand, can deny that the exclusion of the People's Republic from the United Nations has had, and is having, an unfavourable effect on the Organization's

authority and prestige, and on its practical work in the pursuit of the high purposes for which it was created and towards which its efforts must be directed.

34. It is time we recognized that the United States attitude to the representation of China in the United Nations is damaging, first and foremost, to the Organization itself, and hence, to all States Members. By continuing to act in this way, the United States is attempting to restrict the influence and authority of the United Nations, and to obstruct its efforts to solve major international problems. In this case Member States have no concern with the motives underlying United States policy towards the People's Republic of China. The right of the People's Republic to take its place in the United Nations should not be dependent on the motives of individual States. The United Nations is not an organization of Governments, not a club for countries sharing the same views, for States with identical social régimes; it is not an alliance of States established for restricted purposes, much less one of those blocs so obviously beloved of post-war United States policy. The United Nations cannot be put on a par with NATO or SEATO. It is composed of countries with different social and economic systems and different forms of government, regardless of whether each Member approves the systems and forms of government adopted by other Members. The important function of the United Nations lies precisely in becoming, to an increasing extent, a forum in which the problems of our age can be solved by the joint efforts of all States, both large and small, mainly of course by the efforts of the great Powers, which in the very nature of things, and under the United Nations Charter itself, are charged with special obligations and bear the main responsibility for the maintenance and preservation of peace.

35. But, over the last ten years, the United Nations and its principal organs such as the Security Council have carried out their work without the participation of one of the great Powers, namely, the People's Republic of China. It would be an insult to the United Nations and to world public opinion to assert that the representative of Chiang Kai-shek's clique represents any "great" force, if I may even use the word. No one in fact ventures to make such an assertion, not even those who continue to describe him as the representative of a fictitious Chinese republic of some kind. This designation is merely a product of diplomatic inventiveness. Everybody knows that this phantom representative represents only himself and a group of Chinese fugitives, and that the so-called State on whose behalf he speaks exists only by courtesy of the United States on a part of Chinese territory occupied by the United States.

36. It is a pity to have to waste the General Assembly's time in speaking of this gentleman, but one cannot overlook the fact that his sole function in the United Nations building is to poison the atmosphere with speeches of a slanderous, provocative and disruptive character. How, for instance, can one overlook his statement in the General Committee that the sole aim of the Chiang Kai-shek "Government" is to "free the Chinese people"? There is no need to translate these words into plain language. They constitute an unveiled threat and a call to war. History teaches us that, when the representative of an insignificant bunch of fugitives, armed to the teeth by a foreign State, talks of "freeing" more than 99 per cent of an entire nation, this means that they intend to restore an overthrown régime by

force of arms, by a military coup. It is important not to underestimate this fact in view of the insignificant stature of those represented here by Chiang Kai-shek's men, since it is hardly likely that he would have made such a statement as he did in the General Committee unless there had been others present who were keen to hear militaristic assurances of that type.

37. This interpretation is borne out by the efforts which the United States delegation is making, not only to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its place in the United Nations, but also to consolidate the position here of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. We see that the United States resolution [A/4214, para. 7] specifically recommends the Assembly not to consider any proposals to exclude the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. There is something most offensive to the United Nations about this recommendation. Before the United Nations begins its work, it is bluntly requested to renounce one of the elementary rights and obligations of any organization, which is to check the qualifications and credentials of every representative, and to see that persons from other organizations, whose presence might be detrimental to its work, do not obtain unauthorized entry to its meetings. In other words, one of the basic rights of any organization (commercial, industrial, charitable, political, or any other) is being denied to a world-wide international organization, which bears a major responsibility for safeguarding peace throughout the world.

38. If the United States delegation makes recommendations and proposals of this nature, which no one would dare to make even at a shareholders' meeting, it must indeed be seriously concerned at the possibility that the false representative of China, who is occupying someone else's rightful place, will eventually be revealed for what he is. It is regrettable that a procedure which would not be permitted in any ordinary company or commercial organization has now been tolerated in the United Nations for a number of years. Year after year it has been decided not to consider the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, and the decision has been taken in circumstances which disturb the conscience of the world, because it is potent and universally obvious that an unlawful act is being committed—one of the five great Powers, the People's Republic of China, is being denied a place in the Organization, and its place is being usurped by irresponsible people, who by the whole course of social development in China have been deprived of any rights to represent the country.

39. Let us examine the arguments which certain delegations have advanced once more this year, to justify this unlawful act with regard to the People's Republic? Can we grace with the name of "argument" the stock thesis that nothing has occurred to cause a change of heart on this issue on the part of those who voted last year against the restoration of the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations? Equally unworthy of consideration as an argument is the opinion which the representatives of some countries tried to put forward at the meeting of the General Committee, namely, that in view of the present desire for a better international atmosphere it is unwise to discuss questions which might provoke disagreement. This is indeed a strange view, to put it mildly. Surely it is quite obvious that this illegal act, this injustice towards the great Chinese nation, is one cause of dis-

agreement, and that the chief duty of the United Nations is to remove the causes and settle the disagreements which have arisen, not to follow the policy of the ostrich which never has helped and never will help anybody.

40. The United States delegation has at last decided to produce some "arguments" in favour of its resolution. What do these amount to? Efforts have been made to convince us that the question at issue is the admission to the United Nations of a new Member, who supposedly does not meet with the requirements of the Charter. But everybody, including the United States representative, knows that China is one of the founder Members of the United Nations and that, though there has been a change of régime there, China itself as a State, as a country and as a nation remains. It is still not represented here, however, because the United States of America insists on maintaining in its place relics of a former régime who have suffered defeat at the hands of the Chinese people itself.

41. One of the most significant of the United States delegation's "arguments" is the accusation made against the Chinese People's Republic, which amounts to a defence of, and lament for, the citizens whose property has been nationalized in the People's China. Here it seems we have the greatest "sin" committed by the Chinese patriots, a sin which renders them unacceptable to the former exploiters of China. In adopting such a narrow class attitude, the United States representative has completely inverted certain historical truths and has accused People's China of rebuffing everyone who has tried to interfere in its domestic affairs or who has committed aggression against its frontiers. Now it is one thing to adopt a narrow class attitude in regard to a country's domestic affairs but, when it comes to international affairs, the United Nations should not allow the United States to degrade it from its position as an international body and turn it into a branch office of the State Department, which renders it valueless. We appreciate that certain circles in the United States do not want to leave Taiwan, which they will have to do immediately China's rights in the United Nations are restored. But I say again that this question will be solved in accordance with the dictates of common sense, and not to suit the wishes of a single State. Even less promising is the stratagem pursued by the United States delegation when, like the pot calling the kettle black, it brands China as an aggressor. I would remind you that the United States was guilty of a flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of Indonesia. It is still keeping troops in South Korea. It is occupying Taiwan. It has a military mission in Laos and last year it committed aggression against the Arab States of the Near East. In all these cases People's China pursued a diametrically opposite and peace-loving policy, and it has long since withdrawn its troops from the territory of other countries! But, in spite of these irrefutable facts, efforts are still being made to convince us that United States policy, and not the policy of People's China, is the policy of peace. A farce to please the gods!

42. If some United States politicians still prefer to close their eyes to reality, that is their affair. We all know that nearly sixteen years had passed since the great October Revolution before the Soviet Union was eventually recognized by the United States. No one can foretell how long it will take the United States to decide on recognition of People's China. But this matter is of no concern to the United Nations. What does, and must,

concern the United Nations is the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. The United Nations must face up to realities, and take steps to solve problems in the light of the facts.

43. In this case the fact which stands out most clearly is the existence, on the continent of Asia, of a great and mighty Power, the People's Republic of China, a country which contains a quarter of the population of the whole world, which is advancing rapidly along the path of economic and cultural progress and along the path of peace. The Government of this great country, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, enjoys the unqualified support and respect of the Chinese people, and exercises sovereign rights over all the country's vast territory. This Government and no one else represents China. By all the principles of international law, this Government is the sole repository of State power. The United Nations Charter mentions China as one of the five great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, and the People's Republic of China alone is entitled to all the seats which belong to this great Power in our Organization.

44. The settlement of the question of the rightful representation of China in the United Nations will not only put an end to an illegal situation which has been tolerated too long, as well as right a flagrant injustice and satisfy world public opinion, but, above all, it will have an impact on the most important task of the United Nations, which is to consolidate peace throughout the world.

45. At the present moment, when there is growing hope of lasting peace, when the peoples of all countries are inspired by a mounting confidence that the most vital problems of our age can be solved by peaceful negotiations, the presence of representatives of the great Chinese people in the United Nations would of itself be a priceless contribution to the cause of peace. The United Nations should no longer be deprived of the great power for peace which the People's Republic of China can bring to bear on all the problems which engage our attention at the moment. Common sense demands that the great Power which has hitherto been absent should now participate in solving international problems such as disarmament, peaceful coexistence, and the use of outer space. It is impossible to keep this great Power outside the United Nations, removed from activities and projects for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, which, as is becoming ever clearer in the present-day world, require the united efforts of all countries. One cannot help questioning the sincerity of protestations of peaceful intentions made by those who now refuse to admit the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations, because no one who intends to tackle and solve in a serious and realistic spirit grave problems such as that of disarmament can possibly vote against the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations.

46. We are convinced that common sense will in the end prevail on this issue as on others, but the sooner this happens the better, both for the world at large and for the United Nations. If the fourteenth session is really to be the session of peace—and some speakers have expressed this hope, which is undoubtedly shared by the vast majority of States Members—then it must at the outset show itself worthy of this honour by including as a separate item on its agenda the Indian

proposal regarding the representation of China in the United Nations, and by settling the matter in favour of the great People's Republic of China.

47. The Bulgarian delegation warmly supports the Indian proposal, and will vote for it.

48. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty to offer you the congratulations of the Ukrainian delegation on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly, and to wish you every success in the discharge of your responsibilities.

49. This is the third plenary meeting at which the General Assembly has considered paragraph 7 of the first report of the General Committee [A/4214] and the Nepalese amendment [A/L.261] to the United States draft resolution that the General Committee has recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

50. The contents of this draft resolution are well known. The first paragraph provides for the rejection of India's request for the inclusion in the agenda of the fourteenth regular session of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations". The proposal in the second paragraph is that the General Assembly should decide not to consider, at its fourteenth regular session, any proposals to exclude the Chiang Kai-shek representatives or "to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China".

51. The purport of the Nepalese amendment is also well known. The representative of Nepal, Mr. Shaha, has given a convincing explanation of the reasons which impelled his delegation to submit its amendment to the United States resolution. In our view, the amendment is extremely clear and concise. It proposes that in paragraph 1 the word "reject" should be replaced by the words "accede to", and that paragraph 2 of the resolution should be deleted. Our delegation agrees with the Nepalese amendment and regards it as fully acceptable. If the Nepalese amendment is adopted—and we do not abandon our confidence in the wisdom of the General Assembly—it would finally be possible at the present session, with advantage to the cause of international co-operation, to discuss the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

52. A few days ago, Mr. President, you expressed the hope that the fourteenth session of the General Assembly would be the Assembly of peace. I believe that all of us who represent our peoples and Governments here in this international forum fully comprehend and share that hope. Unfortunately the first report of the General Committee and the recommendations to the General Assembly contained therein, as also yesterday's statement by the United States representative, indicate that the need for relaxing international tension and eliminating the cold war through every possible medium, including that of the United Nations, apparently does not enter into the calculations or the real intentions of those who oil the wheels of automatic voting in the United Nations.

53. In order to grasp the purport of the United States resolution, it is only necessary to look at the records of the last session of the General Assembly. The United States proposals on this question follow the same stereotyped pattern. Moreover, they are the result of a fossilized policy and a rigid cast of thought.

54. Yesterday we heard a statement here from Mr. Robertson, the United States representative. What is to be said of that statement? The United States representative, speaking from this rostrum, proffered to the General Assembly a bouquet of artificial flowers sprinkled with the poison of malice, irresponsible falsehoods, and enmity towards the Chinese people.

55. It is unnecessary to waste time demolishing politically inspired absurdities. But one might ask, in connexion with the statement of the United States representative, whether it is true, as has several times been asserted, that the United States wishes to move towards a warm current in international life. If it is in fact true, it is all the more surprising and incomprehensible that the United States representative considers it necessary to use the United Nations forum in order to swell the storm of the cold war.

56. We realize, of course, that these attempts to poison the atmosphere at the very beginning of the General Assembly's work are not due solely to Mr. Robertson's ill-humour. His loud and discourteous complaints unquestionably have only one object—to hamper measures aimed at the elimination of the cold war, to hinder the relaxation of international tension, and to slander the People's Republic of China on the eve of its tenth anniversary.

57. Even those who asked the United States delegation to explain the basic principles of its Government's policy towards the People's Republic of China must have felt somewhat embarrassed after hearing Mr. Robertson's statement, in which he undertook the thankless task of rehearsing the so-called "sins" of the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is worth noting that a very similar course was adopted quite recently in the United States against the Government of a Latin-American country which had come to power as the result of certain internal changes. In both cases, the accusations put forward by the United States were fabrications from beginning to end.

58. In a few days' time, as the representative of Bulgaria has just said, the Chinese people will be celebrating the tenth anniversary of their liberation and the establishment of a genuine people's Government. The People's Republic of China is now looking back over the glorious path it has trodden, short in terms of time, but crowded with incident and with achievements of truly historic significance. During this short period of ten years, the People's Republic of China has made such vast strides in administrative and social reform and in economic and cultural development that they can hardly be paralleled by anything which occurred throughout the centuries of the country's previous history.

59. The People's Republic of China is naturally exerting an enormous influence on international affairs; it cannot be disregarded; and not to reckon with it is to fly violently in the face of the facts of life itself. Let us ask ourselves once more who it is that in the last resort suffers from the absence from among us, Members of the United Nations, of the representatives of the legitimate Government of China, and in whose interests it is that this patently abnormal and unnatural situation should exist.

60. Clearly, someone has calculated that the withholding of the legitimate rights of the lawful Chinese Government in the United Nations would contribute to the international isolation of the People's Republic of

China and would seriously hamper its rapid development. Today, only the blind could fail to see that these were vain and empty calculations, which overlooked one essential factor: the capacity for tremendous revolutionary creativeness of a people that has seized the reins of power. There was also complete disregard—and there still is—of the existing international situation, which makes it impossible to isolate the People's Republic of China. It is obvious to all of us that this Republic has in fact suffered not the slightest harm as a result of the obstructive attitude adopted towards it by a group of States with the United States at their head.

61. On the other hand, we are convinced that the United Nations has suffered, and is suffering, considerably from the absence of China from its ranks. It has suffered a loss of authority. It has been to some extent paralysed in dealing with certain vitally important international problems—in particular, disarmament. It cannot claim to be fully complying with the principle of universality, whose importance is stressed in the Secretary-General's annual report [A/4132 and Add.1]. The artificial exclusion of China from active participation in the solving of international problems cripples the United Nations, and produces a situation in which our own decisions, affecting the fate of the world, are left suspended in the air.

62. The only gainers from this situation may well be those forces which are interested not in the ending but in the aggravation of international tension and the cold war; forces that, subjectively or objectively, are increasing the danger of a military catastrophe; forces which are concerned to weaken the United Nations.

63. We have been told that to include in the Assembly's agenda the question of China's representation in the United Nations is undesirable, allegedly because it would lead to a worsening of the international situation. On the contrary—the United States resolution proposed by the General Committee, which rejects the Indian proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly's fourteenth session of the question of the representation of China, aggravates and complicates the position at this session, and makes it harder to solve a number of other international problems.

64. Furthermore, those who oppose the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations are again invoking the absurd myth that the new régime of that Republic is illegitimate from the standpoint of international law and international political practice. But the People's Republic of China is an independent sovereign State, and—we would point out—one of the founder Members of the United Nations. It has won de jure recognition from a large number of States, and enjoys full rights as a member of the family of nations. An even greater number of States have granted de facto recognition to the People's Republic of China and maintain trade and cultural relations with it.

65. Clearly, no one can deny that the People's Republic of China exists and is steadily consolidating its position. The fact that representatives of the United States, in 1954, at Geneva, negotiated with the representatives of the People's Republic of China on the Indo-Chinese and Korean questions, and that there have been talks between those two countries at ambassadorial level, surely proves that it is impossible to solve vitally important international problems without the People's Republic of China.

66. There is another aspect of this question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Past practice shows that the representatives of the United States use the General Assembly's decision for the purpose of preventing the countries of the world from co-operating with the People's Republic of China in the specialized agencies of the United Nations and in the International Atomic Energy Agency. The countries of the world are therefore unable to enrich themselves through contact, within the framework of international organizations, with the current scientific, cultural and economic achievements of the great Chinese people.

67. The paradox of the situation lies in the fact that in fairly authoritative American quarters conditions in China are viewed much more realistically than might be imagined from yesterday's statement by Mr. Robertson, who even invoked the results of the voting in Congress on the "recognition" or "non-recognition" of China. We would recall recent reports in the American Press to the effect that the United States National Science Foundation has undertaken an extensive programme for the translation of Chinese scientific literature, so as not to be caught unawares by scientific progress in China, as happened in the case of the Soviet Union.

68. Obviously, it will not be long before Americans are asking themselves how they came to overlook China, just as they are now in a state of alarm over their underestimation of the USSR's achievements prior to the launching of the first Soviet artificial earth satellite. One can foresee the time when there will be a hunt for those guilty of the policy of "non-recognition" in regard to the People's Republic of China. It can hardly be doubted that such persons will include many who are today pursuing and promoting a short-sighted and selfish policy towards the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. Life flows inexorably on, ever raising fresh problems. To stand still, motionless and petrified in one position year in year out is to obstruct that flow and expose oneself to great danger. A wise Chinese proverb says with good reason: "Fear not slow progress but stagnation".

69. To be honest and frank, the only real reason for China's absence from the United Nations is the implacably hostile policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China. In this the United States makes use of the bogey of communism, bringing pressure to bear on other countries and securing their support for its unsavoury campaign to sabotage China's admission to the United Nations.

70. Scores of States with different social systems and forms of government are represented in the United Nations. Depending on the point of view adopted, some States are regarded as "bad", others as "good". This is quite natural and in accordance with the actual state of affairs in the world today. If the world were completely uniform, there would perhaps be no need for the United Nations. It is surely obvious that to postpone the issue of China's representation until the Greek Calends, until everyone recognizes China as a "good" country, is unrealistic and unwise.

71. The Ukrainian delegation urges that a realistic approach to the question under discussion be adopted, that all political considerations be set aside, and that the vote on the Nepalese amendment be inspired solely by the desire to strengthen the authority and effective-

ness of the United Nations. It is the duty of the General Assembly to discuss this problem which is of vital importance for international co-operation, and to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We are firmly convinced that the restoration of the rightful representation of China in the United Nations will contribute to the successful solution of the major international problems, promote mutual understanding between States and nations, improve the international atmosphere, and strengthen world peace.

72. Mr. CASEY (Australia): The Australian delegation will support the recommendation of the General Committee that the proposed item concerning the question of the representation of China in the United Nations should not be inscribed in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

73. The General Assembly has had this question before it, in one way or another, since 1950. Each time, by a substantial majority, the General Assembly has decided to take no steps towards altering the status quo. We believe we should do the same thing this time.

74. The proposers of the item have brought forward no new arguments which should induce the General Assembly to change its attitude as decided by the majority of its Members. On the contrary, recent actions and declarations on the part of the Peking régime have effectively diminished the Peking claim for representation in the eyes of all who have in mind the best interests of this Organization and the prescriptions of the United Nations Charter. There can be no doubt that much of the unsettled conditions in East Asia and South-East Asia can be laid at the door of Communist China. In particular, we need only remember the ruthless and inhuman measures recently pursued by Peking against the Tibetan people, together with the series of armed frictions with a number of the neighbours of Communist China. These things have caused misgivings and reservations even among some who in the past might have been disposed to give some weight and credence to the case for the representation of Peking here. In short, the Australian delegation believes that no case has been made to justify the discussion of this matter at this session of the General Assembly.

75. The Australian delegation accordingly will vote against the amendment proposed by the representative of Nepal.

76. Mr. THORS (Iceland): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to this high office. It was most deserved on account of your long and devoted service to the United Nations and to the ideals it stands for. Your distinguished personality and brilliant eloquence have been among the most outstanding and most encouraging features during our long sessions in all the years past. I am happy that your enormous popularity has been confirmed by the unanimous vote you received for President of our General Assembly.

77. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations has now been before us every session during the past ten years. As early as 1953, my delegation expressed the opinion during the general debate that it was ill-advised and unthinkable that the Government which is in control of and exercises authority over more than 600 million people—we can now say about 640 million people—and furthermore which holds such a vast territory as the mainland of China should

be kept outside the United Nations indefinitely. We have, however, always been of the opinion that the Government of the People's Republic of China must improve its standing with the United Nations before it can expect the majority of the Member States to invite it to take its seat in our Organization.

78. We felt last year that the right time and the opportune moment had not yet come. Therefore, we abstained from voting on the matter as a whole. We regret to say that the situation has changed, but certainly not in favour of admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations during this session. We now await full information from the Security Council's Sub-Committee established recently to inspect and report on the threats to the freedom and independence of Laos. The sad story of Tibet has also been revealed, and we know that the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of that country, was by threat of force driven into exile, that the people of Tibet have been brutally oppressed and that, in the opinion of many well-known jurists, the Chinese Communist Government has committed genocide against the people of Tibet. Furthermore, we know about the Chinese Communists incursions and aggressions on the borders of India and into the territory of India. All these events, in our opinion, completely exclude our agreeing to admit the Chinese Communist régime at this stage and during this session to the United Nations.

79. We can well understand that some delegations want to bring the Communist Government of China into the United Nations so that it will have to appear here before the bar of public opinion of the world. However, bearing in mind the consideration that it seems natural that the Government of Peking should be admitted to the United Nations at some later stage and, on the other hand, looking at the recent tragic events, we see no way but to maintain our vote of abstention also during this session.

80. Let me state, however, that as regards the 10 million people of Taiwan, we feel that they should, in due course, be given the right of self-determination and that they themselves should decide on their future and political constitution. We regard the people of Taiwan as a rising, progressive nation, a vigorous, independent and freedom-loving people who are entitled to take their independent place among us should they so desire themselves.

81. In view of these considerations, we shall abstain on both parts of the draft resolution of the General Committee as we do not wish to take part in any decision at this session. We hope that in the not too distant future we all or most of us will feel that the time is ripe for a solution of this unnatural situation which cannot last much longer.

82. Finally, we consider that the further debate of this question can only increase tension and acrimony at this session. In view of the exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States, we hope that this session of the General Assembly will be allowed to proceed in a spirit of increased mutual understanding and that more positive constructive results will be reached than in some of our previous sessions. We can therefore not vote for the Nepal amendment to extend and renew the debate on this question.

83. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, before proceeding to the substance of the question under consideration I should like to congratulate you on your election to the distinguished office of President of the General Assembly.

84. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic warmly supports the Indian proposal to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly the question of the representation of China in the United Nations; it also supports the Nepalese amendments [A/L.261] to the United States draft resolution [A/4214, para. 7]. The restoration of the rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations is one of the most urgent and important questions facing us today. A favourable decision on that issue, which would be in the interest of all the nations of the world, would contribute to the relaxation of international tension. Our delegation takes vigorous exception to the United States representative's proposal to postpone for another year United Nations discussion of the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China. There can be no justification for the fact that the People's Republic of China, which under the United Nations Charter is a permanent member of the Security Council, should not take part in the latter's work or in the work of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs.

85. Some of the previous speakers, particularly the representative of Australia, Mr. Casey, tried to make use of the recent incident on the Chinese-Indian border in the Himalayan region to discredit the Government of the People's Republic of China and drive a wedge between the two countries, whose friendship is vitally important to the maintenance of peace not only in Asia but throughout the world. The Byelorussian delegation vigorously condemns those who are trying to exploit a border incident in order to undermine the friendship existing between the Indian and Chinese peoples and to prolong the cold war. The Byelorussian delegation is certain that the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China will not permit this border dispute to give comfort to the reactionary circles which are trying to prevent the relaxation of international tension.

86. In a few days, the great Chinese people, which overthrew the bankrupt and disintegrating Kuomintang régime, will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. After setting up their people's government on 1 October 1949, the 650 million people of China entrusted it with the administration of the country. That Government has the complete confidence and love of the entire Chinese people. For the first time in the 5,000-year history of China, the 650 million people of that country have a Government which is conducting an independent national policy that serves the vital interests of the entire Chinese people and the cause of peace. It is clear to everyone by now that the Chiang Kai-shek group, which was driven out by the Chinese people ten years ago, has lost State power and controls neither the territory nor the population of China and that consequently the Chiang Kai-shek representative represents nobody here.

87. It is a fact adversely affecting the prestige of our Organization that the United Nations, despite the proposals repeatedly submitted by the Indian, Soviet and other delegations, has as yet been unable to adopt a favourable decision on the question of the United Nations representation for the People's Republic of

China—the only correct decision and that which is expected by all the peace-loving nations.

88. For ten years a group of States headed by the United States has been preventing restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We naturally feel bound to ask: Why are the reactionary circles in these countries disregarding the will of the Chinese people and refusing to admit the latter to the United Nations? They are disregarding the People's Republic of China because now they are unable to impose upon it unequal political and economic treaties, as was formerly the case. They dislike this State because it has escaped from their sphere of exploitation and is conducting an independent national policy corresponding to the vital interests of the Chinese people.

89. Special reference should be made to the two-faced position adopted by certain Western States which have already recognized the People's Republic of China and are deriving great economic benefits from that fact while, at the same time, they are in effect supporting the position of the United States delegation and are opposing in every way a solution of the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The policy of these States is obvious to everyone.

90. The policy of non-recognition of the People's Republic of China, like the embargo policy pursued towards China by the Western Powers for the past ten years, has not prevented the Chinese people from scoring successes on the economic front and gaining authority and respect in the international arena. The absurdity of the policy of non-recognition and embargo becomes more obvious each year. At the present time, more than thirty States, with a total population of more than 1,000 million, have recognized the People's Republic of China. China's foreign trade is expanding, and the overwhelming majority of States are already trading with the People's Republic.

91. A growing number of United Nations Members favour restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in this international Organization. We are certain that the time is not far off when the Chinese people will take its legitimate place in the United Nations.

92. The Government of the People's Republic of China is pursuing a peace-loving policy; it actively supports the maintenance of peace throughout the world and champions peaceful coexistence with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles ["Pancha Shila"]. The Chinese people supports the proposal to establish a zone of peace, including a zone which is free of atomic armaments, throughout East Asia and the Pacific Ocean area. The People's China is firmly resolved that the imperialists shall not regain their sway; it is determined to transform Asia into a bastion of peace. The Government of the People's Republic of China aims at establishing normal relations with all countries, including the United States, irrespective of their political and social systems.

93. Yesterday's statement by the United States representative, Mr. Robertson, has but one purpose—to intensify the policy of cold war. Mr. Robertson's statement was clearly out of keeping with the spirit of our times. The tendency towards relaxation of the international atmosphere obviously does not suit Mr. Robertson, who reflects the thinking of reactionary

circles in the United States which are extracting huge profits from the policy of continuing the cold war. His statement was, in fact, nothing but a rehash of newspaper headlines from the worst days of the cold war.

94. The United States representative devoted a great deal of attention to the events in Tibet and freely slandered the People's Republic of China. His purpose in making these slanderous statements was to prevent restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, to reduce its growing prestige in international affairs and thus to impede its economic and cultural progress. However, the uproar raised in connexion with the reactionary revolt in Tibet and the attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China will accomplish nothing and are doomed to failure. The United Nations Charter in no way authorizes anyone to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. The People's Republic of China has full sovereignty over the Tibetan region just as it has full sovereignty over Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Kwangsi.

95. The United States representative, Mr. Robertson, made a statement here fervently opposing restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. What sense is one to make of the position of the United States, however, when that country itself is today unable to ignore the People's Republic of China and is conducting negotiations with it on a whole set of issues, for example the Chinese-United States negotiations which started in 1955 on the initiative of the People's Republic of China and are still continuing. The withdrawal of all the divisions of Chinese People's Volunteers from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea provides striking confirmation of the peace-loving character of the People's Republic of China and of its desire to ensure the maintenance of peace in Asia and throughout the world. I might add that if the United States Government followed that example and withdrew its troops from Korea that would be genuine proof—not in words but in deeds—that the United States, too, was concerned with maintaining peace in the Far East.

96. The Government of the People's Republic of China has solemnly stated together with other countries that colonialism is an evil which must be eradicated. The People's Republic of China has always taken a vigorous stand on behalf of oppressed nations and of countries which were the victims of aggression. We have seen this when such questions were considered as the return of West Iran to Indonesia and of Goa to India, the halting of imperialist aggression against the countries of the Near East, and various other issues relating to the struggle against colonialism. The People's Republic of China also shows great concern with the maintenance of peace in Europe and persistently strives for a general reduction in armaments, especially a reduction in the armaments of the great Powers and a ban on the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The People's Republic of China is prepared to reduce the strength of its army if international agreement is reached on that question.

97. The course of international events during the last ten years shows that it is now no longer possible to settle important international issues, particularly those relating to Asia, without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

98. The entire world is aware of the growth of China's economic power. The experience of ten years in building socialism in the People's Republic of China graphically shows the tremendous economic progress made in that country. Let us not forget what China was like in the recent past. It was illiterate: before 1949 most Chinese could neither read nor write. It was economically backward: only a few thousand tons of steel were smelted in China. Its doors were open to foreign colonial pillage.

99. Everything changed drastically after the Chinese people put an end to the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. China entered a new stage in its history—that of industrializing the country and building a socialist society. The immense task of building socialism in a country with a population of 650 million and an under-developed economy naturally requires an intensive and tremendous effort on the part of the whole Chinese people. In a period of ten years thousands of new heavy industrial enterprises, equipped with modern machinery, have already been built in the People's Republic of China. National automobile, aircraft, tractor and machine-building industries have been established, and the production of other types of complex equipment is under way. In 1958, 8 million tons of steel were smelted by industrial means alone and the total increase in steel production during that year amounted to 5 million tons. In 1958, the People's Republic of China far outstripped the United Kingdom in coal production and moved into third place in the world. The People's Republic took one year to raise coal production from 130 million tons to 270 million, whereas the United States required fourteen years and the United Kingdom thirty-two for a similar increase. In the years 1950-1958, the People's Republic of China increased industrial production tenfold and a solid base for modern industry was established in that country.

100. In the field of agriculture, the annual yield of food crops has mounted by tens of millions of tons. During the years of people's rule, there has been a substantial rise in the material level of living of the Chinese people, which enjoys true democracy and true freedom. Culture is flourishing in China. The number of students at all levels has reached 120 million.

101. These facts demonstrate that the People's Republic of China occupies the position of a great, rapidly developing, peace-loving State in the contemporary world. Nevertheless, the United Nations General Assembly unjustly decides year after year not to consider proposals to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The injustice and illegality of this situation are obvious. The absence of representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations in effect deprives a vast part of Asia and almost a quarter of the world's population of the opportunity to take part in the work not only of the Assembly but also of the Security Council, the specialized agencies and the other United Nations organs.

102. Many statesmen and political figures have long supported the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations. Thus, Mr. Attlee, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, speaking in The Hague on 10 May 1959, declared himself in favour of granting the People's Republic of China its legitimate place in the United Nations. Field-Marshal Montgomery, in a lecture delivered at Oxford University on 22 May 1959,

asserted that it was illogical to work on the assumption that the true Government of China was on Formosa, since it was obviously in Peking.

103. These comments are characteristic of public opinion in other countries besides the United Kingdom. Many statesmen and public figures in the United States are openly stating that the present policy of the United States Government towards the People's Republic of China is doing great damage to the political and economic interests of the United States. Thus, on 21 May 1959, Mr. Engle, the Democratic Senator from California, made a major speech in the Senate in which he sharply criticized the policy of the United States Government towards People's China. This speech has already been mentioned by the distinguished representative of Nepal. The Senator opposed the present policy aimed at setting up a military, economic and psychological wall around China and demanded its drastic revision. In his speech, which received the support of Senators Clark, Gore, Dodd and others, Mr. Engle called for expanded contacts between the two countries, the lifting of the embargo on trade with China, and negotiations with representatives of the Chinese People's Government. According to The New York Times of 31 January 1959, Mr. Fulbright, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also questioned whether it was "realistic to say we are not going to recognize them [the Chinese] now or ever". Mr. Acheson, the former United States Secretary of State, whom we all know, stated at a Press conference on 10 March 1959 that the policy which permitted the stationing of United States armed forces on a small island four miles off the Chinese mainland was utterly farcical.

104. I could cite other comments like these. Many statesmen and political figures in the United States already recognize that the present United States policy towards the People's Republic of China is senseless and dangerous and are vigorously demanding that it should be drastically revised. They are calling upon the United States to abandon the unrealistic policy towards the People's Republic of China and take measures to establish diplomatic relations with People's China. They recognize by now that the economic embargo against the People's Republic of China not only has not impeded but to some extent has stimulated the intensive development of a number of vital branches of that country's economy and industry.

105. The policy of certain Western Powers aimed at restoring the Chiang Kai-shek régime on the Chinese mainland has proved a failure. United States military aid to the Chiang Kai-shek forces, which annually costs the American taxpayer some \$600 million, is not justifying itself. This aid is regarded as a policy of armed intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China.

106. In the eyes of world public opinion, those who do not yet recognize the People's Republic of China are diehard reactionaries who are trying to hold back the natural course of history. The People's Republic of China today plays a significant role in international affairs, however much the representatives of certain Western countries may close their eyes to that fact. It is obvious to everyone by now that the People's Republic of China is indeed a great and powerful State which cannot be ignored.

107. The position of the Byelorussian delegation on the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the

People's Republic of China in the United Nations is well known to everyone and is unalterable. Representatives of the Government or the People's Republic of China must take their legitimate place in the Security Council and other United Nations organs. Our delegation calls for a favourable decision on the question of United Nations representation for the People's Republic of China, since such action is essential to the cause of strengthening co-operation between States in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and is in the vital interest of all mankind.

108. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supports the Indian proposal to include in the agenda of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly the question of United Nations representation for the People's Republic of China; it also supports the Nepalese amendments to the United States draft resolution.

109. Mr. DELGADO (Philippines) (translated from Spanish): I should like first, Mr. President, once again to offer my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election, and I should like to express our appreciation of the able manner in which you discharge your duties.

[The speaker continued in English.]

110. We are again faced this year with a request to include in the agenda of the General Assembly the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. As in previous sessions, the present debate has been precipitated by a proposal to reverse and reject a recommendation of the General Committee not to consider this item during the present session.

111. I have taken the floor because my Government believes that this matter involves a fundamental issue directly affecting the future of this Organization. The United Nations was founded upon certain moral principles which we, its Members, are sworn to uphold. We adopted a Charter that limits membership to peace-loving States willing and able to carry out the obligations set forth therein. To admit representatives of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations at this time is to negate all those moral principles.

112. I submit that the Chinese Communist régime in Peiping is not qualified to represent here the peace-loving people of China. It was not too long ago that we welcomed the cessation of hostilities in Korea and Viet-Nam. But no sooner was this effected when other menacing gestures from Peiping, betraying a purpose of aggression, began to be manifest in the shelling of the offshore islands along the Formosa Straits, the attack on Tibet, the forcible attempt to alter the existing frontiers between China and India and, more recently, the encouragement of the "Pathet Lao" movement in Laos.

113. The Philippines has never recognized the Peiping régime. We cannot in conscience endorse as a way of life the Communist suppression of freedom of thought, speech and religion and the repudiation of the dignity and worth of the human individual, which is implicit in the iniquitous Chinese commune system.

114. Today, pressure to give Peiping the seat of China in this Assembly has been renewed. But to do this would be tantamount to condoning the aggressions and depredations of which the Peiping Government has been guilty in the recent past. We must not forget that Communist China is still under condemnation by this

Assembly itself for aggression in Korea, an aggression which had to be resisted and repelled by the United Nations, and which continues and remains unexplained.

115. We have been impressed by the arguments advanced by the delegation of Ireland in favour of discussing the question of the representation of China. The Minister for External Affairs of Ireland, while vigorously condemning the acts of the Peiping régime, and while stating that his Government would oppose a proposal to seat representatives of the Peiping régime in the General Assembly, nevertheless argued that the question should be discussed in the General Assembly at the present session because such a discussion could only have beneficial results.

116. Ireland does honour to its proud history as a liberty-loving nation when it predicates its position on this important question on the basis of principle—in this case, the principle of free discussion. We entirely agree that so vital a principle should never be sacrificed for flimsy or arbitrary reasons. We should like to assure the delegation of Ireland and those other countries supporting the principle of free discussion that, in voting to support the recommendation of the General Committee and against the amendment proposed by the delegation of Nepal, we are not moved by a simple desire to negate the principle of free discussion and open debate. Rather we are moved by the conviction that this principle, however important it may be, must be weighed against other over-riding considerations, such as the respect which we owe to the very purposes and objectives of the United Nations, in particular, the maintenance of international peace and security, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

117. We are convinced that these supreme objectives of the United Nations cannot be advanced by the discussion of the question of the seating of a régime that has shown nothing but scorn for these purposes and principles, and that, by its recent acts, appears determined to subvert them by force and violence. It is in this sincere belief and conviction that the Philippine delegation continues to oppose the consideration at the present time of the question of changing the representation of China in the United Nations.

118. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): I should like to take this opportunity, Mr. President, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you our very hearty congratulations on your election to the most responsible and honoured office of the General Assembly's fourteenth session. Your election is a tribute to you personally, to your wisdom, experience and devotion; it is a tribute to your country, Peru, which you have served with such distinction; and it is also a tribute to all the great countries of Latin America which we in the Assembly hold in such high esteem. Your election is undoubtedly due to the great regard and high esteem in which you are personally held. Your devotion to the United Nations and your untiring efforts on its behalf from the beginning are well known and we are glad that you have agreed to serve this great institution in its highest office.

119. We have before us amendments moved by the representative of Nepal [A/L.261] to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report of the General Committee [A/4214]. The representative of Nepal has already made a brilliant statement marshalling his arguments with great clarity and cogency.

Very little needs really to be added to what he has said on this important matter. However, I wish to add just a few brief words to express our own point of view.

120. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is not a new one; it is one which has been debated before this Assembly successively over the last several years. So far as we are concerned, we have stated our views each year and they remain the same today. What is before us now, however, is the procedural aspect of the question, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to that aspect alone, if possible, although you will agree with me that it sometimes becomes difficult to discuss the procedural aspects of a controversial political matter such as this without making reference to what might appear to be matters of substance.

121. The acceptance of the resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the report would have the effect of debarring this Assembly from discussing the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We cannot agree to debar the Assembly, without good cause, from exercising its inalienable right to discuss problems that come within its jurisdiction.

122. The original proposal of the Indian delegation was for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations". It was not, in our opinion, a direct request for the seating of a representative of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, but its main purpose was to secure the right of free and full discussion. To adopt the resolution as it now stands in paragraph 7 would amount to the Assembly's depriving itself of the right to discuss a matter which, in the view of my Government, affects acutely the peace and stability of the Far East and, therefore, of the world. The events of the last few months in that part of the world make it abundantly clear that this question is no longer one of academic interest but is a matter of vital importance in the deliberations which we are about to commence at this session.

123. We have heard it said that in view of certain events which have taken place during the last few months in the Asian region, particularly in Tibet, Laos, and the north-eastern frontier region of India, the time is hardly opportune for the question of China's representation to be ventilated in the General Assembly. In our view, this argument is untenable. These events, far from preventing us from discussing the question profitably at this time, are in themselves the most important reasons for discussing the admission of the People's Republic of China.

124. Admission to this body in no way depends upon the political or social systems obtaining in any potential Member State, nor in the acceptability of its ideological views to other Member States, nor indeed on its alleged failure to reach accepted international standards of behaviour in international affairs. We are firmly of the opinion that those standards cannot be imposed on States which are being deliberately excluded from an almost universal international gathering such as the United Nations. We cannot lay down certain rules for ourselves and then attempt to impose those rules effectively on others to whom we refuse to extend the privileges of membership of our Organization. Indeed, my Government feels that one of the possible methods of achieving agreement in matters in dispute in areas

of the world where the People's Republic of China has legitimate interests, is by discussions in the United Nations on the basis of equality as a Member of this body.

125. If I may be permitted to cite but one example of the immediate need for discussing the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, one has only to recall the proceedings two weeks ago of the Disarmament Commission. An agreement on disarmament is now, we hope and believe, in the realm of possibility. Any such agreement would, of course, be welcomed and endorsed by all Member States of the United Nations. However, any such endorsement needs to be qualified by recognition of the fact that a country of 600 million inhabitants is not and cannot be a party to any such agreement. This can only be described as a very sobering and serious commentary on the unrealistic attitude which year after year has led this Assembly to postpone this vital question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

126. We feel that the time now is not only an opportune one but an absolutely imperative moment at which to discuss this matter in a spirit of realism and an appreciation of international facts. If the time comes—and it may be sooner than we thought a few months ago—when it is possible for this Assembly, with the full agreement of all Member States, to ban atomic tests and the manufacture and use of atomic weapons, we shall find ourselves in the almost farcical position of leaving the world's largest territory, with a population of 600 million people, with enormous natural resources and an ever-expanding fighting force, free to be converted into an atomic arsenal simply because, by refusing that country its proper place in the councils of the world, we deprive ourselves of the right to ask her to abide by any agreement which the rest of us may arrive at in this field.

127. It is the view of my Government that to deny to so vast a territory representation in the United Nations is an act of injustice. This question is one which has to be considered dispassionately and objectively. Can we, as embodying the collective political wisdom of the world, expect the Government of the People's Republic of China always to show an attitude of responsibility in international affairs when we, at the same time, deny to that Government the recognition of its stature and position in world affairs? That is a question which we must indeed ponder over carefully.

128. To say that we shall refuse to treat her as an equal until and unless she mends her ways is, in our view, a weak argument when it is remembered that negotiations have taken place with the People's Republic of China in Warsaw, in Geneva and in Panmunjom, as has been referred to earlier by previous speakers, in the past few years in relation to the crises that had arisen from time to time. For ourselves, we are very glad that these negotiations took place. They have served a very important and useful purpose. But the point we would like to emphasize is that when difficulties have arisen in the past we were forced to the conclusion that negotiations were necessary and we had—and rightly so—to be prepared to sit down and negotiate with the same representatives of that country which we are not willing to have here with us to negotiate with us on all questions. It must also be remembered that no less than thirty-three countries have afforded recognition—again, as has been referred to before—to the Government of the People's Republic

of China; this is important, and many more are at this very time engaged in cultural and economic exchanges with that Government.

129. We think that a full and realistic discussion of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is almost a sine qua non of a proper understanding of the complexities of international affairs in the world. To postpone such a discussion would be, in effect, to postpone any attempt at solving many of the intricate and even dangerous situations which now exist in the Far East and in South-East Asia. We hope that this Assembly will show characteristic statesmanship by refusing to permit itself to be deflected from proper action by considerations which we think are inherently irrelevant. If we go on postponing a discussion we cannot escape the inevitable conclusion of world public opinion that this Assembly is prepared to prevent the discussion of an undoubtedly important matter. This will certainly affect adversely the prestige of the whole United Nations Organization.

130. The delegation of Ceylon therefore recommends to the General Assembly that this item be inscribed on the agenda so that a full and substantial discussion of the question may be made possible, and that a decision may be reached so that we shall not be having this issue come up before us year after year, remaining almost a perennial thorn in the body politic of this Organization. We will therefore vote in favour of the amendment tabled by the delegation of Nepal and we hope that that amendment will be adopted by the Assembly.

131. Mr. PANYA (Laos) (translated from French): Speaking here for the first time on behalf of my Government and my delegation, I should like first of all, Mr. President, to present to you my country's warm congratulations upon your election to the Presidency of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. There could be no better proof of the esteem, admiration and respect in which you are held by all Member States represented here than the unanimous vote by which you were elected. Your election, which is an honour for both your country and yourself, is a striking testimonial to your ability, your wealth of experience, and your distinguished services to our Organization. There is no doubt that, under your wise guidance, the fourteenth session will produce positive results for the United Nations.

132. At this stage of the debate on the inclusion of the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, I have no wish to waste the time of the Assembly by repeating and commenting upon the various arguments for and against, advanced by the speakers who have preceded me.

133. Some of them, using a legal approach, criticized the General Committee's recommendation because of flaws of substance or form, alleging that the Committee had no right to formulate it. Passages of the Charter were cited in an obvious effort to convince the sceptics and the non-converted. I wonder, however, what the General Committee can do other than to express its opinion after having considered an item, that is, submit proposals or recommendations. This seems to me to be the only logical, rational and constructive way that the Committee has to deal with the questions submitted to it. It is then up to the Assembly itself to confirm or reject what is put before it. To reproach the General Committee for having made a recommendation

is merely to resort to a non-existent argument, and would truly betray a partisan spirit. Such statements convince only those who make them, not those to whom they are made.

134. Other speakers stressed the vast area of the People's Republic of China, its economic progress, and the fantastic size of its population. They spoke of its economic progress with no concern for the cost at which it has been accomplished and the sacred principles which have been sacrificed to it. I think that we should only be wasting valuable time if we continued the discussion on the basis of such arguments and in a spirit characterized by a lack of objectivity.

135. What, exactly, is the question? Whether or not we should include in the agenda an item proposing the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of China. To allow the discussion of this question would be to recognize that the candidate fulfilled the minimum conditions required by the Charter; otherwise, the discussion could only be an idle one and prejudicial to the atmosphere of subsequent debates. The United Nations Charter requires that a prospective Member shall be peace-loving, accept the obligations contained in the Charter, and be able and willing to carry them out. Now, what are the facts in this case? Even a very cursory examination shows us that the People's Republic of China was responsible for the Korean War, was condemned by the United Nations as the aggressor and has been at war with it since 1950. The People's Republic of China was also responsible for aggression in the Straits of Taiwan, guilty of violating the Indian frontier, and guilty of inhumane treatment of the Tibetan people, whose sole crime was wanting to live in freedom in accordance with their ancestral and religious traditions.

136. China is continuing its reprehensible activities at this very hour; and is responsible for the atmosphere of war and rebellion now existing in my country, Laos.

137. In this connexion, I should like to submit to the Assembly evidence which establishes beyond question the fact of interference by the People's Republic of China in the affairs of Laos. Four months ago, Hanoi and Peiping began a press and radio campaign which has engendered an explosive situation in Laos. For four months now, Hanoi and Peiping have been assailing Laos with torrents of calumnies and insults. For four months now, China has been furthering its designs by tripling its daily Laotian-language broadcasts from Hanoi and Peiping.

138. The most outrageous fact certainly is this: at the very moment when the so-called letter of protest from the rebel chief was being delivered to the Chief of the Royal Government, the radio stations of Hanoi and Peiping were already announcing the letter's contents. Is it not clear then that the movements of the rebels were being directed from Hanoi and Peiping?

139. In short, the present hostilities in Laos would not have occurred if the People's Republic of China had not supplied the Viet Minh with weapons, ammunition, and advisers, and if it had not goaded them to invade my country.

140. At subsequent meetings of the Assembly, I shall have occasion to speak of this situation again, but in order not to prolong the debate I shall today limit my testimony to these facts only.

141. This is a curious attitude for a State which, in order to be admitted to membership in our Organization, should come to it with clean hands! Are the ideals of the United Nations so weakened—to refer to the words of one of the previous speakers—that, in order to have new recruits, it must consider the admission of a State which up to the present has shown it nothing but contempt?

142. But there is one fact which seems to me fundamental: to allow a discussion of this question would be to reward aggression, violence, and the violation of human rights. Is it not logical to require that, if the People's Republic of China wishes to be admitted into

our Organization, it should first make amends? This is important, for if we disregard the General Committee's recommendations, we would establish an extremely dangerous precedent. Might this not encourage those Powers which today possess weapons capable of universal destruction to shatter the framework of co-existence and mutual respect which now contains them?

143. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote for the General Committee's recommendation.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.

