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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda

**FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/4520)**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will deal with the adoption of the agenda of the fifteenth regular session, the allocation of items and the organization of the session. The Assembly has before it in this connexion the first report of the General Committee [A/4520].

2. I propose to take up first the organization of the session. If there is no objection I invite the Assembly to turn to section III of the General Committee's report. May I take it that the recommendations of the Committee, as contained in paragraphs 19 through 22, are acceptable to the Assembly. As there is no objection, I take it that they are acceptable.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the adoption of the agenda and the allocation of items.

4. The work of the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees has already been much delayed over the schedule of previous years. In order to enable these Committees to start their work as soon as possible, I would suggest to the Assembly that we begin our proceedings today with the inclusion on the agenda of items provisionally allocated to the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees. After the Assembly has decided on the inclusion and allocation of these items, it will then proceed immediately to deal with the recommendation of the General Committee contained in paragraph 10 of the report, and also with the remaining items on the agenda as regards their inclusion and allocation to the plenary meetings, to the First Committee or to the Special Political Committee.

5. I should say at this point that normally the report of the General Committee is presented and disposed of in the first week of the regular session. For various reasons, that has not been possible this year, and the report of the General Committee is presented later than has ever been done before. It will be necessary, therefore, for the Assembly to take special measures to dispose without delay of the report of the General

Committee, and to enable this to be done it will be necessary, I am afraid, to schedule a night meeting of the Assembly on Monday night.

6. If there is no objection, we shall proceed accordingly, that is, we shall deal now with the items relating to the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees, we shall proceed then to the recommendation contained in paragraph 10 of the report and also the remaining items, and we shall continue the discussion at a night meeting of the Assembly on Monday evening.

It was so decided.

7. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Assembly to turn to section I of the report of the General Committee. Item 12 is provisionally allocated to the Second Committee. If there is no objection to its inclusion on the agenda, I shall take it that that is agreed.

Item 12 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

8. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that item 13 will be included in the agenda?

Item 13 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

9. The PRESIDENT: Item 27 (a) refers to the cost estimates for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force. Is there any objection to the inclusion of this item on the agenda?

Item 27 (a) was placed on the agenda without discussion.

10. The PRESIDENT: If there are no objections to the inclusion of items 28 to 32 inclusive on the agenda, I shall take it that that is agreed.

Items 28 to 32 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

11. The PRESIDENT: If there are no objections to the inclusion of items 33 to 36 inclusive on the agenda, I shall take it that that is agreed.

Items 33 to 36 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

12. The PRESIDENT: Items 37 to 47 inclusive deal with questions within the competence of the Fourth Committee. In the absence of objection, I take it that the Assembly agrees to their inclusion on the agenda.

Items 37 to 47 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

13. The PRESIDENT: Items 48 to 64 inclusive relate to questions with which the Fifth Committee will be called upon to deal. In connexion with item 50, the General Committee approved a suggestion by the Secretary-General [see A/BUR/152, para.5] that a resolution adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, relating to the publication of its verbatim records, should be considered by the Fifth Committee in connexion with its

consideration of the budget estimates. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the Secretary-General's recommendation.

It was so decided.

14. The PRESIDENT: If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees that items 48 to 64 inclusive should be included in the agenda.

Items 48 to 64 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

15. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection to the inclusion of items 65 and 66 on the agenda, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to their inclusion.

Items 65 and 66 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

16. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion in the agenda of item 74.

Item 74 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

17. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion in the agenda of item 76.

Item 76 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

18. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion in the agenda of items 82 and 83.

Items 82 and 83 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

19. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has now agreed to the inclusion in the agenda of the items provisionally allocated to the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees. We shall now deal with the allocation of those items to the various Committees. For this purpose I would ask representatives to turn to the recommendations contained in paragraph 18 of the first report.

20. In connexion with the allocation of item 12 (Report of the Economic and Social Council), I would point out that the General Committee recommended the allocation of chapters and Sections to Committees in accordance with the fields of competence of the Committees concerned, with the understanding that other sections or chapters of the report would also be available to Committees so that, if desired, all co-ordination questions could be dealt with.

21. In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the allocation to the Second Committee of the items proposed for it by the General Committee.

It was so decided.

22. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the allocation to the Third Committee of the items proposed for it by the General Committee.

It was so decided.

23. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the allocation to the Fourth Committee of the items proposed for it by the General Committee.

It was so decided.

24. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the allocation to the Fifth Committee of the items proposed for it by the General Committee.

It was so decided.

25. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of objections, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to the allocation to the Sixth Committee of the items proposed for it by the General Committee.

It was so decided.

26. The PRESIDENT: I shall now ask the Assembly to turn to the draft resolution approved by the General Committee, which is contained in paragraph 10 of the report, and which deals with the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. I would in this connexion call the attention of representatives to the amendments [A/L.314] proposed by the delegation of Nepal.

27. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution recommended by the General Committee which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly

"1. Decides to reject the request of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the inclusion in the agenda of its fifteenth regular session of the item entitled 'Representation of China in the United Nations';

"2. Decides not to consider, at its fifteenth 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." [A/4520, para.10.]

28. The effect of the General Assembly's adoption of this recommendation will be that without further debate at this session the proposal to expel the Republic of China from this Organization and to seat in its place the People's Republic of China will once again be rejected, as it has been rejected every year since 1951. In the General Committee [129th meeting] I briefly stated the reasons for my delegation's strong opposition to the Soviet proposal. Now, before the entire membership of this great body, I should like to set forth our reasoning in more detail.

29. Before doing so, however, let me dispose of one argument which has been made and which has nothing whatever to do with the case. The Soviet Union has repeatedly alleged that we of the United States are opposed to the seating of Communist China because we take what Mr. Gromyko has called a negative attitude towards the state system which exists on the mainland of China. I should like to echo the wise words of Prime Minister Macmillan in his eloquent address to the Assembly on 29 September 1960: "... we must at least free ourselves from old and worn-out slogans and obsolete battle cries" [877th meeting, para.98]. The question before us is not a clash between so-called state systems. It is not a matter of words or slogans. It is a matter of actual deeds which offend the principles of the United Nations and the conscience of mankind.

30. Let me for a moment recall the situation in which the United Nations finds itself at this point in history.

For it cannot be denied that the Soviet proposal concerning China, although it has been raised and rejected every year in the General Assembly for years past, has never been raised at a more historic and critical moment, a moment of greater promise and greater danger, than that which the United Nations faces today. This fifteenth year in the life of the United Nations has been called the year of Africa. It is an apt description. Already at this session we have admitted to membership sixteen new African States. They cover four million square miles across the centre of that great continent, more than a third of its entire territory. They have just emerged into independence and are eager to contribute to our work and to obtain for themselves and their people the benefits of the United Nations Charter, an assurance of peace and independence and, as the Charter states in its eloquent Preamble, of "better standards of life in larger freedom". To help them attain those benefits is a challenge to this Organization and its Members which will merit our best efforts for years to come. That is one of the fundamental facts about this moment in the history of the United Nations, and it is among the chief blessings in the history of our troubled century that this great transition has been largely peaceful.

31. The tragic exception has been the strife in the Congo (Leopoldville), which only days ago commanded the urgent attention of the General Assembly in emergency special session. There the United Nations has been labouring in the greatest operation of its career against both internal disorder and external intervention in order to guard the sovereign independence of a new nation.

32. The issue which still must be decided by events is momentous: whether the people of the Congo, and perhaps of all Africa, shall enjoy the heritage of freedom and independence which has been awaiting them and which is their birthright, or whether they shall be engulfed by a new kind of imperialism.

33. It is, therefore, pertinent to find out what attitude, if any, has been taken toward the United Nations operation in the Congo by the Chinese Communist authorities whom the Soviet Union now wishes to seat in our midst.

34. We are not without evidence on this point. On 12 September 1960 the Mayor of Peiping, Mr. Peng Chen, who is also a member of the ruling Politbureau of the Chinese Communist Party, which in turn is the supreme authority in Communist China, made a speech to a rally in Peiping in which he said:

"The recent armed intervention of the U.S. imperialists in the Congo under the cover of the United Nations flag has disclosed most nakedly that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the nationalist independence movement in Africa."

35. Two days later, on 14 September, 1960, the Government in Peiping issued an official Government statement about the situation in the Congo, and I quoted excerpts from this statement in the General Committee. It is full of such phrases as "the United Nations forces, under the control of the United States". It contains a particularly offensive reference to the Secretary-General as being "always at the beck and call of United States imperialism". That is the official Chinese Communist nightmare version of the facts about the situation in the Congo, a situation in

which the United States has not taken a single step except at the request of the United Nations, in a programme supported by the overwhelming majority of Members here.

36. Reflecting on such statements, it takes only a little imagination to perceive that if Communist China had a seat in this Organization today, it would make an all-out attempt to tear down everything that the United Nations is trying to do in the Congo and throughout Africa. They would be praising the independence movement with their lustiest voices, while trying to fasten on the peoples of Africa a system which the peoples of every continent have come to recognize as the new imperialism. If today the spokesman of Peiping had access to these halls and to this speaker's rostrum, that is the purpose for which he would use them. No delegate familiar with their record of behaviour can doubt that that is true.

37. This would be a very strange way indeed in which to—and I quote the explanatory memorandum attached to the Soviet Union's request [A/4474] for inclusion of the item in the agenda—"vastly enhance the prestige and authority of the Organization". And it is an extremely strange way for any country or authority to promote its chances for admission to this Organization.

38. That attitude of Chinese Communists on African matters is no sudden and temporary aberration. It is characteristic of the entire aggressive and warlike behaviour of Communist China, which I shall now proceed to sum up as briefly as possible.

39. In Korea, in the fall of 1950, when the United Nations forces had almost finished beating back the aggressor army of communist North Korea, one million Chinese communist troops poured into Korea to renew the aggression. For this, in February 1951, Communist China was condemned by a resolution of the General Assembly [resolution 498 (V)], which remains valid to this day.

40. After two years of bitter war against the United Nations, an armistice was achieved in 1953. The Chinese Communists violated the armistice by callously refusing to account for thousands of prisoners of war in their hands, which they have never done to this day, and by illegally reinforcing their military forces in North Korea. They sabotaged the inspection system set up under the Armistice Agreement to prevent such violations, and to this day the only terms on which they have expressed willingness to see the Korean nation unified are such as to guarantee that the entire nation would be rendered helpless against their pressure and would fall into communist hands.

41. Throughout these years they have drummed into the minds of the helpless captive Chinese people the myth that the United States was the aggressor in Korea, and that the United Nations action here was part of a United States plot to strangle the new China in its cradle.

42. In the Taiwan Strait Communist China has been using armed forces intermittently since 1950 as part of its violent campaign to seize Taiwan and the Pescadores, and thus to destroy the Republic of China. Twice, in 1955 and again in 1958, its acts of violence and threats against Taiwan reached such a pitch as to bring the spectre of general war to the Western

Pacific; and to this day it continues its capricious and wanton bombardment of the off-shore islands, the only organized shooting that is going on in the world today.

43. Since 1955 the United States has sought, in over 100 ambassadorial meetings with representatives of Communist China, to work out an agreement by which neither side would use force in the Taiwan Strait. They have stubbornly refused to make any such agreement.

44. In South-East Asia also Communist China's record is one of aggressive pressure. They began in February 1950 by calling on all the peoples of South-East Asia to overthrow their Governments. For many years they gave material support and propaganda encouragement to communist guerillas who were trying to overthrow the Governments of the Philippines and Malaya.

45. In North Viet-Nam, a communist State which owes its existence in great measure to the Chinese Communists, they have helped the régime to enlarge its army greatly both in troop strength and in weapons; all of this in violation of the armistice terms^{1/} applying to that area.

46. The outrages of this régime in Tibet are well known. As early as February 1950, within months after their accession to power, they sent an army to subdue the traditional self-governing mountain kingdom of Tibet. In 1959 they tightened their control by summarily dissolving the Tibetan Government and establishing a so-called Tibetan autonomous region, which of course has no autonomy at all. This is colonial despotism. Thousands of Tibetans were massacred. The Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet, was driven into asylum abroad, and the war against the Tibetans has continued through 1960, with frequent reports of heavy fighting. Communist troops from China have even violated international frontiers in their efforts to hunt down Tibetans trying to escape with their lives. This matter is so serious that the General Assembly will debate it this fall for the second year in succession.

47. In the past year the Chinese Communists have moved beyond Tibet and have made military incursions into the territory of the sovereign nations of South Asia. Prime Minister Nehru has described these incursions bluntly as aggression. Official maps issued by Communist China show as Chinese large areas long regarded by other States as their own territory. Characteristically, while conducting these aggressive moves, the Chinese Communists make loud charges of aggression against the very States which they offend. Thus, all along the borders between Communist China and non-Communist Asia there is trouble and discord. From Korea, South and West along the 6,000-mile arc that ends in the Himalayas, we find a history of Chinese Communist complicity, military aggression, subversion and outright seizure of territory.

48. On the mainland of China uncivilized acts against nationals of other countries are standard practice. Hundreds of foreign Christian missionaries have been arrested, and many religious leaders killed. Hundreds of foreign civilians have been imprisoned. Countless members of the Moslem minority in China have been

imprisoned for what has been called carrying on counter-revolutionary activity under the cloak of religion.

49. Throughout the ten years of Communist China's violent career these actions have been accompanied by an official campaign of hate, hate propaganda against foreign Governments and against peoples which, in its massiveness and its viciousness must be unequalled in the history of the world.

50. The chief target for this abuse has been the United States. The intensity of this campaign is illustrated by this brief quotation from a Peiping radio broadcast of 23 June 1960:

"The anti-United States Propaganda Week in Peking entered its third day today. Various types of propaganda activities are under way throughout the city. All the literary and art groups in Peking are mobilized to take part in the anti-United States struggle. The Stage Play Group of the Air Force's Political Department has rushed back to Peking from Tsingtao. The Central Folk Music Ensemble and the Central Song and Dance Ensemble are busily composing and rehearsing programmes which will expose the nature of United States imperialism. Other drama and song ensembles from Honan, Shanghai, Shantung and other areas now performing in Peking are also engaged in anti-United States propaganda activities."

That is the daily diet of ideas for the Chinese people.

51. Now, the United States is not really hurt by this insane abuse. The people who are hurt are the Chinese people, who are required to engage in these senseless orgies of hatred against the so-called foreign devil about whose real nature they have never been allowed to know anything. All those who know something of China's great culture must grieve at such a degradation. It is said sometimes that such emotions must be whipped up in order to make the Chinese people produce more goods; but truly, it should be possible to raise a people's standard of living without requiring them to live in such a mental inferno, the existence of which is in itself a danger to international peace.

52. Such then is the actual record of behaviour in the Chinese Communist régime which the Soviet Union proposes for admission to the United Nations.

53. Now let us compare that behaviour with the standards of the Charter.

[The representative of the United States read Article 1, paragraph 1 and Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter.]

54. Certainly, no régime with the record which I have just described can be expected to pursue the purposes of the United Nations, nor can it be called peace-loving. This is proved once again by the Chinese Communist attack, from which I quoted a moment ago, against the United Nations efforts to help bring peace and true independence to the Congo. No more eloquent proof can be offered that the Chinese Communists oppose the United Nations Charter and are contemptuous of those who devotedly serve it.

55. Let me emphasize once again that the aggressive practices of the present rulers in Peiping are not

^{1/} Geneva Agreements of 1954.

sporadic, nor superficial; they are systematic. They spring from an addiction to power and violence which is rooted in the system of thought of the Chinese Communist leaders. In 1938, Mao Tse-tung wrote this:

"Every communist must grasp the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. In this sense, we can even say that the whole world can be remoulded with a gun."

56. Now, it would be pleasant to believe that the cult of violence expressed in those words, written twenty-two years ago, has now given way to mellow thoughts. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Only yesterday, the news appeared of a new book issued by Mr. Mao, which not only repeats what he said in 1938, but makes it stronger as the years go by.

57. Now, when Mr. Mao talks about imperialists and reactionaries, he refers to your Government and mine, Mr. President, and those of the great majority of nations in every quarter of the globe which are represented in this hall, and when he proposes to overthrow all reactionary rule, as he said, and win a lasting peace for mankind, his intention is to remake the world in the image of Communist China. That is his plan, as he freely tells us.

58. Now let us see how the Chinese Communists propose to carry out that plan, a plan to overthrow our governmental systems, whether they intend to use violence or peaceful means. On 16 April 1960, there appeared in Peiping an article of great significance in the magazine Red Flag. Now, this is no privately published magazine, a phenomenon which does not exist on the mainland of China. This is the official journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which is another name, of course, for the supreme ruling group in Communist China. What appears in its pages is holy writ for every member of the ruling class in that area. Here is what it says about revolutions which overthrow non-communist governments: "Revolution means the use of revolutionary violence by the oppressed class; it means revolutionary war."

59. In fact, this same article does not even recoil from the thought of a world-wide war, a war fought with hydrogen bombs; there is no recoil there if only that will promise the conquest of the world by communism. World opinion was quite sceptical when a number of prominent personalities began, about two years ago, to tell of conversations with Chinese Communist leaders, in which those leaders said that China could withstand a hydrogen war because, even after losing some 300 million people, they would still have 300 million left who could then proceed to communize the world. Such a willingness to sacrifice hundreds of millions of Chinese in a single stroke seems too frightful to believe.

60. But now in their official journal, Red Flag, the Chinese Communists say that they do not fear a hydrogen war because, "on the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create with extreme rapidity a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves". This, I believe, is the only recorded instance of a group of men anywhere in the world believing that a world war fought with hydrogen bombs, in which up to a half or more of their own huge population could be wiped out, would lead to a beautiful future for anybody.

61. Such a fanatical addiction to violence seems without equal even among the communist nations, to judge by recent statements from within the communist bloc to the effect that only madmen and maniacs can speak of a new war. Yet, this is the mentality which the Soviet Union says we should welcome into the fold of the United Nations in order to enhance the prestige and the authority of the Organization.

62. Let it be remembered that what is proposed here is not only that the United Nations should seat the Chinese Communists, but that, in order to make room for them, the United Nations should, in effect, expel the Republic of China. That is a fate which the Charter, in Article 6, reserves exclusively for Members which have, "persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter...". The Republic of China, through all the difficulties it has suffered, remains to this day the true repository of the ancient culture and genius of the Chinese people. It has never violated the United Nations Charter. It has fulfilled its obligations as a Member of the United Nations. It has never incurred the censure of this Organization. It has faithfully contributed its efforts and its vision to our work.

63. Before I conclude, let me deal briefly with certain arguments which are sometimes advanced on this subject.

64. First, we sometimes hear it said that Communist China is indeed guilty of gross violations of the Charter but that admitting its representatives to the United Nations would tend to remedy its extreme behaviour by exposing the régime to moderating ideas and influences. Now, the Charter gives no basis for such an argument, since eligibility for admission depends on whether a State is peace-loving, not on whether it stands in need of reform.

65. Even so, this argument might carry weight if there were any facts at all to support it. But there are none. This régime that we are discussing has consistently demanded a seat in this body as a right even while it was in the act of aggression against the United Nations. It has never shown any willingness to moderate its policies out of deference to the United Nations Charter or to the expressed views of this Organization.

66. On the one occasion, in the winter of 1950 and 1951, when its emissaries came to the United Nations, their attitude was arrogant and inflexible. Later, whenever it has been invited to take part in any particular deliberation here, it has refused. It has continued to denounce the United Nations. It has made it clear that it would accept a seat only on its own terms. But to admit it on these terms, with no abatement of its present policies, would only reward them for its uncompromising attitude and thereby strengthen rather than weaken its addiction to aggression.

67. Then there is a second argument: that to exclude the Chinese Communists adds to the danger of war because we are told that there is no place except the United Nations in which to negotiate with them. Yet my own country has negotiated with them over the past eight years, at Panmunjom, in Geneva and in Warsaw. We have negotiated with them about Korea, about the prisoners whom they unlawfully detained and about the Taiwan Strait. The lack is not of a forum for negotiation but of a willingness on

the part of the Chinese Communists to settle any important question except by capitulation to their own intransigent terms.

68. And, finally, it is sometimes argued that refusal to seat the Peiping régime in the United Nations denies representation in this world body to 600 million mainland Chinese. In view of the long record of aggressions and threats of war by the Peiping régime, this argument would have no validity under the Charter even if it were true. But the truth is that the rulers of Peiping do not represent the Chinese people. The Peiping régime was imposed by military force, and in ten years it has carried out political purges which have brought death to some 18 million Chinese people; and within the past two years, as all of you know, it has imposed the commune system, which is slave labour in all but name—and that system has been imposed upon 120 million families. Surely no government which represents its people has to resort to wholesale murder and mass slavery to keep itself in power.

69. I conclude. It is tragically true that the mainland of China today is, to a great extent, isolated from the rest of the world. But it is not we who have isolated it. The communist rulers of China have isolated themselves and some 600 million Chinese people into the bargain, from the standpoint of the world Organization, by a wall of fanatical hatred and violence against all those whom they cannot dominate. Their behaviour is the antithesis of everything for which the United Nations stands. To admit them here would be to stultify our Organization and to subject it to a stunning blow at the very moment when it faces new and historic tasks for the sake of freedom and peace.

70. We must hope and work constantly for better things. We must keep the door open for honest negotiation. We must look forward to the day, which will surely come, when the Chinese people, free at last from their imposed isolation and from the poison of official hatred, will be permitted to renew civilized human contact with the outside world and to rejoin the family of man to which they have contributed so much in ages past.

71. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to place before the Assembly the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

72. There is not the slightest doubt that the artificial exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation in the work of the United Nations greatly harms the Organization, considerably narrows the scope of its activities, impedes the consideration of international problems requiring the collective efforts of all States for their solution, and renders fruitful consideration of major problems virtually impossible.

73. I wish to stress particularly that what is at issue is the restoration of the rights of a great Power which, under the United Nations Charter, is a founder Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, but which has so far been unable to take its rightful place, to take part in the work of the organs of the United Nations, and to make its contribution to the Organization's activities. It is completely irregular that the great Chinese people, comprising

one quarter of all mankind, should have no representatives in the Organization which should be the broadest of international forums and which is based on the principle of the universal representation of all the countries in the world.

74. States with the most diverse social systems and forms of government are represented in the United Nations, and here, as in a mirror, the real image of the contemporary world should be reflected. As matters now stand, however, with no representatives of China here in the United Nations, the Organization reflects not a true but a distorted image of the present-day world.

75. It is clear to every person of good sense that the People's Republic of China is a great Power which unites the whole Chinese people, and that the Government of the People's Republic of China exercises full governmental authority over the whole territory of China, except for a few islands where the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, routed by the Chinese people, are still holding out temporarily under the shelter of the American fleet.

76. The People's Republic of China has received broad international recognition and has established normal diplomatic relations with thirty-four States. The international relations of the People's Republic of China are being rapidly extended. The People's Republic of China now maintains trade and cultural relations with almost the entire world.

77. The Chinese people are engaged in a titanic effort to transform their country, which, in the recent past, was economically backward, into an advanced industrial and socialist State. They are vitally interested in peace and are in favour of peaceful international economic and cultural co-operation.

78. China was one of the sponsors of the 1954 declaration proclaiming the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and the Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly put forward proposals intended to lessen international tension in the Far East as well as throughout the world. The People's Republic of China contributed in large measure to the peaceful settlement of the situations in Indo-China, Korea and other parts of the Asian continent. Its Government actively supports the establishment of a zone of peace in Asia, as well as an atomic-weapon-free zone in the Pacific, and proposes the conclusion of a treaty of peace and non-aggression between all countries of Asia and the Pacific, including the United States of America.

79. The President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Chou En-lai, speaking in Peking on 1 August 1960, reaffirmed his Government's adherence to a policy of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. He said:

"We desire peaceful coexistence not only with the Asian and Arab countries, but also with the European countries and the countries of other parts of the world."

He continued:

"We are in favour of the conclusion of a treaty of peace and non-aggression between the Asian countries and the countries of the Pacific, including the United States of America, so that this entire

area may be transformed into a nuclear-weapon-free zone."

80. The policy of the Chinese Government provides convincing proof that it stands firmly by the five principles of peaceful coexistence, that it supports the basic Purposes and Principles of the United Nations with practical actions and that it is making great efforts to increase international co-operation and to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

81. Why then has the United Nations not yet been able to settle the important and yet quite simple question of the representation of the People's Republic of China? Mainly because the United States of America does not want it to be settled. It is doing everything in its power to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations.

82. At this session of the United Nations General Assembly, many Heads of State and Heads of Government have spoken out clearly regarding the absolutely intolerable situation which has arisen as a result of the non-representation of the great People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

83. The Government of the United States pursues a hostile and aggressive policy towards the People's Republic of China. As early as 1950, the United States of America, committing an act of aggression against China, forcibly seized the island of Taiwan, and continues to use it as a base to carry out acts of military provocation against the People's Republic of China; it continues to build up so-called "deterrent forces" in the Far East and to spend thousands of millions of dollars on assistance to the Chiang Kai-shekites in the preparation of fresh acts of military provocation.

84. The United States has set up numerous military bases along the frontiers of China. During the last eighteen months it has carried out more than forty major military manoeuvres in the Far East, of which almost half were in Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait. The American generals make no secret of the fact that these manoeuvres were directed against the People's Republic of China.

85. And at the same time, highly-placed American political leaders hypocritically talk of the "aggressiveness" of the People's Republic of China. They constantly refer to the resolution [498 (V)] illegally declaring China an "aggressor" which the United States once forced through the General Assembly. Incidentally, it might well be asked, in connexion with that resolution, whose troops are at present stationed in Korea? If the State Department has a short memory, we may remind them that the Chinese volunteers long ago left that country, while United States troops continue to occupy South Korea.

86. The attempts of the United States Government to resuscitate such a political corpse as Chiang Kai-shek and his putrid régime, which was repudiated by the Chinese people, merely poison the international atmosphere in the Far East.

87. For more than ten years now the United Nations has been considering the question of allowing the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in the United Nations. Every year the representatives of States mount this rostrum and state the position of their Governments on this important question.

Every year, the States split into two main groups in discussing this item. One group, obeying the logic of the actual state of affairs, and defending the legitimate rights of the great Chinese people, declares frankly and openly, without hesitation, that it is time to remedy a great historical injustice and to invite the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to send its delegation, which would be here with all of us in the United Nations and would take part in all its activities.

88. The representatives of other States, under various pretexts, avoid a just decision and, trailing in one way or another in the wake of the Government of the United States of America, thwart the taking of a decision by the United Nations to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

89. The arguments used by the United States Government against the People's Republic of China can sound convincing only to the followers of those United States politicians who suffered a defeat in China eleven years ago as a result of the downfall of the venal Kuomintang régime and the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution.

90. It is well known that for sixteen years the ruling circles in the United States did not recognize the Soviet Union simply because our people had destroyed the bourgeois-landowner system and had carried out the great socialist revolution. Naturally, our people did not ask the permission of any United States politicians to do this. The Chinese people did the same thing under the leadership of their Communist Party.

91. We have no doubt that the time will come when the United States politicians will adopt a more sensible attitude towards the People's Republic of China and will treat that great country with dignity and respect rather than with the hostility they now show at every turn.

92. Until the People's Republic of China takes its rightful place in the United Nations it will be impossible to establish conditions for genuine negotiations and a solution of the disarmament problem. If agreement was reached on disarmament, would such agreement be valid without China? Even if there was an agreement on disarmament the United States would say that because of the non-participation of China it could not be implemented, yet the United States itself is doing everything it can to prevent the People's Republic of China from participating in the work of the United Nations.

93. We urgently appeal to all those gathered here to break this vicious circle. Without China there can be no disarmament, without China the United Nations cannot function normally.

94. Sensing the absurdity of the argument that China is "represented" in the United Nations by the Chiang Kai-shekites and apprehensive about the fate of the Kuomintang lackeys, the United States and several other Western countries are trying to push through the notorious idea of "two Chinas". Yet it is no secret to anyone that the idea of "two Chinas" is actually an ill-disguised diversionary move to dismember the territory of the great country which is China and tear away that part of it which is constituted by the Province of Taiwan.

95. It has long been clear that the provocative plan to establish "two Chinas" is doomed to failure and the sooner certain politicians in the United States realize this the better it will be for the cause of peace throughout the world.

96. Those who think it is primarily the People's Republic of China which stands in need of the restoration of its rights in the United Nations have the wrong idea. They are mistaken. If we are right in saying that the purpose of our Organization is to be a universal Organization uniting all nations, then it is hard to tell who stands in greater need of the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations, China itself or the United Nations, called upon as it is to constitute the broadest and most representative international organization in existence. This Organization needs to have such a great nation and such a powerful country as the People's Republic of China represented in it and taking an active part in its work.

97. That is why the Soviet delegation proposes that the question of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations should be considered and decided as an important and urgent matter at the very beginning of the work of the General Assembly's session.

98. Let me now reply to the statement of the United States representative, who sought to demonstrate the necessity of continuing the present discredited policy with respect to the People's Republic of China and proposed that the Soviet proposal concerning the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations should be rejected.

99. The United States representative referred here to a statement made by Comrade Peng Chen, Mayor of the city of Peking. I know Comrade Peng Chen well and if you could see him you would realize that he is not at all like the description of him which was given here. He is a fine person who is respected throughout the country. The United States representative referred to the fact that Comrade Peng Chen had called the United States an imperialist Power. Is that any revelation? The whole world knows that the most imperialistic Power, the Power which supports the colonial régimes, is the United States of America. The sparrows are all chirping it from the rooftops. Yet the United States representative is indignant over that statement by Comrade Peng Chen. What innocence! Just like a young lady making herself out to be an innocent maiden when she is known to have ten children already.

100. The United States representative stated further that Comrade Peng Chen, in speaking of the Secretary-General had said that in the Congo he was carrying out a policy serving the interests of American imperialism and of the colonialists. Is that too something new? Mr. Hammarskjöld himself knows better than Peng Chen whose policy he is carrying out in the Congo—he knows that he is the faithful servant of monopolistic capital and represents in the United Nations the interests of States which are carrying out a piratical, imperialistic, colonialist policy.

101. The United States representative said that the People's Republic of China is directing its efforts towards the seizure of islands in the Pacific Ocean. But I ask the representative of United States imperialism, what islands is he talking about? The

People's Republic of China wishes to liberate the island of Taiwan and other islands. To whom do those islands belong?

102. Look at the international agreements covering this matter, the signatures to which include that of the representative of the United States Government, and you will see it written in those agreements that the island of Taiwan and other islands off the coast of China belong to the Chinese people. The People's Republic of China has a legitimate right to liberate those islands and we have supported, we support now and we will continue to support that legitimate right of the Chinese people. Indeed, I should say that the Government of the People's Republic of China is showing very great restraint as far as the liberation of those islands is concerned. That is a domestic affair of the People's Republic of China and no one has the right to interfere in it. If the Soviet Union had found itself in such a situation you may be sure that we should not have tolerated the occupation of our territory but should long ago have sent all the traitors to the devil so that not a trace of them would remain and the islands would belong to the people.

103. The United States representative expatiated here on the régime in the People's Republic of China. His statement was full of distortions and fabrications about some sort of repression which is supposed to be going on there. This is all malicious slander against the People's Republic of China. It is nothing new. How they used to slander the Soviet Union, how they used to croak about its impending doom! Yet the Soviet Union is alive and flourishing. There is no more democratic system than the system which prevails in the socialist States.

104. Is it for the representatives of the United States to tell us what democracy is? Sooner or later they will have to learn how to organize a system under which the rights of every human being are really respected. Genuine democracy is possible only under socialism, only under communism. Before the United States representative talks about the régimes in the socialist countries I should advise him to look at himself in the mirror so that he may see what kind of régime exists in the United States.

105. The United States representative here appealed to the countries of Africa and told them of the United States' love for them and concern for their welfare. But I would ask this fine gentleman, could the representatives of those States, if they did not have United Nations papers, stay overnight at a hotel in his "democratic" country, or be served lunch or dinner in a restaurant patronized by white people? No, they could not. That is humiliating and offensive to the dignity of any human being. In the United States there is a sharp dividing line between whites and Negroes. Is that democracy, is that respect for human beings? No, that is hatred for human beings, the sowing of enmity between whites and Negroes.

106. Let the Negroes, let the representatives of other peoples of Asia and Africa, come to us, to the Soviet Union, to the People's Republic of China, to any socialist country, where they will find love and friendship and will really be treated like human beings. They will be treated as such not because they are Negroes but because our peoples deeply sympathize with and have at heart the cause of those who are fighting for their freedom, those who for many centuries have

suffered, and endured humiliation and oppression at the hands of the colonialists.

107. In the United States they lynch and hang Negroes just because they are Negroes. The whole world knows that. Books are written about it, the newspapers report it. Let the United States representative look at the history of his own country! We revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln, a great American who raised the banner under which the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes was waged. He was an American and he fought against other Americans for the equality of peoples and for justice. Yet even now racial discrimination exists in the United States. To this day Negro children in a number of places in the United States are not allowed to attend the same schools as white children. Is that not a disgrace for a civilized society? Yet the United States representative dares to slander the truly democratic régime of the People's Republic of China, which is building socialism. All I can say is, people who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

108. The United States representative slandered the régime of the People's Republic of China. I should say in reply that the ruling circles in the United States have very close friendships with régimes which are anything but democratic, such as the Franco régime in Spain. Who is Franco, may I ask...

[At this point, the remarks of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR were deleted from the record.]

109. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union to be good enough to lend his co-operation to the Chair. On a former occasion I indicated the view of the Chair that offensive remarks of a personal character directed to Heads of States or Heads of Governments were not in order. I am afraid that the description which was applied to the Head of a State by the speaker at the rostrum was unparliamentary and out of order, and as such it should not appear in the official record. I would now ask Mr. Khrushchev to be good enough to continue his remarks.

110. Mr. KHRUSHCHEV (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): I consider the President's comments to be out of place. Why did he not stop the United States representative when he was slandering that great country, China? In the United Nations all States should be on an equal footing and we shall not tolerate it when the President allows speakers to insult the socialist countries. I cannot accept his comments. We are not here as suppliants, we are the representatives of a great nation, a great socialist State, and we are defending our friend the People's Republic of China, its régime and its laws!

111. The United States has agreements and friendly relations with the Franco régime and maintains military bases on Spanish soil for use in carrying out its aggressive imperialistic policy.

112. Another bosom friend of the United States Government and one whom it has declared to be little short of a genius is Syngman Rhee, the oppressor of the Korean people. He brought things to such a pass that the South Koreans threw him out and he secretly fled from Korea in a United States aircraft. Where is

he hiding now? You may be sure that he is in the safekeeping of the United States.

113. In South Viet-Nam they also chop off people's heads and there the real power is in the hands of the United States.

114. Now I should like to make one further point in reply to the statement of the United States representative. He reproached Comrade Peng Chen for having called the United States an imperialist State and for having described Mr. Hammarskjöld, who is Secretary-General of the United Nations—although I think that that wrong will be righted—as a champion of the policy of the colonialists. If on these grounds the United States representative finds it logical to demand that the People's Republic of China should not be represented in the United Nations, then it must be asked how the representatives of the United States can endure the presence here of the representatives of the Soviet Union, who have condemned and continue to condemn the imperialist policy of the United States and the disgraceful role played by Mr. Hammarskjöld in the Congo.

115. There is still another point. It is the Assembly's business how it settles the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Sometimes people adopt unjust decisions in the belief that they are based on the truth. But time and history upset those erroneous decisions.

116. What is it that those who oppose the rights of China in the United Nations want? They want only States with one type of social system to be represented in the United Nations. They do not like the People's Republic of China and the socialist system. But what will happen if the socialist countries leave the United Nations, to set up their own international organization and invite other countries to support their efforts on behalf of peace? That will be a death-blow to the United Nations. It will mean that instead of having one united United Nations organization we shall have two organized blocs constantly in opposition to each other. That will lead to an intensification of international tension and of the arms race rather than to their relaxation.

117. That is not what we want. We want the United Nations to be an organization in which all States are truly united, irrespective of their social and political systems. We want it to unite all nations without exception. It is our common duty to ensure that life may be lived on earth without wars between States, without military conflicts, but that goal can be achieved only if all States are united in a single organization, namely the United Nations. That is why we support the United Nations.

118. Anyone who wants peace on earth, anyone who wants disarmament, should vote to permit the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in the United Nations and to participate in the activities of the United Nations.

119. The proposal made here by the United States representative reflects the old imperialist policy of setting one group of States against another. For that reason the United States does not want China to occupy its place in the United Nations. That is what the United States needs in order to be able to pursue its cold war and arms race policy and to sabotage the possibility

of agreement on disarmament. The purpose of all this is to carry on the "brink-of-war" policy of Mr. Dulles. But a brink is not a very firm place on which to stand and even the most skilful acrobats with all their special training may at any moment lose their footing. Sometimes they, too, slip and that is the end of them. When that happens it is a disaster for only one person. But if the brink-of-war policy "loses its footing" it will be a catastrophe for all the countries of the world, resulting in a frightful nuclear missile war. Those who do not realize that should stop and think about it.

120. The rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored if international tension is not to be still further aggravated. The lifeless body of the Chiang Kai-shek régime must be thrown out and its place must be occupied by a living entity—the People's Republic of China!

121. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Spain has asked to be allowed to exercise his right of reply, and I call upon him now.

122. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I am sorry to have to interrupt this debate with these emotional incidents which are hardly suitable to my age or to that of the representative who provoked them. But I must thank the President for his firmness in interrupting abuse of a Head of State, and preventing the words from being heard and recorded.

123. Moreover my delegation has nothing but respect for all the Heads of State present here, but we must protest clearly and vigorously against the insults—which we scarcely heard—uttered by the Chairman of the Soviet delegation against the Head of the Spanish State. We reject them outright.

124. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the representative of Greece wishes to speak on a point of order, and I therefore call upon him now.

125. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): I really see no need to answer the speech which Mr. Khrushchev has just made. I have my own opinion about what he said, but I am not at all anxious to reply. I do see the need, however, to make another statement, since he maintained that all countries in the world must become socialist countries. I therefore wish to state my conviction that no progressive society can exist unless it is based on freedom of the individual. I wish to make this quite clear and I am also convinced that most of the peoples of the world believe in this way of life.

126. Mr. TSIANG (China): I note with much regret that the tone of the debate in this session has sometimes degenerated to a very low level. The speech of the Soviet representative is an example of what I have in mind. He imagined that this Assembly was a huge, ignorant mob not knowing reason or logic. All he did was to arouse our emotions. In my humble opinion that speech is unworthy of the United Nations. It is a disservice to this great Organization because it destroys mankind's respect for this great institution in which we all repose our hopes.

127. The General Assembly has now before it for consideration that part of the first report of the General Committee [A/4520 para.10] relating to the request [A/4474] of the Soviet Union for the inclusion in our agenda of the so-called "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations".

The General Committee has by a resolution recommended the rejection of the Soviet request. We have also a proposal by the delegation of Nepal [A/L.314], which seeks to reverse the recommendation of the General Committee.

128. My delegation supports the recommendation of the General Committee and appeals to all delegations to do the same. We are convinced that the item proposed by the Soviet Union does not deserve consideration by the General Assembly.

129. The purpose of the Soviet request for inclusion of an item on the representation of China is to exclude my delegation from the United Nations and to give the seat of China to the representatives of the Chinese communist régime.

130. The Soviet speaker called the Republic of China a corpse. He thought that a corpse should not be admitted to this Assembly. Well, he has been accustomed to burying people. I do not think that is the truth. A change in the representation of China in the United Nations, such as that proposed by the Soviet Union, would have both immediate and permanent consequences of the most serious kind. For the immediate future, such a change would add to the prestige of the Chinese Communist régime both domestically and internationally. That added prestige would be used for the further repression of the Chinese people and further subversion and aggression by the Chinese Communists against China's neighbours. Such a change is therefore against both the interests of the Chinese people and the interests of peace and security in the Far East.

131. My Government is one of the founders of the United Nations. We have steadfastly fulfilled all the obligations of membership. In the work of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, as well as in the Assembly, my delegation has always joined with other peace-loving delegations to uphold the ideals of the United Nations. Nobody has ever criticized my Government for failure in the fulfilment of obligations to the United Nations. My Government has a record here as honourable as that of any other Member State. There is no reason to subject the right of representation of my Government in the United Nations to question or debate.

132. I know that the Soviet Union and the other communist States in this Organization assert that the Chinese Communist régime is the Government of 600 million people on the mainland of China. The memorandum of the Soviet delegation [A/4474] relating to this subject speaks of the so-called "State system" established on the mainland of China and of the eleven years of existence of the Chinese Communist régime. This is the argument of so-called realism or facing the facts. I wish to ask the Assembly to examine this argument on both moral and political grounds.

133. Of course, there is the Communist régime on the mainland of China. What is important for this Assembly to note about that régime is that it is un-Chinese in origin and un-Chinese in character and purpose.

134. The Communist régime on the mainland of my country is the creation of the so-called Chinese Communist Party. That Party was organized forty years ago, shortly after the Soviet régime was established in Moscow. It was organized under the direct

leadership of Grigory Voichinsky, a Russian communist agent sent from Moscow. In 1921, another Russian communist by the assumed name of Maring came to China to help it develop and expand. The so-called Chinese Communist Party was born of Soviet parentage and has ever since been nourished by the Soviets.

135. Using the Chinese Communist Party as its tool, the Soviet Union began its career of intrigue and aggression in my country. For the past forty years, the Chinese people have experienced all the Soviet methods of aggression that have been practised in many other lands. We have witnessed communist infiltration, subversion, and incitement to civil strife. At times, the communists made offers of "peaceful coexistence" when it was necessary to consolidate their gains and to prepare for the next move. And the next move would surely come, more intensified, after the people's will to resist had been softened and weakened.

136. The climax of Soviet aggression in China came immediately after the Second World War had ended. Members of the Assembly may recall that a few days before Japan had accepted the terms of peace offered by the Allies, a Soviet army entered the Northeastern Provinces of China, commonly called Manchuria, nominally to fight Japan, but really to fight against my Government and to give military aid to the Chinese Communists. I had occasion to present some of these facts of Soviet aggression against China to the General Assembly at its fourth, fifth and sixth sessions when the item of Soviet aggression against my country was under discussion. I do not want to repeat that long story. It is on the records of the United Nations. I wish, however, to draw the attention of the representatives to the circumstance that this Assembly, after having examined these facts, came to certain grave decisions. By its resolution 505 (VI), adopted on 1 February 1952, the General Assembly found, and I am quoting the language of the resolution:

"...that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics obstructed the efforts of the National Government of China in re-establishing Chinese national authority in the three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) after the surrender of Japan and gave military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists against the National Government of China."

137. That is how the Communist system was established on the mainland of China. On the one hand, the Soviet Army, then in occupation of the Manchurian provinces, obstructed the efforts of my Government to establish national authority in that critical region of my country. On the other hand, the Soviet Army supplied both military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists who were then fighting against my Government. This Chinese Communist régime, born in such circumstances, is the creature of Soviet subversion and aggression against my country.

138. In asking the General Assembly at the present session to consider the question of the representation of China, the Soviet Union is in fact asking the United Nations to put its seal of approval on the fruits of Soviet subversion and aggression against my country. I believe it would be a moral wrong and a political blunder for the United Nations ever to give its moral approval to such a development. This Organization was established to prevent aggression, not to encourage and reward aggression.

139. During the past eleven years the Soviets have continued to give military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists. A recent example of such support is found in the fact that 170,000 shells which the Chinese Communists fired into Quemoy and other offshore islands during the recent state visit of President Eisenhower to my country were all of Soviet manufacture.

140. Since the Communist régime was set up in Peking eleven years ago, it has itself repeatedly committed aggression against the Asian neighbours of China. The first year of its existence had barely run out when the Communist régime intervened in the Korean War. For its aggression in Korea the Communist régime in China stands condemned by the General Assembly. The Chinese Communists have also committed aggression in Viet-Nam and Laos, either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, they have engaged in infiltration and subversion in the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya; and more recently they have been trying their hand even in Latin America and Africa.

141. The Chinese Communists have no respect for treaty obligations. They broke the armistice agreements in Korea and Indo-China as soon as they were signed. Can the General Assembly consider awarding a seat to such a régime for its aggression and still uphold the principles of the United Nations?

142. The Soviet representative in his statement took pride in the so-called "peaceful foreign policy" of the Chinese Communists. Are those acts of the Communist régime a manifestation of this "peaceful foreign policy"?

143. The General Assembly will recall that last winter the Chinese Communists engaged in armed hostilities in their border dispute with India—a country which cannot be considered as hostile to them and with which they have loudly proclaimed the so-called "five principles of peaceful coexistence". Is that a manifestation of the "peaceful foreign policy"?

144. Domestically, the Communist régime is repressive and terroristic. To maintain its tyrannical rule it has resorted to the brutal methods of killing, enslaving and brain-washing people. Recently it has instituted the militant and inhuman system of the so-called "people's communes" over all the mainland provinces of China. Earlier this year the commune system was extended to the large cities, where the people had been spared at the earlier stage. In the communes human beings are reduced to the status of animals in a zoo.

145. The wanton violations by the Chinese Communists of human rights in Tibet are well known to the General Assembly. Last year representatives of many Member States came to this rostrum to condemn such acts of the Chinese Communists. The General Assembly's resolution 1353 [XIV] has been contemptuously ignored. I shall have more to say on this subject when the item on the question of Tibet comes under consideration again this year. Can the General Assembly consider the seating of the Chinese Communists and still claim to be true to the principles of the United Nations Charter which solemnly affirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person"?

146. The General Assembly is probably not unaware of the political views expressed by the Chinese Communists. In an article entitled "Long Live Leninism!", which appeared in the 16 April 1960 issue of Red Flag, organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, it is declared:

"In the end the Socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries may try to prevent the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph."

147. To replace the capitalist system with the communist system, or, in other words, to communize the entire world, is the only way in which the Chinese Communists, with their comrades in other countries, see the final settlement of all problems, international or domestic. I do not know whether this coincides with the wish of those who preach realism and champion the participation of the Chinese Communists in the settlement of international problems.

148. To sum up, consideration by the General Assembly of the Soviet item is, in the judgement of my delegation, contrary to the interests of the Chinese people and contrary to the interests of the United Nations. It would only serve the interests of the Soviet Union and international communism.

149. The Government of the Republic of China, which I have the honour to represent, is the only Government which can speak for China and the Chinese people. The custodian of Chinese culture and tradition, my Government is the spiritual focus and the political rallying point of the Chinese people not only in Taiwan but all over the world, including the 600 million on the mainland, who love freedom and cherish their spiritual heritage. It is the sacred mission of my Government to help our brethren on the mainland in their ever-mounting struggle to throw off the tyrannical communist yoke and regain freedom.

150. In the tragic circumstances forced on us, we do expect that the United Nations should at least give moral support to the Chinese people in their struggle for peace, justice and freedom, and refrain from giving aid and comfort to the oppressor of the Chinese people and disturber of peace in the Far East.

151. The cry of the 600 million people on the mainland of China today is: "Out with the Communist régime!" Let the United Nations respect the wishes of the 600 million Chinese people and say likewise: "Keep out the Chinese Communist régime."

152. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to exercise his right of reply, and I now call on him.

153. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I have for several reasons deliberately delayed for a few moments exercising my right of reply. I wish to thank the President for allowing me to make this brief statement before calling on the next speaker on the list.

154. I did not wish to make my remarks immediately after the intervention of the representative of the Soviet Union because I did not wish to give the impression that this grave and basic issue was a private quarrel between two opposing great Powers. I think it will also be understood if I say frankly that I wished

slightly to delay my reply so that I, too, would not be intemperate.

155. Mr. Khrushchev has sought to distort the image of the United States. I would say this: There is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more well-being for every American—I say "every American"—regardless of race, colour or creed, in the United States of America than there is in any communist country. Anyone who knows the United States of America knows that that is true.

156. But, apart from the slurs and distortions which have been cast upon my country, I think that we in this hall who have heard what was said and the way it was said must once again be deeply disturbed in behalf of the United Nations itself. I speak not merely as one who is regularly surprised, and not a little shocked, at the spectacle presented by the representative of the Soviet Union, in this chamber, whether from the rostrum or from his seat in this hall. I must say that this conduct raises a good deal of doubt about the possibility of serious, constructive, calm negotiations on disarmament or any other of the larger aspects of peace in our time. I am deeply sorry, in behalf of the United Nations, that this doubt should have been raised. I can only hope that the kind of intemperate outburst which we heard this morning will not be repeated and that the oft-repeated position of the United States, that it is ready to negotiate whenever there is sincerity in negotiations and a possibility of success, will prevail.

157. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): As in past years, the Indonesian delegation favours the inscription on the Assembly's agenda of an item on the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. That China is a Member of the United Nations is not open to question here. That there exists only one China is also not open to question. The only question is the proper representation of China in the United Nations, as President Sukarno stated clearly in his address to the Assembly [880th meeting].

158. In explaining our position on the question of proper representation, I shall restrict my remarks to the procedural issue of inscription. This is at the moment the one and only issue before the General Assembly, notwithstanding the rather dubious action of the General Committee in mixing up the procedural issue of inscription with the political issue of representation.

159. The question of China's representation in the United Nations is not new. Since 1950 it has come up repeatedly in the United Nations and its various bodies, in one form or another. Arguments for and against the inscription of this item on the agenda are therefore also bound to be old and somewhat repetitive. But there is one important difference. Since this question of inscription is basically one of free discussion, the arguments in favour of inscription become ever more pertinent and strong, while those against inscription, against a free exchange of views, become progressively more untenable and stale.

160. What are the grounds for opposing the inscription of this item? In past years, the opposition has rested primarily on two contentions—and this is also true of this session. One argument against inscription concerns the policies and attitude of the Central People's Government of the People's Re-

public of China. It is said that the actions of the People's Republic of China, in Korea, in Tibet, along its borders and on the mainland itself, preclude that Government from taking its legitimate seat in this Organization. Now, in the first place, it is highly debatable whether this argument has any place at all in our present considerations. As I have already noted, at this stage we are concerned solely with the procedural issue of inscription. Events in Korea and elsewhere, while important in themselves and certainly of consequence to this item, are matters of substance and, accordingly, irrelevant at this procedural juncture of our work. But, aside from its propriety at this stage, is the argument valid? Can international problems such as Korea and disarmament be solved by keeping a powerful Member State like China outside the pale of this Organization, outside the Organization's process of mediation and conciliation?

161. Let us remember that China has been a Member of the United Nations since its foundation. The only issue at stake now is the issue of representation. Let us remember too that the United Nations is not a court of judgement, with ostracism and exclusion as its forms of punishment. If it were a court of judgement, demanding good behaviour as the condition for representation, then I fear that the seats of many of us would be somewhat precarious. I fear that the United Nations would seem more like a crowded revolving door, than a forum for quiet discussions and negotiations. Indeed, even assuming that the policies of the People's Republic of China are not to the liking of some delegates, this is not a valid reason for refusing to inscribe this item on the agenda.

162. Under our Charter, the primary task of the Organization is not to judge, but to seek remedies to international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. Its purpose is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems, and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, on the basis of the principle of universality. Representation in the United Nations is not a prize to be won. It is an obligation and a responsibility. And these can be assumed only by that Government—in this case the People's Republic of China—which in fact can employ the resources and direct the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligations of membership. Alone that Government can accept and discharge the Charter obligations and responsibilities, which weigh so heavily upon all of us in these precarious times.

163. How can the United Nations deal effectively with international problems, such as disarmament, while the People's Republic of China is denied its legitimate seat in this Organization? The answer is obvious and crucial for the effective functioning of the United Nations: it cannot. Merely the posing of this question makes it clear that the argument against inscription because of past events involving the People's Republic of China is not only out of order at this time, but paradoxically is actually an additional argument for inscription of the item on the agenda.

164. I shall return to this point in due course. But first I want to consider another argument used persistently against inscription of the item. This is the argument that because of the strong feelings on this question of China's representation in the United Nations, a debate may only embitter the atmosphere. It is an argument that is really difficult to understand.

165. Do not strong feelings exist about most of the items inscribed in the agenda? Are there not strong feelings about disarmament, Algeria, Korea, the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, and so forth down the list? Indeed, most of the items inscribed on the agenda are of a potentially explosive character and could possibly embitter the atmosphere.

166. Moreover, some delegations may feel more strongly about one item than another. But the degree of our interest, of our feelings, cannot be a criterion for or against inscription. Obviously, it cannot be such a selective and limited criterion, applicable to one and only one item. We cannot afford to be guided by such a double standard.

167. In fact, the inscription of an item on the agenda clearly implies the existence of strong feelings, of something controversial, even bitterly controversial. It is precisely the task of the United Nations to deal with such conflicts and differences. It cannot run away from this challenge. Humanity's faith in the United Nations will be severely strained if this Organization refuses even to consider problems that are of immediate concern to Member States and are brought before it for inscription.

168. There is still another facet of the opposition's argument that is very strange. They seem to suggest that States Members of the United Nations are less reasonable, less able to exercise self-restraint, than other international groups and bodies. The question of the representation of China has been discussed in various forums, including the International Olympic Committee. Negotiations between the People's Republic of China and Member States, in particular the United States, have been taking place outside the United Nations for many years on many international problems. Many, many countries have trade relations and cultural exchanges with the People's Republic of China. Yet the United Nations is told, in effect, that it is not responsible enough to even inscribe this item on the agenda. We cannot accept such an illogical situation. We cannot accept this blow to the prestige and authority of the United Nations. This General Assembly, after all, is not an afternoon tea party.

169. What is the risk to this Organization? It comes not from the strong feelings about this item, but from the fear and ignorance that an ostrich-like attitude invariably breeds. Each postponement of inscription can only compound the risk. We read often in the Western Press that the spectre of China hovers above international meetings. The spectre of China is hovering above the United Nations, and has been these many years. It will continue to haunt and hamstring our proceedings as long as this issue is manoeuvred into year-by-year postponements. We must bring the light of day upon it. We must face world realities by inscribing this item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. We have no other alternative, if we are truly concerned about the prestige, authority and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for peace.

170. Indeed, notwithstanding the postponements from one Assembly session to the next, there is no denying that the question of China's representation still exists. There is no denying that it is a very controversial question. There is no denying that its discussion cannot be postponed indefinitely. Every moratorium of this question, every such unprecedented moratorium—and

they are unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations—is only an admission of the fact that this question must be discussed eventually. The moratoriums can impose a wall of silence around this question, but they cannot remove it. They can thrust it aside for the moment, but they cannot settle it. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is and remains very much alive.

171. One need only look at the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. On practically every major unresolved political item, the People's Republic of China is a party directly concerned. This point need hardly be pressed, it is so obvious. It is sufficient to mention the questions of disarmament, including general and complete disarmament, suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, as well as possible measures to prevent surprise attack. Can we move forward effectively and with hope of success on any or all of these items without the participation of the People's Republic of China? Even the delegations opposed to inscription recognize and acknowledge the necessity of bringing the People's Republic of China into the negotiations on disarmament. Unfortunately however, their position is contradictory. If we are to negotiate with the People's Republic of China, if we are to have their co-operation on disarmament under the aegis of the United Nations, which has the primary responsibility in this field, then the first thing that must be done is to inscribe the question of the representation of China on our agenda now.

172. I do not claim that the active participation of the People's Republic of China in our proceedings will automatically result in the solution of disarmament and other grave problems, but I do say that the United Nations must take every step to ensure the finding of solutions. Utilizing every possible means to find solutions to international problems is the important thing. Otherwise, solutions will be sought outside this Organization. This is the danger that must be averted, and it can be averted only if we make the United Nations a truly representative body, a body representing all humanity.

173. The inscription of this item is, in fact, demanded by General Assembly resolution 396 (V). This resolution, adopted in December 1950 when the problem of the representation of China first arose, declares that, when the representation of a Member State in the United Nations becomes a subject of controversy in the United Nations, such a question should be considered by the General Assembly. So already ten years ago the General Assembly was called upon to consider this question. It is an obligation long overdue, but never forgotten. That the General Assembly, after a decade, has not yet carried out its own recom-

mendation cannot well increase the prestige and authority of the United Nations. I regret this very much indeed.

174. Moreover, it must be noted that, in the decade since the question of the representation of China in the United Nations was last inscribed in the agenda, the membership of the General Assembly has grown tremendously. Ten years ago, the United Nations boasted a membership of sixty sovereign States. Today, there are ninety-six Member States in the United Nations, and the figure should reach a hundred in the very near future.

175. Now if the recommendation of the General Committee is adopted, we are, in effect, preventing the Member States who have entered the United Nations since 1950 from making known their views on the substance of the question of the representation of China. Is it our intention to silence thirty-six Member States? Is it in keeping with fair play to prevent more than a third of the membership of the United Nations from considering the substance of the question of the representation of China, and the whole of the United Nations from reconsidering it? We do not think so. We believe that every Member State is entitled to discuss and decide this question as a responsible body, in a free and open exchange of views.

176. As I stated at the very beginning of my remarks, this is basically a question of free discussion. For many years now, the world has waited to hear the pros and cons of this issue of the representation of China. There must be free speech in the United Nations. It is precisely in the United Nations that we must respect this fundamental human right.

177. The recommendation of the General Committee against inscription is an obstacle to freedom of speech. We must eliminate this obstacle. We must end these manoeuvres of postponement, which restrict the right of free speech. They should be condemned by the proper means at the proper time.

178. At this stage I urge the Assembly to reject the recommendation of the General Committee. Let us not wait until the day when, for one reason or another, the United Nations invites the Government of the People's Republic of China to take its legitimate seat in the Organization, and that Government turns down our invitation.

179. In view of the above, my delegation will vote against the resolution of the General Committee contained in paragraph 10 of its first report [A/4520] and will vote in favour of the amendments proposed by the delegations of Nepal [A/L.314] and Guinea [A/L.315].

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.