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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 102

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

1. Mr. YASSEEN (Iraq) (translated from French):
In the opinion of my delegation, the restoration of the
lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the
United Nations is not subject to any doubt and should
not give rise to any controversy. We believe that the
People's Republic is the only one that can and should
represent the great country of China, not because our
country maintains friendly relations with China, but
because, firstly, it is the only solution in keeping with
the interests of the United Nations in particular and
of the international community in general, and,
secondly, it is the only legal solution.

2. In the first place, it is the only solution in keeping
with the interests of the United Nations in particular
and of the international community in general. The
founders of the United Nations intended from the first
that it should be universal in character. The move-
ment towards universality has been confirmed through
the years and it is now clear that universality is a
necessity if we really wish to achieve the purposes
of the United Nations and to apply its principles
effectively.

3. It is incomprehensible that more than a quarter
of the world population should not be allowed effective
representation in the United Nations, which regards
itself under the Charter not only as the representa-
tive of its Members but also as the protector of the
essential interests of mankind and responsible for the
maintenance of peace and security.

4. In the world of today, which is becoming smaller
and smaller with the progress of technology, many
important problems require universal rather than
partial solutions. Is it right, or even useful, to be
content with a partial solution to the problem of dis-
armament, for example, or to any of the problems
fundamental to the peace and security of the world,
without even trying to achieve a universal solution?
It is clear that, without the participation of the
People's Republic of China, all our efforts in the
United Nations, particularly as regards the funda-
mental problems which affect the vital interests of

mankind, are more than likely to lead to inconclusive
and ineffective results.

5. Moreover, by opposing the recognition of the right
of the People's Republic of China to take its place in
the United Nations and to assume all its responsibili-
ties as a great Power and as a permanent member of
the Security Council, we run the risk of seriously com-
promising a basic assumption—I would even say
principle—worthy of being protected, which I shall
call the principle of summit unity or the unity of the
supreme hierarchy of the world Organization. The
very nature of the United Nations requires this
unity. Otherwise, we should end up with a world
divided into sectors which would not recognize, and
might even oppose, one another, to the detriment of
mankind's common interests, and with no higher
organ that could remedy the situation.

6. I have no need to emphasize the danger of such a
possibility. But can we reasonably blame the People's
Republic of China for taking the initiative of creating
another world organization if we stubbornly continue
to refuse to restore its lawful rights in the United
Nations? It is thus in the interests of the United
Nations and of the international community to recog-
nize all the rights of the People's Republic of China
in the United Nations. This recognition will enable
that great Power to fulfil the important role that is
its due and will bring it face to face with the respon-
sibilities that arise from the obligations laid down in
the Charter.

7. Moreover, the restoration of the lawful rights of
the People's Republic of China is fully justified from
the legal point of view. Indeed, the restoration of these
rights is dictated by the most fundamental principles
of international law and by the established practice of
the United Nations. In support of that, it must first of
all be stated that it is merely a question of the repre-
sentation and the credentials of the representatives
of a State. It is certainly not a question of admission;
China is a founding Member of the United Nations.
Nor is it a question of exclusion. In any case, neither
admission nor exclusion, both of which require a
special procedure, is on our agenda. The problem
therefore comes down to the question of who has the
right, following a change of régime, to represent the
State concerned in the United Nations. Except in the
case of foreign invasion by a State or group of States,
the Government which can and should represent the
State—no matter what State—in international life, and
more particularly in the United Nations, is undeniably
the Government that can maintain internal order and
assume international responsibilities. At both levels—
international and internal—only the People's Republic
of China has the right to represent China and is at the
same time capable of doing so. Its presence in the

United Nations cannot be made conditional on its maintenance of a certain political or social system. There can be no doubt nowadays that the political or social system of a State comes within its exclusive competence. It is merely an aspect of national sovereignty and a simple application of the right of self-determination. Only the people of a State have the right to challenge the political or social system obtaining in the State, for under international law the politico-social system adopted by a State is determined by its people and not by other States.

8. In the course of its existence, the United Nations has always respected these norms in other cases—in all other cases. It has not hesitated to recognize a new régime following a coup d'Etat or a revolution, perhaps after a very short period, usually only a few days, merely time enough to verify certain facts and to determine which authority is really in power, can maintain order inside the country and can effectively assume the responsibilities of a Government in the international community. As regards internal order, the People's Republic of China has for many years exercised effective authority over the whole of mainland China and the neighbouring islands, without any sign of disintegration. It has achieved remarkable economic progress and, in the scientific and technical fields, it has reached the heights of a nuclear Power. Internationally, the People's Republic of China maintains proper and friendly relations with a large number of States in all regions of the world. It has participated in a number of international conferences, in which it has played an important role. By way of example I would mention the Bandung Conference in 1955, the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954 and the Geneva Conference on Laos in 1961-1962. It has diplomatic relations with many States, including three permanent members of the Security Council. In addition, it maintains consular and trade relations with a very large number of States.

9. The Government of the People's Republic of China is therefore the only Government that can and should, according to international law, represent China in international life.

10. Lastly, my delegation would like to state its position on the procedure to be followed in voting on this question. It is maintained—and there is an earlier resolution to that effect [resolution 1668 (XVI)]—that this is an important question and that any decision on it must be made by a two-thirds majority. This thesis, however, is inconsistent with the principle of the equality of States and with Article 18 of the Charter; the only possible explanation is that it is prompted by unjustifiable political motives or arises from a legal misunderstanding.

11. In substance, the question before us is merely a question of representation and credentials. It is therefore a simple procedural question, which cannot be regarded as an important question in the sense of Article 18 of the Charter simply because it concerns a great State. In principle, all States are equal; this means that, unless there is a provision to the contrary, they should receive the same treatment and their problems should be settled, according to their nature, by the same method of voting. Thus, whether it concerns a large, medium or small Power, the

question of representation and of credentials is, per se, the same. It is not an important question in the sense of Article 18, since it is not mentioned in paragraph 2 of that Article and has not been recognized by any General Assembly resolution as constituting, per se, a new category of important questions.

12. It should be emphasized that, in point of fact, paragraph 3 of Article 18 of the Charter does not provide for the determination of a particular question as important, but the determination of a category of questions. The system laid down in Article 18 of the Charter is fully justified; it is intended to avoid arbitrary decisions and to ensure that the power of decision recognized in paragraph 3 of that Article is used objectively.

13. Any of the questions mentioned in paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the Charter may, in a given case, not be important. Budgetary questions, for example, are considered important questions; and they are indeed important questions, whether the allocation involved is five dollars or millions of dollars. The representation of a State, whether it concerns a great or a small Power, is a simple question, not an important one.

14. To conclude, my delegation is in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is deeply convinced that that Republic is the only one which can and should represent China. It is of the opinion that this question is not an important question in the sense of Article 18 of the Charter and that it should therefore be decided by a simple majority. It is unfortunate that the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the United Nations has been delayed for so many years; it would be disastrous to delay it any further.

15. Mr. HASSANE (Niger) (translated from French): Speaking after so many others have spoken on item 102 of the agenda for this session, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", my delegation wishes once again to define its position clearly on this issue.

16. This problem, as everyone knows, is not something new but has been the subject of discussion for a long time and, after the many debates to which it has given rise throughout the years, it is still only at its point of departure. It must be admitted that this state of affairs is due to the differences of opinion among the Members of the United Nations, many of which do not seem to be willing to consider the matter in its true light.

17. In my delegation's view, there is no doubt that communist China will eventually be admitted to the United Nations, but that country must first provide manifest proof of its allegiance to the principles and ideals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly in the Preamble and in Chapters I and II. After all, there are many irrefutable examples of that country's scorn for the United Nations.

18. My country, for its part, has always displayed goodwill in its relations of co-operation with the countries with which it has links of mutual friendship and understanding. This line of conduct which we have set for ourselves, and which has always

inspired the philosophy of our foreign policy, conforms to the conditions for the effective and efficient strengthening of friendship between peoples, a friendship which is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security, and without which there can be no question of peaceful coexistence.

19. What we must now recognize as an outstanding feature of our times is the increased need for rapprochement between peoples, as also the desire for concerted action to promote common prosperity; it is also a consecration of the ideals which since the end of the Second World War have been reflected in the advent of the idea of interdependence.

20. We consider, indeed, that in the harmony which we desire nothing can be done outside this framework; after all, true revolution is not engendered by brute force or eloquent words but is essentially concerned with the transformation of man, showing respect for his person and arousing his noblest sentiments. These, in our opinion, are the criteria on which the conditions for the admission of a country to the United Nations should be based.

21. In approaching the question before us today, my delegation cannot fail to speak of the nefarious behaviour of the Chinese communists in various parts of the world, in particular in Niger, where we have suffered from subversion prepared and financed in Peking.

22. The spectre of Chinese intervention through such subversion, which we have had to deal with elsewhere and in other circumstances, is a source of fear and legitimate apprehension to us and is, of course, our main reason for doubting the advisability of supporting the cause of the Chinese communists.

23. For Peking—and we say this in full knowledge of the facts—the only valid revolution is the type of revolution conceived by its leaders, namely, the violent armed revolution which they foster, organize and actively propagate outside their own frontiers.

24. To judge by their actions, the Chinese communists firmly believe in the virtues of their "revolutionary experiment" and they therefore work tirelessly to export it, with the ulterior motive of gaining all the benefits from it and thus assuaging their thirst for world leadership, for, as H.E. El Hadj Diari Hamani, the President of the Republic of Niger, has said:

"... there are not only imperialists of the right, there are also red imperialists, those who, through a fallacious anti-imperialism, pose as the champions of African independence".

25. In view of everything that I have just said—and we reserve the right to speak in more detail if necessary—our position continues to be that communist China does not in any way fulfil the requirements for membership of the United Nations.

26. Niger knows only one China, the China with which its Government maintains excellent relations, the China which has been seated in this Assembly ever since it was established. As was stated here quite recently by our Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement of 11 October 1965.

"As long as the People's Republic of China continues to ignore the elementary rules of peaceful

coexistence, as long as it refuses to respect and apply the sacred principles of the Charter, as long as the People's China continues to interfere in other countries' affairs, my country cannot unconditionally support its admission to the Organization." [1355th meeting, para. 74.]

27. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (translated from French): It is clear from the debates at this session that the majority of representatives are anxious that the functioning of the United Nations should be improved and its effectiveness increased. It is glaringly evident that the first step must be the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

28. The Government of Romania has always urged that this step, which reason, international legality and the interests of the United Nations demand, should be taken. Stating the position of our country at this session, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, said from this rostrum:

"The refusal to restore to this great Power, a founding Member of the United Nations, the place which belongs to it by right is an illegal act which only does the United Nations harm; such major problems as disarmament and economic and social development illustrate how difficult it is to imagine that any viable solutions can be found so long as the United Nations continues to be deprived of the contribution that could be made by the representatives of one quarter of the world's population." [1353rd meeting, para. 74.]

29. It is not often that a problem as simple and as clear as the one we are now discussing is made so complicated, is so distorted and gives rise to so much equivocation.

30. There can be no denying that we are faced with a situation which is quite abnormal and illegal. China, a founder of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, as stated in Article 23 of the Charter, is in fact deprived of the elementary prerogative of any Member States, that of being represented in the United Nations by its representatives. This is a serious violation of the basic rules of international law that are unanimously recognized and of the elementary principles of operation instituted and applied by the United Nations. According to those principles, there is a compulsory relationship between those who represent and those who are represented, in the sense that every Member State must be assured its seat in the United Nations and those occupying that seat must have received full credentials from the Government of the State concerned. This principle has been the basis for the representation of all Member States during the twenty years that the United Nations has been in existence. It has been applied consistently in every case of a change of régime or Government during that period.

31. Only in the case of China has this principle been ignored. Those who are sitting as representatives of that country present credentials which do not originate from the only legal Government of China. In fact, they do not represent anybody. Consequently, the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek have no legal right to occupy the seat reserved for China and have no busi-

ness to be in this Organization. The only persons entitled to occupy this seat and to speak and act on behalf of China are the representatives of the People's Republic of China. The only problem to be solved here is that of applying the basic principle of representation to this case as well, and thus restoring legality.

32. In accordance with a unanimously recognized principle of international law, the State is represented by the government which exercises effective and stable authority over the territory of the country, by the government which holds *de facto* power. The loss of these attributes inevitably entails the cessation of the capacity to represent a State in its international relations. The importance of this principle becomes even more clear in the light of the United Nations Charter.

33. The provisions of the Charter concerning the acceptance of the duties incumbent on Member States and their capacity to fulfil them make strict respect for this principle a necessary condition for the proper functioning of the United Nations. To admit the contrary would create a situation based on fictions, and United Nations decisions would become mere expressions of its wishes and would have no chance of being put into effect.

34. In our delegation's view, the right to be present in this Assembly is not a right conferred from outside, still less is it a prize for good conduct granted on the basis of subjective criteria or as a reward for an attribute which meets with some people's approval.

35. All we have to do is to abandon all subjective approaches and allow the real problem to appear in all its simplicity: the problem of the representation of a State Member of the United Nations. This State is the People's Republic of China, with a population of 700 million.

36. Throughout its history, this hardworking and tenacious people has created a material civilization which goes far back into history and it has been said that the dominant features of the Chinese countryside owe more to man than to nature. Throughout a history full of vicissitudes, this people has been afflicted with the scourges of famine and poverty and it has gone through turbulent periods as a consequence of its economic under-development and social inequities. The establishment of the People's Republic of China put an end to social injustice, mobilized all the inexhaustible energy of the formerly oppressed masses and united them in a unique creative effort, unprecedented in Chinese history, which is transforming the whole economy of the country and building a great industrial nation. Who then is qualified to represent the Chinese people if not the Government which is guiding and organizing the profound historical transformation taking place in the life of China?

37. The great traditions of the Chinese people and their contribution to world culture are reflected in many schools and trends which have appeared during thirty centuries in all spheres of philosophy, law, science, technology, art and literature. On the basis of these rich traditions, the democratic people's régime has created the necessary material conditions and opened a wide field of action to the creative genius

of the Chinese people in all branches of science, technology and culture.

38. The great constructive achievements of the last sixteen years have restored to the Chinese people, who have firmly resisted colonialist interference and oppression, a full awareness of their responsibilities, their role, and their dignity.

39. Such is the People's Republic of China, which is heir to China's national identity, all its rights and its indivisible territory.

40. The island of Taiwan is but an integral part of that territory. Can anyone imagine or agree that foreign occupation and the setting up of certain fictitious bodies constitute a source of rights?

41. To answer the question of the representation of China by invoking "the problem of the two Chinas"—which is now, paradoxically, being raised by the very country which a hundred years ago solved for itself the problem of the "two United States of America"—is to add an even more serious injustice to the existing illegality.

42. The military occupation of Taiwan by the United States, like the encirclement of the territory of Asia by military bases and armed forces, is but a symptom of the same policy, which bases international relations primarily on force and is reflected in the aggressive actions of the United States in Viet-Nam. In view of such precedents, it is difficult to understand how accusations can be levelled at a State possessing neither troops nor military bases outside its own territory.

43. The record of the discussions which have taken place in the General Assembly on the problem of the representation of China shows the specious nature of the objections raised, which are expedients resorted to for lack of arguments.

44. In the first year of the discussion of this problem a special committee was set up, which met only to confirm its own impotence. For ten years the General Assembly was unable to discuss this question because of the "moratorium" technique, which consisted in postponing the discussion every year. Nine years ago, the moratorium solution could no longer obtain a two-thirds majority. Four years ago, when that solution was on the point of failing to obtain even a simple majority, the problem was placed on the agenda, the tactics of its opponents then being to reject the draft resolutions calling for the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. As the number of votes dwindled, new trenches were dug behind the abandoned position. In 1961, when it began to become clear that the majority would adopt the just solution, a two-thirds majority was requested.

45. This brief account gives some indication of the inevitable progress towards the only possible solution; it also illustrates the increasingly specious nature of the arguments invoked by those who oppose that solution.

46. It is hardly surprising that today, under the pressure of opinion within the General Assembly, those opponents have resorted to tendentious attacks and slander and have endeavoured to transfer the problem to a sphere which has nothing to do with the

question under discussion and does not come within the competence of the United Nations.

47. With regard to the procedural question raised with regard to the method to be used in adopting a solution, we associate ourselves with the delegations which are in favour of applying the simple majority rule. We thus conform to the spirit and the letter of Article 18 (3) of the Charter, which establishes the general rule of a simple majority for voting in the General Assembly. The exceptions to this rule, which are clearly defined, are set forth in paragraph 2 of the same Article. It suffices to read this Article to see clearly that the problem of the representation of a State is not listed among the exceptions and that consequently the general rule must be applied in this case.

48. To claim that this question must be resolved by a two-thirds majority, when the situation has been created and maintained as a result of a decision adopted by a simple majority, is tantamount to arguing that a simple majority suffices to violate the United Nations Charter, but that a two-thirds majority is needed to return to legality.

49. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from its legitimate place in the United Nations and its associated agencies has many consequences which are prejudicial to the interests of the international community, diminish the Organization's prestige and limit its capacity to solve the great problems confronting mankind.

50. One of the Organization's principal functions, that of promoting international law and legality, cannot but be seriously impeded by the fact that the very image of the United Nations is deformed from the legal point of view. Can an international organization founded on the principle of the sovereign equality of States promote respect for that principle when it applies discriminatory treatment to one of its Member States?

51. All the Organization's goals are world-wide in scope, and the emblem hanging over this rostrum symbolizes the desire for universality. How can we attain these objectives when a quarter of mankind is prevented from participating in our efforts?

52. Any realistic and effective progress in the field of general disarmament depends on the existence and point of view of the People's Republic of China being taken into account. What would be the validity of solutions which were not endorsed by this State, which is one of the five nuclear Powers in the world?

53. With regard to problems relating to international security, where the Organization must play the role assigned to it by the Charter, the seat of a great world Power, the great Asian Power among the permanent members of the Security Council, has remained empty for sixteen years. A world organization without China is a contradiction in adjecto.

54. China's absence inevitably creates the impression of an international organization which is not only incomplete but also prejudiced. In that respect, the authors who in times past dreamed of a world organization were more advanced than those who today prevent the restoration of China's rights in the United

Nations. The books referred to on the occasion of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization include the book by Emeric Crucé,^{1/} who despite the limitations imposed by the horizons of a Europe which was only just emerging from the Middle Ages specifically provided for the participation of China in a plan for an international organization; and that was in 1622.

55. In a world where the acceleration of economic and social development is the central problem for three-quarters of mankind, the participation of the People's Republic of China in the discussion of economic, commercial, social and cultural problems would be of the greatest advantage, for the People's Republic of China is the scene of intense and productive activity in all these fields.

56. Experience shows that the People's Republic of China is ready to contribute to the solution of the great problems of the contemporary world, and that it has supported the orderly solution of those problems. It cannot be forgotten that the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China were reached with the participation of the People's Republic of China. It is clear that today we must return to the Geneva Agreements in order to put an end to the situation created in Viet-Nam by the United States, which is fraught with danger for world peace.

57. The proposals made by the Government of the People's Republic of China on the problem of disarmament are well known. I would refer to the initiative which it has taken for the convening of a world summit conference to discuss the problem of the general prohibition of nuclear weapons and that of their total destruction, with the initial objective of reaching an agreement prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons.

58. The Government of the People's Republic of China has formally declared that never and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. The requirements of international relations make it essential to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations immediately, so that the Organization may attain its statutory objective of being a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations in the attainment of their common ends. The participation of the great Chinese people in the United Nations activities would strengthen the Organization and enlarge its role as guardian of international peace and co-operation.

59. The Romanian delegation considers that the General Assembly must put an end to a situation which does nothing to increase its prestige and capacity for action. It is high time that realistic thinking overcame the stubbornness of those who wish to halt the evolution of the world and to see the world as it was and not as it is. To ignore reality is to fall into the error denounced by a philosopher of long ago, who said that "the greatest deviation of the mind is to believe things because one wishes them to be".

60. For the Romanian delegation this will be a vote of confidence in the Organization, its future and its

^{1/} The New Cyneas, published in 1623.

capacity to act in the face of the great international problems on the universal and objective basis of the principles of the Charter.

61. Mr. EL-KONY (United Arab Republic): On 10 October 1964 the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, meeting in Cairo, unanimously adopted the following decision:

"Recalling the recommendation of the Belgrade Conference, the Conference asks the General Assembly of the United Nations to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations."^{2/}

62. When the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries took that decision they were no doubt fully aware of its manifold consequences on the United Nations, and the impact of that decision and its juridical, political and practical influence on the evolution of the various currents existing on the international plane. That decision should not be taken lightly, because it was reached after thorough examination of the various points which necessitated the proclamation of such an important decision at that high level.

63. The Heads of State or Government had in mind the difficulties which are normally raised here, for obvious reasons, against the full restoration of the legitimate right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy the seat allotted to it by the Charter.

64. In connexion with admitting the rightful representatives of China to this world forum, no argument, based either on the Charter, or on the practice of the United Nations or, for that matter, on international law, could substantiate the contention that, when there is a change of régime in a certain State and the new régime assumes and maintains full authority and control of the territory of that State, the representatives of that régime could be denied admission into the international community, whether in or outside the United Nations. As I have said, nothing in the Charter justifies the closing of the doors of this Organization to the truly rightful representatives of a sovereign and independent State just because of the persistent opposition of one of its Members.

65. There is nothing in the Charter, or in the rules of procedure, which justifies that this world Organization should continue to function in a way which, if pursued, would be detrimental to the very problems which this United Nations tackles and tries to solve. But no solution is possible because of the very absence of the Government which represents more than 650 million people. There is nothing in the Charter, or in any political thesis, which could justify this abnormal situation.

66. So far as the United Arab Republic is concerned, we have made it abundantly clear since May 1956 that the issue under consideration in the General Assembly is not that of the admission of a new Member, but solely a problem of credentials. The

validity of this consistent position has been amply demonstrated through the years, and no argument against full restoration of the legitimate rights of the Government of the People's Republic of China could, in all sincerity, have any grounds whatsoever.

67. The very fact that this item is discussed directly in the General Assembly proves, beyond any doubt, that the Assembly is not admitting a new Member, otherwise, the discussion should, in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter, have started in the Security Council.

68. That very fact, which cannot be denied or ignored by anyone, strengthens our conviction that this is a problem which really does not need too much elaboration. The proper place for the discussion of this item is in the Credentials Committee, and if it were dealt with in that way the Assembly could pronounce itself on the validity or non-validity of the credentials of those who at present occupy the seat of China.

69. That is the real issue before the Assembly, and we firmly believe that the Assembly is not, under the present item, called upon to evaluate the behaviour or misbehaviour, the good or the bad motives, of the representatives of a Member State.

70. China is a founding Member State; mainland China is the real and factual China, and it cannot be argued, in all sincerity, that the representatives of 650 million people cannot be admitted to our midst just because a different man signed the Charter twenty years ago.

71. The fallacy of the argument that admitting the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of China to this Organization would lead to discord rather than accord was answered by almost every speaker who preceded me.

72. It seems very odd indeed that some representatives say that it is not possible to sit with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in New York, under the umbrella of the United Nations, but find it possible to sit and negotiate with the same people behind closed doors elsewhere. In addition, it is untenable to find Member States entering into commercial transactions with China involving colossal sums of money, and exchanging mutual benefits by this means, when here in this world Organization one finds the same people, representing the same Governments, voting against the restoration of the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations.

73. I shall refrain from enumerating all the important questions of an international or regional character whose solution will ultimately depend on the positive and courageous decision of this Assembly to admit the representatives of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The very fact of the increasing number of votes in favour of that decision demonstrates the active nature of this question, and shows how States are becoming more aware of the far-reaching implications of closing the doors of this Organization to the rightful representatives of China.

74. So, this is a very important question—no one can deny it—but its importance does not stem from

^{2/} See document A/5763, sect. IX.

the allegation that it needs a two-thirds majority. Its importance stems from, and is based on, the magnitude of the issue itself, and the purport and political impact of its solution on the future.

75. It is for the future good of this Organization to realize these facts and not to try to overshadow the main issue by resorting to procedural manoeuvres. The procedural aspect of the debate is, in our opinion, the least important. The importance of the issue lies in its grave effect on world peace and international relations and on the solution of urgent issues created by the fact that this abnormal situation has unfortunate consequences in terms of material damage and its effect on human lives.

76. Therefore, if we are really looking for peace and a peaceful solution of these issues, there is no other way than to start to rectify the present situation by admitting the rightful representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

77. For the above reasons, the delegation of the United Arab Republic will support any draft resolution, which may eventually come before this body, which seeks to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations and its organs.

78. Mr. NIMMANHEMINDA (Thailand): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to express to you, on behalf of my delegation, our heartiest joy and happiness upon seeing you back with us again and presiding over this most important deliberation of the world Organization. I should like to add that my delegation would like to see you soon dispense with the use of your crutches altogether, so that you will be hale and hearty once again.

79. The General Assembly once again has under consideration an agenda item which requires the closest and most thorough examination of the problem in all its aspects. We are now engaged in debating an issue the conclusion of which will have far-reaching consequences. We are dealing with a question which vitally affects not only the future and the effectiveness of the United Nations but also the peaceful existence of all nations of the world. Under present world conditions, in which we witness scenes of violence, discord and conflict, the question to which we have to address ourselves is how best to maintain international peace and security. This is indeed one of the primary purposes of the United Nations and is a matter of great importance to all Member States—a fact well recognized by the sponsors of the request for inclusion of this item in the agenda, who specifically point out in the first paragraph of their explanatory memorandum that the question is "of the first importance to the future of the Organization" [A/5971/Add.2, para.1].

80. I should now like to touch briefly on the historical relationship between the peoples of China and Thailand. Our Thai ancestors came from what is now the southern part of China. Our forefathers once lived there side by side with the Chinese, and naturally shared many traits of their ancient civilization and culture. With an ingrained will to live as free men, however, the Thai people began drifting southward

into the river basins of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and, during the thirteenth century, the movement became a large-scale migration which resulted in the regrouping of those people into the Thai nation. From then until the present day, the Kingdom of Thailand has continued to preserve its independence. A lapse of seven centuries has merely separated the Thai and the Chinese peoples physically, but the bonds of traditional friendship and ethnic affinity have not been tampered with by the passage of time.

81. On the basis of the historical relationship between our two peoples and a realistic approach to the question under discussion, we in Thailand therefore have every reason to want to coexist peacefully with our neighbours to the north, who are geographically closer to us than to most of the peoples whose representatives sit in this General Assembly. But, unfortunately, the communist régime which is in control of mainland China and claims to represent the interests of over 600 million souls has shown neither the desire nor the inclination to live harmoniously with its neighbours. It has, in fact, accumulated quite a lengthy record of threats and acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring territories as well as against those lands across the seas which it claims to be "ripe for revolution". As a matter of fact, it appears to us that the Chinese Communists seem to have forgotten the proverb of their own ancient faith, which declared that "within the four seas, all men are brothers". The Chinese Communists' aggressive and expansionist activities are all too apparent in Korea, Laos, Viet-Nam, Tibet and India. Their obsession with violence and war is regrettable and their addiction to the use of force is extremely deplorable.

82. In this connexion, they even had the audacity and, I would say, the temerity to set up and give open support to the preposterous group which calls itself the National Patriotic Front of Thailand, with the stated objective of "liberating" the Thai people. Indeed, one of their leaders—Chen Yi, to be precise—was reported to have said a few months ago that guerrilla warfare would be started in Thailand before the end of the year. We in Thailand, who are proud of our heritage of freedom, have no wish—nor, indeed, any need—to be "liberated". This statement of intention blatantly made by the Chinese Communist leader is tangible evidence of their hunger for control and domination over our part of the world. This line of policy may also be enlightening to some of our friends who think that, because of geographical distance, they may be immune from such insidious activities in their own lands.

83. Such aggressive policies and acts cannot be found in the record of the Government of the Republic of China. Many representatives who have preceded me in the present debate have referred to the fact—an important fact—that the Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations and that its Government has faithfully discharged its obligations and responsibilities as prescribed by the Charter. In addition, that Government is in effective control of over 14,000 square miles—that is, over 35,000 square kilometres—and, as no one can deny, commands the loyalty and the allegiance of over 12 million people who have consistently struggled against being subjected to the

authority of the communist régime on the mainland. What right do we have, then, to take an action which would in effect expel the Republic of China from this Organization? Are we prepared, under the cloak of alleged legality and righteousness to surrender the fate of some 12 million human beings, who fully enjoy their freedom and independence in Taiwan, to a régime on mainland China which has openly and defiantly flouted all the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations? None of us here in the General Assembly can arrogate to himself the right to force these people, against their own wishes, to live under any government. That is the question that each and every one of us must ask himself and find an answer to, in accordance with his own conscience.

84. Let us now turn our attention to the general attitudes of the leaders of Communist China towards some international problems which Member States have viewed with grave concern. As we may recall, Communist China not only did not subscribe to the principles of the partial test ban Treaty but also treated the conclusion of the Treaty with scorn and contempt. In the past few weeks, Member delegations in the First Committee worked hard and laboriously and succeeded in agreeing to a set of guidelines which would govern the negotiations on a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Without one single negative vote, the Committee agreed that Members of the United Nations are

"Convinced that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would endanger the security of all States and make more difficult the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control" [A/6097, para. 9].

and should call upon "the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to give urgent consideration to the question" and to negotiate such a treaty. On the other hand, we see a statement of Mr. Chen Yi, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, at a press conference on 29 September 1965, in which he stated:

"China hopes that Afro-Asian countries will be able to make atom bombs themselves, and it would be better for a greater number of countries to come into possession of atom bombs."

We can conclude only that the Chinese leaders on mainland China again do not agree to the consensus of the Members of the United Nations and in fact advocate openly the idea of proliferation of nuclear weapons. We really doubt that other delegations could interpret Mr. Chen Yi's statement differently.

85. The jingoistic statements of the Communist Chinese leaders provide ample evidence of their unwillingness to "fulfil in good faith the obligations" in accordance with the Charter. They do not "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state". In addition, how can we be sure that they will "give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the ... Charter"?

86. The insults and abusive language they have seen fit to heap upon the United Nations and its Secretary-

General can find no parallel in the history of the world Organization. Are we, none the less, in all seriousness prepared to reward such hostile acts and help to whet their appetites for greater power? The conditions which they have attached to their entry into the United Nations are, to say the least, unreasonable, unusual and uncalled for. No country, big or small, has a right to dictate to the United Nations or its Members, and we must not allow ourselves, either explicitly or implicitly, to support measures which will have the effect of punishing a Member State which has always been able and willing to carry out its obligations under the Charter and at the same time of rewarding a régime which has made a mockery of the United Nations and its principles.

87. Many delegations here in this Assembly that advocate the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have listed several arguments in support of their contention. Some say that the principle of universality must be put into practice. These delegations perhaps overlook or have decided to overlook the fact that this principle of universality would be enforced at the expense of one Member Government presently sitting with us. Others reason that one cannot ignore or disregard the existence of a Government in control of 600 million people. With due respect, my delegation wishes to inform the Assembly that we in Thailand are also plainly aware of the existence of such a régime on mainland China. As a matter of fact, we are even more acutely aware of it than most of the peoples represented here. We indeed cannot afford to ignore the existence of such a régime and the aggressive and expansionist policies it has been pursuing with vigour and deadly determination. It is, on the contrary, our duty to watch its movement and activities in our land closely, or else our very existence and freedom would be in danger of being obliterated.

88. We have also heard, in the course of the present debate, that no meaningful talks on either peace in Viet-Nam or control of arms can take place without Communist China at the conference table. The Thai delegation has no quarrel with that thesis. What we should like to ask further is: who is stopping it from going to the conference table? On the Viet-Nam issue, the Chinese Communist leaders have repeatedly spurned all the efforts of peace-loving countries as well as those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to reach a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam problem. Their intransigent stand and uncompromising posture in this regard have been consistently demonstrated by words and deeds. Their ultimate objective in South Viet-Nam is clear and unequivocal. They want to impose a régime of their own choosing on the people of South Viet-Nam. They have not so far indicated a desire or shown a willingness to accept anything which is less than complete domination of all Viet-Nam. They know that if they choose to respond positively to the plea for unconditional negotiations there would be no obstacles to peaceful settlement of the problem. What is lacking is not a forum but a desire for peace.

89. As for the desirability of the Chinese Communists' participation in the disarmament talks, they have shown total disregard for world public opinion by carrying out explosions of their own atomic de-

vices. Yet we do not despair, and, when the question of holding a world disarmament conference comes up for consideration in the First Committee next week, my delegation would express no objection to Communist China's being a participant when the world conference is held. We shall then be able to see if they are willing to renounce their national objectives which are incompatible with the basic and general thinking of the overwhelming majority of Member nations on the important question of general and complete disarmament.

90. The United Nations is not a reformatory. Nor is it a laboratory where political scientists engage in experiments. We cannot risk a possible explosion, for it will have grave consequences for the peace and security of the whole world. Communist China's general behaviour and attitude towards international problems are in themselves natural barriers against its being accepted into a community of peaceful nations. The onus, therefore, is on the leaders of Communist China to prove the contrary by revising their aims and practices. Without such evidence and an acceptable formula regarding the legitimate rights of the Republic of China in the United Nations, my delegation has no other alternative but to voice our opposition to the attempt to usher Communist China into our midst.

91. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland): Last Monday the General Assembly began the debate on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. For fifteen years this problem has been on the agenda of our sessions; for fifteen years the General Assembly has failed to draw the obvious conclusions from the existence of the Chinese People's Republic.

92. I submit that there is not a single delegation in this hall, the delegation of the United States not excluded, which can have any doubt as to who is the real and true representative of the Chinese people. And yet, year after year, artificial and fictitious arguments have been advanced—arguments which do injustice to the dignity and wisdom of this Assembly—against what is the obvious and only possible decision.

93. Throughout the last fifteen years, we have been going from crisis to crisis. Still fresh in our memories is last year's deadlock in the work of the General Assembly which almost completely paralysed the activities of the United Nations. Those who created that crisis, from which our Organization is still slowly trying to recover, maintain today a constant source of more profound crisis; perhaps even more far-reaching in its dangerous effects, by unrealistically insisting upon closing the doors of the United Nations to People's China.

94. Let us be frank. During the past years each delegation, when discussing and deciding important issues, had to bear in mind the existence and the attitudes of the Chinese People's Republic, even though the representatives of that Government have been absent from our councils. We know that as long as that absence lasts, our debates will be incomplete, our decisions will be not fully representative and our work on world security and disarmament will be not fully representative and our work on world security and disarmament will be not fully effective. The empty

seat of China today constitutes the obvious weakness of our Organization. For in these troublesome days, with many unresolved problems, the United Nations must more than ever reflect the world as it really is. There is no use in pretending, to use the words of an eminent American jurist, John Bassett Moore, "that events which happened have not in fact come to pass".

95. The Chinese revolution put an end to the feudal division of the country and its semi-colonial dependence on imperialist Powers. It eliminated the age-old backwardness imposed upon the great Chinese people by their own feudal masters and by foreign interventionists. For the first time in modern times, China could take its proper place among the nations, nations whose culture and civilization have been so remarkably enriched throughout millenia by the Chinese people.

96. The People's Republic of China embarked upon a road of the most dynamic and impressive social and economic development. Within a short time, it acquired modern technology. It has become an atomic Power. No important international issue, especially in Asia, can be fully and successfully resolved without People's China. This fact has been acknowledged by many in the United Nations and in other world assemblies.

97. The principles of justice and international law, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the urgent need for a solution of today's conflicts in the interest of peace, have made it imperative that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should occupy their rightful place in the United Nations and its organs. With every year that has passed, the debates have proved that no legal, no logical and no political arguments can be validly involved to bar the way to the lawful representation of China.

98. In this changing world of ours, the transformation of political systems or forms of government occurs quite frequently. Nobody would maintain, however, that such changes might affect the status of a State as a subject of international law. The only valid criterion for the representation of a State in an international organization of which that State is a member are credentials emanating from its Government. In fact, a careful student of the subject will find that more than 150 cases of revolutionary changes of government, whatever their character, have occurred within Member States of the United Nations within the last twenty years. In each case, the representatives of new Governments always assumed the seats that belonged to their countries in the United Nations. In each case it was a procedural issue, decided by a procedural resolution and adopted by a simple majority. Was there ever a pre-condition of recognition applied in these cases? We know that there was not. We find in the United Nations quite a number of Members that have no diplomatic relations with one another and do not recognize one another.

99. What is more, often—I should say too often—Members, in the history of this Organization, have found themselves in armed conflict with each other. Yet this did not prevent them from being represented in this world body. On the contrary, their membership and presence here made it possible to bring

their conflicts from the battlefield to the conference table.

100. Painful and humiliating as it might be for our Organization, a different practice, a practice without precedent, has been applied in relation to the representation of People's China. Is it therefore surprising that long years of discrimination could have undermined the trust in the United Nations on the part of those subjected to that discrimination?

101. For fifteen years, the United States has been preventing the United Nations from becoming what it was meant to be: a truly universal Organization. Only its tactics varied; sometimes procedural motions were used to circumvent the main issue, sometimes blunt pressure was applied. But always there was the stubborn determination to block China from entering the United Nations, whatever the cost might be to the Organization and to the world itself. For the truth is that United States opposition to representation by the People's Republic of China is motivated solely by hostility towards the political, economic and social system of that country. Last Monday, 8 November [1369th meeting], at the very beginning of this debate, the United States representative demonstrated that attitude again by levelling, with new vehemence, unfounded and irrelevant accusations against People's China. These have been refuted in the past and we strongly reject them today.

102. But the issue which we are discussing now is not whether the policies of some countries please another. Is it not true that many of us here do not share the same political views? Indeed, this Organization has, from the outset, been intended as a meeting ground for diverse political systems and for resolving differences and conflicts. On many problems we are deeply divided in this hall, but no State can claim a right to prevent another from being represented here on the sole ground that it disagrees with its policies. Self-righteousness is bad counsel, particularly if practised by those whose own record is so gravely stained.

103. It is the United States which is occupying part of China's territory, which is preventing by force the reunification of Taiwan with its motherland, which violates China's airspace and has established military bases around it, sending hundreds of thousands of troops into areas bordering the Chinese People's Republic. It is the United States which has violated the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China of 1954, which is continuing open aggression against the Viet-Nameese people, mercilessly bombing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, carrying on a ruthless war against the population of South Viet-Nam and preventing it from exercising its right to self-determination and from freely deciding its own fate. It has been the United States which has attempted to encircle China, and not vice versa. The United States is continuing its attempts to isolate China and what is more, to impose that policy on this Organization while, at the same time, the United States Government has established and continues to maintain direct contacts with representatives of the People's Republic of China.

104. The time has come to put an end to the present untenable situation. Those who occupy China's seat

have no place here for they represent no one. There is only one Chinese State and only one Government of China: the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. It is only that Government which has the right, here and elsewhere, to represent the Chinese State, including Taiwan. The sooner this is done the better for our Organization, for the presence of the People's Republic of China in our midst will not only do justice to its rights, it will enhance and strengthen the role of the United Nations in the world. It will add a new meaning to our disarmament negotiations; it will pave the way to mutually acceptable solutions which will be applicable all over the world. For no one can expect that a great country, and especially a nuclear Power, will unreservedly accept decisions adopted without its active participation.

105. The presence of People's China will also open up new dimensions in the social and economic activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It will create conditions for truly universal application of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, of the treaties and conventions concluded under the auspices of these bodies which, at the present time, remain but a dead letter with regard to an important part of our globe.

106. Poland raises its voice in favour of the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Let the United Nations, acting in its true interests, put an end to the abnormal situation which is becoming ever more absurd. After fifteen years of delay, we should solve this problem in the interests of the United Nations, of international co-operation, of peace.

107. We strongly urge all other delegations to join us in a common effort to take definite action to this end during the present session of the General Assembly.

108. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, joining ten other delegations in calling for the discussion once again of the question of the restoration of its lawful rights to the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, has sought to contribute to putting an end to an illegal and abnormal situation, the continuation of which seriously defeats the very purposes of the Charter and paralyzes all endeavours to establish international peace and security.

109. Here is a great Power, the largest in the world in size and population; deprived of its legitimate seat in the United Nations simply because another great Power believes it not in its interest to have the voice of 650 million Chinese heard in the United Nations. Yet, reckoning with the facts of power, the Charter, from its inception, allotted China the position of a great Power commensurate with its important role in international relations. This position, in law and in reality, now stands greatly enhanced. Suffice it to say that the People's Republic of China is one of the nuclear Powers and that disarmament—the greatest problem facing the United Nations and, for that matter, the whole of mankind—cannot be achieved without the active participation of this nuclear Power.

110. A change of régime which took place sixteen years ago, and to which a small section of the population, backed by foreign instigation and interference, is opposed, is the sole concern of the Chinese people and does not affect in any way the entity of the State and its absolute sovereignty. International law, by theory and practice, has established quite clear and definite rules in this respect. To advocate the perpetuation of a flagrant wrong inflicted on the United Nations is to disregard international law, to flout the rule of law which is so frequently invoked here and which must prevail in international society. Yet time and again a pile of artificial, heterogeneous and altogether irrelevant arguments is brought forth to give someone's likes and dislikes the semblance of a tenable legal stand. The conditions of admission to the United Nations are eloquently dwelt upon, as though China—a founding Member of the United Nations, a signatory to the Charter, one of the five recognized great Powers—needed to be admitted. The fact remains that the absence of the true and legitimate representatives of that great Power has been imposed on this Assembly in contravention to the rule of law.

111. Now the belief is echoed that the People's Republic of China is not bent on international co-operation and rejects negotiations. Apart from the fallacy of such assertions, was not the United Nations created for the very purpose of affording solid possibilities of international co-operation among all sovereign States, no matter what their régimes or ideologies? Was not the United Nations set up to make possible the initiation of contacts for the hammering out of solutions to arduous problems? For what reason, therefore, is the door slammed in the face of the representatives of the People's Republic of China?

112. But, we are warned, the People's Republic of China is an advocate of revolution. What a great discovery indeed. Is not the whole developing world in the full swing of revolution against the inferior status to which it has been subjected for so long, for so many centuries? Why should it be denied the possibility of breaking its chains and emerging from under the heels of imperialism?

113. The process of intention waged, in absentia, against the People's Republic of China goes on to dwell upon what that country would or would not do once its representatives were seated amongst us. But is it not an elementary rule that as was stated by the representative of Kenya, each Member State is accountable for its acts before the organs of the United Nations? Why, then, exaggerate imaginary fears and belittle the factual guarantees which we possess?

114. Similarly, in a renewed attempt to confuse the issue further, we have heard this exclamation from this rostrum: how is it that in this court the advocates are present and the plaintiffs are absent! That fantastic exclamation was coupled with a question: have the solicitors received a clear mandate from the plaintiff? The spokesman in question meant by "court" this Assembly; by "solicitors", the delegations which have presented the item; and by "plaintiff", the People's Republic of China.

115. This question should, however, be put first: who told the representative in question that we are acting as solicitors for the People's Republic of China? When we maintain that the absence of that great Power presents our Organization with a striking and serious defect, are we not stating the truth? Of course we are. And we are calling for the correction of that defect, not so much for the benefit of the People's Republic of China as for the sake of this Organization, which we wish to see truly universal, truly capable of laying foundations for peace that have the widest applicability.

116. At this juncture of international relations—when the nuclear race is at its apex and when the least that can be said of the conflagration presently taking place in South-East Asia is that it involves, apart from other victims, 200,000 soldiers brought from another continent—we submit that it is high time, not for metaphors and polemics, but for the serious consideration of every means to ameliorate the threatening international situation. It is in that spirit that we have co-authored this request, and it is in that spirit that we appeal for the redress of a perturbed balance.

117. The soul of the innocent Mr. Laporte, sacrificed at the doorstep of this Organization, and of Mr. Morrison before him, should serve as a reminder to us all to face our heavy responsibilities to the torn conscience of mankind.

118. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations is once again before the General Assembly. This year the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is once again being fiercely opposed by the United States of America, as it has been every year since 1949.

119. The arguments of the United States representative, although presented with the customary skill of an eminent jurist and statesman, have convinced no one, except, of course, those who had decided in advance to allow themselves to be convinced. That is not surprising. These arguments, although presented in a new guise, are borrowed from the old arsenal accumulated during the past sixteen years and are in flagrant contradiction with historical development and contemporary realities. It is quite clear that such arguments cannot stand up to those realities and to the test of time.

120. According to Mr. Goldberg, the United States representative, one of the reasons why the United States Government opposes the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is that China lays down as a condition for its entrance the expulsion from the United Nations of the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. But how can lawful rights be restored without expelling the thief who has fraudulently usurped them? Even for a Justice of the Supreme Court, such an operation would be impossible, unless, of course, he were a magician.

121. Mr. Goldberg then continued with a stubborn defence of the Chiang Kai-shek régime, seeking to show that that régime exercised control over a

territory larger than that of at least eighteen States Members of the United Nations and over a population of 12 million, which exceeds that of at least eighty-three (that is, more than two-thirds) Member States. He thus takes the liberty of comparing the Chiang Kai-shek clique to the majority of Members of the United Nations, which possess national sovereignty and independence. This presentation of the case is, of course, designed to introduce the "two Chinas" theory, which has met with a certain response here.

122. Hearing the United States argument, one is entitled to ask who, in fact, is laying down conditions for the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. Is it the People's Republic of China? Is it not rather the United States, which is seeking to gain acceptance for the "two Chinas" theory, thus intervening in that country's domestic affairs? No matter how attractive it may be to some, that theory, formulated with the aim of overcoming the artificial obstacles raised by the United States to the solution of the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of China is not valid. In the past, the colonialists succeeded in dividing certain countries and subjugating them to their will, but times have changed and furthermore such an experiment could never succeed with China, which is a great Power of the Asian continent.

123. It would be quite natural for a country like China to criticize an Organization which has hitherto sought to ignore it. But it is the United States which is laying down conditions for China's entry into the United Nations, asking us purely and simply to agree to the division of China. This theory is so unnatural that it has been rejected even by the puppet government of Chiang Kai-shek. The fact is that there is only one China, and Taiwan is an integral part of it. Furthermore, that is attested to by two international documents signed by the United States over twenty years ago: the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945.

124. Another argument advanced by the United States representative against the restoration of China's lawful rights is, apparently, that that country is not a peace-loving State and consequently does not fulfil the necessary conditions for United Nations membership. All misunderstandings on this question should, however, be dispelled. China is not a State which must now be considered a candidate for admission to the United Nations; it is a founding Member of the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. The second fact which immediately comes to mind is that if we begin to take the actions of Member States into consideration and to judge whether or not they should remain Members, there are many which should have been expelled long ago, beginning with the United States.

125. It is not China which has sent its troops to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries, but the United States. It is not China's troops which have been sent to the Dominican Republic to impose on the Dominican people a Government they do not want, but those of the United States. It is not the People's Republic of China which has sent troops to exterminate the population of South Viet-Nam and bomb the territory of the Democratic Republic

of Viet-Nam. It is not Chinese troops who are stationed in many parts of the world on various pretexts, but United States troops, who occupy bases in many foreign countries. Lastly, it is not China which is intervening in the domestic affairs of the United States, but rather the latter which is intervening in the domestic affairs of China by trying to present the puppet Government of Taiwan, which is financed by the United States and supported by United States troops, as the representative of China.

126. Such a situation cannot last for long. The world is aware that China must participate in the work of the United Nations if the latter is to operate normally. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that, of all the permanent members of the Security Council, only one—the United States—is opposed to the restoration of China's lawful rights. The fact that the United Nations is unable to find lasting and effective solutions to certain problems is due in large measure to China's absence. The Security Council does not operate normally in the absence of one of its founding Members, China. The proposal to convene a disarmament conference, put forward in the Cairo Declaration by the non-aligned States in October 1964,^{3/} results from the fact that China is excluded from the United Nations and cannot take part in the disarmament discussions. It is easy to see that the efforts made by the United Nations to solve the disarmament problem, however praiseworthy they may be, will never achieve final success so long as China cannot participate in the discussion of this important question. The very fact that the United States and the other Powers which participated in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 on various questions relating to South-East Asia were obliged to invite China to participate in those conferences speaks clearly in favour of the restoration of that country's lawful rights in the United Nations.

127. China's absence from the United Nations certainly does not facilitate the settlement of all the outstanding questions. It is indeed difficult to imagine how certain very important questions relating to South-East Asia and the Asian continent as a whole can be settled without China's participation.

128. There is no doubt that the work of the United Nations will be seriously handicapped so long as China does not participate. An attempt has been made to impress delegations by invoking the difficulties which China's presence would certainly create. But these difficulties exist. They are the result of contemporary realities and will not disappear simply because they are ignored by the United Nations. On the contrary, the latter must face them if it is to remain faithful to the Charter and to the goals it has set itself. The United Nations does not exist to avoid difficulties by refusing to see them, but to confront and overcome them.

129. With each day that passes, it becomes increasingly clear that the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations is inevitable. It is a question which must be settled, and settled immediately. To seek to delay the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations is to try

^{3/} See document A/5763, sect. VII.

to create new obstacles to the solution of the important problems of our age. That may seem advantageous to those who benefit from the tensions engendered and from the existing conflicts. On the other hand, it is inadmissible and dangerous for the United Nations and for world peace.

130. As in the past, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is in favour of the immediate restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. Our delegation appeals to all those who have so far hesitated to

reconsider their attitude and adopt a realistic position with regard to the question of the restoration of China's lawful rights. In voting in favour of the restoration of those rights, they will not only render a great service to the United Nations, which will then be able to concentrate all its efforts on solving the urgent problems of our time, but they will also contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.