

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**891st  
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 6 October 1960,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Tchichelle (Congo (Brazzaville))</i> . . . . .	485
<i>Letter dated 29 September 1960 from the President of Ghana, the Prime Minister of India, the President of Indonesia, the President of the United Arab Republic and the President of Yugoslavia addressed to the President of the General Assembly (concluded)</i> . . . . .	489
<i>Agenda item 8:</i>	
<i>Adoption of the agenda (continued)</i>	
<i>First report of the General Committee (continued)</i> . . . . .	490

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. TCHICHELLE (Congo (Brazzaville)) (translated from French): From this rostrum the most authoritative voices in world politics have taken up, with a greater or lesser degree of passion, the question of the emancipation of the peoples of Africa who are still under colonial rule.
2. Some, like the President of the United States [868th meeting], have proposed a plan for the raising and development of the African States; if that plan were carried out with sincerity and in concert by all the nations which are in a position to do so, it could have favourable results for the whole of Africa and for the peace of the world in general.
3. There would be no doubts about the results if, as President Eisenhower asks, all the countries represented in this Assembly were to undertake to respect the right of the African peoples to choose their own way of life and to decide for themselves the course they wish to follow and if, of course, they all respected their commitments.
4. Others, like Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR [869th meeting], propose quite simply that all colonial countries, Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories, should be granted complete independence and freedom to build their own national States in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of their peoples.
5. This last offer, although it does not deal with the material problems, which I suppose are to be understood, seems to me to be of the same scope as the preceding one.

6. Thus, as the two great Powers of the world agree that colonial peoples who aspire to freedom shall attain it quickly, endowed with the means which will enable them to create for themselves an honourable place in the concert of free nations, we cannot but rejoice and hope that an agreement will soon be reached on this great plan for the peaceful liberation of dependent peoples; we must emphasize, however, that it must be based on genuine disinterestedness on the part of the nations signing the agreement.

7. Then, proud in the full realization of their legitimate nationalism, the free States will be able to advance with their heads high along the great road of peace opened up by men of good will.

8. For the people of my young Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), which, with the generous assistance of France, has just attained full independence, nationalism has been and will, I trust, long continue to be a marvellous and absorbing faith. I presume that it must be the same for those who aspire to sovereignty and are impatiently awaiting the day when they will be able to cross the threshold of this Assembly Hall.

9. As we understand nationalism, however, if it is to retain its true meaning, its real and practical value, it must not blind us, it must not be a mirror to snare larks, which loses its usefulness as soon as the sun has set.

10. For us the true faith which must inspire all the peoples of Africa, both those which are still dependent and those which have recently attained independence, must not lead to xenophobia or racism.

11. Some of the recent experiences of emancipation should give cause for reflexion.

12. Surely the courage of those who are responsible for the conduct of the young African States should lie in frankness, even brutal frankness, towards the masses, who only want to be enlightened, rather than in misrepresentation, blaming the former administering Power for all the present disappointments and difficulties, which are normal hazards for a Territory that has suddenly been raised to the status of a nation.

13. But, proud as we are of this nationalism which hallows our flag, we sometimes notice in the speeches of certain leaders—who are not, I must explain, our former colonizers, who respect their commitments—a keen desire for pan-nationalism which hangs like a shadow over our first hesitant steps as a sovereign State.

14. There have, of course, always been men who have dreamt of universal States where everything would be for the best in the best of worlds. Pan-Africanism, in particular, has always had its supporters and we are grateful to them for upholding this noble idea. For my part, I find that many leaders, perhaps through nos-

talgia for the past and a desire to revive it, have very quickly mounted the horse of pan-Africanism, immersing themselves, not without emotion, in pre-colonial history and placing its heroes on pedestals of glory and grandeur. This intense desire to revive the past, which we well understand, failed, through complacency rather than through ignorance, to heed certain lessons of the past which provided a logical explanation of the collapse of the great African groups.

15. In their great longing to revive a world composed of colourful figures and chivalrous legends, all these promoters of pan-Africanism—and no one could blame them for it—forgot that these great kingdoms and empires had disappeared well before the colonial era, partly, it is true, because there was no administrative structure but first and foremost because their rulers experienced great difficulty in imposing the authority of the central power on egalitarian tribes.

16. All this leads us to think that today nothing is changed and that, in a world which we should like to be stable but which unfortunately is far from being so, what is required before all else is great wisdom.

17. Before dreaming of expansion and domination, before flinging ourselves into this alluring game of leadership, we must first make certain that our own affairs are wisely managed. That, let it be understood, does not mean that I extol individualism as a form of administration suitable to the Africans.

18. In an age when anything other than large groups is out of the question, it would be unrealistic to wish to retire into one's shell—a fragile shell at that. I can tell you, for instance, that my Government would very much like to see a great African economic community take shape on the occasion of this fifteenth session of the General Assembly, which would be able, through reliance on all the States of Africa, to develop jointly certain natural resources for the benefit of Africans. But that is not the question we are considering today. I simply referred to it in passing.

19. If our main aim, I was saying, is to manage our own affairs successfully, that does not mean that we can afford to hold aloof from what is happening on our borders. We should concern ourselves all the more with such matters in that here in the United Nations each of us has something to say about the fate of the others. This leads me to a question which we have very much at heart, for great sorrows should not remain unvoiced.

20. There may be some in this august Assembly who feel that there has been too much talk of the Congolese problem. It is true that long before we were admitted to this Hall it had been spoken of with passion and bitterness. It has been used for the purpose of re-kindling the cold war; it has been wrongfully used to criticize certain people severely and to cast doubt on the value of certain institutions. Day after day the speakers who come to this rostrum refer to the question of the Congo. If after so many speeches, this great controversy could stop at this point and we could see the slightest glimmer of peace appearing, we should not have spoken in vain.

21. I, for my part, shall not revert to what has been said already, to the resolutions which have been adopted and will remain in the files of the United Nations, testifying to the wealth of patience that can be exer-

cised by men when they are imbued, as are all of you, with the ideals of universal peace.

22. I simply want to state, in a few words, my Government's views on the situation in what was the former Belgian colony of the Congo, because as a true son of the Congo I think that I can usefully speak about this country as others have done before me.

23. Like them, we think that colonialism has had its day and that it must give place to the right of peoples to self-determination. But although this colonialism of which so much has been said in this Assembly must disappear forever, it is certainly not in order that it may be replaced by a new ideological colonialism, which, as was so well said by Mr. Charles Okala, my colleague from Cameroun [866th meeting], would make the African a mere cipher in a huge mass, overpowered by a philosophy which is, and always will be, alien to him.

24. Let those who claim to be so anxious to see freedom, justice and peace prevail in Africa allow their peoples to speak freely instead of imposing on them imported doctrines which will never be anything but imported doctrines.

25. On 3 September 1960 when I was at Brazzaville, I saw fourteen foreign technicians, who had no transit visas for my country and no entry visas for Leopoldville, disembarking at our airport at Maya-Maya; they had diplomatic passports and I was told that the Congolese Government had asked them to come, to replace the Belgian technicians who had left. I wondered what Government had asked for them. Between ourselves, do you think that these technicians, or self-styled technicians, had been approved of by the hardworking and free population of Leopoldville? Do you think, too, that the Congolese had claimed independence in order to see the Belgians replaced by other colonizers, reconnoitring their territory and not even speaking their language? I was rather doubtful about this, and though I still had doubts on that score some weeks ago, I have none today, since I have learnt here in New York that Colonel Mobutu of the Congolese National Army has expelled these technicians from the country without there being the slightest reaction on the part of the Congolese people.

26. I do not think I am mistaken in suggesting that these technicians were thrust upon the territory without United Nations approval. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that, under the terms of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 22 July 1960<sup>1/</sup> there can be no foreign intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville) except under United Nations supervision.

27. In fact, the whole matter is very complex because human beings are very complex.

28. You entrusted the United Nations with a mission. Why not let it carry out that mission with due respect—I say this for those who would not respect them—for the resolutions which have been enacted and approved?

29. Here in this great Assembly, where so many engineers and builders have been consulting one another daily for weeks and months to establish peace, to plan it and strengthen it, you have all agreed that United Nations action in the former Belgian Congo was essential to enable it to regain its stability, as you have all agreed on the draft resolution submitted to

the Security Council on 9 August 1960,<sup>2/</sup> which states that the United Nations must not be used to influence the outcome of internal conflicts in the country.

30. Why, then, should the United Nations not put its trust in the only person in the country legally vested with authority under the Basic Law of 19 May, 1960, whose constitutional authority has never been questioned? I am referring to the present Head of State, who on 11 September last sent the following cable to all the Heads of the independent States of Africa:

"After two months of independence we have found that the first Government has not deserved the confidence that the Congolese people placed in it. It has not devoted its attention to the country's vital and urgent problems, namely the maintenance of order, the provision of work for all and respect for fundamental freedoms. The country was on the brink of anarchy and destitution and it was absolutely essential to save it. That is why on 5 September we, with Mr. Bomboko, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, in full conformity with the Basic Law which serves as our provisional constitution, took the grave decision to dismiss the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and five other Ministers who were betraying the true interests of the Congolese nation and leading it in a direction contrary to its fundamental aspirations. An announcement of the composition of a new Government is imminent. Meanwhile the only lawful and legitimate Government is the one headed by Mr. Ileo Joseph. We therefore request you to deal only with the authentic Government and not with Mr. Lumumba, the ex-Prime Minister, and the other Ministers who have been dismissed and who, in trying to go on governing, are simply usurpers. On behalf of the Congolese people we thank the African States for the generous aid, both military and technical, which they have so kindly given through the United Nations to our young independent State. It is our great desire that relations between the Republic of the Congo and all the independent States of Africa should continue to be harmonious and should even be strengthened, for the good of our African peoples. Signed: Joseph Kasa-Vubu, President of the Republic."

31. For us, the Congolese of Brazzaville, the problem is clear, for there is no problem. The Congo solution is a matter for the Congolese alone, for the only Congolese representative legitimately so termed and vested with authority by the representatives of the people.

32. Hence, a few days ago, when I was broadcasting to my country, in our language, the news of our admission to the United Nations, I asked the Congolese leaders, our neighbours and brothers, to take the Congolese problem in hand, since the solution lay with them and it was for them alone to find it. I also asked them to summon up their patriotism, their brotherly feelings, their courage, to put an end to these fratricidal conflicts which bring discredit on them and plunge women and children into poverty and grief.

33. Today I am happy to know that this appeal has been heard and it is my fervent hope that the round-table conference which is to meet on the initiative of President Kasa-Vubu will produce a humane and generous solution of the problem which is exercising all our minds.

<sup>2/</sup> S/4426.

34. In order to put an end to this atmosphere of mistrust which hangs over the United Nations forces stationed in the capital of the Republic of the Congo, I suggest that they should be replaced by forces which have never worked in Leopoldville Province. In this way the partisan activities carried on by one or another group for the benefit of one or another party will automatically cease.

35. That is all I mean to say about my Congolese brothers. There is no point in going back over the matter in an endeavour to decide who is to blame. The damage is done; it exists. What is necessary now is to try to repair it, to find an antidote to the confusion and anarchy so that no further victims will pay for the fruits of independence with their lives.

36. Before leaving this rostrum, however, I should like to dwell at some length on the fate of my Congolese brothers who are under Portuguese domination.

37. When people speak of Portuguese overseas territories, it is generally Angola which is mentioned, a flourishing colony, the pride of the Portuguese, who are making a settlement of it. I shall not describe this territory, where such cities as São Paulo de Loanda and Lobito bear witness to the wealth of the country.

38. In that colony, as in most of the territories under Portuguese administration, patriotic and nationalist movements are springing up which cannot remain indifferent to the wind of independence that has been blowing across the soil of Africa for the last few years.

39. It is no secret that the Government in Lisbon remains indifferent to the legitimate claims of the people of Angola and those of other Portuguese territories in Africa.

40. Is the Portuguese Government's policy of indifference reasonable? Can President Salazar show himself to be less generous than General de Gaulle has been? Can he show himself to be less generous than the Queen of England, whose African territories are acceding to independence one by one? Has the independence that France has so generously granted to its overseas territories diminished France's prestige in the eyes of the world, in the eyes of the United Nations? All these questions which I am asking the Portuguese Government, any one of us could ask.

41. What can Portugal have to fear from a reasonable emancipation of the people whom it keeps, sometimes with undue severity, under its protection? Is it the eviction of the Portuguese from Africa? No one in the world thinks that and neither do you, gentlemen. Is it land reform? I do not think so, for there is still waste land in Angola and elsewhere for all those who want to settle on the land.

42. All that my brothers in Angola ask is that they should be regarded as human beings, that they should be given the opportunity to become citizens of their country and electors, that they should be permitted to choose their representatives.

43. Their elected representatives, as in all free countries, would then be able to make their views known and debate on equal terms with all those who have worked in these countries—one must have the courage to admit it—and who may have exactly the

same rights there as the indigenous people but not more extensive rights.

44. As I said at the beginning of my statement, in this vast Assembly Hall of the United Nations, in which a session that has been described by the entire world Press as historic is taking place, where all the great world leaders speak, one after another, affirming their desire for peace and offering solutions of peace and peaceful coexistence, two voices have been raised solemnly to acclaim the right of the African peoples to self-determination, two voices which are usually antagonistic to one another, two voices which are said to be always conflicting but which today are in agreement on one issue, namely the emancipation of the peoples of Africa.

45. We Congolese of Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, an independent people proud of our independence, appeal for that way of life, more especially and as a matter of pressing necessity yet in a completely disinterested spirit, for our brothers of Cabinda, the Congo ethnic minority occupying an enclave between the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) and our country. We ask it as a matter of urgency because this Portuguese colony, cut off from its administrative capital, São Paulo de Loanda in Angola, and even more from Portugal, having no port capable of receiving ships, does not manage to make its voice heard, for it is subjected to an "indigénat" system of which President Salazar himself is no doubt unaware.

46. Whereas Angola, thanks to its natural wealth, has seen its territory transformed in the space of a few years, Cabinda has remained as it was eighty years ago, when the princes of Cabinda, of the Mangoio Kingdom, placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, with whom they had been trading for several centuries.

47. Its illiterate population has never known anything other than direct administration, but what an administration it is! I can assure you that on our frontiers the only two brick buildings in existence are allotted to the administrative services.

48. When the Secretary-General of the United Nations visited Brazzaville last January, a delegation of the inhabitants of the Cabinda enclave asked for a hearing before Mr. Hammarskjöld in order to hand him a petition in which it explained its grievances to the United Nations. As I am certain that it proved impossible to transmit this document to him, I shall summarize it for you and it will, of course, be available to the Fourth Committee.

49. The main points made by the petitioners were the following:

(1) Contrary to the spirit of the Treaty—which I have here and which I shall also make available to the Fourth Committee—and in order to destroy the national spirit of the people of Cabinda, the first arbitrary act of the Portuguese, only a few years after the signature of the Treaty, was to incorporate our country administratively in the colony of Angola, without any prior consultation of the people.

(2) Notwithstanding article 4 of the Treaty, which lays down that the chiefs of the country and its inhabitants shall retain ownership of the land belonging to them, the Portuguese Government has taken possession of all our land and is assigning and selling it as it pleases.

(3) Apart from lower elementary education, which is exclusively in the hands of Catholic missionaries, there is not a single higher elementary or secondary school in Cabinda. After seventy-five years as a protectorate, Cabinda has not a single teacher or doctor among its own people.

(4) There is not a single hospital other than the make-shift hospital in the capital with its twenty beds; there are no dispensaries, no maternity centres and only a few first-aid posts run by male nurses.

(5) In the economic field no large investments have been made. There are no railway, no port, no permanent roads; only rough tracks which serve to take the great riches of Cabinda out of the country.

In their statement the petitioners went on to say that in addition to their physical and material sufferings, they also endure mental sufferings. There is no freedom of speech, no freedom of conscience, no freedom to work, no freedom even to dance. That is why the oppressed people of Cabinda, the petitioners continued, joyfully welcome your visit to this African territory, Mr. Secretary-General, and take advantage of this rare opportunity to raise their voices in order to make known to international opinion, through you, that they repudiate the Treaties which were signed between their forbears and Portugal, namely the treaty of Chimfuma signed on 29 September 1883, the treaty of Caio signed on 26 December 1884 and the treaty of Simulambuco signed on 1 February 1885, and request the United Nations: (1) to ask Portugal to withdraw immediately from the Cabinda enclave; (2) to recognize the people of the Cabinda enclave as a sovereign nation, free to choose its own destiny and its alliances.

50. That is what the people of Cabinda were calling for last January. That is what they are asking you for today.

51. But is the Government in Lisbon even aware of the defects in the administration in this territory, which is entrusted to officials who are constantly being transferred in the interests of the service? We who are accustomed to western administration know what that means. I do not think I am exaggerating in asserting here that Cabinda is the dumping ground for incompetent civil servants, who are sent there to do penance for their sins.

52. Does the Government in Lisbon know that on 26 July last six peaceable inhabitants, one of them a woman with her baby on her back, were machine-gunned by soldiers because they had been caught fishing without a permit in the river Barrado Bengo and that all the huts in the village of Bengo were ransacked and set on fire? The Portuguese Government will have no difficulty in verifying whether what I am saying is correct.

53. Has the Government in Lisbon been informed by its Administration that the "Regidor" (paramount chief) of the village of Caio was imprisoned because he called his village Noveas Ideas in honour of the new African States' accession to independence? What crime had he committed?

54. We are convinced that the Portuguese Government is unaware of all these things. We are certain that this is the case, for it would not tolerate the use in the twentieth century of the methods of the Inqui-



sition, the imprisonment of people for peaceful ideas, the destruction of radio sets to prevent them from listening to world news.

55. You will forgive me for lingering on this subject, but it was necessary for the United Nations to know that at the very time when, after seventy-five years of colonial domination, the Portuguese Government is condescending in propaganda posters to talk of collaboration between whites, blacks and half-castes, there are still people, peaceable Africans, who are enduring physical and mental suffering as a result of the lack of understanding shown by certain reactionary officials.

56. In this laboratory of universal peace, the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville), associating itself with all the statements made from this rostrum in support of peace and trusting that the disarmament problem will be speedily solved, hopes:

57. Firstly, that all men of good will who are attending this fifteenth session of the General Assembly will pledge themselves not to disperse until they have settled their differences and found a way of ensuring universal peace.

58. Secondly, that a settlement may quickly be reached so that the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) sent by President Kasa-Vubu, the only person vested with authentic powers, with constitutional powers, may sit with us and make known the views of the free Congolese people with regard to their own future and their desire for harmony and for life.

59. Thirdly, that the United Nations will devote careful attention to the problem of the Portuguese colonies and more particularly to that of the people of Cabinda, who ask for freedom so that they can enjoy the right to respect of the human person and to justice.

60. In conclusion, may I say once again that the people of the Congo (Brazzaville) have faith in the future of the United Nations and complete confidence in Mr. Hammarskjöld, its Secretary-General.

LETTER DATED 29 SEPTEMBER 1960 FROM THE PRESIDENT OF GHANA, THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, THE PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC AND THE PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY [A/4522] (concluded)

61. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus for an explanation of vote.

62. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): There seems to have been so much confusion last night during the debate of the important five-Power draft resolution [A/L.317] that we feel certain things should be seen in their proper light. To that end, I wish to explain my delegation's vote and our stand on that important question.

63. We profoundly appreciated the spirit which prompted the illustrious leaders of the five nations to propose that draft resolution. It had our wholehearted approval. However, a resolution of such a nature, aiming at mutual understanding and co-operation in the general interests of peace, is one that should be adopted by this Assembly with the necessary degree of unanimity; it is no good getting it through a divided Assembly; the very nature of

the resolution would not permit it. The draft resolution as it stood would have met with opposition from those whose collaboration in it was of primary importance. It was a draft resolution of great importance. According to rule 85 of the rules of procedure, such draft resolutions require a two-thirds majority. That it was important cannot be questioned because it was given preference over all other matters. Therefore that draft resolution would never have been adopted by this Assembly without the necessary co-operation of the greater part of this Assembly. It was therefore necessary, in order to get that draft resolution adopted, to find some formula which, while not altering the spirit and substance of it, would give it wider support, which it required.

64. We were definitely against any amendment which would alter the substance of the draft resolution and turn it from a bilateral conference of the two major Powers into a four-Power conference. We therefore voted against the Australian amendment [A/L.316]. We did not abstain but voted against this amendment because it was against our policy that the spirit of that amendment should be approved by this Assembly. At the last moment, however, a new suggestion was put forward which would have adopted the draft resolution of the five Powers in its entirety, omitting only direct reference to the Heads of State, thereby ensuring much wider support, if not unanimity. It therefore seemed to us that it was a constructive approach; it was the nearest possible approach to the original draft resolution. The draft resolution, after the deletion of the direct reference by the General Assembly itself, was not a proposal for amendment; it was an amendment resulting from the decision of the General Assembly to omit those two references to the Heads of State; and was no less a draft resolution in the spirit of the original draft resolution of the five Powers. It was certainly less explicit. However, with all due respect and with great deference to the different views expressed here, I must say that we are convinced that the meaning of that draft resolution lay in its reference to the two Heads of State.

65. The draft resolution referred to the world situation, peace and war, the grave international situation which threatens the world with grave consequences. It referred to the easing of world tensions. These matters cannot be matters for ordinary diplomatic relations. It did not refer to diplomatic relations, it referred to the contacts which were recently interrupted. There were no diplomatic contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union which were recently interrupted, other than the summit contacts for disarmament.

66. The urgency of the matter did not disappear, because the phrase "Expresses the hope that, as a first urgent step," remained in the draft resolution despite the omission of those direct references to the Heads of States. The word "urgent" appears twice in the resolution. Therefore, the urgency was there, the necessity of a meeting between the United States and the USSR at obviously the top level was there—I say "obviously the top level" because, as I said before, it refers to the very great and important subject of disarmament which no other level but the top level could reach agreement on. Therefore this draft resolution, after the omission of the direct reference, was a good resolution and would have been adopted unanimously, and we aimed at that in the spirit of the

sponsors of the resolution. It was the only way to get it through and we wanted to get it through. We did not want a resolution which might have been ideally perfect but which would not have been adopted. Therefore our attitude was realistic. It was in the spirit of obtaining the best possible formula for getting it through this Assembly.

67. On the legal aspects, our attitude was in support of the proper and the only interpretation of the rules of procedure because we believe that without adequate respect for the rules of procedure this Organization cannot function.

68. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Portugal, who has asked to exercise the right of reply.

69. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I have asked for the right of reply to the surprising remarks about Portugal made by the Foreign Minister of the Congo (Brazzaville). As the Congolese Foreign Minister has devoted most of his speech to my country rather than to his own country or to the general problems of the world—which is a most extraordinary procedure—I shall have to study his lengthy and emotional remarks. Therefore, I shall answer him in my intervention in the general debate tomorrow morning.

## AGENDA ITEM 8

### Adoption of the agenda (continued)

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

70. The PRESIDENT: The matter at present under discussion in connexion with this item is the question of the representation of China. I might perhaps remind the Assembly of the documents which are before it in this context. First of all, there is the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee and contained in paragraph 10 of document A/4520. Secondly, there are the amendments to this draft resolution proposed by Nepal and contained in document A/L.314. Thirdly, there is a sub-amendment to the second of Nepal's amendments, which has been proposed by Guinea and is contained in document A/L.315/Rev.1.

71. Mr. MAZUROV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): I have asked for the floor in order to support the proposal made by the Soviet Union delegation to include in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly the question of granting to the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations.

72. Almost every year the United Nations admits new countries. At this fifteenth session alone, sixteen new States have joined its ranks. But so far as the People's Republic of China is concerned, a disgraceful farce is, in my opinion, being played out in the General Assembly. As a result of the aggressive and discriminatory policy pursued by the Government of the United States and its allies in military blocs, the People's Republic of China has for the past ten years been deprived of the possibility of taking part in the work of the United Nations, and in the latter's conference rooms the places belonging to the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China are filled by persons representing not the Chinese people but

merely themselves and, possibly, the United States forces which have occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan.

73. Certain representatives who have spoken in the debate on this question, in endeavouring to show the complete absurdity of the situation thus created, have referred to the Charter and other documents of the United Nations and have submitted legal arguments to prove the justice of the demand for the re-establishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Those arguments are completely convincing. They show that the United States and its allies have no legal basis whatever for their refusal to accord to the People's Republic of China its rights in the United Nations. If such a basis had existed, the United States representative would surely have attempted to bring it up in his statement. It was not by accident that even the United Kingdom representative made no attempt to give, when he spoke here, the reasons for his position. It often happens in the General Assembly that questions are put back to front. The question of the rights of China in the United Nations is precisely one such.

74. Those who oppose the restoration of the People's Republic of China's rights in the United Nations have no legal basis to justify their position, and resort for arguments to slanderous inventions concerning conditions in that Republic and the foreign policy of its Government; they make accusations against the People's Republic of China stemming from the cold war spirit. All delegations in the Assembly are, I believe, well aware of what all this is about. Although the United States representative here has again denied it, the fact is perfectly clear that the Government of the United States, in disregard of every other consideration, is furiously working, for political reasons, against the admission to the United Nations of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, and putting crude pressure on other States for that purpose.

75. The United States is utterly incapable of reconciling itself to the fact that the peoples of China have done once and for all with imperialist and feudal oppression and have irrevocably embarked on the road of socialist development. That is what dictates the aggressive and discriminatory policy pursued by the United States in relation to China. The United States fears the voice of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is well aware that that Republic will speak out for peace, for disarmament and for a just and peaceful settlement of international disputes, and will combat the aggressive policy of the United States. The ruling circles of the United States are so blinded by their hatred of communism that they are losing their sense of reality.

76. The United States does not recognize the People's Republic of China. The ruling circles of the United States, reflecting the policy of the capitalist monopolies, are constitutionally incapable of reconciling themselves to the emergence of the new socialist States. It is well known that for a long time the United States of America did not recognize even the Soviet Union. But our great socialist Power did not cease to exist because of that. It survived, took great strides forward and is today one of the most powerful countries in the world. The same thing is happening with the People's Republic of China. The policy of not recog-

\* Resumed from the 884th meeting.

nizing that Republic will bring as little benefit to the United States as its policy of not recognizing the USSR. It is, however, inadmissible that the United Nations should be tied to a decision imposed by Washington. Such a state of things injures the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of the peoples.

77. The participation of any State in our Organization cannot and must not be determined arbitrarily by the United States Government and depend on whether the United States does or does not recognize the Government of such a State.

78. In what he said on this question [881st meeting], the United States representative accused the People's Republic of China of aggression. But that is sheer slander. The whole world knows that it is not the People's Republic of China which has seized United States territories, but the reverse; it is the United States of America which is illegally occupying islands belonging to the Chinese people. It is not the People's Republic of China which is threatening the United States; on the contrary, the military bases and fleet of the United States, located for aggressive purposes near Chinese shores 10,000 kilometres from the American continent, are threatening China. It is not the Chinese, it is the United States militarists who are engaging in provocative acts against the People's Republic of China. United States warships and aircraft systematically violate that Republic's territorial waters and air space. In the past two years, United States armed forces have infringed Chinese sovereignty more than 150 times. How can this not be regarded as arbitrary? Can we accept such a position, such lawlessness, in international relations?

79. The United States representative, in his statement here, charged the People's Republic of China with violating human rights and depriving people of personal freedom in that Republic. In his address [869th meeting], the chairman of the Soviet delegation, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, rightly reproved the United States representative and showed what human rights were worth in the United States, that "exemplary" country of the so-called "free world". Certainly, some of the "freedoms" which exist in such plenty in the United States are not to be found in the People's Republic of China. I have in mind for example, the freedom, which flourishes in the United States, of capitalist monopolies to exploit the workers and appropriate the product of their labour. It is not in the People's Republic of China, but in the United States of America, that so shameful a phenomenon as racial discrimination, which is altogether inadmissible in the present era, is wide-spread in its most repugnant forms. Millions of people whose skin is not white are subjected to cruel racial discrimination, in the United States. Who is not acquainted with the tragic fate of the indigenous population of the United States, the Indians? They are dying out, because they are a people cruelly oppressed by colonial rule. To this day, Negroes in the United States are lynched. Millions of Negroes are deprived of the right to vote. In the last Presidential elections, of the five million Negroes living in the South and having the right to vote, less than 25 per cent were registered as voters.

80. Three million negro children living in this country cannot be educated in company with white children and are forced to attend negro schools organized on the principle of segregation. Are these not the "possi-

bilities" for every American that Mr. Wadsworth had in mind?

81. In the United States, McCarthyism flourishes and witch-hunts continue. Many honourable Americans, particularly if they are Negroes, are victims of these shameful happenings. Is this not proved by the fate of the highly talented negro singer and actor and distinguished fighter for peace, Paul Robeson? His voice, which is known and loved throughout the world, cannot freely be heard in the theatres and concert-halls of the United States, and he has left his homeland.

82. The United States representative, in this hall, slandered the People's Republic of China by alleging that its Government was conducting an aggressive policy. But that attempt to denigrate the People's Republic of China has clearly failed.

83. The People's Republic of China, together with the other socialist countries, conducts a peaceful foreign policy. Its Government supports the USSR proposal for general and complete disarmament and is prepared to take a constructive part in negotiations on that question. The Government of the People's Republic of China recently proposed the conclusion of a peace pact between the countries of Asia and of the Pacific Ocean, and the conversion of that area into an atom-free zone. It is significant that the United States of America, which accuses the People's Republic of China of aggression, refused even to consider that proposal.

84. The People's Republic of China is developing friendly relations with all countries. Its foreign policy is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence worked out by the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955. Only a few days ago it was announced that the People's Republic of China had signed with Burma an agreement for the settlement of frontier questions.

85. The Chinese people, whose feet are firmly treading the road of socialist construction, is achieving great successes in the economic, social and cultural fields. Within a comparatively short space in the history of the Chinese people, radical changes have been made. The People's Republic of China is showing in practice how a backward, under-developed country in which the workers have come to power can, in a very short time, become one of the world's most developed Powers in the industrial sector. The people's power has roused, and channelled in the right direction, the energies of hundreds of millions of formerly subjugated souls. Having become the free creator of its own destiny, this people is, literally, performing miracles.

86. In 1959, three years ahead of time, the Chinese people attained the basic indices of the second five-year plan, which had been calculated to run until 1962. The national economy of the People's Republic of China is developing at an unprecedentedly rapid pace. In volume of production, that Republic has become one of the leading countries of the world. Suffice it to say that, this year, it ranks as the world's fifth largest producer of steel.

87. Because of the successful development of its economy, the material and cultural level of the Chinese people is steadily improving.

88. The reckless policy pursued in regard to the People's Republic of China by the ruling circles of the



United States and several other Western countries is condemned by all the progressive sectors of mankind. Without the People's Republic of China, it is not possible to ensure effective co-operation between the nations. Without that Republic, it is impossible to ensure firm and lasting peace throughout the world, or to solve in any effective way the problem of general and complete disarmament, the most burning question of our times.

89. The absence of the lawful representatives of China from the United Nations injures the United Nations itself, as Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev has already pointed out. It is not possible any longer to tolerate the flaring violation of the principle of universality on which our Organization is based. The restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legal rights in the United Nations would enormously enhance the Organization's prestige and authority, would contribute greatly to the improvement of the international atmosphere, and would help the United Nations to carry out more successfully the tasks confronting it.

90. The position of the Byelorussian SSR with regard to the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is unalterable. We have always urged the restoration of that Republic's rights in the United Nations, and we shall continue to strive for the triumph of justice.

91. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to represent China in international organizations. Only the delegates appointed by that Government can represent the great Chinese State in the United Nations, and there can naturally be no question of "two Chinas". For that reason the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the relevant amendment submitted by the delegation of Nepal [A/L.314], to the effect that the General Assembly should accede to the USSR Government's request for the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "Representation of China in the United Nations". We also support the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Republic of Guinea [A/L.315/Rev.1] to the effect that the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek should be excluded from the United Nations and that those of the Government of the People's Republic of China should be invited to take their rightful place in the United Nations and its organs.

92. We consider that the great objectives of the struggle for peace and international security, the vital interests of all mankind, call for a positive solution in the matter of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

93. Sir Claude CORREA (Ceylon): I propose to confine myself strictly to the issue before us, and the position of my delegation on the question now under discussion, namely, whether we should inscribe on the agenda the question of seating the People's Republic of China in this Assembly as representative of China, is the same position adopted by my Government ever since my country became a Member of the United Nations. It has remained the consistent and unchanged attitude of my Government. I do not claim that consistency is always a virtue but the facts in this case support our consistent position. That attitude has been stated by my delegation at previous meetings of the General Assembly and was stated by me, clearly and fully, in the General Committee [129th meeting] a few days ago, when I submitted several reasons in support

of our contention that it was the right of the People's Republic of China to represent the people of China in the United Nations. Let me restate some of those reasons briefly.

94. First, my Government has recognized the People's Republic of China as the Government of China and has exchanged diplomatic representation with that Government. It seems to us therefore logical and proper that we should support the representation of that Government in this Assembly. It is difficult for us to understand how we could recognize the People's Republic of China as the lawful Government of China and at the same time refuse to accept the representatives of that same Government in the United Nations. This is an inconsistency which we cannot well appreciate.

95. Secondly, the People's Republic of China is the only Government which has established authority and control over the whole population of, at least, the mainland of China. We can hardly forget the fact that there are 650 million people in China—a quarter of the world's population. Can we properly refuse to give them representation through their Government? Moreover, it is important that our Organization should, in fact, be a fully representative body. How can we claim for this Organization universality of representation if we keep the 650 million people of the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations? If we continue to do so, we shall be acting unrealistically and even unjustly, and our position will be wholly untenable.

96. Thirdly, surely they are not serious who argue that the People's Republic of China should be kept out because it is a Communist régime. Such an argument has only to be advanced to be rejected because the United Nations does not take into account ideological differences, and that is obviously the reason for the presence here, as Members of the United Nations, of a large number of Communist States.

97. Fourthly, it is the view of my delegation that it serves the cause of peace and is an advantage to other Member States to have Communist China within rather than outside the United Nations. As a Member of our Organization, the People's Republic will have to accept certain important obligations regarding the Purposes and Principles of the Charter; and China will be bound therefore to regulate its conduct in accordance with the practices and principles of the United Nations. Any country brought into the United Nations fold and into close association with Member States drawn from all parts of the world, holding different political views, cannot escape the mellowing influence of such contact.

98. The Chinese people are a great people who have an old civilization. It will not be difficult for them to establish close and friendly relations with other peoples of the world community represented here.

99. We believe therefore that nothing but good could come out of such a situation. If they are out they have no obligations except only those which they choose to incur. They are not bound by the principles of the Charter. They have no obligations towards this Organization and they can do whatever they please without any restraint. Moreover, their exclusion will leave, as undoubtedly it does, a sense of bitterness and frustration which will antagonize them against the world community and thus endanger world peace.



100. Fifthly, to keep the People's Republic of China out will, in our opinion, be foolish in the context of general and complete disarmament. The General Assembly accepted general and complete disarmament as its policy at the fourteenth session. This year the most important discussion will undoubtedly be on the question of disarmament. This is a very vital problem. It is the hope of the world and the earnest effort of this Assembly to find a way to achieve a disarmament agreement despite existing differences and discouragements. If our efforts succeed—or, should I say when our efforts succeed—and if at that time the People's Republic is still not a member of our Organization, what guarantee is there that the People's Republic will go along with us in the implementation of the disarmament agreement which we might have achieved with a great deal of trouble and after a great deal of discussion? And on this point let there be no doubt.

101. I should like to quote from a statement made by the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Ch'en Yi, in January of this year. He said:

"Any international disarmament agreement which is arrived at without the formal participation of the People's Republic of China or signature of its delegates, cannot, of course, have any binding force on China."

This is a clear statement and unambiguous.

102. If it is sought later, after a disarmament agreement has been achieved through the efforts of the United Nations or through the efforts of the great Powers, to get the Government of the People's Republic to change that position which was stated by the Foreign Minister, then those who seek to bring about that change in the position of the People's Republic of China will have to pay a price; and that may indeed be a heavy one, and certainly that price will include the recognition of the right of the People's Republic to be seated as the representative of China. Thus, we gain no advantage by keeping the People's Republic out. On the other hand, we only add to our difficulties by adopting such a short-sighted policy.

103. The importance of bringing the People's Republic of China into an international disarmament agreement was recognized by Mr. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, when he said recently that it is wholly possible that, at some stage, the Chinese Communists will be brought into disarmament discussions. If they are not considered good enough to take their place in the United Nations, would they be good enough to set around the disarmament table? If, however, that is the intention—and it is not only a laudable intention but it is a necessary prerequisite for a disarmament agreement—why not bring them in now, through the United Nations, because we know that disarmament talks have to take place soon, either here or outside? It would be too optimistic to believe that after they are kept out of the United Nations they would come meekly at our bidding after an agreement for disarmament has been negotiated without consulting them, and it is difficult to believe that at that stage they will sign such an agreement. We cannot overlook the fact that they are very necessary, that is, the People's Republic of China, to make any disarmament agreement workable, whether it deals with conventional armaments or nuclear armaments or both. The People's Republic has the second largest

army in the world in numbers and, if the unilateral reduction of the Soviet army is carried out, as has been stated by the Soviet Government, and we have no reason to doubt that this will not be done, then Communist China will have the largest army numerically in the world, and it is said to be well-trained and well-equipped. So from the conventional disarmament point of view it is necessary to keep that factor in our minds.

104. It is also the general belief that Communist China will soon become a nuclear Power. In a recent scientific study made in this country it was stated that twenty countries could, within a short period, become nuclear Powers and among these China was included. The question then arises, would any country, particularly the great Powers, agree to sign a disarmament agreement unless sure that the People's Republic of China would go along? In the circumstances I have referred to, namely, with the People's Republic as a powerful country with both nuclear and conventional armaments, will the great Powers be prepared to sign an agreement and implement that agreement unless the People's Republic of China is ready to go along? In these circumstances, it will be necessary to bring them in, at some stage, to participate in those discussions. Would it not be better, I ask again, to do so now, when no price need be paid, as we would be doing the right thing in the normal way by this Assembly, by the United Nations admitting the People's Republic of China to its membership? How can we expect any of the great Powers to implement an agreement for general and complete disarmament if China is not a party to it? If they do, that is, if the great Powers implement a disarmament agreement for complete and total disarmament, which is the policy of the United Nations, then the whole world will be unarmed and disarmed and the People's Republic of China alone will remain armed to the teeth with powerful nuclear and conventional weapons. This is certainly ludicrous.

105. It has been stated that the United Nations has condemned the People's Republic of China as an aggressor. That, no doubt, is a fact, but that was so many years ago. Would it be right, or even wise, after so many years, to ignore the course of subsequent events, the serious world tension that now exists, the urgent need for disarmament, and the desire for bringing about a new order of things with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations?

106. We are all aware that erstwhile enemies who have been involved in bitter war soon realize that, even if they cannot altogether forget the enormity of the crimes against humanity committed by some countries during war, nevertheless these countries have to be brought back into the international community for the sake of preserving world peace. This is in accordance with the highest teachings of Christianity and Buddhism. In point of fact, the People's Republic of China took a most important step towards peace when it withdrew its so-called volunteer army from Korea and thus proved its desire for peace. We must, therefore, take a new look at the situation, motivated not only by the doctrines of Christian charity and Buddhist "Maitriya" but also by the urgent need to help bring about a restoration of goodwill among nations.

107. Finally, I wish to state that the views I have expressed are the result of a sincere, unprejudiced and objective approach to the problem, without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Our policy is based on an honest and straightforward acceptance of what we know and feel to be right. We take this position so that we may help to bring about a fair and reasonable situation which will lead to a lessening of tension and increase the prospects of world peace. We are convinced that it is wrong to evade any longer a decision on this important question. It has been put off far too often and for too long a time.

108. It is true that there are opposing points of view about this matter, that it is a highly controversial item. Surely we cannot keep it out of the agenda for that reason. The same argument could be applied to the items on Tibet and Hungary, and yet they are on our agenda. If we wait till all controversy has ceased before an item is inscribed, then the General Assembly will certainly have very little work to do.

109. Let us, therefore, place the item on the agenda, discuss it on its merits and permit the Assembly to reach a decision, whatever that decision may be. For these reasons, my delegation supports the amendments proposed by the representatives of Guinea and Nepal.

110. Mr. GOMULKA (Poland):<sup>3/</sup> I am deeply convinced that there is not a single delegation in this hall, the delegation of the United States not excluded, which is not fully convinced as to who in reality represents the great Chinese people: the Government of the People's Republic of China or the puppet régime of Chiang Kai-shek.

111. The fiction of China's representation existing for the last ten years in the United Nations as the result of United States pressure is a humiliating phenomenon and undermines the authority of our Organization. What is worse, it paralyzes it and prevents it from solving most pressing international problems.

112. China became a Member of the United Nations at the very birth of our Organization, although it was still a weak country, very backward, ravaged by age-long colonial exploitation and by wars, a country governed by a corrupt clique of generals and bureaucrats that aroused the hatred of the people. Mr. Cordell Hull, the former United States Secretary of State, described this situation in his memoirs:

"That Government was dominated by the reactionary groups in the Kuomintang, which were devoted to their own selfish interest and were afflicted with much corruption and little efficiency."

113. At that time the United States considered China as worthy of membership in the United Nations and permanent membership in the Security Council. Today, when China has been liberated from colonialism and from the yoke of feudal landowners and capitalist concerns, when it is a great socialist Power, when, thanks to the efforts, enthusiasm and discipline of hundreds of millions of liberated people, it is marching forward with great strides towards a modern civilized society, when it is astonishing the world by the speed of its economic development and progress in technology, education and culture, China is now being denied the right to be represented in the United Nations.

<sup>3/</sup> Mr. Gomulka spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

114. The United States Government attempts to justify its unwarranted attitude by accusing the People's Republic of China of pursuing an aggressive and warlike policy. The United States representative mentioned [881st meeting] a Chinese article and drew the conclusion that the article:

"...does not even recoil from the thought of a world-wide war, a war fought with hydrogen bombs; no recoil there if only that will promise the conquest of the world by Communism".

He mentioned also an alleged statement by leaders of the People's Republic of China, who were supposed to have said:

"...China could withstand a hydrogen war because, even after losing some 300 million people, they would still have 300 million left".

He did not, however, give the source of his information.

115. The baselessness of those accusations is so obvious that they boomerang against those who make them. With all due respect, Members of this Assembly cannot be looked upon as if they were coming from another planet and as if the United States representative could depict for them the events on our globe by altering facts and inventing accusations.

116. The United States representative, like all of us, like all the people in the world, knows only too well that the People's Republic of China has no nuclear weapons, no hydrogen bombs. It is the United States that has at its disposal those means of mass destruction. This fact alone already reduces to absurdity the accusation that the People's Republic of China is bent upon aggression and upon unleashing a nuclear war.

117. It is rather China that has reasons to fear the danger of military action on the part of the United States. For it is not China which occupies even a small part of the United States territory. It is the United States which occupies Taiwan and other islands, integral parts of China. That these territories are part of China was recognized by the Cairo Declaration of 1943, confirmed by the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 and even in the separatist Peace Treaty concluded with Japan in 1951.

118. How can one therefore term the rightful demands for the return of those territories to the People's Republic of China as aggression? On what basis can the right of China to liberate those islands and to unify its own territory be questioned?

119. The attitude of the United States for the last ten years in relation to Taiwan and other islands has, therefore, constituted armed interference in the internal affairs of China. It has infringed upon the sovereign rights of China, on territory which is indisputably Chinese; it has violated international law as well as international obligations freely entered into by the United States. These acts, furthermore, have constituted a violation of the United Nations Charter.

120. It is not China's navy which is operating off the coast of the United States; it is the United States navy which, for years, has been cruising the waters of the Taiwan Strait as well as off the coast of the People's Republic of China. It is not Chinese military planes which are violating the airspace of the United States; it is United States planes which make constant

incursions into the territory of the People's Republic of China.

121. The whole world knows that Chiang Kai-shek threatens to land on the Chinese mainland and embark upon a war against the People's Republic. Everyone knows who stands behind Chiang Kai-shek, lending him support. Chiang Kai-shek could not remain in power one single day were it not for the military assistance of the United States.

122. It is against the background of this situation that accusations are being invented of allegedly aggressive aims on the part of the People's Republic of China. Facts are being deliberately distorted and attempts are being made to make our General Assembly and world public opinion believe that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party aim at safeguarding a better future for their people with the help of nuclear weapons which they do not even possess. Nobody can be deceived by these distortions. Is it not all too obvious that if the leaders of the People's Republic of China really mentioned the possibility of a nuclear war in which half of the Chinese population could be killed, they could have done so only with a view to safeguarding their people and the whole of humanity from this danger? They could have said so having only in mind efforts to preserve peace. We here in this Assembly also speak about this very danger and are concerned over its reality. The leaders of the People's Republic of China, like statesmen of all socialist States, take a firm stand on the basis of the safeguarding and strengthening of peace among the peoples of the world. At the same time they do point out the sources of past wars and the potential perils of a new war in the present world situation. Those who refuse to admit representation of the People's Republic of China in our Organization make every effort to avoid even so much as a discussion of this subject.

123. Quotations taken out of context from publications of the Chinese Communist Party have been offered to us. They have been wilfully misinterpreted. The very essence of the article published in the Peking magazine Red Flag, which was quoted by the United States representative, is the thesis that imperialism is the source of wars. The United States representative, unable as he was to refute this, reversed the argument and accused the People's Republic of China of imperialism. In Polish we call this "turning the cat's tail". One could with equal truth maintain that Peking is situated on the Potomac.

124. Further evidence, and what was given to us as decisive evidence, in support of the alleged aggressiveness of the People's Republic of China was the accusation that if China were represented in the United Nations it would threaten the freedom and independence of the Congo and of the whole of Africa. Now who is going to be frightened by this ridiculous accusation made by the representative of the United States? Is it the people of Africa, who see in China the most outstanding example of the struggle against colonialism, the example of a nation which has uprooted colonialism, which has demonstrated to all oppressed people that the imperialist yoke can be shaken off and a new, independent existence built?

125. Are there Chinese troops or, possibly, Chinese colonies, plantations, or concessions in Africa? It is clear that no such evidence of colonialism and im-

perialism on the part of China exists either in Africa or anywhere else. But there are still French and British colonial territories in Africa. United States bases also are still there. Many countries, after having gained political independence, have not yet achieved economic sovereignty; their development is being hindered by the imperialist States, which jealously guard their economic position in which they can continue to exploit foreign wealth and cheap local sources of labour.

126. The representative of the United States shows indignation because of China's criticism of the activities of the United Nations Secretary-General in the Congo, criticism arising from China's suspicions with regard to imperialistic manoeuvres aimed at overthrowing the lawful Government of that country and giving to colonialism a new guise. Does he not recall that from this rostrum similar accusations were made by a number of States, including African States? No one, however, thought of disputing their right to be represented in the United Nations, on account of their well-founded criticisms.

127. The representative of the United States here accused China of alleged aggressiveness against Korea. I should rather think it would be better not to return to the history of the Korean conflict. We should have to recall too many facts from the record of the United States, including the threat of President Truman to use the atom bomb against China.

128. The truth is that today in North Korea there are no Chinese armies, whereas United States forces are still stationed in South Korea.

129. The United States representative protests against the anti-United States demonstrations in China. This is the harvest of what the United States has sown. There can be no doubt that as long as the United States does not renounce its cold war policy against China; as long as it does not become reconciled to the existence of the People's Republic of China and the right of the Chinese people to a system of government of their own choice; as long as it will not refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of China; as long as it will not give up the occupation of Chinese territory and threats against the great Chinese nation, it cannot hope that anti-United States demonstrations in China will cease and that United States policy will no longer encounter condemnation.

130. The United States representative does not like the social system of government now prevailing in China. This is the real reason for the resistance of the United States to recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to be in the United Nations. But the social structure of the United States may not be to the liking of a number of Member States of the United Nations. Does anyone try to question United States membership of our Organization on this account? Membership of the United Nations is open to all States, irrespective of their social systems; we do not ask Members of the United Nations about their form of government. The Government of the People's Republic of China has been in power for the last eleven years. It is a stable Government and enjoys the undeniable support of the whole Chinese nation.

131. This is a matter of gratification to some; to others, it is a source of concern. But no one among the responsible politicians and serious students of the



situation in China casts any doubt on real facts. Let me mention here the evidence given by an author who cannot be suspected of any sympathy for communism, a statement by Field Marshal Montgomery, who visited China last spring:

"... The emotional forces bottled up in 650 million people have been uncorked and given an outlet in a way which is positive and constructive. Great forces are on the move in China, and the Western world would be well advised to make friends with this new China." [*The Sunday Times*, 12 June 1960]

132. It is due only to a complete disregard of facts that one could make an accusation from the rostrum of the United Nations—such as was done by the representative of the United States—that "the rulers of Peking represent no one".

133. We have heard here a statement by the representative of the United Kingdom. We know of several instances when Governments have voted for the admission into the United Nations of a country whose Government they do not recognize. It is rather unprecedented that a Government which has recognized and established diplomatic relations with another Government should oppose the latter's representation in an international body. Ten years ago the British Foreign Secretary, in reply to a question put to him by a court, stated that His Majesty's Government had ceased to recognize *de jure* and *de facto* the Nationalist Government as a government over any part of Chinese territory. But the United Kingdom continues to this very date to recognize the Chiang Kai-shek delegation in the United Nations. How can this be reconciled with law and logic?

134. In October 1955 the representative of the Foreign Office stated, in connexion with the recognition of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, that it was difficult to visualize the normalization of conditions of peace in the Far East as long as this problem was not solved. Five years have since elapsed and the United Kingdom Government continues to maintain an attitude which prevents the normalization of relations in that part of the world.

135. The United States opposes the proper representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations because this could weaken the position of the United States in our Organization. It is still its desire to use the United Nations as an instrument in its cold war policy, a policy directed against socialist States; to use it as an instrument in conflicts between colonialism or neo-colonialism and the interests of those nations which want to liberate themselves from all forms of dependence.

136. There is no need to look very far back for other examples. What else, if not an attempt to use the United Nations as a cold war instrument, is the proposal to include in our agenda the so-called "Question of Tibet" or the so-called "Question of Hungary", which in reality constitute no problems and are outside the competence of the United Nations? What role is being ascribed to the United Nations in the Congo if not that of party and tool in the conflict between the people and the lawful Government and colonialism? One cannot reconcile this attitude with respect for the Charter of the United Nations.

137. The powerful course of history which has led to the creation of the world socialist system and

which is ruining the colonial system must also lead to changes in the United Nations. The United Nations should not be utilized for cold war purposes. A constructive trend of the United Nations lies in the interests of all nations, and particularly in the interests of those States which only recently have been liberated from colonial dependence.

138. Is truly constructive work possible for the United Nations without the participation of the People's Republic of China? Is a constructive solution of any important problem of peace and security possible without the participation of China in the work of the United Nations? Is it possible to achieve such a constructive solution as long as the cold war of the United States against the People's Republic of China continues?

139. The problem of disarmament is the greatest and most important problem of our time.

140. The adoption last year of the resolution on general and complete disarmament implied in fact the need for participation by the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Those who voted for this resolution could not but be aware that general and complete disarmament was possible only if and when all the States, and particularly all the great Powers, took part in a disarmament agreement. Those who oppose the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations create the impression that they are not prepared to consider seriously the problem of disarmament. Would the United States be ready to abide by a disarmament treaty concluded without its participation?

141. The representative of the United States has tried to demonstrate that there is no need for the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations because one might negotiate with her outside the framework of our Organization. This leads directly to eliminating the United Nations from participation in the solution of most vital international problems.

142. This constitutes a real danger to which our Organization is being exposed because of the absence of the People's Republic of China.

143. Contrary to gratuitous accusations levelled here against the People's Republic of China, the foreign policy of that country is a policy of peace. It is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, the Pancha Shila, and on the ten principles formulated by the Bandung Conference of 1955. The People's Republic of China was, as it is well known, a co-author of these principles, which correspond to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

144. The peaceful attitude of the People's Republic of China has been reflected in such concrete initiatives as, for instance, the proposals for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact in the Pacific area and the establishment of an atom-free zone in the Far East.

145. The People's Republic of China makes continuous efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of differences with other nations through friendly negotiations. This can be illustrated by frontier agreements with Burma and Nepal, by the last visit of Prime Minister Chou En-lai to New Delhi, a visit aimed at finding a solution to the frontier problem with India; it is illustrated also by negotiations with Indonesia, etc.

146. By normalizing China's representation, the United Nations will do its share to assist her peace-



ful endeavours; at the same time, it will secure the implementation of its own decisions to ensure peace and development of international co-operation.

147. Universality of the United Nations is a basic condition for the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations and for the effective activity of all the international organizations affiliated with it, organizations which work in fields of labour, health, food and agriculture, communications, culture and science. As long as the People's Republic of China is absent from the United Nations, the principle of universality of the United Nations remains only an empty phrase.

148. May I at the same time emphasize that the principle of universality calls also for the admission here of the Mongolian People's Republic. This problem has remained unsolved for years, and we are concerned here with a country and people whose representatives should long ago have been admitted to our Organization. It is high time that an end be put to this abnormal situation.

149. If one wishes that our Organization should really become an organization of all States serving the interests of all nations and, above all, their main, common cause, the cause of peace and constructive co-operation one must do away with the absurd and harmful situation with regard to the representation of China in the United Nations.

150. A positive decision on this problem could be, as I have endeavoured to prove, of very great importance for the future of the United Nations and for the cause of peace.

151. Delegations present here, Governments represented here, have to be fully aware that all those who would yield to pressure, and thus refuse to normalize China's proper representation in the United Nations, will bear a heavy responsibility on a crucial issue of great concern to our Organization.

152. Poland supports the immediate recognition of the People's Republic of China's rightful place in the United Nations as the only lawful representative of the Chinese people.

153. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of China in exercise of the right of reply.

154. Mr. TSIANG (China): In the long debate on the so-called question of Chinese representation, representatives of eastern European countries have taken a very prominent part. They did this last year. They have said the same things this year as they said last year. They repeat each other. Together, they repeat the statements of the Soviet delegation.

155. There is no need on my part to make a lengthy reply. I would like, first of all, to remind the representative of Poland that, in the eighteenth century, the Emperor of China was one of the few Heads of State at that time who protested against the partition of Poland. The protest was addressed to the Czarina of Russia, commonly styled Catherine the Great. The document now rests in the central archives of Moscow. In those dark hours for Poland in the eighteenth century, China raised her voice in protest against Poland's oppressor. If the representative of Poland should be ignorant of this fact or should just deliberately choose to ignore it, I hope the people of Poland will not forget it, for, at bottom, the people

of Poland and the people of China today are fighting the same fight, namely, the fight for national and personal freedom. They are fighting against the same enemy, the new imperialism of Moscow.

156. Since the representative of Poland is not free to speak on behalf of the people of Poland, and since I am free to speak for the 600 million people of China, I would like to say this: the Chinese people extend their hand of friendship to the Polish people and pledge the support of China in the Polish struggle for Polish freedom.

157. What I have just said about Poland I would like to say likewise about Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

158. In making a reply to the representatives of Eastern Europe, I labour under certain difficulties. In the first place, I do not know whether what they have said is really what they think; and, secondly, what do the peoples of Eastern European countries think of these, their representatives? However, I wish only to call their attention to the large historical perspective. The cause of Chinese freedom and the cause of freedom in the Eastern European countries are inextricably linked together. Whether we admit it or not, we are fighting for the same cause and against the same enemy.

159. The only difference is geographical. Whereas we Chinese fight to the east of the Soviet Union, the peoples of Eastern Europe fight to the west of the Soviet Union. Although we occupy different fronts, the cause and the enemy are the same. Success on one front will make the fight on other fronts easier. In the long run—that is, in the long run of history—China and Eastern Europe must rise or sink together.

160. Now let me turn to the speeches of the neutralist countries.

161. India has chosen to take a prominent part in this debate. On Monday morning [882nd meeting] the Prime Minister of India devoted part of his speech in the general debate to the so-called question of Chinese representation. Monday evening [884th meeting] the Defence Minister of India spoke again at great length.

162. Mr. Nehru, as is his wont, spoke from the heights of Olympus and took up the lofty themes of world peace and human freedom. He took a large sweep over the world, from Outer Mongolia to Algeria. But I was surprised that the great leader of India could not spare a single word for human rights and freedoms in Tibet, which is right next door to India. The omission was, of course, deliberate. How it can be explained I do not know. Certainly it cannot be justified on the ground of principle. I doubt that it can be justified even on the ground of expediency.

163. The Prime Minister of India wishes to have the Chinese Communists take the seat of China in the United Nations. Evidently he thinks that communism, while not good enough for India, is good enough for China. Or he may think that the Chinese people have accepted communism. Or he may speculate that, whether the Chinese people have accepted communism or not, nothing can be done about it. It is, he will say, the communist régime which rules over the mainland of China and over 600 million people. That, if I understand him aright, is his line of thinking.

164. The Chinese people have not accepted the communist régime. Communism is un-Chinese in origin and un-Chinese in character. The communist régime on the mainland of China has maintained itself by brutal force. The Chinese people are fighting that régime. The farmers fight it with their fists, their working tools—their spades and forks. They kill the communist "cadres" who come to the village to collect taxes or to enforce the compulsory purchase of grain. They burn the granaries of the communist régime—those granaries where the grain, the product of the sweat of the farmer, which the farmer would like to put in his stomach and in the stomachs of his children, is stored only to be shipped to Siberia in exchange for Soviet machines, jet aircraft, tanks and guns. Much of this food stored in the public granaries rots there because of the inefficiency and corruption of the newly privileged class in China. Although China has had terrible tyrannical régimes in the past, none can compare with the present communist régime. But in the past all such tyrannical régimes, seemingly very powerful, almost indestructible, quickly crumbled before the wrath and vengeance of the people. So will this régime.

165. India, under the leadership of Mr. Nehru, has chosen the path of neutralism or non-involvement in the power struggle and ideological conflicts of the present age. This is India's privilege; it is India's exercise of India's sovereignty. Whether such a policy is wise or not I do not presume to say. But if India should choose, as it has chosen, the path of non-involvement, why should India involve itself in the struggle in my country between the Nationalists and the Communists? If India is not willing to lend a helping hand to the 600 million people fighting for their freedom, India can at least remain neutral.

166. So far as the China question is concerned, India's policy is not really neutralism. It is the policy of appeasement of the Chinese Communists at the expense of the Chinese people. I humbly submit that such a policy is short-sighted. I had hoped that the harsh experience of the last two years, beginning with Tibet and then extending to the very frontiers of India, might have led India to see the short-sightedness of the policy of appeasement. Let me say once and for all that the cause of freedom cannot be separated from the cause of peace and security in Asia. So long as the Chinese communist régime remains in power, none of China's neighbours can really feel secure and enjoy peace. The recent skirmishes on the Indian frontier are but preliminary steps in the large design of world communism to make the whole world communist. The cost of appeasement may be paid in the immediate future by the Chinese people. In the long run that cost will have to be paid by all Asian peoples, including the people of India—and some day it may even have to be paid by the world as a whole.

167. Now I should like to turn to the speech made on Monday evening by the Defence Minister of India, Mr. Krishna Menon. It was a speech full of legal argumentation of the type which people usually call pettifoggery. He is fond of that type of argumentation. I am not. I shall therefore not reply to the legalistic part of his speech. He did, however, advance certain political considerations. For one thing, he said that many political régimes had been imposed by force. He said:

"Apart from humble countries like our own, there are not many régimes that have not been imposed by force".

A moment later he said:

"...I submit that it is insulting the intelligence of ordinary people to turn round and say that a State cannot be recognized because it has been imposed by force".

168. I am surprised that the representative of India, speaking in the Assembly of the United Nations, should approve the use of force in the establishment of States and governments. On this point I shall not argue with him. I wish, however, to put on record my belief that the only legitimate government of any country is government by the consent of the governed. The difference between his view and my view on this point is important, particularly in the halls of the United Nations.

169. I shall not take time to argue this point, but we should look more closely and more carefully at this force, the legitimacy of which Mr. Menon accepts. What was the kind of force with which the Chinese communist régime was imposed on China? Let me refresh the memories of the delegations to this Assembly on certain important developments in my country in the post-war period. I shall be very brief because the story has been told several times in the United Nations, and it is on our records.

170. Towards the end of the Second World War a Soviet army entered an important and critical area of China, the north-eastern provinces, commonly called Manchuria. The Soviet army entered my country nominally to fight against Japan. Very soon that Soviet army developed strange behaviour, hostile and aggressive towards my country. I presented my Government's complaint on that subject to the General Assembly at its fourth, fifth and sixth sessions. After long, exhaustive debates, the General Assembly finally pronounced its verdict. By its resolution 505 (VI), adopted on 1 February 1952, the General Assembly found 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".

171. That is how the communist régime was imposed on 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. On the other hand, the Soviet army supplied both military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists, who were then in rebellion against my Government.

172. The fact is that the Chinese communist régime was imposed on China largely with Soviet military and economic aid. This makes all the difference in the world. For this reason I humbly submit that the handing over of the seat of China to the Chinese Communists would lead the United Nations to negate and destroy its own principles and moral foundations.

173. Quite a number of the speakers in this debate have shed what I must call crocodile tears over the

600 million people of China for their alleged lack of representation in the United Nations. If the representatives of the nations assembled here have tears, human tears of compassion, let them shed them over the misery and the suffering of the 600 million Chinese men and women on the mainland during the last eleven years. The Chinese people are a long-suffering people, but they have never suffered so much as they have during the past eleven years. With the institution of the so-called people's communes the Chinese people are reduced to the status of animals in a zoo. Their land, their homes, their cattle and their implements have all been taken away from them in the name of collectivization. Their very lives have been collectivized. They eat in common mess halls and sleep in common dormitories. They are no longer members of families but members of a labour brigade, or company, or platoon. They rise at the call of a bugle and march to work in military formation. After twelve to fourteen hours of exhausting work in the fields they are marched back to starvation rations in the mess halls, and then they retire only to the barracks. Over the fate of such people let us shed real, human tears.

174. The point at issue in this debate is this. Should the United Nations confer additional prestige on the Chinese Communists by giving them the seat of China? That is the issue. I know some representatives in this hall do not wish to confer such additional prestige and have no intention of conferring such additional prestige. But whether you intend it or not, seating the communists here will inevitably add to their prestige. And this added prestige would be used by the Chinese Communists, for one thing, to intensify the oppression of the Chinese people at home, and, for another thing, to threaten and endanger the peace and security of China's neighbours.

175. For these reasons free China appeals to this Assembly, for the sake of 600 million Chinese people, as well as for the sake of the ideals and principles of the United Nations, to uphold the recommendation of the General Committee.

*Mr. Adeel (Sudan) Vice-President took the Chair.*

176. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): In the opinion of my delegation the representation of China in the United Nations is a question of great importance. The number of States which recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China is ever increasing. It is the right of those States to have their opinions and views heard in the General Assembly, which is the natural forum where international problems are discussed. The democratic spirit which should prevail in the General Assembly must allow ample freedom for the discussion of international problems, particularly those of a controversial nature. It is precisely those controversial questions, rather than questions for which there is general support in this Assembly, that require study and discussion in order to arrive at the right solution.

177. The sharp division among the Members of the United Nations on the issue of Chinese representation should not deter us from fully discussing the problem. On the contrary, the fact that the question is controversial reinforces the reasons why the matter should be considered in the General Assembly. The General Committee recommended for inscription in the agenda many international disputes because it is considered, and rightly so, that their discussion in the Assembly might contribute to their ultimate solution. The repre-

sentation of China is a problem to which many Members attach great importance and for which an equitable solution must be quickly found. It is to be hoped, therefore, that even those States which do not share our opinion that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the legitimate representative of China will agree to discuss the question in this international body. It is the right of those holding opposing views to have an opportunity to express and defend their opinions in this world assembly.

178. There can be no justification for continuing a situation whereby the Government of the most populous country in the world should, under the Charter, be denied the right of representing the great Chinese nation in this Organization. Are those who now claim to represent China in the Organization really in a position to discharge the responsibilities of a permanent member of the Security Council? Can they act as one of the great Powers having a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security? Only the authority which is in actual control of that great country can carry out these responsibilities and obligations.

179. To avoid consideration of the question will seriously hurt the United Nations and impair the work of the major organs in which China holds a permanent seat. The fact that the social and political order of China has changed since it became a Member of the United Nations should not affect its international identity or its right of membership in the United Nations. Since the Charter came into effect, a number of countries have changed their social and political systems, but this change had no effect on their international status or their right to be represented in the United Nations. Vital questions affecting international peace and security, such as disarmament, cannot be fruitfully discussed in the United Nations without the active participation of the People's Republic of China, which, by virtue of its position and importance, can and does exert great influence on the course of world affairs. It is clearly not in the interests of the world to deny an important country like China the right to participate in the work of the United Nations. This Organization will greatly benefit from such participation, with the consequent obligation to abide by the Principles and Purposes of the Charter.

180. It is our sincere hope that the General Assembly will agree to the inscription of the question of the representation of China in the agenda of its fifteenth session. Persistence in opposing the discussion of this problem for political reasons is contrary to the democratic spirit which should prevail in an international assembly and harmful to the United Nations itself; it constitutes a danger to world peace. The time has come to face realities and to end the unnatural situation that has existed for over ten years in this Organization.

181. For all these reasons my delegation supports the inscription of this item in the agenda and will therefore vote in favour of the amendment submitted by the representative of Nepal [A/L.314].

182. Mr. PODGORNÝ (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): As was only to be expected, the General Committee's recommendation on the proposal of the United States of America for the rejection of the Soviet Union's request for the inclusion on the agenda of the question of the repre-



sensation of China in the United Nations has been sharply and justifiably criticized by many delegations. The explanation for this is that, for many years, a mechanical majority in the General Assembly has refused to acknowledge the legal right of the great People's Republic of China to take its place in the United Nations. This is done for the benefit of the United States, but to the detriment of the United Nations itself.

183. Once more the United States is trying to bend the Assembly to its will and prevent it from considering and settling the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China—a question of paramount importance for the development of international co-operation and for the strengthening of the United Nations' authority.

184. Is there any need for a weightier or more convincing proof of political bias, when the principles of the United Nations Charter are sacrificed to the selfish designs of one Power—in this instance, the United States?

185. I will put a simple question to the Assembly: does it recognize China's signature to the United Nations Charter as valid?

186. I do not think that anyone—even the keenest opponents of the new socialist China—can challenge the irrefutable fact that China is one of the great founder countries of the United Nations.

187. The United Nations Charter, as is well known, was signed in 1945. I would recall that in December of the same year, at the Moscow Conference of three Foreign Ministers, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union confirmed their faithfulness to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China. China was regarded as a single entity, including Taiwan as a component part of it. Later, in 1950, the President of the United States made a statement confirming the Cairo Declaration of 1943 to the effect that Taiwan and the other islands were an integral part of China. Yet China's rights in the United Nations, the rights of the whole of China, are being usurped by a miserable puppet, the product of political intrigues and unworthy manoeuvres.

188. It seems to me no accident that some of the delegations to the Assembly, reluctant to support the unjust attitude of the United States openly, are organizing a kind of "conspiracy of silence". The United States delegation was itself obliged to sponsor the shameful resolution, which is based on the hostility of United States ruling circles to the People's Republic of China.

189. It is obvious that the United States is linking the question of China's admission to the United Nations with its own unwillingness to recognize the People's Republic of China. It is counting on the international isolation of China, calculating that that will keep China out of the United Nations. It was on the basis of this policy of isolation, against the cause of peace, and in an attempt to present wishes as facts, that the United States representative stated last Saturday that communist China was isolated from the rest of the world.

190. But that statement is complete nonsense. It is nonsense because thirty-four States have recognized the new China and have established diplomatic relations with it, and because the majority of the world's countries trade with it.

191. Of course, the United States is free to recognize or not to recognize the People's Republic of China. That is its own affair. I would only mention, in passing, that the People's Republic of China has so far managed, successfully, to do without such recognition. But to exclude China from the United Nations simply because the United States does not recognize it, is a gross and completely unjustified violation of the United Nations Charter and of international practice. I need only to refer to the fact that there are in this hall representatives of countries whose régimes and Governments are nevertheless not recognized by many States Members of the United Nations.

192. But even if it is admitted that not merely the United States but also other States may not recognize the People's Republic of China, it would still be unlawful to prevent the representative of the People's Republic of China from taking his seat in the United Nations—because the recognition of a State or Government is an individual act, whereas the admission of a State to membership in the United Nations, or the acceptance of its representative in the Organization, is a collective act. To make the admission of any State to membership in the United Nations conditional upon its international recognition is, in international practice, inadmissible.

193. The General Assembly will not be misled by the United States representative's reference to the facts that membership in the United Nations is open to those who are able to accept the obligations set forth in the Charter.

194. This is a clumsy attempt to spread propaganda for the basically false conception of "two Chinas", so that the People's Republic of China may be regarded as a State expressing a wish to be admitted to membership in the United Nations as a new Member, while the Chiang Kai-shek delegate to the United Nations is considered as the representative of the Taiwan "Government". The People's Republic of China retains all the rights and privileges of an original Member of the United Nations. From the standpoint of international law and of the actual situation the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the legitimate Government; it exercises effective control and rule over the territory and population of China, and it enjoys the boundless love and support of its people; it is that Government alone which can and should represent China in the United Nations.

195. When the United States representative waved the bogey of China's "aggressiveness", he could not of course, because of the duties of his service, consider at the same time the United States, whose actions include a whole series of aggressive acts against the Chinese people.

196. I would recall that in 1950 the Congress of the United States passed an act which empowered the President to afford military assistance to the enemies of the Chinese State—the Kuomintang. On the basis of that Act the United States Navy was ordered to effect the occupation of Taiwan by United States armed forces. The Chiang Kai-shek clique is still propped up by United States bayonets. Without them, it would long ago have disappeared without trace, at one puff of wind from the Chinese mainland. The forcible separation of Taiwan from China can, in international politics, only be called robbery, military intervention and aggression. It is a gross and brazen violation of



international obligations on the part of the United States, in contravention of the decisions of the Cairo Conference and of the Potsdam Agreement, which confirmed the fact that the island of Taiwan was part of Chinese territory.

197. There has been much repetition, from this rostrum, of the out-dated nonsense circulated by the Chiang Kai-shek group to the effect that the United Nations would be disrupted as soon as the true representatives of the Chinese people appeared among us.

198. The triumph of justice and of the principle of international law will do no harm to the United Nations; on the contrary, it will strengthen it, will give greater force to the United Nations Charter, and will increase the peoples' confidence in this international Organization. It is precisely the violation of the principles of international law, the denying to the Chinese people of the opportunity of participating in international co-operation within the Organization, which is undermining confidence in it.

199. The United Nations is made up of ninety-eight of the world's States and, whatever may be said, it will not act effectively in the settling of important international problems until the People's Republic of China takes its place among us and, of course, on the Security Council. I am sure that the United States itself does not believe the assertion that the United Nations will disintegrate if the People's Republic of China recovers its legal rights in it. The State Department fears the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, not because it is so much attached to the Chiang Kai-shek group, as because such a development would lead to a strengthening of the influence of the United Nations in the settlement of the most important international problems in the interests of the peoples' peace and security, and particularly the problem of general and complete disarmament. The United States does not want disarmament, and that is why it closes the door of the United Nations to the People's Republic of China, which constitutes, moreover, a strong link in the chain of socialist States.

200. Idle talk to the effect that any discussion of the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China will disturb harmony within the United Nations, will lead to dissension and to the embittering of relations between the Members of the United Nations, is merely an oratorical exercise on the part of shameless hypocrites who find it possible to raise their hands in favour of including on the agenda the provocative so-called question of Tibet, while at the same time preventing the General Assembly from considering such an extremely important question as the representation of China in the United Nations. It is none other than the United States which is embittering the relations between Members of the United Nations, by securing the adoption of a resolution whereby even the possibility of discussing the question of restoring the great Chinese people's lawful rights in the United Nations is rejected, although by no means all delegations agree with the prejudiced attitude of the United States delegation.

201. The People's Republic of China has been outside the United Nations for more than ten years. During that time the United Nations has frequently discussed matters connected with the strengthening of peace and security, including such questions as disarmament and

the situation in the Far East—questions, therefore, having an immediate bearing on the interests of the People's Republic of China; and if the United Nations has not progressed one inch toward solving these problems, that is explainable in no small measure by the absence of the great China from among its Members. Thus the facts go to show that the break-up of the United Nations is being promoted by those very delegations, and primarily that of the United States, which are closing the Organization's doors to the true representatives of the Chinese people.

202. The United States does not like the fact that, in the People's Republic of China, United States imperialism is being given its right name and United States aggression is actually called aggression. Of course, the truth is a thorn in its flesh. A correct description of United States foreign policy is regarded by the United States representative as an insult. But once he has begun to speak of it in this way, we shall have to mention the foul stream of lies and insults which United States propagandists, including the official representatives of the United States, daily direct against the People's Republic of China. If someone managed to collect everything that has been written and said about the new China in the United States since 1949, a rare collection of shameless inventions, unpardonable slander and unsavoury concoctions would appear.

203. Making the utmost use of every kind of insinuation against the existing régime in the People's Republic of China, the United States representative at the same time appealed to the representatives of the African countries, in an attempt to pose as a friend of the African States. No, Mr. Wadsworth, that is too much! Your real relations with other peoples, and above all with the liberated peoples of Africa, are well known to everyone, if only for the way in which their representatives are treated in the United States. The United States Press now abounds in reports on the race discrimination to which the official representatives of those States are subjected in hotels, restaurants, stores and other public places. Moreover, a member of the United States delegation, Mrs. George, was compelled to recognize that fact. In an interview with the correspondent of The New York Times printed on 2 October 1960, she said:

"If some of these (i.e., the African) delegates do not have anything to show that they are Africans, they are treated as American Negroes".

204. She added that she, as a Negress, managed to avoid such discrimination because she "knows where not to go." What she said hits the nail on the head.

205. The question of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is now no longer simply a question of re-establishing justice and legality. The United Nations cannot operate effectively unless the People's Republic of China takes part in its work. At the present time, that most important organ of the international Organization, the Security Council, is completely paralysed.

206. The world is advancing and continually developing. This developing world is faced by the need to take important decisions on questions affecting the fate of the peoples. It ought to be quite clear to everybody that we cannot settle these questions effectively without the participation of the People's Republic of China—a country whose population is twice as large

as that of all Europe or of both Americas, and which in political weight stands among the greatest states of the world. Only those who play with the idea of undermining the peoples' efforts to solve the disarmament problem can object to the discussion and final solution of the question of China's representation. Only those who are not interested in strengthening the United Nations as an effective organ for promoting the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States and peoples, and for strengthening the cause of peace throughout the world, can continue to acquiesce in the absence from our midst of the true representatives of the Chinese people.

207. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR expresses the hope that the Assembly will listen to the voice of reason and will reject the General Committee's recommendation, that is, the United States draft resolution. If this draft resolution is put to the vote, our delegation will vote against it. We support the amendment submitted by Nepal, and also that submitted by Guinea, calling for consideration by the Assembly of the proposal to exclude the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and to seat the representatives of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China.

208. Mr. GHEORGHIU-DEJ (Romania) (translated from French):<sup>4/</sup> The number and importance of the States that have spoken from this rostrum in favour of an immediate solution of the question of the representative of China in the United Nations indicate that this question has become so vital that it affects the very foundations and the purpose of the Organization. It is abundantly clear that the attitude of each State, when it comes to recognizing the legitimate right of the great Chinese people to be represented in the United Nations, reflects in the last resort the sincerity of that State in its attitude toward the principles and the fundamental aims of the Charter, and consequently the way in which each State conforms with those principles and endeavours to achieve the aims.

209. That is why, though pressure has been brought to bear on delegations to support once again the arbitrary and illegal action of the United States, very few of them are venturing to do so from this rostrum.

210. How can any one declare that this Organization should be world-wide and at the same time actively oppose the participation in its work of a great State which comprises a quarter of the population of the globe?

211. Moreover, in this case, we are not concerned with admitting a new State to the United Nations, but with re-establishing in its rights, which are being systematically usurped and violated, one of the founding Powers of this Organization, a permanent member of the Security Council.

212. The importance in international political and economic life of the People's Republic of China, a great world Power, a country as vast as a continent, comprising 650 million people, makes the problem urgent and acute.

213. The remarkable achievement of the Chinese people in doing away with the vestiges of colonialism in developing their economy and their agriculture, and in defending peace and promoting the principles of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation, is

recognized throughout the world. To settle the great international problems without the active participation of the People's Republic of China is inconceivable.

214. In spite of all that has been said, it is precisely here, in this international Organization, the purpose of which is to ensure the maintenance of peace and security by furthering co-operation between States, that attempts have been and are still being made to impose a decision which will prevent the great Chinese people from speaking from this rostrum and contributing to the solution of the great problems of peace and international co-operation.

215. Year by year we have seen the United States take advantage of its position in the Organization to prevent the removal of an anomaly which is so harmful to the United Nations and to the cause for which it was created. The contents and tone of the United States draft resolution submitted to the Assembly show clearly the character of this action. When we read the text, we wonder if it is really a draft resolution, or merely a circular addressed by a military administrative authority giving orders to its subordinate agencies. For the United States draft literally demands, in an authoritarian tone, that the question of China's representation should not even be discussed in the General Assembly. Is not this an open attempt to gag the General Assembly? It is one of the most naked demonstrations of the policy of "positions of strength", directed not at some country or other, but at the General Assembly of the United Nations itself.

216. What are the reasons for the attitude of those who oppose a settlement of the question of China's representation? Everyone knows the answer, which is quite clear and simple: the social régime which the Chinese people overthrew, at the cost of heavy sacrifices after a struggle which lasted for decades, is not to the liking of the United States. The United States imperialists cannot forget that the victory of the Chinese revolution dealt a heavy blow to the colonial system as a whole by encouraging other oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberty and national independence.

217. Everyone knows that the tremendous vital force of socialism and the attraction it holds for the peoples of the world are a source of the greatest annoyance to certain Western circles, and that this annoyance sometimes takes violent forms. But however violent their feelings, the forces of reaction have been and will remain unable to stem or to turn back the tide of new social ideas. For we know that the emergence of the socialist system is the result of an irreversible historic process which marks a new higher stage in the development of human society. Those Western politicians who imagine that such a development can be halted by force, much less by a vote, are absurdly mistaken.

218. The realities of the present day must be faced. We must recognize that there are in the world States which have different social and political systems, and draw the sensible conclusion that, in the circumstances, only peaceful coexistence between the two systems can save humanity from the disasters of the most destructive of all wars.

219. The realities of our age must be faithfully reflected in the activities of the United Nations, which was conceived as an Organization of all States, ir-

<sup>4/</sup> Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej spoke in Romanian. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

respective of their social or political systems. Those who oppose the admission of China to the United Nations try to justify their untenable attitude by frequent repetition of the well-worn slander that this country would be a factor for "trouble" in the world. This is obviously flying in the face of the truth. We all know that it is the United States which invaded Taiwan and other Chinese islands and which is carrying on open aggressive action against China.

220. A study of the facts shows that while the armed forces of the People's Republic of China are in their own territory, the United States has sent naval and air forces, equipped with atomic weapons and rockets, far from their own territory, to occupy part of China and to set up aggressive military bases directed against the People's Republic of China. Since when is a State which maintains its own armed forces on its own territory to defend its sovereignty, its independence and its territorial integrity, regarded as a cause of "trouble", and as being "aggressive" whilst the State which sends armed forces thousands of miles from its territory on to foreign soil is regarded as "peaceful" and as ensuring "tranquillity".

221. It is significant that prominent leaders of the Asian States which are neighbours of the People's Republic of China, such as President Sukarno of Indonesia, Prime Minister Nehru of India, Prime Minister U Nu of Burma, Prince Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, and the Heads of State of Afghanistan, Nepal and other countries, favour recognition of China's legitimate right to be represented in the United Nations and consider this indispensable for the solution of the great international problems. Is it not absurd that the Washington Government should force on the United Nations a decision which China's Asian neighbours consider unjust and harmful?

222. The United States position is so unjust and unreasonable that even some allies of the United States, who are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), reject it and point out that it is doomed to failure. In this connexion, the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark to the General Assembly [875th meeting] is instructive. He concluded quite rightly that "sooner or later the Chinese people will be represented in this Organization by the Government which actually exercises the authority".

223. The United States representative has endeavoured to set himself up as the defender of the United Nations Organization. His attitude towards the question of the admission of China constitutes in reality a direct attack on the principles on which the Organization is founded and on its ability to deal, with all the authority and responsibility vested in it, with the crucial problems of international life.

224. One fact is unanimously recognized: a radical solution of the most pressing problems—first and foremost the disarmament problem—is inconceivable without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

225. The United States representative has attempted to set himself up as the defender of the calm and gentle manner. In the light of the actions of the United States, such words can be interpreted only in the context of the old saying of American foreign policy: "We must speak softly, but carry a big stick".

226. The truth is that the attitude of the United States towards the People's Republic of China shows no desire to negotiate, but rather a tendency to poison relations between States, with the intention of continuing the outdated policy of "positions of strength" and preventing the United Nations from fulfilling its task of raising the standards of international life and creating favourable conditions for negotiation.

227. The question is: will the imperialist circles succeed in imposing such a policy on the United Nations, or will the necessary conditions be created to enable this Organization to operate with all its strength in the direction wished for by the peoples; that is, to expedite a solution of the great problems before us?

228. The Romanian delegation appeals to the delegates at this session to consider this question seriously and with the necessary sense of responsibility, in order to contribute to a rapid solution.

229. These are the reasons for which the Romanian People's Republic, together with all peace-loving States, demands that the General Assembly should decide to exclude from its ranks Chiang Kai-shek's puppets and to re-establish the legitimate rights of the great Chinese people in the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*