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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/3926) (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: We resume the consideration of the first report of the General Committee [A/3926]. In particular, the Assembly has before it the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee, which is to be found in paragraph 12 of the report and the amendments [A/L.245] to the draft resolution.

2. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): My delegation's views on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China have already been expressed in the General Committee [118th meeting]. As the representative of a country that has a five-hundred-mile common frontier with China, we have rather strong views on the subject.

3. I have asked for the floor in order to speak briefly in support of the amendments which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor with other countries from our part of the world. It is not the first time this matter has been brought before the General Assembly. However, the only hopeful thing about it is that nobody has been able to reject outright the case for the representation of China every time efforts have been made to put off the discussion of the issue.

4. This time the General Assembly is meeting against the background of disturbing events in the Far East which seem to affect the very issue of war and peace in the world. It has been argued in the General Committee and is being argued here, too, that the discussion of this question will not prove timely now and that it may aggravate world tensions and disturb the peaceful atmosphere necessary for the solution of the momentous questions of which the Assembly is seized at this time. With all deference to the views of the representatives who hold the above opinion, we maintain that the discussion of the question might rather relax the tension created by the situation in the Far East. After all, the People's Republic of China has become a living reality and a factor in international life which can no longer be ignored except at very great peril to stability and peace in the world.

5. References have been made to the talks that are now going on in Warsaw between the representatives of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. It has also been said that we should rely on those

talks alone for the solution of this question. In our opinion, the general attitude of the Assembly towards this question of the representation of China would greatly affect the final outcome of the Warsaw talks. Consequently, we feel strongly that now is the time and the General Assembly the place for this discussion to take place with the solid prospect of finding some solution which might remove this grave source of tension in international relations.

6. I beg to submit that the sooner we face the consequences of public debate in this matter, which is of paramount importance from the point of view of war or peace, the better it will be for all concerned.

7. For these reasons, my delegation has seen fit to sponsor, along with certain other delegations, the amendments to the draft resolution, in the hope that even at this late hour they may meet with the approval of the General Assembly.

8. Before I leave this rostrum, may I, in all humility and sincerity, address an appeal to the great Powers, on whom so great a responsibility rests. The question we are dealing with at the moment is not the question of accepting or rejecting a procedural amendment. The question has attained dimensions which are of great consequence to the peace of the world. The situation in the Far East seems to have grown highly dangerous and explosive. The slightest error in calculation may involve the world in war, with all the dreadful consequences of which I need not remind this audience. I say this on the basis of information that has recently been made available to us, and I sound this note of warning in the hope that it will receive the attention it deserves. I am sure that no nation, however powerful it may be, is prepared to take the responsibility of plunging the world into war.

9. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): The President has made the procedural position clear to us. He has drawn our attention to the fact that, in discussing the procedural aspect of the question before us, we should try as far as possible to avoid any discussion involving the substance. It shall be my endeavour to follow the lines indicated by the President, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to the purely procedural aspects of the question, although, as the President himself has recognized, it sometimes becomes difficult to do this without making reference to what might appear to be matters of substance.

10. As the President has indicated, what is really before the Assembly at the moment is the question of whether or not the draft resolution of the United States, which was approved by the General Committee and which would have the effect of shutting out the Indian proposal completely, should be adopted. If we accept the United States proposal, it is quite clear that the Assembly will be deprived of the opportunity of discussing the question put forward by the Indian representative. In our opinion, that is a very serious matter.

This point has already been referred to by previous speakers. I should like to avoid any kind of repetition in the course of the few remarks I propose to make, but it is essential that this particular point should receive the further attention of the Assembly, because it is a vital question. The question involved is not whether the People's Republic of China is to be deprived of its lawful seat in the United Nations, bad as that would be; the real question is whether Members of this august body shall be deprived of the right to discuss any matter which affects the peace of the world and which is considered to be of vital importance.

11. I should like to ask my fellow representatives, even at this late stage, this simple question: Should not some further reflection be given to this matter so as to prevent the stifling of discussion in the Assembly? We have come here in the hope and in the full belief that all Member States are entitled to bring up for discussion any matters which they feel are of vital importance. Differences may arise in regard to the substance of such matters. But the question is: Should Member States be denied the right to bring up for discussion by the Assembly any matter which agitates them and which they consider vitally important not only in their own interests but in the interests of the preservation of peace, for which the United Nations is responsible?

12. If one looks at the matter from that point of view, then surely, even if there are differences with regard to the basic question of the admission of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, there can be no difference of opinion in regard to the rights of the Members of the General Assembly. It is perfectly clear that, even if the item were included in our agenda, the different points of view in regard to the substance could be discussed, and the same majority which seems to exist for the purpose of preventing the inclusion of the item in the agenda could arrive at a decision on the substance which would be in accord with the views of that majority. We do not complain that our own point of view does not prevail. We are convinced, particularly as we come from the region of Asia, that our point of view is worth considering and has great merit. Yet we are prepared to face the fact that there are representatives here who sincerely believe that, in view of the circumstances which they believe to exist, the People's Republic of China should not be seated. We have no quarrel with that position at this point; that is not the question to which I am now addressing myself. I want particularly to emphasize that point at this stage, so that, on further reflection, representatives may see that it is not right to deprive Members of the Assembly of the opportunity to present their points of view in this open forum.

13. Let the majority decide the question according to the views of the majority if it cannot be convinced of the rightness of the attitude of the minority. That is a democratic system which prevails everywhere—not only in parliamentary institutions but in all countries which have adopted the democratic way of life. It is nothing strange or new. It is not a new doctrine that is being introduced for the first time. There is no fallacy in this argument. It is a straightforward issue. It is clear, there is no ambiguity at all; it is a simple question that arises clearly before the Assembly. That question is, should not this opportunity be given by the majority to the minority? I hope that this will receive further consideration before a decision is reached.

14. It has been urged here that this is not the proper time to permit this issue to be discussed. I am new to this Assembly personally, but I have been at pains to read the record of the previous discussions of this august body and have noted that this same inopportuneness has existed all through the years whenever this issue has come up for discussion. Last year, the year before last, and in preceding years, whenever this question has been brought before this Assembly the one persistent refrain has been, "The time is inopportune". One might be tempted to ask, "What is the criterion of when the time will be opportune? What conditions must be complied with in order to make it opportune?" Last year there was no exterior matter which could have supported the theory that the time was inopportune. No force was exercised in connexion with this question. The world in that area was quiet, and yet the time was inopportune. The year before there was no special circumstance which should have prevented this issue from being discussed. Then what is the opportune time?

15. If force has been used recently in that area, then I think that many here believe that that fact is due entirely to the feeling of frustration resulting from the inability to discuss the matter in this forum. I think it is due rather to frustration resulting from the inability to discuss the matter than to the fact—if the fact is later established—that the endeavour to seat the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was rejected. The feeling of frustration is a feeling which grows and over which there is no exercise of reason or even deliberation. The feeling even creates an attitude of irresponsibility sometimes. I do not say that there has been any indication of irresponsibility, but we must be prepared to face even the appearance of irresponsibility when there is so much frustration, when for no reason—because of the prejudice existing in certain quarters—the issue is evaded, the decision is postponed and people are left to imagine whether it will be postponed to the Greek Calends.

16. That feeling of frustration must be avoided, and I make this appeal to the Assembly: let us decide this question one way or the other; let us find out what is the majority view. We are prevented from doing that. We do not really know the majority view on the substantive question that is before us, and we are denied the opportunity of hearing it. A feeling of frustration comes over us, and we should not be surprised if a feeling of frustration has come over the countries immediately involved.

17. Then it is said that the discussion of this question at this moment is inopportune because of the Warsaw negotiations. Obviously, as has been pointed out already, the simple answer to that objection is that even if this item were included in the agenda there would still be time for the discussion to take place. This session of the Assembly goes on until mid-December, and there is no need to force the issue and to open discussion immediately the item is placed on the agenda. A reasonable time can be allowed to elapse between the inclusion of the item and the actual discussion, so that there will be no interference with or prejudice to the discussions that are taking place in Warsaw. On the contrary, the clear view of my delegation is that a discussion in the Assembly will not prejudice the issue at all; rather, it will elucidate it and help to bring about an understanding at such negotiations. A discussion here would probably create a better atmosphere,

even if hard words were used in the course of the debate.

18. We have already experienced, as the result of this discussion, the antagonism which seems to prevail as well as a kind of bitterness among those who spoke here yesterday. We would like to deprecate the tendency to discuss this question from the propagandist point of view instead of trying to create an atmosphere of objectivity and trying to make a dispassionate examination with a view to the settlement of one of the most important issues with which the Assembly has been faced. We should proceed in a friendly atmosphere of calm, judicial and deliberate consideration so that the issue might be settled; that could be done even if the substantive issue were before us.

19. There is one further point which might touch on the merits of the question—the matter of the relationship of the admission of China to the important question of disarmament. I have neither the time nor the desire to delay our proceedings by elaborating on this point, but it would appear to be a simple proposition to state that without the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations the question of disarmament itself will be seriously prejudiced. Can anyone envisage the banning of atomic tests or the banning of atomic weapons unless the People's Republic of China is a party to the ban? Suppose the time comes, as indeed seems likely at the present moment, when it is possible for this Assembly, with the agreement of all Member States, to ban atomic tests or the use and manufacture of atomic weapons. Surely we shall be faced immediately with an impossible position: the whole world will agree to such a ban with the exception of the People's Republic of China, which has a population of 600 million people, enormous resources, and a fighting force which is already fairly large and may become even larger. If the People's Republic of China is not included in such a ban, what is there to prevent that country from being the atomic arsenal of the world and the only country to continue to manufacture and store atomic weapons, while everyone else in the world has decided to abandon them. There is nothing to bind the People's Republic of China in that respect unless it is a Member of the United Nations. Otherwise, of course, what is happening now will have to be repeated. In other words, we will keep the People's Republic of China at arm's length, we will not deign to sit down with it in the United Nations as partners, but we will call it into conference as each occasion arises when its consent or participation is necessary. That is a necessary step, I concede, but it is somewhat unedifying for us to keep out a country which, on all accounts, is entitled to participate in the United Nations. But the People's Republic of China is denied that right and yet it is called into conference, almost at the diplomatic level, in order to decide certain issues which concern it. Are we going to wait and repeat the performance on the question of atomic weapons when the General Assembly has reached a decision on that matter? That shows that it is unrealistic to deprive the People's Republic of China of its proper place and indicates that we will be forced, willynilly, at some time or other, to invite the representatives of the People's Republic of China to sit down with us somewhere with the satisfaction that after all we have kept them out of the United Nations, even though we have to sit with them in some other place. That position is unsatisfactory.

20. I should like, before concluding, to refer to one last point, a point which is brought up from time to time when this issue arises, namely, that after all the People's Republic of China is an aggressor country, that the United Nations in 1950 condemned it for aggression and that therefore it is not a peace-loving country and should find no place in the United Nations.

21. Taking it as a fact that there was such a resolution condemning the People's Republic of China in 1950, I want to ask the representatives here one question, in all sincerity and simplicity. Is the lapse of eight years since that event took place not a sufficient time for us to reconsider that position? Are we going to keep anger and hate in our bosoms for all time? Are we going to continue indefinitely to condemn a country—even if that condemnation was justified at that time—and provide no opportunity to reconsider the question, to see whether a change has taken place, to see whether that one action has been followed by some recognition, let us say for purposes of argument, of an error on their part? Are we going to shut them out for all time because of one lapse? Does not history—and recent history at that—abound with instances of countries which have perhaps committed actions that were more strongly condemned, at the time they were committed and in more recent times, and which nevertheless have been brought into the family of nations and admitted into the bosom of friendship?

22. Have not those countries been given a great measure of assistance to set themselves up again? Why should we act differently with regard to the People's Republic of China? It is true that there was a condemnatory resolution. But should we not, particularly those of us who profess the Christian faith, look at it from the point of view of what Christian civilization means and recognize the fact that forgiveness is sometimes a divine quality which has been enjoined on all who belong to those parts of the world which have a Christian civilization.

23. We cannot divorce these essential principles in actual life and fail to apply them in world situations. We have to form our policies according to the basic principles in which we strongly believe. Surely eight years is time enough to reconsider the position and see whether what took place in 1950 should not be overlooked or forgotten and whether new action should be taken to meet the new situation. That would be possible if we could discuss the question. But we can do something more. Only a few weeks ago a very crucial issue led to the summoning of the emergency special session of the General Assembly. The question was brought before the Assembly. At the beginning no one believed a settlement would be possible. A majority decision might have been enforced. But very few believed that the General Assembly, true to its functions and its traditions under the Charter, would be able to bring about a settlement, unite people of different views, and find a solution acceptable to all and likely to lead to a more peaceful atmosphere.

24. The United Nations succeeded in the question of the Middle East. Why? Because the matter was before the United Nations. Although very strong differences of opinion existed, Members were permitted to discuss the matter within the Assembly, exchange opinions and consider the different possibilities, in this we succeeded. Could not the same thing take place in the Assembly with regard to the question of the representation of China? The main fact is that no attempt has

been made to discuss it. No attempt has been made to give to the Assembly the right which belongs to it. In fact, we have been deprived of that right every time this great issue—this question on which peace or war may depend, this question which is so vital, particularly to the countries of Asia—has come before us. Since we are not permitted to discuss this question, we cannot bring to bear on the issue in the Assembly our joint wisdom, our joint peaceful intentions, and our attempts to bring about a peaceful situation. Is that right in so important an issue? That is the question which I want to leave with you. Is it right to prevent us from discussing the matter? If you feel that it is not right, that the question should be aired, that the question should be discussed and that we must be given the right to bring all our energies to bear on the settlement of the question, then the only answer that we can supply to the draft resolution which has been placed before us is a definite "no".

25. I do hope therefore that an opportunity will be given this Assembly, at its thirteenth session, to discuss the question on its merits in order to see whether a peaceful solution to a very difficult and important question cannot be brought about.

26. Mr. BUNACIU (Romania) (translated from French): My delegation supports the amendments proposed by the seven Asian and African States for inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

27. The debates so far have revealed that an overwhelming majority of speakers are in favour of discussing the matter at this session and they have advanced irrefutable arguments in support of their views.

28. My delegation cannot admit as wise or convincing any of the arguments presented by the United States delegation, or by the other delegations which are doing their utmost again this year to prevent the General Assembly from discussing a matter of great importance to the United Nations and to international life as a whole.

29. In fact, no impartial observer could fail to see that the position adopted by those who are opposed to the inclusion of the question of the representation of China in the Assembly's agenda is distinguished by a total absence of reason.

30. The objection that the discussion of the Chinese question would split the Assembly and the artificial manner in which the debate on the representation of China in the United Nations is linked to the Chinese-American negotiations now in progress in Warsaw, are pretexts rather than arguments, as neither the one nor the other concerns the substance or essence of the matter before us.

31. How are we to explain this fundamental weakness in the position of those who do not wish to discuss the question of the representation of China in the General Assembly? How do we explain this morbid anxiety over the mere idea that the Members of the United Nations should discuss the question? In our view, the explanation lies in the fact that the United States has, in regard to this question, put itself into a position so obviously contrary to the principles of the United Nations and the Charter, so contrary to the interests of international peace and security, that it would be very difficult to

find arguments in its favour. The United States delegation is fully aware that there is so little support for its position in the General Assembly that a debate on the subject would bring out clearly the weakness of that position.

32. Assuredly, there is nothing to prevent the United States Government from saying: "That is my opinion and I concur in it!" But it should not be forgotten for an instant that the question whether a country recognizes the legitimacy of the government of another country is quite different from that of deciding whether that country should be represented in the United Nations.

33. Despite this rule of conduct, which should be general, the United States has acquired the habit of following in its international policy a principle rather like that formulated by a former Secretary of Defense who said: "What's good for General Motors is good for the United States". I do not wish to comment on that principle, but I must say in all conscience that the Members of this Organization can hardly allow themselves to be guided by the principle that "What's good for the United States is good for the United Nations".

34. What are the real grounds for the United States refusal which, for readily understandable reasons, have not been put before the General Assembly.

35. In its memorandum of 9 August 1958 the State Department argues that recognition by the United States of the People's Republic of China would inevitably lead to the seating of that country in the Organization, whereas non-recognition by the United States of the People's Republic of China, coupled with continued recognition and support of Chiang Kai-shek, will facilitate the accomplishment of United States policy objectives in the Far East. In other words, what does not suit the United States should not suit the United Nations either.

36. Let us accordingly consider why the recognition of the People's Republic of China does not suit the United States and how far its existence is an obstacle to United States objectives in the Far East.

37. What is the objective significance of the People's Republic of China to the world, and particularly to Eastern Asia? Its very existence is a symbol of the new age which now sees the peoples hitherto kept in a state of dependence in order to satisfy the selfish interests of colonial circles rising to achieve independence and equality with the traditional Western Powers. But one fact of particular importance is that that symbol consists of a people numbering more than 600 million, which means that the ideals of the oppressed peoples have been achieved over an area of 9.5 million square kilometres and that every year, month by month, the ideal is materially strengthened by outstanding successes in industry, agriculture, education and culture and significant technical and scientific advances.

38. In this way, thanks to the new régime set up by the Chinese people in its country, after long years of fighting against enemies within and without, the People's Republic of China has become a Power to be taken into account, whose influence in the international balance is in favour of peace.

39. The People's Republic of China is an active agent in the application of principles of peaceful coexistence. In that respect, we are well aware of its contribution

to the preparation of the five famous principles of co-existence proclaimed to the whole world by the peoples of Asia and Africa at the historic Bandung Conference, principles which constitute the foundation of the relations of the People's Republic of China with all its neighbours whatever their domestic régime.

40. It is accordingly not surprising that more than ever before in its thousand-year-old history, the Chinese people is actively supporting the Government which it rightly considers its own and which it knows does not depend on any foreign interest. Furthermore, current events in the Far East have proved that the People's Republic of China is an obstacle to imperialist designs for the subjugation of the peoples of that region. The Chinese people is attached to its independence and has no intention of submitting to American dictation.

41. How then do the rulers of the United States propose to set up their dictatorship? Chiang Kai-shek himself clearly explained that, in a book published in New York in 1957, from which we have chosen the following passage:

"...if the Western nations need to pick a battlefield, it should be neither in Europe nor in the Middle East, where they will necessarily have to engage Soviet Russia directly in hostilities. The best battlefield is in the Far East..."^{1/}

And this is how he dots the i's:

"the place to begin combating Communism is Asia, therefore, is mainland China."^{2/}

That is the true significance of the events now taking place in the Formosa Strait. And this situation has once more brought the world to the brink of the abyss.

42. These are not just weighty words used to impress an audience. It is a fact. The transformation of the American administrative command in Taiwan to an operational command, the rushing to the area of certain types of rocket and nuclear weapons, and the construction of launching ramps, together with other similar acts of provocation in the immediate vicinity of the coast of the People's Republic of China and on the Chinese territory of the islands illegally occupied by American armed forces bear witness to one thing: that the United States Government has embarked upon an extremely perilous adventure.

43. In these circumstances, the reason which compels the United States Government, against all common sense and the opinions expressed by statesmen of countries with widely varying forms of government, to oppose the representation of China in the United Nations by the country's real representatives, becomes abundantly clear.

44. It is not yet too late to prevent a catastrophe and for that purpose the General Assembly could exercise a particularly strong influence. A debate on the question of the representation of China is more than ever necessary in the interests of international peace and security. The Assembly cannot allow our Organization's capacity to settle the major problems of the contemporary world to be continually weakened by the

exclusion from the Organization of the People's Republic of China.

45. Can we pretend to ignore the existence of 600 million people inhabiting a vast territory, and the fact that that great community possesses a rapidly developing industry, a flourishing economy, and scientists qualified in the more advanced branches of their subject?

46. Glancing at the agenda for the present session we shall see included in it for discussion and settlement problems such as disarmament, the effects of atomic radiation, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, technical assistance, freedom of information, the law of the sea, etc.

47. Let us take for instance the question of disarmament; it already presents enough difficulties without further complicating the situation by seeking a settlement without the participation and advice of representatives of one-quarter of the world's population.

48. And, in the absence of Chinese experts, are not the specialized agencies of the United Nations deprived of valuable contributions which might be derived from the vast experience in all branches of science and culture, public health, agriculture, and education of those experts?

49. Contemporary problems are far too grave, the dangers threatening world peace are too serious for the United Nations, which we hold responsible for the maintenance of the peace and security of mankind, to continue to accept a fiction such as that of the present representation of China. The Romanian delegation would accordingly request the General Assembly to adopt the amendments submitted by the seven Asian and African States and decide to include the question of the representation of China on the agenda of the present session.

50. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): The attitude of the Yugoslav Government in favour of the right of the People's Republic of China to take its legitimate place in the United Nations, as well as the reasons for it, is well known. Abiding by this attitude, we at the same time wish to stress the increasing urgency of such a solution, which in our opinion is the only correct solution, and to draw the attention of this Assembly to the extremely adverse effect of past negative decisions on this matter. We believe, however, that stating one's position in a considered manner and without indulging in immoderate language does not weaken the arguments advanced but on the contrary can only make them stronger.

51. Apart from all reasons of principle, as well as practical ones, upon which our position is based, we consider that the necessary lesson should be drawn from the concrete situation with which we are faced today. On this occasion I shall not dwell on the direct causes of the current tension in the Far East, since that is not the subject of our present debate. However, I think we are all profoundly aware of the serious situation that is being created in that area, a situation which causes deep concern and gravely imperils peace in the world.

52. In our opinion, there is no doubt whatsoever that the fact that the People's Republic of China has been persistently prevented from taking its legitimate place

^{1/} Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), p. 275.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, p. 348.

in our Organization has to a large extent contributed to the outbreak of the present crisis. This also points to the serious responsibility which the Members of the United Nations will be assuming if the postponement of the positive solution of this question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is continued.

53. For all these reasons, my delegation will support the proposed amendments submitted by the seven Asian and African States, and if, to our regret, they are not adopted, we shall vote against the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee.

54. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The delegation of India has again proposed at this session that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be discussed and a decision taken on it. The Byelorussian delegation warmly supports this proposal and considers it necessary to state its views on the matter.

55. The question of restoring the lawful rights in the United Nations of one of the most important world States, the People's Republic of China, is causing great concern among the peoples of all countries. It cannot be considered normal that the Chinese nation, with its population of 600 million, is still unrepresented in this international gathering. This fact is preventing the United Nations from becoming a truly universal organization, is hampering its work and undermining its authority. All those who are genuinely interested in the peaceful solution of major international problems realize that a complete settlement is impossible without the participation of a great world Power—the People's Republic of China. A number of crucial Far Eastern problems urgently await solution and these unsolved problems are causing tension of an extremely dangerous nature.

56. The serious situation which has recently arisen in this part of the globe is due to the fact that part of the territory of the People's Republic of China—Taiwan and a number of other islands—have been seized by United States forces and are being used for aggressive activities, a situation which cannot, of course, be tolerated by the Chinese people. A number of Governments, particularly the Government of the United States of America, have long been preventing the Chinese people from occupying their rightful seat in the United Nations. The United States of America is still trying to isolate the People's Republic of China, although the futility of such attempts is becoming more and more obvious every day. An increasing number of States anxious for genuine peace are establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and are entering into or strengthening economic, commercial and cultural ties with that country. More than thirty States, the total population of which exceeds 1,000 million, have recognized the People's Republic of China. Despite the United States embargo, China's foreign trade is expanding and sixty-eight States are already trading with it.

57. It is highly indicative that States with different social systems in Europe, Asia and Africa are expressing themselves in favour of the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

58. We have recently witnessed one rebuff after another to the aggressive United States policy in Asia

and Africa and, because of these rebuffs and failures, this policy is becoming more and more aggressive and adventurist. The ruling circles of the United States are now seeking to save the situation and to find forces which can be used for the purposes of aggression. Such forces are, however, becoming increasingly scarce. The United States is therefore ready to deal with such political back-numbers as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee who are still poisoning the international atmosphere and who should long since have been consigned to the scrap-heap of history. The political shortsightedness and imprudence of certain United States statesmen, who reproduce the views of circles which would like to restore the former Chiang Kai-shek régime in China and pursue their previous colonialist policy, prevent them from realizing that the age of colonialism has passed forever, that the peoples of the East have taken their future into their own hands and will not permit any return to the hideous past. Any attempts to preserve or restore colonial rule, no matter how they may be masked, are doomed to failure.

59. The Chinese people waged a hard struggle against colonialism for many decades, a struggle which cost the lives of millions of Chinese. In 1949 they finally gained a great victory over the forces of internal and external reaction and China's doors are now closed once and for all to foreign imperialist colonial pillage.

60. Only nine years have passed since the Chinese people won their freedom and began to use their wealth and resources according to their own wishes, but in that short space of time they have made a tremendous advance from feudal backwardness to progress in all spheres of economy and culture. And there is now no force in the world which can deflect the Chinese people from its chosen course. The attempts of certain people to hamper the great movement of the Chinese people towards socialism are futile and doomed to failure.

61. It must be frankly stated that those who are attempting to keep China outside the United Nations, who are disregarding the interests of one-fourth of the human race and who are endeavouring to solve Asian problems directly concerning China on a one-sided basis, will inevitably suffer defeat and disaster. Only people who cannot or will not see beyond their own noses could act in this way.

62. After their defeat at the emergency session of the General Assembly on the question of intervention in the affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East, the aggressive circles of the United States launched into new adventures in the Far East. The followers of Chiang Kai-shek undertook a number of acts of provocation against the People's Republic of China. Populated areas along that country's coast were savagely shelled and aircraft attempted to raid Chinese territory. No one now has any doubt that this was all done on the instructions of the United States military command.

63. As we know, the United States Seventh Fleet and air force detachments in the region of Taiwan recently carried out manoeuvres off the coast of China and invaded China's territorial waters on more than one occasion. It would be interesting to know how the United States Government would react if warships of the People's Republic of China began cruising somewhere off the coast of the United States, for example, in its territorial waters off California. I do not think that the United States Government would like it.

64. Representatives in the Assembly are aware of the historic communiqué published after the meeting between Mr. N. S. Khrushchev and Mr. Mao Tse-tung in Peking, which contained the following statement:

"If the bellicose imperialist madmen dare to force war upon the peoples, all peace-loving and freedom-loving States and peoples will rally together to put an end once and for all to the imperialist aggressors and establish lasting peace throughout the world."

Certain people should reflect very carefully on this warning before unleashing new military conflicts.

65. Taiwan and the other islands, which are now a subject of discussion throughout the world, have been an integral part of China since ancient times, long before the United States existed at all. China's indisputable ownership of these islands has repeatedly received official recognition in a number of international documents which include the United States among their signatories. The United States, after seizing these islands and transferring to them the Chiang Kai-shek clique which was overthrown by the Chinese people, has been using them for the last nine years for countless acts of military provocation and attacks on the People's Republic of China, for the preparation and unleashing of military conflicts in Asia.

66. The aim of United States ruling circles is to force the Chinese people to acquiesce in the occupation of Taiwan and other Chinese islands. Clearly, the Chinese people cannot acquiesce in this and are fully determined to liberate lands which have been theirs since time immemorial. They would, of course, like to see the problem settled peacefully.

67. Our delegation feels it necessary to draw the Assembly's attention to the memorandum of the United States Department of State entitled "Policy regarding non-recognition of the Chinese Communist régime". In this memorandum the United States seeks to justify its unsound and outdated policy with regard to the corrupt and rotten régime of Chiang Kai-shek. In the hope of deceiving world public opinion, United States ruling circles are spreading the fiction that the Government of the People's Republic of China is striving "to spread communist rule throughout Asia" and other similar stories. Even those who are laymen in politics can see that they only need these stories as a cover for their colonialist policy. United States ruling circles are now playing the part of a world policeman and are striving to suppress the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

68. Setting obstacles in the way of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Government of the United States of America undertook aggressive measures in the Taiwan area just before the opening of the General Assembly session and then shifted the blame for the deterioration of the international situation in this area to the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. But no one today will be taken in by these crude methods; by now we are familiar with the use of such tactics by the aggressors.

69. As you know, many statesmen and politicians have long been advocating the restitution of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. World public opinion considers, as do many States, that the United Nations is committing a serious

error in not recognizing a country with a population of 600 million. The attempts of the United States Government to make the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations contingent upon approval of that country's social and economic system by other States, in particular by itself, are contrary to the United Nations Charter. In its reluctance to take account of the facts, the United States Government is systematically attempting to force its opinion on the General Assembly, forgetting that the latter is an international organization and not within the domain of the United States State Department, and that the restitution of China's lawful rights in the United Nations should not therefore be made contingent upon recognition or non-recognition of that country by any particular country.

70. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the problem of the restitution of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be settled at this session of the General Assembly. Representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China should occupy their lawful place in the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations. This will enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations and will help to strengthen co-operation between States in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples.

71. U THANT (Burma): On behalf of my delegation I wish to make a few observations on the amendments which have been presented by my delegation along with the delegations of Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and the United Arab Republic.

72. All the arguments that have been marshalled in the past both in and outside the United Nations for the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this world Organization are now reinforced by the present developments in the Far East. The situation is so explosive that nothing matters so much as averting it. The very serious nature of happenings in that part of the world lends urgency to the immediate discussion of the representation of China in the United Nations.

73. This world Organization has in effect branded the People's Republic of China as a wicked outlaw, and this very same Organization is complaining that the same country is acting like an outlaw. It would not even consider re-examining its original stand that the People's Republic of China is a criminal unworthy of being admitted to the United Nations, the main job of which is to settle international disputes without war. The more the countries disapprove of one another, the more important it is that their accusations and counter-accusations should take place within this Organization. Otherwise, they might settle their disputes only on the battlefield.

74. The United Nations exists precisely to prevent this from happening. By excluding the Peking Government, one damages not Peking but the United Nations, which is thereby ruled out as an effective instrument of international conciliation.

75. The consideration of this item in this Assembly is all the more urgent in the light of the very grave situation in the Far East. Threats and counter-threats will only aggravate the situation. The People's Republic of China, in the view of my delegation, is in constant fear of overt aggression from outside. This sense of

fear—fear of losing their newly won stability—is the greatest single factor in rallying the mainland Chinese people to the call of Peking. If fear is the main incentive in the Chinese attitude, the policy of "getting tough" with China is, from the purely psychological point of view, the worst treatment which can be devised. If a patient is suffering from genuine fear, one does not cure his fears and establish a rational relationship with him by making him more afraid. One has to endeavour to show him, patiently and persistently, by one's action toward him, that he has nothing to fear.

76. This world Organization should no longer keep the great country of China beyond the pale, dubbing it an outlaw. If it does, then the world Organization should not be surprised if China refuses to act according to the rules of the United Nations.

77. While it is not the intention of my delegation to go into the substance of the matter, we feel that a few remarks on the United States attitude toward China are relevant to this discussion. The Burmese people have the highest admiration for the vitality, the vigour and the exuberance of the American national character. To us, the United States of America has been a pillar of a dynamic form of democracy, and the American contributions to the methods of mass democracy have been impressive. A large number of intelligent Asians think of the Americans as a great people because of their history, their traditions, and their devotion to the principles of freedom, tolerance and democracy. These ideas and characteristics have been the inspiration and hope of Asia for more than half a century. It is correct to say that these ideas played a leading part in inspiring Asia's fight for freedom from colonial bondage. But the Americans' history, their traditions and their devotion to the principles of freedom, tolerance and democracy need not shut them off from the knowledge that there are millions of people in this world who have different histories and different traditions and who are dedicated to different ideals. The simple recognition of this fact can lead to peaceful solutions of the pressing problems of the day.

78. It is the feeling of my delegation that it is time that the United States re-examined its Far Eastern policy. If only the United States decided to reverse its attitude towards the People's Republic of China, I am sure that many nations of the world would follow suit overnight and the proper atmosphere would be created for the peaceful solution of all outstanding problems.

79. My delegation, along with a few other like-minded delegations, has submitted amendments requesting this Assembly to accede to the request of India for the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations", and I should like to appeal to the conscience of the Assembly to give very sympathetic consideration to these amendments.

80. Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): My delegation proposes to define its position in relation to the General Committee's recommendation on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, an item which the delegation of India has asked to have included in the agenda of this session.

81. The draft resolution recommended by the General Committee consists of two paragraphs. The first proposes the rejection of India's request for the inclu-

sion in the agenda of the thirteenth regular session of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. My delegation, being unable to subscribe to this recommendation of the General Committee, has joined with the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Nepal in submitting the amendments to the General Committee's draft resolution which are now before you, and which are aimed at ensuring the inclusion of the item in the agenda of this session.

82. You have listened to the arguments in favour of the inclusion of this item put forward by many delegations and especially by the representative of India whose delegation moved a proposal to this effect. You have also heard the arguments against its inclusion put forward by other delegations. To avoid repetition I shall merely emphasize the reasons which seem to me to be relevant and which militate in favour of its inclusion.

83. It must not be forgotten that the only point that arises—and this in our view is most important—is the placing of the question on the agenda. That does not mean that we are in any way bound to express an opinion on the substance of the matter. We have simply to state our views on the question of procedure. We know that certain delegations make a practice of always voting in favour of the inclusion of an item on the agenda, but in so doing they in no way prejudice the real issue.

84. All that the Indian delegation asked the General Committee to do was to have the question of the representation of China discussed. We are not asked to express an opinion on the question of representation itself. My delegation has supported the view put forward by India and by the majority of the delegations of Asian countries and has introduced the amendments which we are discussing today. It is difficult for us to refuse a request for the inclusion of an item supported by a large number of States and especially by the Asian countries which are directly interested in the question.

85. We cannot continue to ignore a political problem of such importance, which has repercussions on the decisions we take here, on the universal character and prestige of the United Nations and even on the peace of the world. We cannot continue to postpone this matter from one session to the next. Such a course contributes in no way to the success of the work of the United Nations, nor to its prestige. Let us discuss this question in the same way that we discuss problems that are far less important.

86. I was not very struck by the arguments advanced in favour of rejecting the proposal to place this question on the agenda. We were told amongst other things that the question of the representation of China was controversial and that its consideration was pointless and might even lead to a stiffening of the positions adopted. It seems to me, however, that as others have already pointed out, the questions we discuss here are usually controversial and that we try to solve them in a cordial atmosphere. That is certainly one of the aims of the Charter and of the United Nations.

87. In the absence of any specific agreement, a discussion of this question should at least contribute to clearing the atmosphere. It is conceivable that differences might become less sharp as a result of the debate. Nor do we think that the state of tension existing

in the Taiwan Strait provides any ground for rejection of the item. On the contrary we regard it as a point which militates in favour of its discussion.

88. In this connexion I should like to say that we fervently hope that the conversations at present taking place in Warsaw should be crowned with success. That, however, is not the problem which we have to deal with today; I repeat, the only problem before us is that of the inclusion in the agenda of the question of the representation of China. It is true, as you know, that our Government has recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the true Government of China. We live in a world where political realities must be heeded. A lack of realism can lead to catastrophe. In our view, the Government of China is situated in Peking.

89. I should like to add a word on paragraph 2 of the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee which lays down that the Assembly "Decides not to consider, at its thirteenth regular session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China".

90. My observation on this point is confined to the matter of principle. We do not consider that the General Committee can make a recommendation of this kind to the General Assembly, this view being based on rule 40 of the rules of procedure. The interpretation that we attach to rule 40 has been set forth by many delegations who have spoken before us. I do not consider it necessary to repeat their arguments. I should simply like to recall that we shall subsequently have to consider here the report of the Committee on Credentials. I have confidence in your good judgement. In voting for our amendments you cannot but serve the cause of peace and security.

91. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): The question before us is of vital importance for the international situation and for the role of the United Nations. The Polish delegation considers that the sole reason for the existence of the United Nations and its General Assembly is to solve problems which vitally affect the international situation and not to evade them. The United States delegation, however, and certain other delegations are trying once again to avoid a discussion on the substance of the question of China and to treat it as a procedural matter. It is obvious that these delegations are very well aware of the weakness of their position as regards the substance of the question. They realize that their position is indefensible before world opinion. For all those who face reality, there can be no doubt that there is only one Chinese people on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan and that the Government of the People's Republic of China alone fulfils all the conditions—both in fact and in law—which authorize it to speak on behalf of the Chinese people. The Government of the People's Republic of China exercises effective sovereignty over the territory of China. This sovereignty cannot be shaken; it is exercised with the consent of the people.

92. On the other hand, the whole world knows that Chiang Kai-shek's régime is still holding out in Taiwan, solely because it owes its existence entirely to the protection of a foreign army of intervention and this régime's claim to represent the Chinese people cannot be taken seriously by anyone.

93. It is obvious to everyone that the People's Republic of China is a great Power whose importance is steadily increasing. The People's Republic of China is undergoing an intensive development almost unparalleled in history; in spite of obstacles, adverse influences and pressures of every kind, it is developing its relations not only with the countries of Asia but also with those of the other continents and its international position is steadily and unmistakably improving, regardless of the feelings and even passions it evokes in some politicians.

94. Yesterday the United States representative, Mr. Lodge, gave vent—too freely—to his feelings about the People's Republic of China. We cannot but deplore the fact that such violent feelings influence the policy of a great Power, with which the primary responsibility for future peace in the Far East now rests. Such feelings should never influence the decisions of the United Nations.

95. The People's Republic of China will sooner or later occupy its rightful seat in our Organization and the worsening of the international situation is due, not to the debate on how to bring the situation back to normal but to the attempts made to prevent this. And yet this is the argument which has been put forward in support of the proposal to adjourn the debate on the question of China.

96. It has already been pointed out and emphasized from this rostrum that the pressing international problems not only of Asia but throughout the world cannot be solved without China. After all, it is not merely by chance that the United Nations Charter has assigned to China such an important role in our Organization. We must not forget that this role was assigned to China at a time when it was devastated by war, ruined by colonial and feudal exploitation and the excesses of the corrupt clique then in power, and torn by internal strife, and the China of that time cannot be compared in importance to the People's Republic of China, a genuine world Power in full development.

97. The Taiwan area has again become a dangerous centre of conflicts. The new state of tension is due to the continued armed interference of the United States in the internal affairs of China, which has been further aggravated by the new military measures that the United States Government has taken in that area. This is a most abnormal situation which no people can tolerate. The Chinese people are even less able to tolerate it because they have had an opportunity of appreciating the value of freedom and sovereignty. This abnormal situation is the real cause of the tension and of the threat to peace in the Far East.

98. The Polish Government will welcome any positive steps which may be taken to lessen the tension in the Taiwan area with the participation and agreement of the People's Republic of China, which lawfully has sovereign power over Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands. We are of the opinion that the settlement of the status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations could and should be our Organization's most important contribution to a relaxation of tension in the Far East and the strengthening of peace in that area.

99. The restitution of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations is the indispensable condition of the restoration of the authority with which this Organiza-

tion is invested. The rights of the People's Republic of China are founded on the reality of the situation and on the Chinese people's right to self-determination. These rights exist, whether they are recognized or not. A hundred and sixty years ago, it was said of France that the French Republic did not need recognition any more than the sun. A few years later, in 1827, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the United States had never acquired anything by cession from Great Britain under the treaties of 1783 because these treaties merely recognized pre-existing rights. In the second decade of this century, the boycotting of the Soviet Union by the United States and some other countries did not change the course of history and the boycott was lifted because, among other reasons, relations with the Soviet Union were found to be useful, even for western circles which had no sympathy whatever for the Russian revolution. There is no reason to think that the achievements of the Chinese revolution are less firmly established now than were those of the Soviet revolution. On the contrary, China is in a better position today, from every point of view, than the Soviet Union was thirty years ago; it is not the only socialist country.

100. Anyone who thinks that the history of China can be changed by means of a boycott or threats from Taiwan must be blind. It is really difficult to understand what advantages any people can derive from a policy of refusing to recognize China, of cutting itself off from China, of exciting the just indignation of the Chinese people. It is incomprehensible.

101. The United Nations Organization cannot afford to persist in disregarding reality, in bowing to pressure which is the result of an out-of-date point of view based on a policy of force. We think on the contrary, that it is our duty to decide the question of China in accordance with the principles of constructive co-existence, for these principles are becoming increasingly important in the minds of men and in the public opinion of nations, including that of the great Powers.

102. Poland is bound to the People's Republic of China by bonds of friendship and co-operation. It identifies itself with the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people, which it fully supports. Poland, fully conscious of its responsibility for the development of the international situation and of its obligations as a Member of the United Nations, calls for the restitution to China of its legitimate rights in our Organization. That is why the Polish delegation will vote for the seven-Power amendments and against the draft resolution providing for a further adjourning of the debate on the representation of China in the United Nations.

103. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Cambodia) (translated from French): The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is of the greatest interest to Cambodia. Our country has maintained consistently peaceful relations with this powerful neighbour for a thousand years. There is an active and prosperous Chinese colony of 350,000 souls living on our soil. Following the example of many other non-Communist countries, we have decided to grant diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China. I have just returned from Peking, where I had an opportunity to confer on several occasions with the leaders of the Government.

104. My delegation realizes that the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is closely associated with the peaceful solution of the problem of the rightful ownership of the Chinese off-shore islands, a problem that is one of the tragic issues of the day.

105. I have no desire to go into the substance of this problem, but our position on the inclusion of this item in the agenda cannot be understood without a brief explanation of the reasons that underly it. I should like, therefore, to avail myself of the permission implicitly granted to most of the speakers who have preceded me and say a few words about our views on the matter.

106. I listened with great attention to the statement made by the representative of the Nationalist Government on Formosa. That statement contained many moving passages, but I should like to remind my colleague that the arguments which he advanced to warn the countries of Asia against the consequences of succumbing to Communist blandishments have not been confirmed in fact by the people of my country.

107. During the greater part of the war in Indo-China, Cambodia, whose foreign policy was then directed by the French Government, found itself in the Western camp quite apart from its own wishes in the matter. In spite of all its own efforts and the financial and material assistance given it by the United States, the French Army was unable to prevent the Viet-Minh Communists from infiltrating all our provinces and almost all our villages, where they destroyed property and exacted contributions from the inhabitants. I myself fought those foreign troops at the head of our national forces. Nevertheless, our country almost perished.

108. It was not, I am bound to say, by force of arms that the Communist danger was dispelled; it was the independence we gained by our own efforts in November 1953 and the national unity of our people we were able to achieve as a result of that independence which eliminated all pretexts for communism in our country and all popular support for it.

109. Since the Geneva Conference where, thanks to the strength derived from our united loyalty to the throne and our recognized neutrality, we secured the withdrawal of the Viet-Minh occupation troops, the communists have never threatened us. Now, our only grounds for concern outside our own borders are provided by nations which are militant opponents of communism. How can we possibly explain to our people that our friendship with the East may endanger the present and future of our country? We continue to believe that the most effective means of halting the advance of communism in any country is not to be found in the use of military force alone or defensive or offensive alliances, the extreme weakness of which has been demonstrated by recent events in the Middle East.

110. The best means of halting communism—as President Mao Tse-tung frankly admitted in my presence—is to offer the people concrete achievements and satisfactions which communism cannot better. To return to China, some countries have argued that by resorting to force—a method condemned by the United Nations Charter—to gain possession of the off-shore islands, the Peking Government is committing an act of aggression which deprives it of any right to a seat in our Organization.

111. It should be added that certain other countries categorically deny that Peking has committed an act of aggression and maintain that it only acted after repeated provocations on the part of the Nationalist garrisons of the islands. According to the Chinese Communist leaders, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Quemoy and Matsu have constantly harassed the mainland by sending out spies and saboteurs, by air raids and artillery bombardments, by preventing the movement of commercial shipping, and the like. The Peking leaders claim that their own attack is only a justified reprisal.

112. The question at issue is which side was the first to attack, which provoked the other. It was recently stated in the American Press that the United States was trying to persuade Chiang-Kai-shek to stop using Quemoy as a base for raids against the mainland. If that is so one can hardly speak of aggression on the part of Peking.

113. In any case, the situation in the Formosa Straits is an explosive one and the possibilities of solving this complicated problem are diminished every day by the undisguised threats that are exchanged by the leaders and representatives of the opposing Powers in official notes and by word of mouth. Any chance of a solution appears to be blocked by considerations of self-esteem and "face".

114. We Khmers are a very small nation. However, being neutral, unprejudiced and possessed of feelings of sincere friendship for our great American, Soviet and Chinese friends, we should like—without entertaining too many illusions—to submit to the Assembly a few modest suggestions of our own with a view to finding an acceptable solution and placing the situation on a more normal basis.

115. First, there should be an end to threats and attempts at intimidation by the Americans against the Chinese and by the Soviets and the Chinese against the Americans. Excessively harsh words have been spoken. The only way to efface the memory of such expressions is to agree to discontinue their use immediately.

116. Secondly, it is necessary to display a modicum of realism and objectivity. A glance at the map will convince anyone that the islands under dispute are virtually a part of the mainland. So far as the Nationalists and their allies are concerned, they are and will be increasingly undefensible. If I am not mistaken, the idea of declaring them neutral—a makeshift solution which has been considered in some quarters—has already been rejected by both Peking and Taipei.

117. Thirdly, the necessary concessions must be made. If the United States, the People's Republic of China and Formosa really want peace, they must give the waiting world some proof that they are animated by a spirit of justice and sacrifice. The Taipei Government must realize that by urging the United States to intervene in the question of the islands, it is deliberately committing its allies to a world war. Some observers believe that Taipei is fully aware of this fact, but considers a world war its only chance of regaining a foothold on the Chinese mainland. It appears that American public opinion is beginning to regard this stratagem with some distrust. A few days ago a political leader in the United States said that unfortunately there was legal justification for the ob-

jectives of the Communist régime with respect to Quemoy and Matsu and that under international law the United States had no right to use its troops for the defence of those islands. As for the People's Republic of China, our delegation feels that the only way in which it can reassure the world and make possible that understanding with the United States which we consider absolutely indispensable to peace in Asia is for it to give a solemn undertaking to renounce any attempt to gain control of Formosa by force.

118. If these three conditions are fulfilled—and they can be fulfilled very quickly, since they call for only a small amount of goodwill and common sense—it would be possible to bring about the peaceful evacuation of the Nationalist forces from the islands to Taiwan.

119. To crown the negotiations, it would undoubtedly be a wise move on the part of the new China to agree to release the American prisoners which it is holding in its custody, a humanitarian gesture that would win the approval of all nations. These prisoners have been the subject of long and difficult negotiations and their families are impatiently awaiting their return. By freeing them, Peking would prove that, contrary to widespread allegations, its régime is not devoid of human kindness.

120. In any case, my delegation will, at the proper time and regardless of ideological considerations, support the admission of the People's Republic of China to the Organization. We believe that the ostracism to which the United Nations has subjected the real government of China for years has caused much bitter feeling in Peking and in part explains the unyielding attitude which the new China has adopted toward the West.

121. If the People's Republic of China were admitted to the United Nations, its Government would thereby acquire not only rights but also duties and responsibilities to our Organization and to each of its Member States. At present, we have no means of bringing our influence to bear on the Peking Government and we continue to ignore it, despite the fact that it enjoys undeniable popular support and is playing a major role in world affairs. When we try to exclude it from the Organization, we and not Peking are the losers.

122. We are sometimes looked upon not as an Organization with a universal mission but as a club of peace-loving nations; the past activities of the People's Republic of China have been invoked to justify its exclusion from our club on the grounds that it has an "aggressive" character. Pending the Assembly's decision as to what the Organization really is, we think that instead of judging nations only by their past—for some of them were responsible for cruel acts of aggression before joining the United Nations—we would be better advised to judge them by their aptitude for future improvement. This prospect certainly exists in the case of the People's Republic of China: the great industrial, agricultural and social achievements which have been made on its soil by leaders of remarkable intelligence and unquestioned patriotism show that the Peoples' Republics will, if better treated by us, do honour to the community of nations.

123. As I have already told you, I recently visited the People's Republic of China and traversed the country from north to south. I can assure you that I saw pride reflected on the faces of young Chinese,

who were fully conscious of the fact that their Government, after accomplishing the remarkable feat of unifying the intricate pattern of races which constituted the China of yesterday, had raised their country, despite incredible difficulties, to the rank of a world Power.

124. In my opinion, what the Chinese appreciate is not so much the new political system itself, which perhaps does not inspire general enthusiasm, but rather the new Government, which has been able to attack poverty, to end unemployment and to clean up the administration. It has achieved this by methods of its own, which on some occasions have been more effective than gentle. But I, together with many other people who have an open mind on the subject, believe that if the Chinese people could make a free decision concerning their future, they would certainly not choose to return to the past.

125. I should like to add the following: it may have been possible in previous years to postpone the inclusion in the agenda of the question of the representation of China, but this year events indicate that the question is an urgent one. As the representative of India has said, our Organization would be remiss in its duty if it kept on deferring the discussion of this problem.

126. I am well aware that the discussion of such a thorny subject will inevitably lead to acrimonious remarks, but the question is whether those difficulties would be avoided by refusing to come to grips with reality or whether that would only aggravate them to the point where no solution was possible. In our opinion, the wise course is not to try to avoid the inevitable.

127. My delegation considers that world peace will always be endangered as long as the great Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and China—find themselves unable to settle all their common problems by negotiation. We voice the ardent hope that in the interests of the security of all, the peace-loving nations will, instead of taking sides to support these three giants in their quarrels, combine their efforts to bring about the necessary relaxation of tension between them.

128. My delegation will, therefore, vote in favour of the inclusion in the agenda of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

129. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): The New Zealand Government sympathizes with those who, like the Government of India, desire to see the Assembly vote to provide an opportunity for a reasoned discussion on the question of the representation of China. There are over 600 million people on the China mainland and sooner or later the United Nations must discuss the merits of this question. The New Zealand Government recognizes that several Members of the Assembly sincerely believe that it would be beneficial if at this session we were to discuss the issue in an endeavour to reach a fuller understanding. While we have respect for this view and would agree that such a discussion is desirable in principle, we would not favour this at the present time, because we fear that it would sharpen the controversy without bringing about any change of mind on the part of those principally concerned.

130. We would not wish, however, to vote in such a way as to frustrate the genuine desire of those who

seek to state their views before the Assembly. We shall, accordingly, abstain on the amendments proposed by the delegation of India and certain other countries to paragraph 1 of the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Committee.

131. Paragraph 2 of the draft resolution which the General Committee, on the proposal of the United States delegation, has recommended to the Assembly for adoption would have the Assembly decide not to consider at this session any proposal to exclude the representatives of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The fact that the Assembly has adopted such a resolution for several years now reflects the strong opposition to the seating of Communist China. While opinions on both sides are as strong as they are at present, the New Zealand Government cannot contemplate a step which would result in such a degree of disharmony as possibly to cause irreparable damage to the Organization. The New Zealand delegation therefore, while abstaining on the proposal to include a separate item in the agenda, will vote in favour of adjournment.

132. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): The delegation of India has requested that the question of the representation of China be included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. Now we have before us a draft resolution, originally proposed by the United States delegation and recommended by the General Committee, to the effect that the Indian proposal be rejected. Thus the General Assembly has once again been called upon to make a decision regarding a subject which has occupied world opinion for a number of years. The number of speakers on this subject clearly proves its far-reaching significance and the importance placed on it in the present world situation.

133. It is the considered opinion of the delegation of Iraq that it would be in the best interests of the United Nations and world peace to accede to the Indian request. The reasons which have persuaded my delegation to take this position, after thorough consideration, are two-fold: special considerations regarding China itself, and general considerations connected with the position of the United Nations in world affairs and the principle of universality upon which it stands.

134. The special reasons based on China's position are quite clear. China is one of the original Members of this Organization. Its permanent seat in the Security Council places on it grave international responsibilities. Therefore the question of who should represent this big Power in the United Nations is of great importance and is worthy of serious discussion and deliberation.

135. The General Assembly has been prevented for a number of years from debating this question. This negative attitude has neither diminished the importance attached to it by a large number of Member States nor has it led to the amelioration of relations in the Far East. It is obvious, therefore, that the best way to give this vital question thorough consideration is to include it in the agenda of this regular session of the General Assembly.

136. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government that can claim authority over the huge country of China and its population of 630 million people. It has, furthermore, been formally

recognized by a large number of the Members of the United Nations including two permanent members of the Security Council. Moreover, China occupies a leading position among the countries of Asia and plays a prominent role in world international trade and commerce.

137. Therefore, the inclusion of the question of the representation of this great country in the agenda of the General Assembly is both appropriate and necessary. To reject the Indian request would not be in the interests of our Organization and would certainly not help to ease international tension.

138. Among the general considerations which have induced us to support the request of the Indian delegation is the fact that the General Assembly is the natural forum where international problems should be debated. An opportunity for discussion is in itself a basic principle to uphold because it reflects respect for freedom of expression. Although it is generally accepted that democracy is the rule of the majority, it is also inherent in democracies that the minority should be given full freedom to express its views. Even if the majority of the Members represented in this Assembly are of the opinion that the Chinese People's Republic does not represent China, they should not, in a democratic gathering such as this, deprive the minority of the opportunity to put its full views before the Assembly. Free discussion is the only road to the discovery of truth and is the foundation of any democratic system. It is our considered opinion, therefore, that the failure to place a matter of such grave importance on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly is not only contrary to all democratic traditions but also contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

139. The continuation of the negative approach adopted in the past regarding the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the Assembly, in our opinion, remains one of the main causes of international tensions in general, and the present dangerous situation in the Far East in particular.

140. For all these reasons my delegation supports the amendments submitted by Afghanistan and six other Member States and will vote in favour of them.

141. Mr. AKO-ADJEI (Ghana): The Government of Ghana views with grave concern the present unsettled situation in the Far East. In the view of my delegation an important aspect of the matter which will help to solve the problems of the Far East will be a settlement of the question of the representation of China, that is, Communist China, in the United Nations. A final and early settlement of this question will lead to the lessening of tension in international relations and will contribute towards ensuring the foundations of peace and security not only in the Far East but also throughout the world.

142. The issue before us at the present moment is a simple one: Should we place on the agenda of this session the question of the representation of China in the General Assembly, or should we not? In the view of my delegation there is no doubt at all regarding the membership of China in the United Nations. In fact China is already a Member of the United Nations and it has been a Member from the beginning of this international Organization. What is in question and what some people are very much concerned about is the matter of who should occupy the seat of China in the United Nations. Should the seat of China be occupied by the repre-

sentative of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government, with headquarters in Formosa, or should the seat of China be occupied by the representative of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China at Peiping. This in our view is the clear issue before us, and the distinction between the two aspects of the matter should be kept apart; otherwise we are likely to confuse our own thinking on the matter.

143. At this stage one does not have to go into the substance of the matter. In fact it is not necessary to do so now. All that we are called upon to do is to decide whether or not to put the item on the agenda for discussion. The draft resolution submitted by the United States and appearing in the report of the General Committee, calls for the rejection of the mere inclusion of the item in the agenda. This we think is most unfortunate. The position of the United States delegation, as I see it, is that it will serve no useful purpose even if we decide to discuss the inclusion of the item. The members of my delegation find it very difficult to accept this view.

144. On the other hand, the amendments submitted by the delegation of India ask the Assembly to place the question of the representation of China on the agenda. My delegation sees no objection to this proposal.

145. In fact, we believe that the inclusion of the question of the representation of China in the agenda at this Assembly will do a lot of good. It will certainly clear the atmosphere which now appears to be very much charged with suspicion and tension. Such a decision will certainly enhance the Assembly's prestige throughout the world.

146. When the item has been included and all delegations have had an opportunity to discuss the substance of the matter, then, at that stage, it will be a different matter altogether; the question will be whether or not the General Assembly ultimately decides to exclude Formosa China or admit Communist China.

147. There is a Ghanaian proverb which says that when the calabash is turned upside down it invites or excites curiosity and suspicion; when it is wide open, nobody takes interest in it. Very often, in the summertime, it is common to observe a clear demonstration of this simple fact everywhere in the City of New York. Sometimes you see an old man or an old woman standing at the corner of a street in this city gazing into the skies. Out of mere curiosity all sorts of people begin to gather around him or her and they also start looking into the skies. In fact, there is nothing in the skies.

148. The same fact applies to the Chinese question. People become more and more curious when you make an attempt to exclude the mere inclusion of this item on the agenda.

149. My delegation does not believe that the United States delegation, by proposing the exclusion of Communist China, has anything to hide. In the same way, my delegation does not believe that the delegation of India, by proposing the inclusion of the question of the representation of China in our agenda, has any particular thing to gain. We believe that every delegation is interested in the preservation of peace and security and we are all endeavouring to do justice to the Chinese people.

150. In the view of the Ghana delegation, if the General Assembly decides not to discuss the Chinese question then it will be depriving the people of the world of an

opportunity to acquire a clear knowledge of the facts of this situation. We believe that it is more important to inform the people of all the facts through the processes of free discussion than to keep information away from the people. When you keep information away from the people, they become curious and suspicious. It was on the basis of this principle that my delegation voted in support of the Australian proposal for discussion of the Hungarian question a few days ago. We see no reason why the Chinese question should not be included for discussion at this Assembly on the same principle. We cannot apply one set of standards and

principles to one subject and then apply quite a different set of standards and principles to another subject; we cannot have double standards. We are all reminded by the Secretary of State of the United States on this particular problem. We should not in fact agree to have double standards. We stand for justice for all.

151. The attitude of my delegation will be guided by the principles I have stated and we will vote for the amendments in favour of the inclusion of the question of the representation of China in our agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.