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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HERRERA BAEZ (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): I should like in the first place, on behalf of the delegation of the Dominican Republic and of my Government, to congratulate the President most heartily on his well-deserved election as President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly and to express my delegation's conviction that with wisdom and diligence he will bring our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

2. Anyone who returns to this hall after some years of absence from the work of the General Assembly cannot but be struck by the spectacle of the new delegations from States which are now Members of our Organization.

3. Two vitally important principles are reflected in this new development in the United Nations: first, the principle of universality and, secondly and equally important, the principle of the self-determination of peoples. If the United Nations is to achieve the purpose for which it was set up, namely to bring States together with a view to promoting peace and improving the conditions in which man lives, on the basis of a general concept that necessarily embraces the whole of mankind, it must cease to be the restrictive war-time coalition which it was at its inception and must steadily reduce the hazard and uncertainty surrounding the conception of the qualifications required of an existing political entity before it can become a Member State.

4. Just as the exaggerated pressure of the different political ideologies which divide the world today invests some of the applications for admission to the Organization with an element of artificiality, so, too, the struggle for the principle of self-determination is being waged with varying success in the context of the atmosphere of conflict in which the fundamental purposes of the Charter are being achieved.

5. Despite adverse circumstances in which the principle of universality is being debated, recent ses-

sions of the Assembly indicate that in the long run the imperative requirements of international life will prevail over subjective interpretations of the Charter. The admission of six new States at the eleventh regular session not only means that States which have had the legal attributes of statehood for thousands of years have joined our Organization but it is also evidence of a phenomenon which is taking on extraordinary vitality in the present-day international community, namely the renaissance of the national movements which triumphed during the nineteenth century in the centres of European culture and their offshoots on the American continent, and which are now vigorously re-emerging on the periphery of the world structure.

6. The Dominican Government cannot but sympathize with this extraordinary evolution of the modern international community and it is therefore happy to reaffirm its recognition of the Federation of Malaya as a sovereign State and enthusiastically supported its admission to the United Nations as a Member State. It is moreover glad to note that the United Kingdom, the mother of free nations, did not hesitate to promote the accession of the Federation of Malaya to sovereign statehood once circumstances made it possible to comply with the Malayan people's aspirations for independence.

7. To what must we attribute the great desire shown by States to belong to this Organization? What considerations underlie the vexed question of the admissibility of new Member States? To say that the debates on this question are a necessity imposed by the parliamentary tactics of the opposing forces which confront each other in the United Nations is to say only a small part of the truth. It would also be true to say that the desire for membership is dictated by considerations of national prestige, however trivial this may seem.

8. Nevertheless, the great and profound truth underlying the desire of States to be Members of the United Nations must be sought in the conviction to which the peoples of the world have come in the face of the disturbing prospects of international reality. Whereas unity in the solution of the problems perturbing the world is achieved only now and then, there can be no doubt that the world is united in its fear of the mortal dangers confronting it at this point in history. And then the eyes of the world turn to this Organization, which, in the midst of the grievous paradoxes that characterize the international scene, represents the most justified and attainable utopia. The United Nations is not only the tribunal for irreconcilable dogmas and militant ideologies; it is also humanity's final court of appeal; it is the organization most competent to give rational direction to the uncontrolled impulses of States and to the process of finding a healthy outlet for what Professor de Visser called "the tensions of hegemony", which have in our time assumed the

proportions of a subversive undertaking, but one that has been countered by a new crusade.

9. If the United Nations is of the people and for the people it is no less true that it must be supported by the people and that, if it is gradually to make felt its enlightened influence, it must be able to count on the unwavering support and sincere faith of States in the righteousness of its universal mission.

10. The last few sessions of the Assembly indicate that the United Nations is growing stronger, in that its decisions were firmly supported at a moment when world events were about to precipitate us into a new armed conflict of incalculable proportions. Not only has it gained in strength from the collective decisions of its organs but it has also been strengthened, in a way which merits our warmest appreciation, by the responsible and effective action of the Secretary-General.

11. These reflections lead us to ask how States can help to bring about a settlement in the United Nations, that is to say, a synthesis of the thesis and antithesis by which the modern world is shaken. In my Government's view, the answer to this question is that States must recognize the need to practise an unequivocal policy in the United Nations. An unequivocal policy in the United Nations calls for an unequivocal national policy and this in turn means that in its domestic affairs the State must settle all social, economic and political problems in such a way that the calls of the community on the State are mutually and reasonably balanced; it is only when this prerequisite has been met that the State can be said, in respect of its conduct in the international community, to practise what it preaches. The international community must be able to count on reiterated promises to abide by certain incontrovertible principles of international conduct. To have an unequivocal policy in the United Nations a State must adopt a manner of speech which is not a snare devised by cynicism in the interests of propaganda. What is most urgently needed in this Organization is to give this unequivocal character to the solemn commitment entailed in membership in the United Nations; while this is, of course, imperative for the great Powers, it is no less so for the small States.

12. We believe, however, that a note of sobriety must prevail when it comes to examining the resources of the Charter. We recognize that just as it is impossible to reduce every event in human life to a simple dispute before a court, as the International Court of Justice said in drawing attention to the contrast between legal and political problems, it is only prudent to realize that many essential aspects of the evolution of States cannot be fitted into the abstract formulae drawn up in the General Assembly. While it is proper to render to the Organization what is due to the Organization, it is also vitally important that the State should retain what is proper to the State.

13. The general debate with which the General Assembly traditionally begins its proceedings gives my delegation an opportunity to define the policy it intends to follow during the present session. We represent a State whose Government has mobilized the country's social forces and economic potential behind a drive for social and economic recovery without precedent in our national history. The Government which controls the destinies of my country has had to struggle against

adverse factors, but it has laid durable foundations for a structure of deep popular significance rooted in the most deeply felt aspirations of our people; it therefore deserves respect both from the objective standpoint of what has been achieved and also because it is called upon to withstand and overcome the onslaughts of misunderstanding and hostility.

14. We are a nation of 2,698,126 inhabitants. The successive cycles of administrative action since 1930 reflect the picture of a nation engaged in redeeming a barren past of unending civil strife that precipitated it into chaos and the most painful eclipses of its national sovereignty. There is not a single aspect of the administrative programme of a modern State in which the Dominican Republic does not offer a balance sheet characterized by positive achievement. It was exactly ten years ago that my country cancelled the last remnant of its international debt estimated at \$10 million. This achievement marked the beginning of an era of growing economic prosperity which is clearly reflected in the steady upward curve of national revenue as indicated by a constant improvement in the budgetary situation.

15. The present state of our national finances was recently described by the Argentinian economist, Dr. Pablo Valiente, in the 30 July 1957 issue of the Buenos Aires publication *Crédito Bancario*.

"Those of us who listen daily to the heartbeat of the various markets, following even their smallest fluctuations in order to give the general public a truthful and objective picture of what is happening, cannot conceal our admiration for what we consider a very successful government policy maintained without major economic fluctuations throughout the long struggle against the dark forces of regression."

16. The social situation is very similar. According to the 1955 census the total number of unemployed registered in the Dominican Republic averaged 0.25 per cent, a figure which indicates that for all practical purposes there is no unemployment problem in my country. We must point out, moreover, that according to the figures given by the statistical services in my country, the wage index in 1956 was 348.9, taking 1945 as the base year, while the general price indices were 235.5 calculated on the same base year; this indicates that there has been a real and positive improvement in the economic situation of Dominican workers. I would also point out that during the last four years price levels have fluctuated only slightly. Such importance has been attached to the social security laws that when the Constitution was revised in 1955, the State's obligation to continue the progressive development of the social security system so that everyone may enjoy proper protection against unemployment, disease, disability and old-age and to bring under State supervision the improvement of nutrition, housing, health services and sanitary conditions in places of work was stated as a constitutional principle. In accordance with this principle the National Congress has just extended compulsory social security to a new category of workers who were not previously protected by the social security legislation.

17. The campaign against illiteracy in my country is also of considerable importance; there are now 4,419 schools with 423,424 registered pupils, in addition to the 289,149 attending literacy centres and the 3,800 students enrolled at our university.

18. An idea of the efforts that have been made in my country to improve the precarious social and economic situation of the Dominican people can be gathered from the fact that the budgetary appropriation for public education is estimated at approximately \$10 million for this year, in other words, more than the total budget of the Dominican State before 1930.

19. If, as Emerson said, an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man, then the national renaissance which the Dominican people are now enjoying reflects the convictions of one man, Generalissimo Trujillo, who throughout the unyielding struggle of a quarter of a century has guided the convolutions of our turbulent history into the straight and shining path of peace and labour and has given our Government a sound national policy, which is, of course, a sure guarantee of the policy we follow in the United Nations.

20. As a member of the family of American nations our policy in the United Nations is guided by the principles of inter-American solidarity, which are the paramount expression of our international political loyalties. My Government is fully conscious that the unity of the system of American States must be maintained intact in the face of the dividing forces which conspire against it, for it is this unity that gives the inter-American system its force in the world. My Government is also fully aware that good-will and mutual co-operation prevail in its relations and it therefore wishes to reaffirm in the plenary meeting of this Assembly, as it did within the Latin American group, its intention of voting in favour of the Republic of Panama as a member of the United Nations Security Council, thereby renouncing its own candidature for that post which had the support of a considerable number of American nations, which will now be free to support another candidate.

21. We should also like to take this opportunity of expressing to the Governments of Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua and Venezuela the Dominican Republic's gratitude for their support of its candidature and to express the most sincere hope that Panama, a country with which the Dominican Republic is happy to maintain the most friendly and co-operative relations, will be elected to this post.

22. The Dominican Republic, like the other nations of the American continent, has been moulded by the great spiritual traditions of the West and it follows the teachings of its own national experience; hence it bases its policy on what is inalienable in its own heritage, without remaining indifferent to the claims of peoples of other cultures who believe in similar ideals of international co-existence and mutual respect for the fundamental prerogatives of States.

23. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations exhorts States, as the first means to achieve its ends, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. We cannot remain hesitant and paralysed in the face of the outbreak of intolerant ideologies which make a mockery of peaceful co-existence and convert the vicinity of a neighbour into an imminent danger to the very existence of the State. It is a good thing to draw on the resources of the Charter to achieve the objectives of peace and security within the Organization, but in the face of the almost insuperable difficulties that arise in trying to replace aggressive individualism by the system envis-

aged by the Charter, and until there is unmistakable evidence of a coexistence that is something more than an intermittent truce on the road to further aggression, those States which are jealous of their sovereignty must inevitably strengthen their own defensive positions individually or in concert with other States which have a similar outlook on international relations.

24. The events in Eastern Europe on which the eleventh session of the Assembly recently declared itself constitute one of the most regrettable occurrences that the nations which have placed their faith in the United Nations have had to face. The Dominican Republic supported the decisions taken by the United Nations in the case of Hungary because it considered that its abstention would imply a lack of respect towards its own history, for while any intervention in the domestic affairs of a State is to be condemned as an international crime, it is most repugnant when it takes the form of military intervention, accompanied by the most inhuman treatment of a people which has struggled to establish a new order in keeping with the upsurge of nationalism throughout the world.

25. If anyone still has any doubts about the permanent objectives of international communism, let him look at this tragic case and draw his own conclusions. Acts like this can only confirm the policy of those States which see in international communism the negation of all possibility of peaceful coexistence in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

26. My delegation trusts that at this twelfth session of the General Assembly we shall justify the hopes of our peoples by our unwavering support of the ultimate purposes of this Organization. The pressure to reach agreement that is exerted here not only increases the likelihood of a reciprocal reduction in the stockpiles of the vast means of extermination held by the Powers in whose hands lies the destiny of the world; it will also result in spiritual disarmament through the heroic will to return to the promises made in 1945 over the smouldering ashes of the holocaust of half the human race, uprooted from its most precious memories and traditions.

27. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Permit me first of all to congratulate the President on his election as President of the United Nations General Assembly. I should also like, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, to greet the General Assembly and to convey the hope of the Czechoslovak people that the work and accomplishments of this session will serve the cause of preserving peace, ensuring the peaceful coexistence of peoples and further increasing co-operation among them.

28. I welcome the representatives of the Federation of Malaya to our midst and on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation and the entire Czechoslovak people I give the Malay people our good wishes and wish their Government every success in its efforts to promote peace and friendship among the peoples.

29. The international situation in which this session of the General Assembly is being held remains complex and is a source of grave concern. The efforts of the countries in the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, and of other peace-loving countries, to reduce international tension, are encountering serious obstacles raised by the aggressive imperialist forces. The division of the world into hostile military groups

and the continuation of the armaments race, particularly the atomic and hydrogen weapons race, constitute a standing threat to peace. Although the desire of the peoples to live in peace and to solve outstanding questions by peaceful means is asserting itself more and more, the fact remains that the desired atmosphere of trust and co-operation in the world has not yet been achieved.

30. The United Nations, whose primary task is the maintenance of peace and security, must make every effort to avert the threat of an atomic war and do everything in its power to ensure that relations between States are based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

31. The desire of the peoples for peaceful co-operation is opposed by the policy of certain circles anxious to intensify the "cold war" and to keep the world poised on the brink of war. Relying on the support of aggressive blocs, these circles continue to pursue a policy of negotiation from a "position of strength", a policy of threatening and intimidating peace-loving peoples. They continue to establish and expand military bases and to station their forces and stockpile their war materials, including atomic and hydrogen weapons, in the territory of foreign States.

32. The main instrument for military preparations at the present time is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This is a hard fact that cannot be altered either by attempts to present NATO in sheep's clothing, as Mr. Lloyd, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, attempted to do in his statement this morning, or by slanders against the peace-loving European countries, including the Czechoslovak Republic. At its session this summer, the Council of this aggressive organization decided to supply the NATO countries with United States atomic weapons and to establish atomic bases, particularly in the territory of West Germany. Under their plans West Germany is to become a base for atomic warfare against the peace-loving countries.

33. "Cold war" methods are also being introduced into our Organization. The Czechoslovak delegation regrets that, in connexion with the consideration of the so-called question of Hungary, the United Nations, under pressure from the Western Powers, should have been drawn into the campaign of instigating hatred and hostility among peoples, thus seriously impairing its prestige.

34. In recent years the enemies of peace and the freedom of peoples have been increasing their aggressive attacks against the growing popular liberation movement. The people and Government of Czechoslovakia sympathize deeply with the just struggle of these peoples to achieve freedom and to cast off the colonial yoke. The views that the Czechoslovak delegation will express during the consideration of the colonial questions on the agenda of the General Assembly will reflect this sympathy.

35. A source of particular concern is the situation in the Near and Middle East where, owing to the activities of the imperialist Powers, new, grave conflicts are arising. The effects of the aggression against Egypt have not yet been eliminated, yet the General Assembly is again confronted with a serious threat in this area. The aggressive circles of the imperialist Powers, creating and maintaining tension and forcibly inter-

vening in the domestic affairs of individual countries, contrary to the interests of the peoples of the Near and Middle East, are endeavouring to salvage what remains of their position in that area, to suppress the growing national-liberation struggle and to destroy the independence of the Arab countries as States and nations.

36. Attempts have been made, last week by the United States delegation, and again today by the United Kingdom representative, to shift the blame for the tense situation in the Near and Middle East area onto the Soviet Union and the peace-loving Arab States. However, no hypocritical words can conceal the fact that United Kingdom forces, using modern military equipment, have for some months past been mounting systematic and barbarous attacks on Oman and Yemen. Nor can anything hide the aggressive activities of the United States against the Arab countries or the stockpiling of United States arms and the concentration of United States naval forces in this area.

37. The ruling circles in the United States, giving currency to the allegation that Syria is threatening the security of neighbouring States, on the pretext of the so-called communist danger or using other fabricated excuses which have a strong smell of oil, have unleashed a campaign of pressure and open military threats against this courageous country, which is guilty only of refusing to obey the dictates of the United States monopolies.

38. Syria is a peace-loving, independent State, which is resolutely defending its sovereignty and national freedom, and deserves the just admiration and active support of all peace-loving peoples, and, first and foremost, of the United Nations. Czechoslovakia, which maintains friendly and mutually advantageous relations with many Arab countries, condemns United States intrigues against the independence of Syria. The people of Syria and their righteous cause have the full sympathy and support of the Czechoslovak people.

39. The present campaign of hatred and aggressive activities against the Arab countries, and especially against Syria, is the result of the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. Under this doctrine, which was enacted into law, the Government of the United States announced a programme of intervention in the domestic affairs of the sovereign States in the Near and Middle East, a programme for a new colonial enslavement of the Arab peoples, the implementation of which implies the use of United States armed forces. Owing to its aggressive character, this programme is a serious threat to peace and security not only in this area but throughout the world; it is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and is incompatible with the principles of peaceful coexistence and the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States.

40. The Czechoslovak Government, in view of the serious situation that has arisen in this area, welcomes and fully supports the proposals of the Soviet Union which are designed to preserve peace and security in the Near and Middle East. Under these proposals, the four great Powers - the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France - would assume a solemn obligation to refrain from the use of force in the Near and Middle East and from intervention in the domestic affairs of the countries in this area. The assumption of such an obligation would help considerably to improve and restore to normal the situation in this area.

of the world and would thereby contribute to a relaxation of international tension.

41. In the present international situation, particular importance attaches to the solution of the most urgent problem in the world today, the problem of disarmament and - related to it - the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. For more than ten years now, discussions have been proceeding in the United Nations on these questions to no avail. For a correct evaluation of United Nations work in the field of disarmament, we must refer to the principles governing the conclusion of an agreement on disarmament, set forth in two resolutions adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in 1946 and 1954 [resolutions 41 (I) and 808 (IX)]. Both these resolutions reveal a clear conception of what an agreement on disarmament should contain: it should provide for, first, a real limitation and major reduction of all armed forces and all conventional armaments, secondly, the total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons, and thirdly, the establishment of effective international control over the implementation of these measures. These principles are consistently followed in the proposals for a broad programme of disarmament presented by the Government of the Soviet Union at the London negotiations and at this session of the General Assembly.

42. The proposals of the Soviet Union are imbued with a sincere desire to achieve a reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. The broad programme for the establishment of a system of international control, which includes proposals previously submitted by the Western Powers, offers an effective way of ensuring that an agreement for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of thermo-nuclear weapons is observed and carried out.

43. However, the USSR proposals, which in many respects are a compromise with proposals and ideas presented previously by the Western Powers, did not receive the support of the other members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London. This is because the Western Powers, contrary to the General Assembly's recommendations on disarmament, for which they themselves voted, do not really wish to embark upon the course of effective disarmament. The discussions in the Sub-Committee have again shown that the Western Powers do not wish to renounce atomic and hydrogen weapons; they do not wish to renounce their use and eliminate them from the arsenals of States, because they regard these weapons as the basis of their policy and military strategy.

44. In his speech on 22 July 1957, Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, openly proclaimed the basis of the Western Powers' disarmament policy. He declared that "No one is thinking about disarming the United States or the Soviet Union, or any other nation. What we are seeking is action in the field of armament which will reduce the danger of war."

45. If the Western Powers are really proceeding from this standpoint, it is clear that no constructive solution of the disarmament problem can be achieved. Our efforts, too, are and must be directed towards reducing the danger of war, but this can never be achieved so long as the armaments race continues; it can be achieved only by reducing armaments and prohibiting atomic weapons. It seems, however - and

the statement by the Secretary of State during the general debate merely confirms this - that the United States Government is not interested in the effective reduction of armed forces and that in no circumstances is it interested in the elimination of nuclear weapons. The United States Government does not intend to embark upon disarmament; it wishes to remain in the field of armaments. It is one of the lessons of history that this field produces war, not peace.

46. In their proposals, the Western Powers avoid the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and even try to legalize their use as a lawful means of waging war. According to their proposals, any agreement on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons must be preceded by a settlement of certain political questions. Their proposed system of control is divorced from the very basis of an agreement on disarmament and, like the previous proposals, constitutes an attempt to reach an agreement that would be advantageous to one side only. Such an approach, however, cannot yield any positive results. All these facts show that the proposals of the Western Powers do nothing to advance the disarmament negotiations, in spite of what the sponsors say, even at this session. The purpose of these proposals is to steer the negotiations into another impasse.

47. The Czechoslovak delegation has on several occasions in the past emphasized that the fact that efforts to draw up a general programme of disarmament are at present encountering difficulties must not be used as a reason or pretext for blocking the whole issue. There are a large number of individual questions relating to disarmament the successful solution of which would help to break the deadlock on this question. In this connexion we must stress the great importance of the memorandum on partial measures in the field of disarmament, submitted by the Soviet Union on 20 September [A/C.1/793] for consideration by the General Assembly. The Czechoslovak delegation has studied this document carefully. It considers that the adoption of the measures proposed would constitute the necessary step forward in the search for a solution of the disarmament question and it therefore supports these proposals wholeheartedly.

48. The USSR proposal that States possessing thermonuclear weapons would assume a solemn obligation not to use these weapons deserves careful study. All peoples would undoubtedly welcome a speedy and complete prohibition of the use of atomic weapons, but if this goal cannot be achieved owing to the refusal of the Western Powers, the Soviet proposal for the assumption of an obligation not to use such weapons for five years constitutes a sound basis for reaching agreement on this complicated problem. The adoption of this proposal would certainly help to improve the international situation. One of the most urgent demands of our time is for the discontinuance of tests of atomic weapons. The peoples of the world are deeply concerned at the continued tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons which constitute a threat to human life and health.

49. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore welcomes the USSR delegation's proposal that the question of the discontinuance of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons under international control should be examined by this session of the General Assembly as an independent item. There is no doubt that even a temporary dis-

continuance of tests for two or three years, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would be a practical step towards the complete prohibition of thermonuclear weapons and would hamper further efforts to develop new and even more destructive thermonuclear weapons. Considering that control of the implementation of an agreement on the temporary discontinuance of tests would, as pointed out in the proposals submitted by the USSR, be relatively simple and very effective, the Czechoslovak delegation sees no reason why an agreement of this kind could not be reached at this twelfth session of the General Assembly.

50. The composition of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission has also been a factor contributing to its unsatisfactory work. Of the five members of the Sub-Committee, four play a leading role in the North Atlantic bloc, the whole policy of which is based on continuing the armaments race and preparing for a new war employing atomic and hydrogen weapons. The present composition of the Sub-Committee and its secret discussions suit the purposes only of those who, with a view to deceiving and lulling world public opinion, wish to create the illusion that they are doing something with regard to disarmament, but are really not at all interested in achieving progress in this matter. The Czechoslovak delegation, like many others, is in favour of expanding the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee ensuring that disarmament problems which concern all peoples are not discussed behind closed doors.

51. I am convinced that a step forward can be taken with regard to disarmament at this session of the General Assembly. But the United Nations must deal with this problem vigorously and with a sense of its great responsibility for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the relaxation of international tension.

52. The attainment of an agreement on disarmament is a matter of great concern to the Czechoslovak Government. In its desire to provide concrete assistance in solving the disarmament problem, it has already twice reduced the level of its armed forces. With regard to so-called aerial photography, it has stated that, in the interests of reaching agreement on disarmament, it is prepared to agree to this measure, on the premise that the reduction of armaments would considerably lessen the threat of war and would make it possible to take measures of this kind without jeopardizing the security of our Republic.

53. The question of collective security is closely connected with that of disarmament. As a State situated in Central Europe, Czechoslovakia is directly concerned with the achievement of this aim in Europe. The events which took place last year have shown that the problem of all-European security, to which the Czechoslovak delegation has already drawn attention at previous sessions, has become even more urgent at the present time. The situation in Europe has been further aggravated in the past year. In the territory of West Germany, more and more United States atomic bases are being established and the West German army is being feverishly built up. It is not by chance that fascist organizations are reappearing in various forms in West Germany and that former Nazi officers are again commanding the armed forces of that country. According to a statement made by Mr. Strauss, the West German Minister of Defence, in October 1956,

thirty-one of the thirty-eight generals of the new German army served on Hitler's general staff. At the same time, increasingly open threats are being made in the Federal Republic of Germany against its eastern neighbours.

54. All European peoples, and especially the neighbours of the Federal Republic of Germany, are interested in ensuring security in Europe. Admittedly, the militarization of West Germany and the plans to supply its army with thermonuclear weapons are directed primarily against the socialist countries of Europe; but the history of two world wars has shown that German imperialism has never limited its aggression to the East and that its expansionist tendencies and desire for world mastery have always led to war against its Western neighbours also. The possibility of the use of weapons of mass destruction will merely encourage West German militaristic circles in their ambitions for revenge.

55. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore expresses its agreement with the proposal in the USSR delegation's memorandum on partial measures in the field of disarmament, to the effect that States possessing thermonuclear weapons should assume the obligation, under an appropriate agreement, not to allow the installation of atomic units or of any types of atomic or hydrogen weapons beyond their frontiers and should not place such weapons at the disposal of other States and of the commands of military blocs.

56. In view of the existing situation in Europe, it is absolutely essential to make every effort, in the spirit of the principles of the United Nations Charter, to replace the policy of military blocs by a policy of mutual understanding, co-operation and collective security. There can be no doubt that implementation of the USSR proposal for the dissolution of both the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty would substantially alter the international situation.

57. The first step towards ensuring security in Europe might also be an agreement whereby the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries would undertake not to use force and to settle all disputes by peaceful means.

58. The establishment of a system of collective security would also greatly facilitate the solution of the German problem. The Czechoslovak Government, which quite understandably has a great interest in this matter, considers that the establishment of a confederation of the two German States which exist today would be the most acceptable first step towards the establishment of a single, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

59. One of the most important items on the agenda of the twelfth session is the danger constituted by the raising of the radiation level resulting from atomic test explosions. It is common knowledge that the number of radioactive particles, including strontium-90 particles, in the stratosphere is constantly increasing. These particles are carried around the world by air currents and are deposited on the earth's surface. They may be deposited anywhere in the world, regardless of State frontiers. Science has proved that even if all experimental atomic explosions are discontinued forthwith strontium fall-out will continue for years to come and in ever-increasing quantities, reaching its maximum level by 1980. Eminent sci-

entists and scientific institutes in many different countries of the world have shown that the rising level of radioactivity may constitute a biological threat to all life on earth. In these circumstances, it is essential for the General Assembly to draft concrete measures which will have the effect of stopping any further rise in the level of radioactivity. The Czechoslovak Government is convinced that such measures are possible. Prompted by a desire to help free mankind from the threat of such a disaster, it has submitted for consideration by the twelfth session a proposal to consider the question of the effects of atomic radiation.

60. The General Assembly must discuss important economic problems, particularly the question of raising standards of living and of developing international economic and trade co-operation and the question of effective economic assistance to under-developed countries. World economic problems cannot be solved without the co-operation of all countries, both the industrially developed and the economically less developed countries. An effective step in this direction would undoubtedly be the convening of an international economic conference with the widest possible participation of all the interested countries. The task of such a conference would be to prepare concrete measures to restore international economic relations to normal and expanding foreign trade and economic co-operation. With regard to the economic development of under-developed countries, Czechoslovakia continues to support actively the idea of establishing a special United Nations fund for this purpose.

61. With a view to achieving successful results at this session and in the general interests of future United Nations work, the Czechoslovak delegation feels obliged to refer to a number of important problems which concern the actual work of the Organization and its organs. In the first place, there is the question of equitable geographical representation in the organs of the United Nations, as referred to in the Charter. The violation of this principle is dealing a serious blow to international co-operation. It is impairing the representative nature of the United Nations and undermining the work of its organs, and is having the effect of denying whole geographical areas the opportunity to participate actively in solving the important problems discussed in the United Nations. Last year, for example, the seat of a non-permanent member of the Security Council, which under the gentleman's agreement of 1946 belongs to an eastern European country, was assigned to a State from another geographical area.

62. The Czechoslovak delegation also considers it wholly inadmissible that one of the permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China, should still be denied its lawful place in the United Nations. The course of international events has long since shown that no international political problems can seriously be solved without the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China. The work and prestige of our Organization are the first to suffer from the fact that lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China are deprived of an opportunity to take part in United Nations work. Also contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the interests of peaceful international co-operation is the fact that a certain group of countries is preventing such a democratic and peace-

loving country as the Mongolian People's Republic from becoming a Member of our Organization.

63. Discrimination against the socialist countries with regard to equitable geographical representation in United Nations organs, the flouting of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the refusal to admit the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, although it meets all the requirements of such admission, and attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic - all this shows that attempts are still being made to direct the United Nations along a course which does not correspond to its purposes and to turn it into the instrument of one Power's policy. Such ambitions are contrary to the United Nations Charter, undermine the very foundations of our Organization and are incompatible with the interests of peace.

64. Important international political problems might be solved much more easily if all States adhered in their mutual relations to the principles of peaceful coexistence. The implementation of these principles calls for observance of the sovereignty and full equality of rights of States, mutual respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. Despite the opposition of partisans of the negotiation from a "position of strength" policy, the principles of peaceful coexistence are being implemented and acknowledged by an ever-increasing number of States, through the active efforts of the masses of the people to preserve peace. Clear evidence of this was the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries.

65. If the General Assembly is resolved to fulfil its task of ensuring peace and peaceful co-operation among nations, it is essential that it should support this desire to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among all States. Accordingly, the Czechoslovak delegation fully supports the draft declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States submitted to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union delegation [A/3673] as a separate item.

66. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic is consistently guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence. Its relations with other countries have always been and continue to be based on the principle that all problems between States must be settled by peaceful means, with due respect for the rights and vital interests of peoples. The Czechoslovak people, in firm unity and brotherly co-operation with their liberator, the Soviet Union, and with other socialist countries, are successfully building communism in their country and are developing friendly relations with all countries, thus contributing to the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples. The policy of peace and friendly coexistence among peoples derives from the very nature of our social system. We want peace and we need it to carry out the great tasks of socialist construction aimed at constantly raising the material and cultural standard of living of our people. Czechoslovakia adheres to the principles of peaceful coexistence in its everyday policies. We maintain good and mutually advantageous economic relations with States which have different social and economic systems, but which observe the principles of peaceful coexistence and pursue a peace-loving policy, and these relations are constantly expanding.

67. We are connected with many countries by long traditions of cultural ties, which we are constantly strengthening. In accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, we proposed at the last session of the General Assembly a draft resolution concerning the development of cultural relations which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 1043 (XI)]. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic attaches great importance to the improvement of mutual relations and the establishment of personal contacts between representatives of Governments and parliaments and other outstanding leaders, and will maintain such contacts in the future. We are in favour of peaceful competition between States, which would be of benefit to the peoples and advance the cause of progress throughout the world.

68. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that the widespread application of the principles of peaceful coexistence should have the full support of the United Nations and hopes that the results of the work of the twelfth session of the General Assembly will promote the achievement of this aim. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, I wish this session great success in its work, in which the Czechoslovak delegation intends to take an active part, with a view to strengthening universal peace and security.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and resumed at 4.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/3670) (concluded)

69. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I must confess very sincerely that whenever the Indian delegation presents a proposal I am naturally inclined to support it. I have the highest regard for India's contribution to the work of the United Nations and a personal and very warm admiration for its eminent representative here. Consequently whenever I have to differ from any proposal that that delegation puts forward I do so only with deep sorrow and regret, always paying respect to the sincerity and nobility of its intentions.

70. In the present case, I cannot support the amendments submitted by the Indian delegation [A/L.224], for objective reasons which I shall try to present to the Assembly with complete impartiality.

71. This is a problem which we must consider quite dispassionately, one might almost say in a spirit of scientific analysis.

72. What is the position of the various countries with regard to this problem? It may be said that the Assembly is divided into three groups on the matter. There are countries which, in the legitimate exercise of their sovereignty, have recognized the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China but do not wish that Government to be represented here until certain conditions which the dignity of the Assembly requires are met. There are countries which maintain relations with the Government of Communist China and which, like India, wish China to have the full representation granted to it by the San Francisco

Charter. Lastly, there are countries which, in the equally legitimate exercise of their sovereignty, have not recognized and do not maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of Communist China and accordingly do not wish that Government to be represented in the United Nations.

73. That is the situation. We are a house divided, an Assembly divided into three different groups. Naturally, those of us who desire harmony in the Assembly and wish its work to be useful and practical do not want there to be a discussion which, far from bringing the groups closer together, would accentuate the divisions between them and produce no result. It was with this practical consideration in mind that it was proposed in previous years that the question of Chinese representation should not be discussed. The grounds for that decision remain and have perhaps become even more serious, for reasons of which we are all well aware, and that being the case, it is proper that we should continue to support the postponement of the consideration of the problem. It is for that reason that the Peruvian delegation, with all respect for the noble intentions of the Indian amendments, supports the decision of the General Committee.

74. There are, however, other reasons apart from what we might call the actual position as regards the groups in the Assembly. We are dealing with a Government which was established by a revolution, and a revolution which was supported, which was fomented, which was exploited to the hilt by China's neighbour, in violation of the 1945 treaty. This revolution has created a difficult and very serious situation, a situation about which there are conflicting reports daily, but reports which nevertheless show that in that continent - which deserves all our sympathy and consideration because of the existence there of an age-old civilization very similar in some respects to the ancient and noble civilizations of the American continent - there is indeed a difficult situation. Only yesterday a great American review published reports on the difficulties with which the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is faced, from the political point of view, from the point of view of industrial development, and on account of the tremendous agricultural crisis. It seems to me that it would be unwise of the Assembly to take up the problem while the situation remains so uncertain and so fluid.

75. But there is another consideration, and this is a matter not only of prudence but of what we might call the dignity of this Assembly. We cannot forget that the Government of Communist China has been condemned by this Assembly for open aggression. In that clear and flagrant case of aggression, when the Assembly attempted to use its good offices and to establish, in conformity with a legal principle which we are proud to believe originated on the American continent, a return to the status quo, the army, with the support of the Chinese volunteers, for which the Government of Communist China was fully responsible, far from respecting the Assembly's call for a cease-fire and a return to the status quo, rejected the Assembly's proposal, which we adopted in the full exercise of our rights and with the full support of world opinion. That Government was therefore justly condemned for aggression.

76. The consequences of that aggression have not yet been repaired; Korea remains divided. There was

similar action in Viet-Nam and that country remains divided. What gestures has Communist China made towards respect for the principles which the United Nations justly upheld and applied? What signs of repentance - for one can speak of repentance in the case of nations just as one can in the case of individuals - what tokens of at least objective reparation, of a change of attitude, of adaptation to the mentality, the goals and the spirit of the United Nations Charter has Communist China given us to justify a change in our attitude?

77. Thus, from the standpoint of caution, because of the division within the Assembly, from the standpoint of political reality, of political vision, because of the unstable position of that Government, and lastly because of this sense of dignity - which is not pride but conscientiousness in the fulfilment of our duty - I hold that the Assembly would do well not to consider this question during its twelfth session.

78. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The twelfth session of the General Assembly must give serious consideration to the proposal submitted by the delegation of India concerning the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

79. Year after year as the General Assembly has met it has decided unfairly not to examine any proposals concerning the seating of the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the exclusion from the United Nations of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives. These repeated refusals to admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations undermine the authority of our Organization.

80. The explanatory memorandum submitted by the delegation of India [A/3663] rightly emphasizes that the absence of representatives of China from the United Nations virtually prevents a great portion of Asia and almost one fourth of the population of the globe from taking part in the work of both the Assembly and the Security Council.

81. The injustice and illegality of the situation which has arisen are obvious. Nevertheless, a certain group of countries headed and directed by the United States continues to oppose the immediate restoration of the indisputable rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, in other words, to oppose the representation of the People's Republic of China in the General Assembly and the Security Council. Those who oppose the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and uphold the rights of the gentlemen from Taiwan who represent no one simply do not want to face reality, to recognize that only the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can represent the Chinese people in the United Nations.

82. A most important factor in the political development of Asia, and not only of Asia, is the establishment and consolidation of the People's Republic of China, a great Power representing a people 600 million strong. With a population which is thus double that of the United States, the United Kingdom and France combined and with 10 million square kilometres of territory, an area equal to that of the whole of Europe, China is one of the greatest countries in the world. Not a single

important political problem of our time, particularly where Asia and the Far East are concerned, can be solved without taking into account the interests of the People's Republic of China and without the participation of its representatives.

83. Modern China is a unified great Power successfully achieving the development of all aspects of its economy and national culture. In its international relations the People's Republic of China is making every effort to contribute to the lessening of international tension and to promote peaceful coexistence among States. Consequently it favours the settlement of international controversies by negotiation.

84. For example, the positive character of the role played by the People's Republic of China was manifest, as other speakers have rightly emphasized, in the results of the Geneva Conference in 1954 which led to peace in Indo-China. The People's Republic of China made a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace in the Far East. World public opinion unanimously agrees that the success of the Bandung Conference of the Asian and African countries was to a great extent attributable to the position taken by the delegation of the People's Republic of China, which submitted a number of constructive proposals aimed at facilitating agreement on the settlement of the major problems considered by the Conference. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China also took a number of steps to ease the tension in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Western countries, particularly the United States.

85. The role played by the People's Republic of China in international relations is not to be underestimated, yet the refusal of certain countries to restore its legitimate rights in the United Nations shows that such countries do underestimate the role of the People's Republic of China in international affairs. The People's Republic of China, together with India, proclaimed five principles of peaceful coexistence among States. They were subsequently joined by Burma and Yugoslavia and the principles were then approved by the Bandung Conference of twenty-nine Asian and African countries. The Soviet Union for its part also approves those principles, on which its foreign policy has always been based. Thus the five principles of peaceful coexistence among States jointly proclaimed by the People's Republic of China and India have already won recognition from many States and have become a platform for all those who seek to maintain and consolidate peace.

86. It is a well-known fact that the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has remained without solution since 1951. The United States delegation has unfortunately succeeded in the past in securing majorities opposed to the representation in the United Nations of the 600 million inhabitants of China. Is it not ridiculous that a seat in the United Nations, which purports to be a universal international organization, should still be occupied by Mr. Tsiang, who represents the Chiang Kai-shek group which has been expelled from China? To continue to pretend that Mr. Tsiang represents the 600 million inhabitants of China is to be a party to a farce which is unworthy of the United Nations. Such discrimination against the Chinese people will have serious consequences for our organization.

87. The demand that the People's Republic of China should be given its rightful place in the United Nations is being put forward by the Governments of many countries representing the majority of the world's inhabitants. All this shows that there is a widespread realization in many countries of the importance of the participation of the People's Republic of China in international affairs.

88. In his statement the representative of Peru, Mr. Belaúnde, who spoke just before me, denied the importance of the participation of the People's Republic of China in international affairs. This is incorrect. The absence of representatives of the People's Republic of China has an adverse effect on the activities of such important organs as the Security Council, where China, under the terms of the Charter, has a permanent seat, a seat now illegally occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek representative who has no right whatever to it. Such a situation cannot be tolerated in any circumstances. Such a situation prevents the United Nations from properly fulfilling its great task of strengthening peace and international security.

89. Is it not clear in the light of the foregoing that the opposition of a certain group of countries headed by the United States to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is directly at variance with the purpose of further strengthening the peace and security of peoples? The People's Republic of China must be allowed to take its rightful place in the United Nations if the importance and authority of the United Nations are to be strengthened. Those who support the restoration of its legitimate rights in the United Nations include statesmen and public figures holding the most divergent views and convictions. Many States have recognized by now the anomaly inherent in the long-continued exclusion from the United Nations of the representatives of the 600 million inhabitants of China, the representatives of the great People's Republic of China which is soon to celebrate the eighth anniversary of its founding.

90. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations not only undermines the authority of our Organization but also prevents it from reaching a successful solution of major international problems, particularly problems concerning Asia and the Far East. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supports the proposal of the Indian delegation to include in the agenda of the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

91. Ato Yilma DERESSA (Ethiopia): May I be permitted to add the voice of the delegation of Ethiopia to the voices of those speakers who have preceded me in congratulating the President upon his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. His election undoubtedly is a tribute to the long and distinguished service that he has rendered to our Organization, as well as recognition of the contributions that his noble nation has made to the cause of peace and in the service of humanity.

92. In stressing the views of my delegation on the item under discussion, I shall strictly confine myself to the procedural aspects and shall refrain from touching upon the substance of the issue. As a matter of broad principle, my delegation has always favoured the inclusion of an item whenever an interested party has

asked for it. We have done so not because we have always agreed with the views of the interested party as to the substance under discussion, but because we believe that one of the functions of our Organization is to lend an ear to all complaints, to ventilate them through discussions, so that feelings that might run high may be prevented from exploding. We believe that the service of the United Nations to mankind lies in this field as in many others. We are convinced that discussion at best will lead to understanding and at worst to lessening differences. It is to this end that my delegation has given its support for the inclusion of the items from 58 to 65.

93. Regarding the inclusion of the item proposed by India, certain arguments have been advanced in support of the recommendation of the General Committee. Frankly, some of the arguments appear to be rather strange. It is contended that the item has been discussed before. Furthermore, it is claimed that the item is one upon which no substantial meeting of the minds exists. But most of the items on the agenda of the present session are items that have been on the agenda of the previous session and have been deliberated upon by the Assembly. Nearly all the items are subject to a degree of controversy, and on some of them opinions remain sharply divided. In the past the controversial character of many issues has not always obstructed their solution. Items like the questions of Tunisia and Morocco, as we all know, have resulted in a very happy solution, in spite of their controversial character during the time they were debated. The item which is now before us is not any more formidable or forbidding. By keeping the issue out of debate, we will not serve the prestige of the General Assembly, nor can we contribute to the advancement of the principles and purposes for which the United Nations was founded.

94. Indeed, if the General Assembly is to remain the custodian of the conscience of mankind, if it is to continue to enjoy the support of public opinion, there should be a minimum of conduct to which we must seek to conform. We should not rule out an item by an argument which could be used in favour of its inclusion. The fact that an item has been discussed at a previous session or that it is highly controversial should, in my view, be the very reason for including it, provided, of course, that it is an international issue of importance.

95. My delegation is fully aware that discussion in our meetings can sometimes lead to high tension. Nevertheless, that is not because the issue is being discussed, but because of the way it is sometimes discussed. Let us then give our fellow members a chance to discuss all questions to which their Government and people attach importance. But let them be discussed in such a way that better understanding is achieved and the cause of universal peace served. Without prejudice to the position of my delegation on the subject under discussion, and for the reasons I have enumerated, my delegation will support the Indian amendment regarding inclusion of the item, and will consequently vote for it.

96. Mr. SIK (Hungary): First of all, I should like to offer the President my congratulations on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

97. The problem of the Chinese people's representation in the United Nations has been considered by the Organization for eight years. However, certain

quarters hostile to the Chinese people, who are engaged in building socialism, have prevented the solution of the problem of the representation of the Chinese people in the United Nations in conformity with their interests and of peaceful international coexistence.

98. When the United Nations was established, its original Members included China, which, owing to its importance in world politics, became one of the permanent members of the Security Council. Big changes have since occurred in China; its people have achieved complete freedom and have ousted Chiang Kai-shek and his group, whose main concern was not to serve the interests of the Chinese people, but those of the Western Powers.

99. The People's Republic of China is today pursuing an independent foreign and domestic policy in conformity with the interests of the Chinese people. As a result of its increased economic strength, political importance and prestige, China has become one of the leading great Powers in the world.

100. There are some who imagine that if they say something does not exist, it really has ceased to exist for the world. The disillusioning reality, however, has up to now already compelled them and will also compel them in the future to look the facts in the face. In vain do certain representatives of the Western Powers imagine that the economic wealth of China can be ignored by the world economy. The facts prove the absurdity of their intentions.

101. Owing to the arbitrary action of some quarters in the United States of America, a number of countries have during the last few years conducted no trade with China, and restrictions have been imposed upon several other countries in connexion with commercial relations with China. But world economy cannot dispense with China's wealth, which has compelled several States to relax the embargo imposed by the United States of America.

102. Another means of isolating the People's Republic of China was the exclusion of the representatives of the Chinese people from the United Nations. Chiang Kai-shek had to flee from the wrath of the Chinese people. However, in the United Nations, this man who has been driven away encroaches upon the right to represent the free and independent people. It was not Chiang Kai-shek whom the United Nations admitted to membership in the world Organization, but the people of China. Membership in the United Nations is open not to certain Governments and their members, but to individual States. The deliberations of the United Nations are attended not by those who have delegated themselves, but by those who have been given the mandate by the people.

103. It infringes the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and it is, therefore, intolerable that certain Powers should shape the United Nations and its membership according to their own interests, should pick and choose who is to represent certain peoples in the world Organization, and to serve these interests. It is intolerable that one of the original Members of the United Nations, the country with the largest population in the world, should be deprived of its rights and prevented from sending its real representatives to participate in the deliberations of the United Nations.

104. This untenable situation still exists because the United States is not willing that China, instead of being

represented by its subservient voting partner, should be represented by those whom they cannot instruct what to say. The problems of Asia cannot be solved and world peace cannot be defended without the People's Republic of China. The United Nations is guided by the universal interests of the peoples of the world and this makes it imperative that discrimination against the Chinese people in the United Nations should come to an end. The exiled Chiang Kai-shek has no place in the United Nations, simply because his vote means a vote which the United States can count on.

105. The problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China is closely connected with that of the recognition by other States of the People's Republic of China. It is known that a considerable number of Member States, including two of the permanent members of the Security Council, have recognized and are maintaining diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. It is incontestable that the Government of the People's Republic of China has for nearly a decade been in control of 99.7 per cent of the vast territory of China.

106. In these circumstances, the Government of the People's Republic of China, according to the traditional practice among States, is to be considered the general de facto Government of China. International practice does not deny that status to any Government merely because of the fact that its predecessor is holding out in an isolated fortress. According to the view most generally adopted in international law, all other States are not only entitled, but are bound to recognize the de facto Government in power, provided that the other requirements have been met, which, for the People's Republic of China, is beyond all doubt the case.

107. According to Professor Lauterpacht, a notable judge at the International Court of Justice:

"Whenever the requisite conditions of governmental capacity exist, recognition is due as a matter of right. Once the revolutionary government may fairly be held to enjoy with reasonable prospect of permanency the obedience of the mass of the population, and once it is in effective control of the bulk of the national territory, it is entitled to recognition. Its revolutionary origin or the method of the revolutionary change is irrelevant."

108. In the light of what has been cited it is obvious that the attitude of those States, above all of the Government of the United States, which refused to recognize the People's Republic of China, runs counter to international law. In this connexion, reference could be made to Mr. Dulles himself, who in 1950, before becoming Secretary of State, wrote the following:

"If the Communist Government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the United Nations. However, a régime that claims to have become the government of a country through civil war should not be recognized until it has been tested over a reasonable period of time."

And again:

"Communist Governments today dominate more than 30 per cent of the population of the world. We may not like that fact; indeed, we do not like it at all. But if we want to have a world organization, then it should be representative of the world as it is."

109. Wise words, indeed. But the question arises whether the past eight years and the achievements in this period by the People's Republic of China, and its international prestige, are not sufficient for Mr. Dulles to recognize at last the rights of China.

110. The stubborn and unwarranted position taken by the United States on the problem of China has been disapproved of by certain more objective United States lawyers. Mr. Herbert W. Briggs, professor of international law, wrote in 1952:

"When peace is re-established in Korea it may be easier to recognize that neither the long-range interests of the United Nations nor the interests of a Member containing perhaps one-fifth of the world's population can be served by disregarding that the only Government in effective control of China is the Chinese Communist Government."

111. In 1955 another United States professor, Quincy Wright, proved in a convincing manner that the refusal to recognize the de facto Government of the People's Republic of China is contrary to the traditions of the United States in international law. As he writes:

"The congressional resolution of June 1953 opposing representation of Communist China in the United Nations and the congressional resolution of 29 January 1955 implying that the coastal islands may be associated with Formosa in measures of defence, even though solicited by the President, run counter to this tradition. Such resolutions, if specific and mandatory, are of doubtful constitutionality and are likely to hamper policies grounded on international law and contributing to national security and international tranquillity."

112. This same professor has reached, among others, the following conclusion:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China appears to be the general de facto Government of China and as such is alone capable of committing China under international law and alone entitled to represent China in international transactions. It would, therefore, appear that the United States should no longer support the representation of China by the Nationalist Government or oppose its representation by the Communist Government in the United Nations and the specialized agencies."

113. The Hungarian Government fully supports the Indian proposal for settling the problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is of the opinion that the United Nations should delay no further in dealing with this question but should inscribe it on the agenda and call upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to send its representative to the United Nations.

114. Mr. ARENALES-CATALAN (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Ordinarily we would signify Guatemala's position with regard to a question such as that now before us by means of our vote. Nevertheless, as a member of the General Committee and in view of our statements in that Committee concerning the problem, my delegation considers it advisable, and perhaps even necessary, to explain our attitude to this Assembly and to public opinion at large.

115. The position of the Government of Guatemala is clear and unequivocal. Guatemala does not recognize any Government of China other than that which was its

ally in the Second World War, which took part in the founding of the United Nations and which is represented in this General Assembly, where my delegation has the honour of working side by side with that Government's delegation. This is not the time to explain the ethical, historical and political reasons underlying my Government's attitude.

116. Furthermore, the United Nations itself, in numerous resolutions adopted in past years, has specified which is the Government of China that this Organization recognizes. In addition, there have been resolutions such as those relating to Korea which condemned Communist China as an aggressor. In the light of these considerations, my delegation will vote against the inclusion of the item proposed by India.

117. I should like now to refer to the draft resolution submitted by the United States at a meeting of the General Committee last week. That draft resolution, approved by the Committee with the abstention of my delegation, is set forth in paragraph 7 of the Committee's report [A/3670].

118. In the General Committee my delegation voted in favour of paragraph 1 of the draft resolution because, although it was not actually necessary, it simply rejected the item proposed by India.

119. We abstained from voting on paragraph 2 because, from the constitutional standpoint and under the terms of rules 40 and 41 of the rules of procedure, we did not consider the General Committee competent to make a decision in the matter. This opinion is supported not only by those who favour the inclusion of the item proposed by India but also by such persons as Mr. Entezam, a former President of the General Assembly, Mr. Urquiza of El Salvador, who expressed this view in the General Committee last year, and the delegation of Mexico, which did so during the debate in the plenary meeting. My delegation considers, however, that the General Assembly in plenary session is competent to make decisions on political matters of substance. We shall therefore vote against the inclusion of the item, in favour of the General Committee's recommendation and against the amendments submitted by India.

120. Before closing I should like to add a word concerning resolution 396 (V) which has been quoted from this rostrum and which recommends that questions relating to the representation of a Member State should be considered by the General Assembly. My delegation takes the view that this recommendation made by the Assembly at its fifth session is merely, as its own wording indicates, a recommendation which the Assembly at its twelfth session, being master of its own procedure, is at liberty to accept or to reject. Should it be mistakenly argued, however, that this General Assembly has a duty to consider the question, then my delegation would point out that the Assembly is not refusing to consider it; on the contrary, as the result of its consideration of the matter, it is voting on and deciding it in the only way possible for the majority of its Members which recognize only the Government of the Republic of China.

121. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I should like to take advantage of my first opportunity of speaking from this rostrum to greet the President on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation and congratulate him on his election as President of the General Assembly.

122. The inclusion in the agenda of the item concerning the representation of China in the United Nations is once again the subject of controversy. The reason is that the United States delegation, ignoring both the provisions of the Assembly's rules of procedure and political considerations, is again making every effort to prevent the General Assembly from discussing this item.

123. It is easy to understand that the United States delegation should wish to avoid a debate on the representation of China, for such a debate would force it to defend and to prove, by means of valid arguments, all the allegations made in the past for the purpose of resisting the admission to the United Nations of the true representatives of the great Chinese people, that is, the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

124. It would indeed be difficult to argue that it is not the People's Republic of China, supported by all the Chinese people, which is the true representative of China, but rather the Chiang Kai-shek clique which was driven out and execrated by the whole nation. It would be equally difficult to argue and to prove that it is not 9 million square kilometres of Chinese territory and 600 million Chinese which represent the true China, but that China means the island of Taiwan, cut off from the mainland by the United States Seventh Fleet. It is to the interest of the United States, which, posing as the ally of Chiang Kai-shek, has installed itself as master on the island of Taiwan where it has established its chief military base in the Pacific against the People's Republic of China, that the question of the representation of China should not be raised at this session of the Assembly. This attitude is quite understandable. However, this is hardly a sufficient reason for the General Committee to submit to us a recommendation that we should adopt a draft resolution of which paragraph 1 invites the General Assembly to reject the request of India for the inclusion in the agenda of its twelfth regular session of the additional item entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations", and paragraph 2 invites the Assembly to decide not to consider, at its twelfth regular session, any proposal to exclude the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, that is to say a proposal which is tantamount to excluding any possibility of discussing the validity of the mandate of Chiang Kai-shek's representatives.

125. The procedure adopted in order to remove the item concerning the representation of China from the agenda of the twelfth session seems very strange to us, despite all attempts to justify it by precedents. These precedents, created under United States pressure and relating to the same question, all have this common element: they owe their existence to a wilful misinterpretation of the Assembly's rules of procedure. Ultimately, the consequence of this course will be, I fear, that any decision, no matter how illegal, could be proposed and adopted if enough votes could be found to secure its passage. Surely, the effect of this development will be to belittle the force of the Assembly's decisions and to weaken its moral authority. If this is the purpose, it is served only too well by the means employed.

126. But we are sure that the Members of the United Nations do not want an Organization whose moral

prestige is diminished. On the contrary, they wish the prestige and moral authority of the United Nations to be strengthened. For this purpose, the first requirement is to secure respect for the Charter of the United Nations and for the Assembly's rules of procedure.

127. The Bulgarian delegation has a great respect for the United Nations and for the Charter. That is why we are concerned about any wrongs which they may suffer and are highly sensitive to proposals which reflect a lack of respect not only towards the Charter but also towards the Members of the General Assembly.

128. The draft resolution submitted by the United States is presented to us as a recommendation of the General Committee under rule 40 of the rules of procedure. However, rule 40 is quite explicit. It says that the General Committee make recommendations to the General Assembly on matters relating to the inclusion of an item in the agenda or the rejection of a request for inclusion. In other words, the General Committee can only recommend the inclusion of a proposed item or the rejection of a request for inclusion. It cannot propose a draft resolution specifying that the Assembly should admit the representatives of a certain Government as the representatives of a certain country and that certain other representatives should not be admitted. Any such proposal would trespass upon the prerogatives of the Credentials Committee, which is being ordered not to take up the matter of the representation of China, which representation, according to the General Committee, has been valid since last year. However, rule 41 of the rules of procedure makes it clear that the General Committee is not entitled to discuss the political aspect of particular problems, because it can only do so to the extent to which it is necessary to decide whether or not an item should be placed on the agenda.

129. Hence, it is inadmissible that any such decision should be recommended to us by the General Committee. Moreover, the Assembly cannot adopt any such resolution, particularly paragraph 2 of the text, without a report from the Credentials Committee.

130. However, there is another and far more important aspect of the question of the representation of China. Some extremely weighty matters appear on the agenda of this session: disarmament, the peaceful coexistence of States and peoples, the amendment of the Charter, and so on, upon which the present Assembly cannot make any meaningful decision without the presence of a Chinese delegation duly authorized by the People's Republic of China. In fact, any decision of the Assembly or of any other organ of the United Nations capable of creating obligations affecting China cannot be valid without the consent, or at least the participation, of the People's Republic of China. Can one seriously contend that the men who were driven out by the entire Chinese nation are to be responsible for representing that nation here and for applying this Assembly's decisions to Chinese territory? Even with the best will in the world, they would be incapable of doing so, for the simple reason that they cannot exercise any authority in China. The situation is even more serious when we consider the question of disarmament. How can we discuss disarmament and define its principles and methods, in Asia in particular, when the largest State in Asia, the People's Republic of China, is absent? This is to have a completely false picture of the situation in that part of the world, unless one

imagines that decisions on disarmament can be taken in the absence of the People's Republic of China or against its will. This is obviously impossible.

131. On what basis, then, will the proposals on disarmament in Asia be based? Perhaps certain countries which have no serious intention of concerning themselves with disarmament are trying, by preventing the People's Republic of China from participating in the work of the United Nations on such an important matter, to sabotage this item in advance and make disarmament impossible. If this is their intention, they should be asked to explain themselves before this Assembly, to expose their hopes and intentions frankly. The peoples of the entire world are no longer willing to be the victims of such tactics.

132. It would be equally impossible to try to settle the question of the coexistence of countries with different political and social organizations without the active participation of the People's Republic of China. Peaceful coexistence in Asia, and not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world, is inconceivable unless relations with the great People's Republic of China are regulated.

133. What, then, is the point of declining even to discuss the question of the representation of China in the United Nations? Is the object to prolong this state of affairs indefinitely and to use the puppet Government on Taiwan for purposes which one is reluctant to carry out oneself? Whoever thinks in this way is doing very ill service to the United Nations and to international co-operation.

134. The attempt to keep the representatives of the People's Republic of China, who are the real representatives of the Chinese people, out of the United Nations is preventing the Organization from becoming truly universal. Without the participation of China - for Taiwan is not China, but only a morsel of Chinese territory temporarily governed by persons in the pay of a foreign Power - without the participation of the true representatives of a country whose people constitute one-quarter of the world's population, the United Nations cannot solve the great problems of our time.

135. If these are the aims of the United States delegation, their means of attaining them, that is by procedural stratagems, is perhaps well chosen. But all this is too glaring not to be immediately recognized by all who are interested in safeguarding peace and international co-operation among the peoples of the entire world.

136. For seven years in succession, the United States has introduced its customary resolution, postponing the inclusion of the item concerning the representation of China in the United Nations. The pretext is that the Assembly is divided enough without that, and that any discussion on the representation of China would divide it still more. Yet, since differences of opinion on the representation of China exist, discussion would merely bring those opinions into the light and make it possible to reach a decision. Perhaps certain reactionary circles in the United States fear that more daylight would impede their work and their designs in the Far East, or perhaps they are waiting from year to year to see the downfall of the popular régime, based on the trust and enjoying the support of all the people of China, and the accession to power of the hated Chiang Kai-shek clique, or perhaps they are preparing a further

armed aggression against China by their Taiwan mercenaries who proclaim in and out of season that the hour of invasion is at hand.

137. If these are the intentions and the hopes of American reactionary circles, no matter how unrealistic, they show the aggressive aims which they seek to have endorsed by the General Assembly. This is a very curious attitude for a Member of the United Nations to adopt. But however curious it is, the position of the United States, which has not yet recognized the People's Republic of China, is explained by its openly hostile policy towards the great People's Republic of China. What is even more curious is the policy of certain States which have recognized the People's Republic of China as the real representative of the Chinese people - as for example the United Kingdom - but continue to associate themselves with the manoeuvres of the United States delegation.

138. The entire Bulgarian people, convinced that the true representatives of the Chinese people are the representatives of the People's Republic of China, supported their Government's initiative in establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic as soon as it was set up. At this very time, a government delegation led by our Prime Minister is on an official visit to the People's Republic of China. It has been able to see for itself the tremendous achievements of the Chinese people in all fields, the political as well as the economic and cultural. In the short time which has elapsed since the formation of the People's Republic of China, it has been able to see with its own eyes the great love and unconditional prestige which the Government enjoys among all the Chinese people.

139. That is why the Bulgarian delegation wholeheartedly supports India's proposal as a whole, in particular its amendments to the draft resolution submitted originally by the United States, which would enable the General Assembly to consider the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. We hope that since all the peoples of the world are interested in a prompt solution to the great problems of our time, which is impossible without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the General Assembly will take the necessary steps to include the item concerning the representation of China in its agenda.

140. Mr. ISMAIL (Federation of Malaya): Representatives may not be fully aware that the Federation of Malaya has been fighting militant communism in Malaya since 1948 and that my country is the only country in the world today which is involved in a shooting war with adherents of communism. Representatives may not all be aware that almost all the communist terrorists who today are taking up arms against the constituted Government of my country are aliens.

141. We have been fighting militant communism in Malaya for nearly ten years at great cost to the country in men, material and money. Several thousands of peaceful civilians have been killed and injured in this war. We are still spending at the rate of about \$100,000 a day in fighting the Communists in the Malayan jungles. These are resources which have to be diverted to the fight against communist terrorism in Malaya, resources which otherwise could have been used towards the economic and social development of the country.

142. It is true that we are at present getting the better of this fight. My Government, by intensive and careful efforts through every means, has conveyed to the so-called Malayan communist party that we are now a fully sovereign and independent country. The so-called Malayan communist party will now be aware that the Federation of Malaya has taken its place as an independent country, as a Member of the United Nations.

143. Surrender terms have been offered to terrorists of the communist party, offering them a chance to live in peaceful pursuits among the great majority of the people, or passage to their countries of origin should they not be able to live in peace and according to democratic principles.

144. We have fought militant communism for many years and this fight has placed, and continues to place, a great strain on our resources. We therefore fully support the recommendation of the General Committee.

145. Mr. SINGH (Nepal): Notwithstanding the fact that the General Committee has already decided not to include the item on the representation of the People's Republic of China in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, my delegation feels that there is a strong case for consideration of this question at the current session. I should like to state my Government's stand on this matter as briefly as possible.

146. In view of the historical ties of religion, race, trade and culture with the neighbouring country of China, my country has maintained diplomatic relations with China since the beginning. We have a common frontier with China of 500 miles in length on the north along the Himalayas, and it is a fact that a Government has come to stay on the other side of our border whose authority unquestionably extends over the entire Chinese mainland. Our recognition of China is in fact a recognition of the reality which we face every day as an immediate neighbour.

147. We believe in peaceful coexistence with China and plead for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations as soon as possible because, in our opinion, the admission of the People's Republic of China will not only carry the United Nations a great step forward towards its goal of universality, but will also help to bring about a peaceful and just settlement in the Far East which can in itself greatly contribute to the peace of the world and to the furtherance of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations.

148. For these reasons I support, on behalf of my delegation, the amendments proposed by India.

149. The PRESIDENT: That closes the list of speakers. I call on the representative of India, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

150. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I was at some pains, when I introduced the amendments, to try to restrict this matter to the placing of this item on the agenda. At that time I said, on behalf of my delegation, that I would enter into only such matters of merit as were essential to persuade the Assembly to permit the inclusion of the item. The debate, which has been prolonged, has however traversed a considerable field and gone into some of the merits of the question.

151. To a certain extent, that just shows the necessity for placing the item on the agenda. On the one hand, it

is not possible to forget the importance of the issue or the case against altering the representation. On the other, the debate shows that, unless the item is properly placed on the agenda, representatives trespass, more or less, on the merits of the question and the result is a large number of half-statements. It is far better for the Assembly to consider this matter fully and then take any decision it wants. My delegation therefore wishes to make some observations in regard to those made during the debate, so that it cannot be said that there was no merit in the question, and that the debate was merely academic.

152. It has been pointed out that we have discussed this question year after year, that conditions have not changed, and that there is no need to discuss the question because there cannot be any change in the representation. That, as I said, is anticipating the whole of the discussion. There is no draft resolution from my delegation requesting that this item be placed on the agenda - in regard to a change in representation or otherwise. We ask for its consideration.

153. In this connexion I should like to draw attention to the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, which is always an under-statement, characterized by moderation. What does he say? He is one of the people who opposed the inclusion of the item in the agenda; yet he represents a country which recognizes the Government of China. He tells us this:

"... we realize that the question of Chinese representation at the United Nations will one day have to be considered by the General Assembly. We respect the sincerity of those countries which believe that the time has come ..." [684th meeting, para. 181].

154. Thus, it is said that the question must be considered, and the only issue is whether it should be considered today or tomorrow. If there is a difference of opinion as to whether it should be considered this year, next year, or the year after, surely the Assembly will agree that it is a matter for discussion. Here is a country, whose view in this matter is not so strong as ours, which recognizes China, points out that we must consider the question, but says "not today". That opinion ought to be considered when the item is before us.

155. It has been said from this rostrum that my delegation's proposal looks innocuous. With great respect, I would say that that is not a full statement. The proposal is innocuous inasmuch as it is not harmful; but we have put it forward, not because it is innocuous, but because it is beneficial. It is beneficial to discuss this matter; it is beneficial to understand the problem as it exists; it is beneficial to understand why the issue of the representation of China comes up very often. That question comes up not only here, but in every organization in the entire system of the United Nations - whether it be the World Health Organization, the Economic and Social Council, or the International Labour Organisation.

156. It is not possible to disregard this question. It involves 600 million people who have reached political maturity and who have made great economic progress. India has a 3,000-mile frontier with China. During the four or five thousand years of our relations, we have never fought a war with China, and China has never fought a war with us. We have sent people across to China; China has sent people across to us - but not for

the purpose of taking each other's territory. Today, there are checkpoints on either side of this frontier, but that is for the purpose of adjusting relations. We have no quarrels of any kind.

157. It has also been said here that there is only one Government in China, one Government which can speak for China; that that Government is already represented here; and that those who now claim to rule China - and in fact do rule China - are just a corrupt lot. Now, it would be of very little value for the Government of India to say that that is not the case - because we recognize China and our views are not in question. But we think that that Government ought to be represented here so that the Assembly could hear a genuine voice; we think that the other representation is unreal. It is therefore necessary to refer to a source which is not biased in favour of the new Government - that is, the United States State Department which, I think, is a good authority in these circumstances. I do not say that I always quote the State Department; I quote it when it is in my favour. This is what the United States State Department said as early as 1949:

"The reports of United States military and diplomatic officers reveal a growing conviction through 1943 and 1944 that the Government and the Kuomintang had apparently lost the crusading spirit that won them the people's loyalty during the early years of the war. In the opinion of many observers they had sunk into corruption," - and we are told that the other Government is corrupt - "into a scramble for place and power, and into reliance on the United States to win the war for them and to preserve their own domestic supremacy."

I may say that it is more or less a widespread disease in the world to rely on the United States to provide the world with everything. The statement continues:

"The Government of China, of course, had always been a one-party rather than a democratic government in the Western sense. The stresses and strains of war were now rapidly weakening such liberal elements as it did possess and strengthening the grip of the reactionaries who were indistinguishable from the warlords of the past. The mass of the Chinese people were coming more and more to lose confidence in the Government."

That was just prior to the time when the Nationalist Government of that day lost the entire support of the people and ran away.

158. Here is another statement from a Department of State publication:

"A large proportion of the military supplies furnished the Chinese armies by the United States since V-J Day has ... fallen into the hands of the Chinese Communists through the military ineptitude of the Nationalist leaders, their defections and surrenders, and the absence among their forces of the will to fight. ...

"A realistic appraisal of conditions in China, past and present, leads to the conclusion that the only alternative open to the United States was full-scale intervention in behalf of a Government which had lost the confidence of its own troops and its own people."

Now, that does not come from a tainted source: it comes from a source that is compelled to state these matters because they are the facts.

159. It has been stated here that the Government now represented in the United Nations signed the Charter. It is necessary for us to be historically correct about these matters. At San Francisco, the Chinese delegation was a composite delegation; it represented the Kuomintang Government as well as those who were challenging that Government's authority. One of the signatories of the Charter - one can find his name on the original document - was Mr. Tung Pi-wu, who is now an elderly Chinese statesman; he is the President of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China. He was a member of the Chinese delegation at the founding session of this Organization in San Francisco in 1945. There, as the representative of that side, he was among the leading members of the Chinese delegation who signed the Charter of the United Nations.

160. We must also look at some of the practical aspects of this question. My Government does not ask - it has no right to ask and it would be entirely out of order if it thought of asking - any other Government to agree that the Chinese Government is either an acceptable or a good Government. In fact, the consideration of this question does not involve the recognition of China by any Government.

161. In arguing for the consideration of this item, we have to take into account the fact that there is an authority in China, which we regard as the Government of China and which has trade relations with sixty-eight countries of the world. What are those countries? They are not only the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the Republic of Bulgaria - all communist-governed countries which would naturally have good relations with China. Among the countries which have recently entered into trade relations with China are Japan - which recognizes the Formosan Government - France, Italy, Belgium, West Germany, Austria, the Federation of Malaya, Uruguay, Chile, and certain North African countries. I repeat that sixty-eight countries have trade relations with China.

162. Thus, we are dealing with a country of 600 million inhabitants, which has an army of considerable size, an ordered Government, and frontiers with a number of States Members of this Organization. There is therefore a case for the consideration of this question.

163. We are also told that there is some doubt as to whether this is a State. I have been at some pains to look into the matter of what makes a State a State. Now, a State does not die; Governments come and go, but a State continues. I think that the best definition of a State is in the Convention that was signed between the United States and other American Republics, when the question arose as to what a State was. The Assembly will remember that these territories had been breaking away from the Spanish Empire; there had been changes of government; and the question of recognition arose - and not only with regard to the recognition of the United States, which itself took a long time to be recognized by thirty countries. We do not have to go back to Aristotle, or to Grotius, or to the German philosophers. We have this Convention between the United States and other American republics as the latest authority on this question of what a State is. In that Convention, it is laid down that a State should have the following qualifications: it should possess a defined territory and it

should be able to perform international obligations. The Government of such a State is a legitimate government.

164. Now, it is certain that at no time during the four or five thousand years of China's history has a central government in China had more authority over territory than the present Government. That is a fact, whether one likes it or not; indeed, some people think that that Government has too much authority over some territories. Thus, that is the position. China is able to perform its obligations, because there are sixty-eight countries which have trade relations with it. And, since the Government of China is a communist government, these trade relations are very largely with the State and not with private individuals; therefore, agreements are made with the State as such.

165. Hence, I say that to consider that this question can be dismissed in this way, year after year, does not speak well for the Assembly. I admit — and I think that it is my duty to admit — that there are very strong feelings about the matter, particularly in this country, feelings with which we do not agree but which we must respect. Therefore, we have not submitted a draft resolution asking that the representation of China should be changed from that of the Republic of China, as it is called — or the Formosan authorities — to that of the real Government of China; neither do we propose, as is suggested in the draft resolution originally submitted by the United States, that there should be no change in the representation.

166. That is the view we would present if we had the opportunity; if this item were on the agenda, it might be one of the alternatives we would have to consider. But the Assembly should not assume that that is the only proposal we could have made.

167. The only issue before us is the inclusion of this item in the agenda in order that it might be considered. For this reason, my delegation does not intend to press the second of its amendments. We only press the first amendment, namely, that the word "reject" should be replaced by the words "accede to". That is a very natural desire. That is all we are asking for, because if the General Assembly accedes to the request, then the other proposition falls into the ground for the time being. It would then be open for the United States representative or for any other representative to submit a draft resolution to the effect that we should not consider the question for twelve months, twenty months, or forty months, or whatever it may be. Therefore, we are not pressing the second of our amendments, we only press the first one — that the General Assembly should accede to the request of the Government of India.

168. My delegation takes this position because there are many in this Assembly who are against any change in the representation of China; we respect their views and their feelings and we do not want the two issues to be mixed up. Even among those who do not want any change in representation some, like the representative of Ireland, rightly said that they disagreed with the question, but that we had to consider it. We therefore hope that a large majority of those present will vote for the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

169. Before I leave this rostrum, some reference must be made to the last speech made by my colleague from the Federation of Malaya. It is always regrettable when a new Member who has found a place in this

Assembly, and sometimes a Member who has waited a long time to get in, tries in almost his first utterance, to keep someone else out. But let us look at the merits of this question. He states that there are communist rebels in the jungles of Malaya, against whom the Malayan authorities are waging war. If there were communist or any other kind of rebels in my country fighting against the constituted authority, working against the constitution and taking the law into their own hands, my Government would use the forces of the State against them. That would not mean that the political views held by these people should reflect upon some other country. If it is correct that because there are communist rebels fighting in the jungles of Malaya, China, which is a Communist country, should be acted against, then I think that would apply to all the other ten countries which are here, six of whom were admitted last year.

170. What is more, the representative of the Federation of Malaya spoke of the vast amount of money being spent in dealing with the Chinese rebels, or the communist rebels in the jungles of Malaya, all of whom, he said, were aliens. The real fact is that they are aliens, and it does not matter whether they are Communists. If there is foreign intervention in any country, it ought to be dealt with, but who started this? This war has been waged for ten years by the British Government, and the British Government recognizes China, so I do not think one can argue on that point.

171. If this item were placed on the agenda, it would be open for the Federation of Malaya and all its supporters to point out how this Government is acting against the Charter by allowing its nationals to do this, that or the other. Of course, if other representatives had information to the contrary, then that also could be brought out.

172. I believe that we should hold a discussion which would bring to light the changes that are taking place and show how this hiatus can be removed. Some day these feelings have to die down, and I think that we should take a step in that direction. I have no doubt at all that if this item were included in the agenda and if Mr. Lodge were to submit a draft resolution, it would be adopted by a vast majority. I would vote against it, but it would be adopted by a large majority. All I ask is freedom for the Assembly to discuss this item, and I am sure that all who are steeped in the traditions of free discussion will agree that we are here because we want freely to discuss this matter. We are sovereign Governments; we are not such weaklings as to be frightened by the idea of discussing and considering this question which is agitating so many people. There are differences of opinion, but Governments representing nearly a thousand million people in the world, exclusive of China, recognize the Central People's Government.

173. There are some, like the representative of Peru, who think that that government has not purged itself of aggression, and so on, forgetting thereby that we have recently admitted a Member who, by our foundation deeds, is prohibited from being admitted. Time passes, and we have to make certain changes in this way.

174. We were also told by the representative of Australia that there had been no changes in the situation. There have been considerable changes in the situation since 1951. In 1951, to take but one instance, there were 571 American prisoners in China. Now there

are 6 American prisoners in China. I think it is a tragedy that these Americans should be imprisoned in China, whatever their crimes might be. The Chinese Government argues that they have committed crimes under Chinese and international law. It is not for me to say whether or not they have — I am not their judge — but the Chinese courts have convicted them. But, whether convicted or not, I think it would contribute to a general relaxation of tension and to solving many problems if these people did come out, and I am one of those people who hope....

175. The PRESIDENT: I should like to interrupt the representative of India, if I may. I really think we are straying a little from the subject.

176. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): It looks as if the President does not like what I am saying.

177. The PRESIDENT: If I may interrupt the representative of India, it is not a question of what I like, it is simply a question of the conduct of the proceedings. I have the greatest confidence in the representative of India. I have been quite indulgent towards all speakers, but I do ask him to keep to the point.

178. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): The ruling of the President is high-handed in many ways, and we have no desire to challenge it, but if there is any point on which I have traversed ground not covered by other representatives, I should like to have it pointed out.

179. We were told that there had been no changes, and I said that there had been changes in the sense that the large number of prisoners has been reduced a few; I expressed the hope, as a member of the Assembly desiring conciliation and harmony, that the remainder would be released very soon, and that they would be if there was a little bit of goodwill on both sides. That is all I said, but if the President objects to my raising that point, I cannot help it.

180. I would say once again that my delegation does not press for the second amendment to the draft resolution contained in the report of the General Committee. We press only for the first amendment, namely, that the General Assembly should accede to the request of the Government of India to include this item — the representation of China — in the agenda. The amendment has not been presented with any malice; we presented it merely because we felt that the Assembly should consider a problem of world significance which certainly affects us as a nation in that part of the world, but which, as the representative of Nepal has just said, is also a world issue.

181. Finally, it has been said that the problems of the United Nations would not be solved any more easily if there were an alteration in representation. I do not wish to argue about this for the simple reason that I have not put forward a draft resolution in favour of any alteration. But I believe that if we are to discuss questions like disarmament, stability in the Far East, general co-operation in that area, the expansion of trade and other similar subjects, it would be easier if all the people concerned were here. The Assembly is supposed to be representative of the world, and for that reason it is necessary for all the people concerned to be here.

182. But these are all matters we could consider if this item were on the agenda, and I am sorry if the President thought that the question of the prisoners was a little outside the discussion. I recall now that the

President did say yesterday that the General Assembly was not strictly bound by the rules of the General Committee. I thought that rules applied to all equally.

183. The PRESIDENT: What I said was this, and I think I had better make it clear: In the General Committee, we are bound actually to discuss the matter procedurally and not to go into the substance unless the substance is relevant to a procedural discussion. In this body, however, I am satisfied that there is room for the fullest discussion, and indeed I have permitted it provided that it was relevant.

184. I now call upon the representative of the United States in exercise of his right of reply.

185. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States delegation and many of those who share our views about this matter have avoided any discussion of substance. But there has been so much said about substance that, under the right of reply, I wish to speak very briefly about that; I think that it can be dealt with simply and briefly.

186. The argument advanced by those who wish to include in the agenda this item about the representation of China boils down to one word: realism. In other words, no matter how much you may like it or dislike it, there it is, and that ought to be enough.

187. I think that is true in so far as internal affairs go. It is none of our affair here in the United Nations whether the internal administration of a country is Marxian Communist or Soviet Communist, whether it is made up of liberty-loving believers in social welfare or dictatorial socialists, whether it represents competitive capitalism for a great many or monopoly capitalism for a few, or whether it is a mixture of all those things. That is not our business here. But the question of what such a régime does when it tries to spread across its borders is another matter.

188. We may question, too, how realistic the current "realism" about Communist China is. When one reads the reports about large numbers of refugees streaming into Hong Kong, one remembers the Second World War and one remembers Mr. Quisling and the other puppets who governed Europe under Hitler. That makes one remember that the world is in a state of evolution and that, if there is one state of mind which one should not have in 1957, it is a fatalistic acceptance of the inevitability of things.

189. But even if this judgement about the Chinese Communists is realistic, let me point out that the United Nations is an Organization that is not engaged in promoting realism; it is an Organization that has a moral standard. This hall is not a mere cockpit in which the criminal and the law-abiding are indiscriminately scrambled. The United Nations Charter says that Member States shall be "peace-loving". That is the word used in the Charter. If some think that this Assembly should become a cockpit in which the criminal and the law-abiding are indiscriminately scrambled — and they have a right to that opinion — the thing for them to do is to get an amendment to the Charter, converting the United Nations into that type of Organization. They should go ahead and promote their views by means of an amendment, but they should not seek to do it by nullification. And that is what is involved in the contemplation which is before us.

190. The record shows abundantly that the Chinese Communist régime is not peace-loving. What it did in Korea, what it did in Viet-Nam, what it has done in Tibet, what it attempted in the Philippines and in Formosa, and what it has tried to do in Malaya — which was listened to with deserving respect when the representative of the Federation of Malaya spoke of it — all of that proves beyond doubt that this Chinese communist régime is not peace-loving. In fact, I do not think that it pretends to be.

191. I think that all of you, putting yourselves in my position as the representative of the United States, would understand my making mention of the fact that, in the United Nations military action in Korea to repel communist aggression there, the United States suffered 140,000 casualties, of which 35,000 were deaths, and that almost all of these were inflicted by the Chinese Communists. It is only human for us to remember that.

192. The fact is that the United Nations itself, officially and formally and after due consideration, branded the Chinese Communists as aggressors in Korea, and it seems to me reasonable to hold that the United Nations settled this issue when it took that position. If it wants to unsettle it, let it repeal that decision. But that has never been done.

193. Before concluding, let me say that I speak as a friend of the Chinese people, as one who admires the great soul of the Chinese people, its steadfastness, its courage, its individualism, its culture; I speak as the representative of a country whose citizens have had wonderfully close and intimate relations with the Chinese people ever since the beginning of the United States of America.

194. We oppose this proposal not because of our disapproval of the internal social system, not because the present régime there was not popularly elected, not because it came to power by violence, but simply because to admit the Chinese Communists would stultify the United Nations and thus destroy the usefulness of the organization. Since we feel this way, it must be clear to all how devastatingly divisive a debate on this question would be, and why we therefore urge our colleagues to oppose the Indian amendment and to support the draft resolution submitted by the General Committee.

195. The PRESIDENT: Before the vote is taken, I call upon the representative of Mexico who wishes to be heard in explanation of vote.

196. Mr. de la COLINA (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Even though not fully convinced of the correctness of the Committee's interpretation of rule 40 of the rules of procedure my delegation will vote in favour of the Committee's proposal on the grounds that it is neither advisable nor desirable at this time to consider the item entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations". Furthermore, as everyone knows, my country maintains friendly relations with the Government which, in our opinion, legitimately represents the noble Chinese people in our Organization.

197. On the other hand, my delegation will abstain on the first of the two amendments submitted by India — in view of what the Indian representative has just said, only the first of these amendments is now before us — as we are not sure that the way in which the Committee

has submitted its recommendation is strictly in conformity with rule 40.

198. It seems obvious to us that, by reason of the Committee's composition and of the language of rule 40, the Committee is not empowered to do more than decide simply to include or not to include an item proposed for the Assembly's agenda. It is questionable whether it should be part of the Committee's functions to formulate draft resolutions such as that now about to be put to the vote.

199. For the reasons I have just stated, we consider that the abstentions of some of the members of the Committee in the vote on this question were justified in so far as they relied on sound procedural arguments.

200. Besides those I have already given, there are other reasons for our decision to abstain on this amendment. There are considerations consistent with my delegation's invariable policy with regard to the inclusion of items in the agenda of each session of the General Assembly.

201. To sum up, my delegation approves the substance of the Committee's proposal, though it would have preferred the recommendation it contains to be put forward directly by one or more delegations, in the form of a draft resolution to the Assembly itself, in full conformity with the rules of procedure and with custom.

202. The PRESIDENT: I think we can now proceed to the vote. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the Indian amendment [A/L.224] will be put to the vote first — that is, the first amendment. As I understood the representative of India, the second amendment is not being pressed and I shall not put it to the vote.

203. I invite the Assembly to vote on the first amendment to the draft resolution submitted by the General Committee [A/3670, para. 7]. The amendment proposes that the word "reject" be replaced by the words "accede to". A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Ceylon, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia.

Against: Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada.

Abstaining: Greece, Israel, Laos, Libya, Mexico, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia.

The amendment was rejected by 43 votes to 29, with 9 abstentions.

204. The PRESIDENT: I will now put to the vote paragraph 1 of the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/3670]. A roll call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

El Salvador, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador.

Against: Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt.

Abstaining: Israel, Laos, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Cambodia.

The paragraph was adopted by 46 votes to 28, with 7 abstentions.

205. The PRESIDENT: I will now put to the vote paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Liberia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Lebanon.

Against: Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland.

Abstaining: Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Cambodia, Israel, Jordan, Laos.

The paragraph was adopted by 47 votes to 27, with 7 abstentions.

206. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Dominican Republic, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba.

Against: Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark.

Abstaining: Israel, Laos, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Cambodia.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 47 votes to 27, with 7 abstentions.

207. Ato Yilma DERESSA (Ethiopia): In my previous statement I made it very clear that my delegation reserved its position on the matter of substance. Indeed, I dwelt very strongly on the point of inclusion. I raised no question of substance whatsoever. In voting for the inclusion of the item, we did not mean any change in our position on the substance of the matter. Therefore, what may have appeared as a contradiction in our vote is simply the fact that we will continue to vote for the inclusion of the item and will reserve expressing our opinion one way or another on the substance of the matter.

208. The PRESIDENT: With the consent of the General Assembly, I shall now turn to a matter which will only take a few minutes. Items 64 and 65 have been proposed by the Secretary-General and have been recommended for inclusion by the General Committee. The General Committee has made no recommendation concerning the allocation of the two items. I take it that the recommendation to include these items meets with the approval of the General Assembly.

Items 64 and 65 were included in the agenda without discussion.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.