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*President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).*

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)\***

**FOURTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE  
(A/7250/ADD.3)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends the inclusion of the following additional item in the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly: "Enlargement of the Committee on Contributions". It further recommends that the item be considered in the Fifth Committee. Does any member wish to speak? Since that does not appear to be the case, the Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the General Committee which is to be found in paragraph 2 of its report [A/7250/Add.3]. If I hear no objection, may I take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendation of the General Committee concerning the inclusion and allocation of the item entitled: "Enlargement of the Committee on Contributions"?

*It was so decided.*

**AGENDA ITEM 93**

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

2. Mr. NOAMAN (Southern Yemen): Allow me, Sir, at the outset, in the name of the Southern Yemen delegation, to welcome back amongst us our President, Mr. Arenales. We are very happy to see that he has fully recovered, and that he has resumed with great success the high position which has been entrusted to him by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. I should like also to express our

\* Resumed from the 1709th meeting.

gratitude to the Secretary-General who has kept us periodically informed about the state of the President's health during his medical absence.

3. Since 1949 the United Nations has been discussing the question of the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China". It is not a secret today that the People's Republic of China would have long ago assumed its position as a founding Member of the United Nations had it not been for the adamant position persistently maintained by the United States of America. The Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen strongly believes in the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. Inherent in those principles is the concept of universality. I should like here to reiterate the statement made by the Chairman of the Southern Yemen delegation, Mr. Uqba. In his statement in the general debate of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, he said with regard to the concept of universality: "The family of nations will not be complete without the membership and active participation of the People's Republic of China in the affairs of the world community." [1701st meeting, para. 143.] It is for that reason that the Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen supports the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

5. It is well known that China was one of the great Powers committed to the Moscow Declaration of 30 October 1943. Those Powers were later joined by France and became the permanent members of the United Nations that crystallized after the San Francisco Conference. China was then recognized to be a great Power, not because of the personal traits and qualities of its then political leader, but rather because of the great potential it possesses in human, economic and military resources. The criterion of recognizing a State and not an individual to be represented in international organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations has been universal and unquestionable. There is no basis whatsoever on which to justify Chiang Kai-shek representing the State of China. It is no less ludicrous to maintain that the so-called Republic of China represents China at the United Nations. The so-called Republic of China is nothing but an offshore island province of China, called Taiwan, and is composed of merely about 1.5 per cent of the total population of China. It is illogical to maintain that Taiwan in itself represents the whole State of China. In comparative terms this would be equivalent to saying that the Kuria Muria islands represent Southern Yemen or the Isle of Man represents the United Kingdom—which we all know is not the case. It is for that reason that the Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen maintains that the People's Republic of China is the true and legitimate representative of China.

6. It has been mentioned from this rostrum by various speakers with varying degrees of conviction and often with great eloquence, that the People's Republic of China, if admitted to the United Nations, will not carry out the responsibility bestowed upon it by the Charter of the United Nations. This allegation is also often bolstered by quoting what are called "the bellicose utterances of its leaders, notably Chairman Mao Tse-tung". These allegations are, however, far from the truth. The quotations used to support this allegation of bellicosity are quoted at random and/or out of context. As has been more eloquently said by some preceding speakers, Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"<sup>1</sup> maintained that China's revolutionary war, whether civil or national, applied to the specific environment and circumstances of China; and that it was different from wars and revolutionary wars in general.

7. As a demonstration of its responsibility towards the community of nations, the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China was despatched to the United Nations to seek representation in 1949, and several cablegrams were sent to that effect by its Head of State. The People's Republic of China also abided by most of the moral and humanitarian resolutions of the United Nations. The People's Republic of China always sought the resolution of disputes by peaceful means; its scrupulous observance of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 was the best possible example of that policy. It also desired peaceful coexistence with all countries on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and always expressed support for peoples struggling against colonialism. The People's Republic of China does not maintain any sort of relations with the archaic Portuguese colonialists nor with the racist Pretoria régime of South Africa. It has also condemned the racist clique of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia.

8. It is also well known that the People's Republic of China does not maintain military bases or troops beyond its national boundaries. It is paradoxical to note that some of the countries that champion the opposition to restoring the People's Republic of China to the United Nations do not themselves abide by the United Nations resolutions. They are also the main trading partners of the racist Pretoria régime in South Africa. Above all, they are still waging a brutal and genocidal war against the people of Viet-Nam with an occupation army of about half a million equipped with the most destructive weapons on earth.

9. Regardless of the truth or falsity of the allegations against the People's Republic of China, the scrutiny and the qualifying tests that are being imposed would have been understandable if the records of this assembly of nations were free from every blemish. As is well known to us, this is not the case, and it is hypocritical to pretend that it is or that it will be within the foreseeable future.

10. The Israeli aggression of June 1967 against the Arab States is still fresh in our minds. The obstinate and sarcastic attitudes manifested by the authorities of Israel in Tel-Aviv with regard to the United Nations resolutions on the Palestinian refugees and Jerusalem and the 22 November 1967 resolution [242 (1967)] on the Middle East are just

<sup>1</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1965), vol. I, pp. 179-254.

an example of a "State" that has been created by the United Nations itself. The adamant position of South Africa in practising *apartheid* and remaining in Namibia in spite of numerous United Nations resolutions is but another example. The list is long, and I need not go into detail. It is these States that should be out of the assembly of nations, not the People's Republic of China.

11. Two ex-ambassadors of the United States have addressed themselves to the mystique of the Chinese menace to world peace. Ex-Ambassador Reischauer said that the United States Government had over-estimated China's strength and menace to its neighbours and to United States interests. Ex-Ambassador Ball goes even further in condemning his Government. I would ask you to permit me to quote him. He says:

"It is, I think, undignified for the United States, holding as it does a unique position of prestige and responsibility, to employ its political muscle to perpetuate a myth in which no other nation believes, and we have paid in hard political coin for our sponsorship of the Nationalist régime. We have made concessions in foreign aid and less tangible media to governments that did not merit them, simply to gain their vote in the General Assembly, and we have brought pressure on our friends in a manner embarrassing both to them and to us. In short, our position of lonely champion for an unpopular cause has given our Far Eastern policy a slightly crankish appearance. Tied to a myth that has lost whatever romantic flavour it might once have had, we have . . . been the main enemy of the Red Chinese government in Peking."<sup>2</sup>

12. In conclusion, permit me to state the position of my Government with regard to the three draft resolutions concerning the subject under discussion. I shall take first the draft resolution offered by Italy and four other co-sponsors as contained in document A/L.550. This draft resolution reaffirms the universality principle of the United Nations. Beyond that, however, it falls short of any substantive proposal. It calls for a special committee of Member States to further study the question of the representation of China. That is not new in itself, as such a committee was created at the early stages of the discussion of this question, that is, in 1950 [resolution 490 (V)]. However, it was short-lived and did not bring any fruitful results. At this late stage in the discussion of this question, such a committee would only be conducive to further premeditated delays in solving the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In our view the question of the representation of China is clear, has been widely discussed and does not need further investigation. For these reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen opposes this proposal and will vote against it.

13. I now come to A/L.548 and Add.1, sponsored by the United States and thirteen other countries. This draft resolution has been virtually the same for the last seven years. In worn-out procedural quibblings and ambiguous language the question of the representation of China was labelled an "important question", and hence a decision in the General Assembly with regard to the matter would

<sup>2</sup> George Ball, *The Discipline of Power* (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1968), p. 182.

require a two-thirds majority. Article 18 of the Charter has been freely twisted by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution to suit their own ends, whereas in the past a decision of this sort, under the invoked rules of procedure, was invariably made by majority rule. The Southern Yemen delegation objects categorically to procedural manoeuvres; we cannot but be guided by the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly which regard such a question as one to be decided by simple majority. We shall, therefore, vote against such a proposal, as it is unconstitutional and seeks to establish a discriminatory procedure.

14. Finally, I come to the draft resolution [*A/L.549 and Add.1*] sponsored by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, Southern Yemen, the Sudan, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen and Zambia. This draft resolution provides the only fair, equitable and reasonable solution. It calls for the restoration of all the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. That is why my delegation has co-sponsored it, and we urge every delegation, irrespective of its political beliefs and convictions, to vote for it. This session gives an opportunity once again to the Members of the United Nations to free themselves from any foreign pressures by voting of their own free will. If they do so, one can sincerely believe the statement often repeated from this rostrum that the United Nations is the reflection of the will of its Members.

15. Mr. ÅSTRÖM (Sweden): The position of the Swedish delegation on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is as follows. Early in 1950 the Swedish Government recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the lawful Government of China. Diplomatic relations were established. Our attitude as it was then defined implies that we consider the Government of the People's Republic of China alone to be entitled to exercise the membership of China in the United Nations. We have consistently voted in accordance therewith when the matter of the representation of China has been brought up in the General Assembly of the United Nations. We shall at this session vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1 and against the other two draft resolutions.

16. It is our belief that if the United Nations is ultimately to become capable of serving effectively and on a universal scale as the main instrument for furthering the cause of international peace and security, the participation of the People's Republic of China on the basis of sovereign equality and the recognition of common rights and obligations under the Charter is one of the prerequisites. In particular we believe that to be true in respect of the pressing issue of disarmament, as well as in view of the role that the United Nations will, we hope, be able to play for the stabilization of the situation in South-East Asia when the war in Viet-Nam has been brought to an end.

17. Mr. LIU CHIEH (China): We have almost reached the end of this debate. I deem it necessary at the present stage to take the floor for a second time in order to clarify certain basic issues and to reply to some statements made in the course of the debate, as well as to state our views on the draft resolutions.

18. For some years the leading spokesmen for the Chinese Communists in the United Nations have been Albania, Cambodia and a few others. Albania, as is well known, is the pariah of the communist world; it is Peiping's mouth-piece. What it has to say is no more than an echo of the master's voice. It is not surprising that the statement made by the representative of Albania was not so much a reasoned argument for the seating of Peiping as an impassioned indictment of what he calls "United States imperialism" and "Soviet revisionism".

19. Cambodia subsists in the shadow of both Peiping and Hanoi. Its Chief of State, Prince Sihanouk, has not been unaware of the threat posed by the Chinese Communists to his own country. "I have never had the slightest illusion", he once said, "on the fate that awaits me at the hands of the Communists, as well as that which is reserved for my Government". That is what the Prince really thinks in his lucid moments. Only a few days ago he reiterated to the press that he would to see American presence remain in South-East Asia, even after the end of the Viet-Nam war, to maintain a balance of power in the area.

20. Again to quote the Prince's own words, as reported in *The New York Times* of Sunday, 17 November 1968: "If the United States pulls out of the region, the weight of China will be too great for the small countries of South-East Asia to bear. They would all become Maoized. It is useless for me to resist Mao . . ." (Mao Tse-tung)—"We would all be killed for nothing." The Prince added: "They wanted us to refuse American aid and we refuse it." Obviously the representative of Cambodia could not have been serious when he declared that Cambodia had never suffered "any military or other pressure" from Peiping.

21. The representatives of Albania, Cambodia and other pro-Peiping countries have time and again made slanderous attacks against the Government of the Republic of China. I do not intend to go into a detailed analysis of the fallacies, distortions and misrepresentations which they have seen fit to perpetrate. I do, however, reject emphatically the libellous charge that Taiwan is under the occupation of the United States. The Government of the Republic of China, in the exercise of its sovereign prerogative, is free to enter into alliances with any country it chooses. We owe apology to no one.

22. As the legally constituted Government of China based on Chinese soil, that Government commands the allegiance of all Chinese, both on the mainland and elsewhere. It is the only Government that can give expression to the authentic wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people, speak in their name, as well as in their interest, and bring to bear their peace-loving traditions as an important influence in the council of nations.

23. The Republic of China has earned its place in the United Nations, not as a militarily powerful nation but by virtue of its contributions to the cause of freedom and democracy during the Second World War. For ten of the fourteen years of the war of resistance against the forces of aggression, it fought single-handed and alone, without allies and with little outside assistance. When the war which had started in China developed into a global conflict, the Government of the Republic of China became one of the

principal allies which signed the Declaration of the United Nations. It was due to the steadfastness of purpose of our people, the far-sightedness and unflagging courage of our leadership and close co-operation with our allies that the war in Asia was finally won.

24. We of the Republic of China looked beyond the victory. We envisaged the day when men would be able to live in peace under the rule of world law. We took an active part in the Dumbarton Oaks talks and in the San Francisco Conference which brought the United Nations into being.

25. It is, of course, true that the mainland of China has for some years been under communist occupation. But that does not give the Communists any right to represent the Chinese people in international forums. It simply means that the civil war in China has not yet ended. The communist régime—in cultural identification, social structures and political objectives and strategies—is so radically alien to the China which participated in the founding of the United Nations that it can in no sense be regarded as representative of the great Chinese nation.

26. On the other hand, the Government of the Republic of China that participated in the San Francisco Conference is the same Government of the Republic of China on whose behalf I am speaking today. There has been no break in the continuity of leadership, institutions and policy. Its legal status has not changed. The fact that communist rebels are in occupation of the mainland does not affect that legal status. In the eyes of all Chinese, including those on the Chinese mainland, that Government remains the legally constituted Government of China. It represents the spirit of the Chinese nation. It is the rallying point for the fight to regain freedom for the masses of the Chinese people. Its rightful position in the United Nations is unchallengeable.

27. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of China has, both in his statement in the general debate [1703rd meeting] and in his statement on the item under discussion [1711th meeting], marshalled the facts and data, showing beyond any doubt that the communist régime is in the process of disintegration and has lost effective control of the Chinese mainland. He further demonstrated that the communist régime is a negation of all the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. The representatives of many lands, including representatives of African and Asian countries which had at one time entered into diplomatic relations with Peiping, have corroborated my Foreign Minister's contention that the Chinese communist régime is a promoter of insurgency and social unrest and has continued to maintain a hostile and aggressive attitude to the countries that have gone out of the way to befriend it.

28. It is incredible, therefore, that some representatives, while conceding Peiping's record of aggression, should year after year use the stock argument of universality to justify their support of Peiping's admission. Let me say at once that we of the Chinese delegation have no quarrel with the principle of universality if it is properly interpreted: indeed, in the Confucian school of political thought the ultimate goal of human progress is the establishment of a universal society, or a "great commonwealth", in which all nations live in good faith and in harmonious relationship with one

another. But we do not believe that universality, however desirable it may be, is an end in itself; nor is it expressly provided in the Charter as an essential goal of the United Nations. Nor do we believe that the principle of universality can be mechanically applied as a guideline for membership in the United Nations. If mechanical universality had been intended by the founders of our Organization, Articles 4, 5 and 6 would not have been written into the Charter, specifying conditions for admission, suspension or expulsion of Members.

29. In our view, the principle of universality should not be so interpreted as to serve the interests of those who are openly committed to the use of force, in defiance of the basic principles of the Charter. In fact, it is precisely for the purpose of resisting and suppressing such dark forces of aggression as are exemplified by the Chinese Communists that the United Nations was organized as an instrument of collective security.

30. Strange as it may seem, universality has also been invoked by the representative of the Soviet Union. In this connexion it may be pertinent to recall that more than thirty years ago, at a meeting of the League of Nations, the then Soviet representative, Maxim Litvinov, thrilled the world with a speech in which he stressed the incompatibility between the so-called principle of universality and collective security against aggression. Ethiopia, which was then known as Abyssinia, had just been taken over by Mussolini and the League had succumbed to the policy of appeasement. Mr. Litvinov rose to speak on 1 July 1936. Because of the extraordinary relevance of Mr. Litvinov's poignant words to the debate in which the present Assembly has been engaged for more than a week, I take the liberty of quoting it at length.

31. Mr. Litvinov began his speech on a note of righteous indignation:

"We have met here to complete a page in the history of the League of Nations, a page in the history of international life, which it will be impossible for us to read without a feeling of bitterness."

He continued with these memorable words:

"I say that we don't need a League which, with all its universality, is safe for aggressors, since such a League, from an instrument of peace, will turn into its very opposite.

"...

"It is not the Covenant which we have to degrade but people whom we have to educate and bring up to the level of its lofty ideas. We must strive for the universality of the League, but not make it safe for the aggressor for the sake of that universality. On the contrary, every new Member, every old Member wishing to return to it, must read over the doorway, 'All hope of aggression with impunity abandon, ye who enter here'."<sup>3</sup>

32. Members of the League failed to heed Mr. Litvinov's warning and the League was soon thrown into the dust-bin of history. If we today sacrifice the principles and purposes of the Charter on the altar of universality, the United Nations is destined to go the way of the League of Nations.

<sup>3</sup> League of Nations, *Official Journal, Special Supplement No. 151 (1936)*, 20th plenary meeting, pp. 35 and 37.

33. It seems to my delegation that the kind of goodwill and generosity shown by India, Indonesia and other Asian countries is no defence against the fanaticism and militancy of Mao Tse-tung and his gang. This policy of appeasement will not bring "mutual co-operation" and "peace and security" to South-East Asia; it will only whet the appetite of the aggressor. In all sincerity I say to my fellow Asian representatives in this Assembly that the fate of the Republic of China is bound up with the rest of Asia and that we are in the same boat and fighting for a common cause. What is true and vital for Asia is equally so for Africa and other areas vulnerable to Chinese Communist subversion and infiltration. Let us therefore take courage and bar the Chinese Communist régime from the United Nations.

34. Allow me now to turn briefly to the draft resolutions before the Assembly. Draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, submitted by Australia and thirteen other Powers, reaffirms the previous decisions of the Assembly that, in accordance with Article 18 of the Charter, any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question and requires a two-thirds majority. This is so self-evident that it is superfluous for me to add anything to what has already been said with so much lucidity and eloquence by the sponsors of the draft resolution. I therefore urge the Assembly to give the draft resolution its unqualified approval.

35. Draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1, sponsored by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia and others, has the effrontery to call for the expulsion of the representatives of my Government and their replacement by the Chinese Communists. My delegation has already made it clear that to support this draft resolution is to negate all the principles and purposes for which the United Nations stands. Obviously it should be rejected, as in previous sessions, by a decisive majority.

36. There prevails a basic misconception about the whole question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. That misconception is even shared by some of the delegations which have consistently upheld the rightful position of my Government in the Organization. This is the belief, or rather the mistaken belief, that Members of the Assembly are obliged to find some sort of compromise solution to the so-called question of Chinese representation. This has led the delegations of Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg—countries with which we have maintained the friendliest of relations—to sponsor for the third time a draft resolution [A/L.550] calling for the creation of an *ad hoc* committee to study and explore the situation.

37. For our part, the very idea of study and exploration is repugnant. It seems to us that the issues involved in the so-called question of Chinese representation are clear enough. It has been extensively and thoroughly discussed by the Assembly as a whole in many a session. No study and exploration are needed for its understanding.

38. The representative of Italy, introducing draft resolution A/L.550, said that he based the proposal on the principle of universality. I think it behoves my distinguished friend, Ambassador Vinci, and others who are inclined to be persuaded by him, to ponder the remarkable words of Mr. Litvinov some thirty-two years ago, if my own

remarks on the subject should be of no avail. In all frankness, the proposal to set up a study committee would serve no purpose and should be set aside as another exercise in futility.

39. No issue on the agenda of the Assembly is so fraught with fateful consequences for the Chinese people, for international peace and security and for the future of the United Nations itself as the so-called question of Chinese representation. I am confident that the Assembly in its wisdom will once again reject all attempts to seat the Chinese Communists in the United Nations.

40. Mr. ONGAGOU (Congo (Brazzaville)) (*translated from French*): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is being considered for the nineteenth annual occasion by the General Assembly.

41. Assuming that a child had been born at the time when this item was first placed on the agenda of our Organization, it would have gone through various periods of change which would have enabled it to attain the age of reason and (why not?) to attend our debates on the question of China.

42. During that same period of time our Assembly, owing to the political blindness of certain Member States, has not followed the same progression and finds itself condemned to perpetual inertia.

43. I say this to show that if our Organization is not to be engulfed in an abyss, it is becoming increasingly urgent to find a solution to the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

44. The reasons for having China amongst us in the United Nations are numerous and her presence would operate in favour of equilibrium in the settlement of problems falling within the competence of our collective Organization.

45. Our Charter is quite clear and lays down as a fundamental and irreversible principle the equality of all Member States, great or small, rich or poor. In other words, no Member State has the right to set itself up as leader and, on its own, under any pretext whatsoever, to brush aside another State Member of our Organization.

46. China, as we know, was present at San Francisco, and contributed appreciably to the creation and shaping of the Organization. She is both a founding member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

47. But what China are we talking about? Is it necessary to say again here that there is only one, single China: the China made up of 750 million Chinese people?

48. True, on the basis of sorry and artificial pretexts banned by imperialism seeking a sordid hegemony, attempts have been made here, unashamedly and absurdly, to give precedence to the rights of a self-styled Nationalist China led by the apostle of the most trite and abject anti-democracy. I mean that Taiwan refugee, Chiang Kai-shek.

49. American imperialism, principal instigator of the division of our planet, is the inflexible henchman of the

repudiated régime of Chiang Kai-shek and of his clique on the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of China. We know that this "giant leech", in its unquenched thirst for still greater hegemony and domination throughout the world, has installed military bases there. The American imperialists and their satellites are trying, through incoherent allegations which fall on deaf ears, to justify themselves by discordant theories which we have heard only too often.

50. We are confronted by an extremely serious problem: are we to recognize individuals bound together by a subjective sentimentality, or are we going to recognize a Government and a people which have repeatedly given us the opportunity of seeing the progress they have made in the building up of their country?

51. Chiang Kai-shek and his clique are unlawfully occupying a seat in our Organization. Usurpation of such a seat is heavy with consequences. In fact, we are continuing to uphold a fiction—a fiction, moreover, upheld by the United States of America—for the purpose of systematically excluding the most highly populated country in the world from the international arena. What authority, what weight and what respect can be expected from a province which, in our eyes, is a colony and a ward of one of the great Powers? What criterion is used by the spokesmen of Taiwan to authorize it to occupy a seat which should, under the rules, belong to a country which fulfils the requirements of a great Power, as defined in our Charter?

52. We cannot repeat too often that never in the history of the world have there been two Chinas. Governments come and go, States remain. Every independent State is free to adopt a political system which best suits its own development and the aspirations of its people. This is what happened in China. China was eager to regain its personality and reaffirm its dignity in the eyes of the world. Accordingly it rejected the régime of Chiang Kai-shek and his acolytes, whose ideals were conducive to the country's domination by a foreign Power.

53. So many countries have witnessed the same political changes in their own territories! At no time has our Organization ever claimed that it was competent to recognize a régime which had been democratically rejected by its people. This is a logical trend in history which no State or group of States has the right to ignore.

54. My country is all the more proud to say so from this rostrum in that we entertain very friendly and cordial relations with the Government and people of China. To the detractors of the People's Republic of China, who accuse it of exporting subversion, we should like to emphasize unequivocally that co-operation between our two countries suffers from no complex whatsoever. Moreover this co-operation, which dates back to the historic days of our revolution of 13, 14 and 15 August 1963, has enabled us to realize the type of qualitative and unselfish assistance that this great country can lavish upon the young States of the third world.

55. China, that giant of our planet, has just demonstrated to the world what can be achieved by a great, disciplined

and conscious people. Its unquestionable equilibrium in the political, economic and social fields testifies to the vast progress it has made. A nuclear Power, by its steadily increasing progress it has just liberated the coloured people from their complex about white people, who used to claim to be the sole bearers of superiority, the sole cradle of thought, of civilization and of creativeness.

56. Despite the wildest slanders and blackmail, China, thanks to the unalterable determination of its leaders and of its people, is at present undergoing further mutation inspired by an original concept, by revolutionary nationalism: the proletarian cultural revolution. In the face of this crucial surge, the enemies of China are inventing all sorts of lies in an attempt to make the world believe that everything in China is in chaos.

57. My country, like so many other peace-loving and justice-loving countries, is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1. In my delegation's view this draft, if adopted, is the only one likely to lead us out of the impasse in which we find ourselves. It has the advantage of making it possible for our Organization once more to act effectively in solving many delicate problems of our times. It goes without saying that its adoption would call for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the seat they are unlawfully holding in the United Nations and in all its related organs.

58. In adopting this stand, my country is not moved by any leniency nor by any kind of pressure. It merely wishes to be faithful to the most elementary principles of our Charter and to the provisions of international law. Quite recently, a distinguished statesman of my country said:

"The fact that our enemies, the imperialists and the reactionaries, who are always one step behind developments, find room for criticism here does not come as much of a surprise to us. At the risk of endless repetition, we say again today that Congo (Brazzaville) is not in bondage to any bloc and if, in its anti-imperialist struggle, it can count on other progressive forces throughout the world, our country intends to be itself; it has committed itself to build, according to its own way of thinking and within the still modest resources at its disposal, a fairer, freer and more peace-loving society."

59. With regard to draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, submitted under the lofty sponsorship of the United States of America, it amounts for my delegation to an aberration, it is devoid of sense and discriminatory, particularly as to the number of votes to be called for on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations. A two-thirds majority is mentioned. Such a procedure runs counter to the provisions of our Charter, and this is flagrant evidence of the irregularity of the dilatory methods used by the American imperialists and their satellites. China is both a member of our Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council. The problem is one of restoring its lawful rights to that country, and not one of admitting a new State to our Organization. It follows that the requirement of a two-thirds majority is null and void; a simple majority should be applied, because the problem, in substance, is purely a matter of the verification of credentials. Therefore my delegation is strongly opposed to draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1.

60. Another draft resolution [A/L.550] has been submitted by Italy and four other countries. Our position has not changed in substance in regard to this draft resolution, the only effect of which would be to postpone indefinitely the simple and urgent question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China to its lawful place in the United Nations. My delegation deplores the sterile procedure reflected in such a draft and regrets that it must vigorously oppose it.
61. Most delegations present in our Assembly have forcefully emphasized, this year as in the past, the necessity and urgency of seeing China restored to its legitimate and inalienable rights in the United Nations so that it may again take its place in our Assembly and in the Security Council.
62. The supporters of Chiang Kai-shek are free to find a patch of land for him on their own territories. The island of Taiwan is an integral part of the great and talented nation of China, the China of Mao Tse-tung and of its 750 million inhabitants, the true, single and noble China which our Organization so greatly needs in order to be able to find well-balanced solutions to various problems within the framework of a peaceful and serene world.
63. In conclusion we should like to affirm solemnly that the restoration to China of its lawful rights in the United Nations is more than ever a crucial issue.
64. Ever since the Viet-Nam conflict, which has spread and continues to spread misery and desolation, the call of the progressive countries has been for an unconditional halt to the bombing of North Viet-Nam. For a long time that approach was described as illusory and even Utopian by the United States of America and its satellites. Today, however, we are compelled to recognize that the solution recommended by the progressive countries constituted a first step on the road towards a harmonious settlement of the dispute. The United States of America, despite its formidable military machine is becoming more deeply embroiled every day, so much so that it is now being compelled to resort to that very course of action.
65. We very much hope that the light which has begun to emerge in the Viet-Namese confusion can also guide our efforts towards a happy solution of the Chinese question.
66. Today as yesterday, those same progressive countries, treated as sorcerers' apprentices by retrograde States which are behind the times, are convinced that as in the case of the Viet-Namese problem, the wheel of history is turning, and that tomorrow the People's Republic of China, the great China of President Mao Tse-tung, will be the keystone on which the solution of many delicate problems of our time will depend.
67. Mr. TURBAY AYALA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): The question now under discussion in the General Assembly cannot be dealt with superficially, for it involves fundamental values. During the past eighteen years, in this interminable debate, many arguments in favour of and against the so-called "restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" have been expounded.
68. Despite the lengthy consideration that has been given to this question in the various debates, it has not proved possible to take a decision of a lasting character. Attempts to bring about a change in radical positions have been vain. It would appear that we are up against an impregnable wall. Each side repeats its arguments with monotonous insistence, and the present draft resolutions do not differ substantially from those submitted on previous occasions.
69. The bitterness and heat of the oral battle which develops when this item is discussed have always produced a deplorable impression on us, because we fear that resort to such a strategy may carry us further from the objective of peace, which is the *raison d'être* of this world Organization.
70. There is no need to place this debate on the unacceptable plane of moral qualifications and disqualifications. It is surprising to say the least that attempts are made to divide this Assembly into the virtuous and the sinners, into those who have a monopoly of truth and those who are persistently in the wrong.
71. We do not deny the correctness of the behaviour of the representatives of States who consider that a nation such as the People's Republic of China, with its more than 750 million inhabitants and with the status it has as a nuclear Power, should form part of the United Nations. But we reject as unacceptable any attempt to call into question the respectability of States that have taken different stands. My delegation believes that it is permissible to consider and assess how effective the proposals submitted for consideration by the Assembly may be, but that it is not legitimate to enter the inviolate area of the dignity and integrity of States.
72. The delegation of Colombia has considered the desirability of encouraging, in so far as possible, every initiative designed to produce a thawing of traditional attitudes. Naturally we understand that this cannot always be achieved. In such international matters, there are some cases by their nature so complicated as to make satisfactory solutions difficult to reach. But the United Nations General Assembly cannot declare itself powerless to deal with any problem: it has an obligation to pursue with renewed energy its search for solutions which best serve the interests of peace.
73. Within the framework of the above criterion, we consider that the draft resolution co-sponsored by the delegations of Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg [A/L.550] does let in a shaft of light and makes some progress possible towards the desired thawing of traditional attitudes. The draft appeals to us because it makes no attempt to pass judgement on the case of the representation of China in the United Nations; it is confined to proposing that a committee of Member States should be set up to explore and examine the situation in all its aspects. In our opinion this is a proposal which does not pre-judge or anticipate any opinion, and which does not compel any State to accept the conclusions of the committee. Support of that draft resolution does not entail any commitment, nor does it affect any right.
74. No one can ignore the importance of this item or refuse to study all its legal and political implications.

Furthermore, by means of this committee it would be possible to obtain the documentation which is essential for arriving at a serene and objective judgement, and for enabling us all to vote on the substance of the question with full knowledge of the facts.

75. My delegation wishes to state forthwith that whatever conclusions the proposed committee may reach, Colombia will always reject the possibility of expelling the Republic of China, because that State is a founding Member of the United Nations and has fulfilled its responsibilities as a Member State with complete loyalty to the principles and objectives of the Organization. We have no doubts whatsoever about the right of the Republic of China, in its capacity as a State signatory of the San Francisco Charter, to form part of this Organization.

76. Accordingly, if the Assembly does not decline to have a study and investigation made of all the aspects involved in the eventual admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, this does not mean that any kind of attitude against our friends of the Republic of China has been adopted.

77. During the eighteen years in which the Chinese question has been considered by the Assembly, it has never been possible to give reasons to enable the criteria of the People's Republic of China in respect of its eventual admission to membership of the United Nations to be established sufficiently clearly. If the authorities of the Peking Government had expressed their desire to share the responsibilities devolving upon this Organization with absolute clarity, then certainly today the Assembly would have less difficulty in evaluating that country's true intentions.

78. Many times the People's Republic of China has expounded a vigorous policy contrary to decisions of this world Organization and expressed its desire that various States which it considers as satellites should be expelled from the United Nations. In our opinion, the opposition of the Government of Peking to the United Nations and its indirect application for membership are completely incompatible. In contrast to this attitude, various speakers favourable to the admission to membership of the United Nations of the People's Republic of China have turned themselves into informal guarantors of that State's desire for peace and harmony.

79. As evidence of our interest in the exhaustive examination of this matter we think it would be advisable to establish the committee proposed by Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg. We are fully convinced of the need to carry out serious enquiries into the true attitude of the People's Republic of China towards the United Nations.

80. It seems to us somewhat naive to argue about the desirability of having a country of 50 million people form part of the world Organization. No one questions the important effect that would result in terms of relaxing all international tensions and removing the danger of a new war if the representatives of the Peking Government were collaborating with us all in our efforts to establish a climate for lasting peace in the world. The foregoing argument would be truly convincing if it could be proved that the

international behaviour of the Government of the People's Republic of China was compatible with the principles and objectives of the United Nations.

81. Certainly mere numbers and the fact of possessing control of nuclear energy are not sufficient qualifications for admission to the United Nations. At San Francisco the wish was not to build a monstrous machinery based on force, but quite on the contrary, to create an institution founded on the legal equality of States and inspired by objectives of peace and justice. If, instead of the Organization we now have, a fearsome, exclusive club of super-powers had been set up, then certainly the argument of 750 million inhabitants and that of control of nuclear energy could be validly adduced as reasons for membership of that club. We do not want to ascertain whether the People's Republic of China is strong, because we already know this. What we want to ascertain is whether it has a genuine desire for peace, because this we do not know.

82. The desirability or undesirability of the eventual admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations has a direct relation to the attitude which that State adopts towards the principles and objectives of the San Francisco Charter. It would be wrong to deny membership of the United Nations to a country which loyally and honestly wished to participate in the most noble undertaking of "saving future generations from the scourge of war"; but it would be totally senseless to open the doors of this Organization to a State that would seek to misuse its status as Member, including the powerful weapon of the veto, to impede all solutions and to cloud the international prospect.

83. We do not conceive of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations as a challenge. If that admission is to benefit peace, it cannot take place until all States, and particularly those which have the heaviest obligations in the support of the Organization, are firmly convinced that the representatives of the Peking Government will come here to vie with us in carrying out our prime purpose of strengthening harmony and justice and promoting economic and social progress amongst people.

84. We should not forget that the United Nations prohibits all forms of intervention by one State in the domestic affairs of others. Accordingly, those countries which prove that they know how to practise tolerance and to live in peace with their neighbours will considerably improve their international standing.

85. Various delegations, headed by Albania, have sponsored draft resolution A/549 and Add.1, which both calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and proposes the expulsion of the representatives of the Government of President Chiang Kai-shek. This draft clearly falls under the provisions of Article 18 of the Charter, which expressly qualifies the admission of new States and the expulsion of any State Member of the United Nations as important questions.

86. In this connexion, my delegation would like to emphasize that this Article is not drafted to meet a specific case; it is in the nature of a general rule. For that reason my



delegation has not hesitated to join with the representatives of Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand, Togo and the United States of America in sponsoring draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, which qualifies all proposals to alter the representation of China as important questions.

87. There is no question of ascribing this attitude to an accommodating interpretation of the provisions of the Charter. Anyone who reads Article 18 of the Charter will immediately conclude that for the admission or expulsion of a State, there is no alternative but to settle the matter, as an important question, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. This is a clear interpretation of the Charter, in which there are no grounds for seeing any diabolical manoeuvre against the legitimate interests of any State.

88. The question of the proposed admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations cannot be examined as a simple case of credentials. We have already seen that political and legal considerations of the utmost importance are involved in this issue. We prefer to channel our energies towards the examination of such questions rather than to commit ourselves to a fruitless and exhausting procedural battle.

89. We do not consider the draft resolution submitted by Albania and fifteen other States, seeking to expel the representatives of the Republic of China, to be constructive. The simultaneous presentation of a request for the expulsion of one State and the admission of another is unrealistic, because the very proposal gives rise to so many kinds of anxieties and misgivings that it is impossible to think that it will lead to satisfactory progress, now or later. We must restate our friendship, our admiration and our sympathy for the Government of the Republic of China and reaffirm our intention to defend its continuing presence in the United Nations with all the conviction and determination that may be necessary.

90. To sum up, I should like to say that, as is obvious, my delegation will vote for draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, of which it is a sponsor.

91. Moreover, we will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.550, submitted by Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg, because we consider that it would be exceedingly useful to have a committee set up to study, as seriously and as thoroughly as possible, the situation in respect of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, which has been under discussion for many years.

92. Lastly, we will vote against draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1, because the draft is patently contrary to our opinions and our convictions.

93. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The Italian delegation has thought it advisable to take a little more of the Assembly's time and try further to clarify our position in the debate on the representation of China in the United Nations. Our main purpose today is to comment very briefly on the remarks that several speakers have made on draft resolution A/L.550 submitted by five countries, including Italy.

94. Surely, we have given our entire attention to all the statements, and to what has been said on the other two draft resolutions [A/L.548 and Add.1 and A/L.549 and Add.1], as well as on the "philosophy" which guides each country in its approach to this question. By and large, the debate and the statements we have heard have followed old, familiar lines, confirming the immobility of almost the entire membership on well-known positions and making a significant change in the voting on the substance of the issue very unlikely.

95. Incidentally, this outcome of our forecast if correct, will be a vindication of the attitude we have constantly taken, together with the other co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.550, in this session and in the past two sessions. That being the case, our determination remains unshaken, and the confidence we and an increasing number of delegations place in the pursuance of a more rational and effective solution to the problem before us persistently grows.

96. It is therefore first of all a pleasant duty for me to express the appreciation of the delegations of Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Luxembourg and Italy to many colleagues, for their statements, their private conversations with the co-sponsors and for responding to our request for consultations. These representatives of countries, belonging to all regional groups, have given us the benefit of their support or of their suggestions as to the best way to tackle this complex issue, or simply have asked for clarifications on the purpose of our initiative. Let me assure them that their words have been of great comfort to us and even their doubts and hesitations have helped a great deal in clarifying our minds.

97. Let me now turn to the criticism which has been levelled against our draft resolution. Despite their variety, the critics who have spoken against our proposal can be roughly divided into two categories. There are those who say that, the situation being what it is and the opinions of the United Nations Members being sharply divided, there is no point in trying to reproduce these divisions in a General Assembly Committee. This draft resolution being useless—their reasoning goes—the prescription is to vote against it; in other words a prescription for immobility.

98. The second category of critics affirms that the situation on the representation of China in the United Nations is already clear in all its aspects and therefore there is nothing more to study or explore. The institution of an *ad hoc* committee would be based on the assumption that there are unknown elements; a fact, therefore, which would by itself complicate rather than simplify the issues—which really amounts altogether to saying that those who unconditionally vote in favour of or against draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1 are both right.

99. I would have wished that a third category of argumentations had not been raised; namely that draft resolution A/L.550 has only delaying purposes or, as one speaker put it, "would bring about further premeditated delays". A previous speaker this afternoon did not even hesitate to call it an exercise in futility. This kind of argumentation, which, I hasten to add, has been put forward only by a handful of speakers, questions the good faith of the co-sponsors of the

draft resolution. We deeply resent these allegations and we firmly reject them—the more so since, as I said in my opening statement, we were not questioning the good faith of other delegations and expected the same understanding from them.

100. To those speakers who attributed concealed motives to draft resolution A/L.550, I would only say that if the five co-sponsors really had the desire to postpone, as alleged, the solution of the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, they would only have to sit quietly, vote in one way or the other, and watch this debate taking place year after year with no progress really being made either way. I shall not indulge in this sort of polemics, which lowers the level of the debate. I would rather address myself to what we consider to be more valid and fruitful kinds of criticism.

101. As I mentioned before, some speakers have indicated that there would be no point in reproducing in an *ad hoc* committee the divisions of opinion prevailing in the general membership of the United Nations on the question of Chinese representation.

102. To my colleagues who put forward those objections I would point out that the divisions of opinion are among the “facts of life” in international relations since they reflect diverging long or short term national interests. It is exactly one of the purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in the very first Article of the Charter, to harmonize the actions and the opinions of Member States in order to promote peace and international progress. We heard one of our critics this afternoon express the view to which I am referring. We submit that when the United Nations has tried, unsuccessfully, to solve a question—a very important question—by casting “Yes” and “No” votes on a single draft resolution, it is high time to resort to another method, a method provided by the Charter, a method which years of practice have shown to be valid and fruitful.

103. It is self-evident that in the proposed committee the main trends of opinion concerning this issue should be represented. We believe, however, that in a rather small committee—assuming that we all desire to operate in the interest of the United Nations—the virtues of patience and tolerance, the art of quiet diplomacy and the wide scope of action indicated in the draft resolution may offer a way out of the present deadlock and offer a solution or a way towards a solution acceptable to all.

104. To my colleagues who say that they will not be able to support the draft resolution because they consider it useless, I submit that a more logical attitude would be, having no better alternatives to offer, to give it a chance to be proved useful or otherwise. It is a matter of regret that this chance was not given when a similar text was introduced two years ago. Had that chance been given, we would by now have been in better position to judge—or if that approach had failed, to look for something else.

105. I would now turn to the second category of critics: those who maintain that the situation is clear and there is nothing to study or to explore. The co-sponsors of draft resolution A/L.550 beg to differ from that position. An analysis of the explanations of the votes in favour or against

the draft resolution traditionally submitted by Albania, Cambodia and other countries shows that the motivations of each country cover such a wide and contrasting range of opinions that a clarification of the issues would be very useful indeed. This would not, in our opinion, be only a theoretical exercise; we feel, on the contrary, that from a deeper probe of the issues involved, a process of clarification might be set in motion, and perhaps a possible solution acceptable to all may, as we hope, emerge. The circumstance that issues are clear, or appear to be clear, to a certain number of delegations is not enough; an equal or even larger number of other delegations see the problem with equal clarity, but from a different angle. That is what makes the problem so complex, so intricate, and hence justifies, in our view, the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee.

106. Objections have been raised this afternoon, for instance, to draft resolution A/L.550 because it does not contain substantial proposals. Others, instead, have objected to the wording of the third paragraph of the preamble which allegedly would introduce new factors relating to membership and representation. Let me, in this respect, first of all say that it is not our task to anticipate solutions; that is the committee's task: to make the substantial proposals when the time comes. Secondly, I would recall what I indicated just a few minutes ago, that the task of the committee should not be of a theoretical nature but should be to consider the situation in all its aspects, including the legal and political ones.

107. Some have gone so far as to imply that we are seeking a revision of the Charter. That is not true. Besides, the records of the United Nations show, if anything, that Member States can merge and separate again or leave the Organization of their own free will, and the General Assembly only takes note of their decisions. But, for the sake of argument, even if the above-mentioned implication was the case, what would be wrong and what would any delegation have to fear? As a matter of fact, once the committee is established by a simple majority, when it comes back with its proposals, those proposals will be subject to approval by a two-third majority as provided by the Charter. In our view, there is therefore nothing in our draft resolution which is against the Charter or infringes the constitutional rights of Member States.

108. In conclusion, from whatever angle members look at our proposal contained in document A/L.550, we believe it stands to reason that it has everything to commend it and nothing for which it can be repudiated. We hope that the vote which will follow will show that our appraisal is not wrong.

109. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): As at many previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Pakistan delegation has again the honour of co-sponsoring a draft resolution which would restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights and end the abnormal situation which imposes a disability on the United Nations in its high purpose of maintaining international peace. The draft resolution contained in document A/L.549 and Add.1 has been proposed by sixteen delegations from all continents.

110. The whole conception of the proposal in this draft resolution is evident from its text. It must be made clear

that it involves neither a favour nor a punishment. The draft resolution does not seek that a favour be done to the People's Republic of China. It seeks rather to protect the United Nations Charter itself, and to promote the cause which the Organization is meant to serve. It bases itself on the inescapable reality that there is only one China and the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only ones who can lawfully represent China in all the organs of the United Nations, and indeed at all international conferences.

111. The seating of the genuine representatives of China cannot but result in the unseating of those whose credentials as representatives of China became extinct nineteen years ago. The second part of the operative paragraph of draft resolution A/L.549 and Add.1, therefore, does not embody a punitive provision. The expulsion of those who have lost their representative capacity is not an exercise of the punitive powers vested in the General Assembly. It is simply a matter which must inevitably follow from the application of the rules of this Organization and also from its established practice. I need hardly refer to the many precedents available in this respect.

112. My delegation has had occasion, at previous sessions, to submit before the General Assembly the considerations which demand that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China be immediately restored and all proposals for the postponement or confusion of the issue be rejected. The lapse of time only reinforces the validity of these considerations and heightens their urgency. Since, after so many annual debates, it can be assumed that the General Assembly is now fully cognizant of these considerations and of the compelling arguments marshalled in their support, they need only a brief recapitulation.

113. The considerations are of both law and fact. They are as follows. First, the matter at issue is neither the admission of a State to the Organization nor the recognition of a Government; it is that of the representation of an existing Member State. It was clearly stated in the memorandum on the legal aspects of the problem of representation in the United Nations,<sup>4</sup> which was circulated by the Secretary-General on 9 March 1950—that is, eighteen years ago—that the decisive consideration should be whether a new government exercises effective authority within the territory of a State. Since it is beyond dispute that it is the Government of the People's Republic of China, and that Government alone, which exercises such authority within the territory of China and has been doing so for the past eighteen years, the delegation of that Government and that Government alone must be accorded the right to represent China in the United Nations. The question whether it is or is not recognized by some of the individual Member States is not pertinent in this context.

114. Second, the disability which has been imposed on the United Nations by the exclusion of the real representatives of China has gravely incapacitated the Organization. The Charter of the United Nations has predicated the maintenance of world peace and security on the special responsibility in that regard of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Those five permanent members are

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for 1 January through 31 May 1950, document S/1466.*

States, not Governments or régimes. Yet for nineteen years the régime in Taiwan has been seated in the Security Council, while the Government of the People's Republic of China, which represents over 700 million Chinese, has been prevented from taking its rightful place. Can any one pretend that the Taiwan régime can play the vital role envisaged in the Charter for a permanent member of the Security Council such as the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom or France?

115. Speaking in the general debate, at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 4 October, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Husain, referred to the need to strengthen the role of the United Nations in order to make it a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for achieving the goals of disarmament, decolonization and economic development. He said:

“... if there is one single cause which stands out in all its sharpness and clarity and which is within our power to remove, it is the continued denial to the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations and all other international organizations. No formula for the security of non-nuclear States against the nuclear threat can be fully credible without recognition of China's place as a nuclear-weapon Power. Not a single step can be taken in the direction of prohibiting the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons without the fullest participation of China in the deliberations of the United Nations aimed at outlawing such weapons.

“The goal of general and complete disarmament will remain as distant as ever if the opportunity is denied to China of making its indispensable contribution to bringing it within the bounds of practical possibility. Peace and stability in Asia, and indeed in the world, cannot be assured without due recognition of the role of the People's Republic of China as a great Power.” [*1681st meeting, paras. 134 and 135.*]

116. Third, in the consideration of the problem of Chinese representation, any questioning of the attitudes or viewpoints of the People's Republic of China is both irrelevant and discriminatory. It is irrelevant because the United Nations is not an organization of like-minded States and cannot accommodate attempts at regimentation. It is discriminatory because no such questioning has ever been done in the case of any other Member State. The questions as to whether a State is peace-loving, whether it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and whether it is able and willing to carry them out, arise only in the context of the admission of a State to membership, not in the context of the representation of a State that is already a Member.

117. Fourth, even if we are to assume that these issues arise—if only for the sake of argument—is it not futile to deny that the People's Republic of China maintains diplomatic relations with a large number of States, including all its land neighbours? Has not the People's Republic of China concluded boundary agreements, in accordance with the Charter principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, with most of those neighbours? Has it not contributed significantly to the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and the agreement of 1962 relating to Laos? Is the People's Republic of China not one of the leading proponents of the historic Bandung Declara-

tion of 1955? The assertion that the People's Republic of China is hostile to the maintenance of peace and normal relations between States ignores all those facts.

118. Fifth, the Assembly is not competent to discuss, far less make a value judgement on, the social and political system of any country. It is concerned, not with the internal affairs, but with the international relations of China. Yet the cultural revolution in China has been seized upon as one of the reasons for continuing to deny to that great country the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations. From our own experience we can assert with complete confidence that Sino-Pakistan relations are based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

119. For all these reasons, my delegation considers that it is not proper to give consideration to any proposal to postpone, or detract from, the full restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

120. The draft resolution A/L.548 and Add.1, sponsored by fourteen countries, seeks once again to turn the question into one which would require a two-thirds majority for decision. As my delegation has pointed out on previous occasions, that proposal lacks legal validity, because a two-thirds majority under Article 18, paragraph 3, is required for, among other matters, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership and the expulsion of Members. It is not required for deciding who are the rightful representatives of an existing Member State. Since the fourteen-Power draft resolution does not purport to determine the question of representation of all Member States as an additional category—it does not attempt to deal with the general question of settling representation when such issues arise but only, specifically, that of China—then it is not consistent with the clear provisions of Article 18, paragraph 3, to propose now that a two-thirds majority should be required for a decision on this question. That paragraph clearly provides that decisions shall be made by a majority of the Members present and voting.

121. In regard to draft resolution A/L.550 submitted by Belgium, Chile, Iceland, Italy and Luxembourg, my delegation would again submit that there is no warrant whatsoever for the suggestion that the "complexities of this question" could be fruitfully resolved by appointing a committee "with the mandate of exploring and studying the situation in all its aspects". If the searching consideration which the General Assembly has given to the issue every year for nearly two decades has not led to a result, is it reasonable to conclude that the labours of a committee would point the way to a solution in accordance with the principles of justice and international law?

122. We are told that the committee would be empowered to sound opinions. Whose opinions, may we ask? The only opinions that matter are those of Governments, and they have been amply expressed in the General Assembly. We are not dealing here with a problem of technical intricacy, on which experts have to be consulted, data collected and references and cross-references made. We are dealing with a purely political problem, and what is required for its solution is not a new method but the necessary political

will. If that political will cannot be mobilized collectively by the representatives of Governments assembled here, can one expect that it will be generated by the work of a committee? Indeed, the very idea of a study of the question, after twenty years of debate, gives rise to certain apprehensions. Draft resolution A/L.550 speaks, in its preamble, of paving "the way to an appropriate solution, taking into account the existing situation and the political realities of the area". In operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution the committee is required to make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly for "an equitable and practical solution". If we read those two provisions together, the apprehension naturally arises, that the way is being paved for the so-called two Chinas solution to the problem. Is that not what we are called upon to facilitate?

123. We do not question the honourable motives and intentions of the sponsors, but our approach in this regard is totally different. In the name of my Government let me state in the most categorical terms that we totally reject that kind of solution as unlawful, unjust, unrealistic and dangerous to international peace. We shall therefore vote against the five-Power draft resolution.

124. The simple question which the General Assembly has to answer is whether or not the representatives of the 700 million people of China should take part in our work here. For all the considerations that I have briefly placed before the General Assembly, my delegation would urge that the draft resolution contained in document A/L.549 and Add.1 should be adopted by an overwhelming majority. In accepting that proposal the Assembly will uphold the universal mission of the Organization, enhance its authority, redeem its credit and end an abnormality in its present composition.

125. I shall conclude by saying that my delegation is undismayed by the failure of our proposal during previous sessions of the General Assembly. We owe our confidence in our eventual success to the realization growing throughout the world that the barriers established during the cold war have damaged not only the fabric of peace but even the national interests of the protagonists themselves. Despite occasional setbacks, despite the many obstacles that still lie in the way of the solution of Asian problems, the time seems to have arrived for acts of courage and statesmanship which will transform the era of isolation and confrontation into one of negotiation and the peaceful resolution of conflicting interests. The pronouncements made by the leadership of one of the great Powers are imbued with an awareness of this historical opportunity.

126. We are confident that these undercurrents of larger understanding will sooner or later come to the surface. When they do, the merit of our proposal will surely be recognized. If, however, we urge its acceptance at this session we do so because the postponement of a decision which is historically inevitable can only denote that the Organization has no capacity for independent and timely action. Even some of those who do not support our proposal have acknowledged that there is a widespread feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction about Chinese representation in the United Nations. We urge that that frustration be ended now.

127. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind delegations that the elections to the Economic and Social Council and the Industrial Development Board will be held during the plenary meeting scheduled for tomorrow morning. It is the intention of the President to place before the General Assembly, during the counting of the ballots, the considera-

tion of reports of the Second Committee. That will save the time of delegations and facilitate the work of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*