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PLENARY MEETING**

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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 15

Election of non-permanent members of the Security Council (concluded)*

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Members of the Assembly will recall that we have already held nine ballots in order to fill the last vacancy for a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the period beginning on 1 January 1962. Since these nine ballots have yielded no positive result, it seems, according to the views generally expressed by Members of the Assembly—including Romania and the Philippines, the two parties concerned—that a further ballot at this time would lead to no conclusion.

2. I have therefore consulted with the Chairmen of the delegations of Romania and the Philippines. With a view to a solution, they have agreed to an arrangement whereby the term for the vacant seat would be divided into two equal periods, in accordance with established precedent.

3. If the Assembly concurs in this arrangement, Romania would be elected for 1962 and would vacate its seat on 31 December 1962, while the Philippines would be elected in due course for the year 1963. The two delegations concerned have also agreed that I should make this statement to Members of The Assembly before we hold the next ballot to fill the last remaining vacancy on the Security Council.

4. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in that fashion.

5. Mr. JHA (India): The President has just announced that an informal arrangement has been reached between the delegations of Romania and the Philippines according to which they have agreed that the vacant seat in the Security Council should be split up, the seat going for the first year to Romania and for the second year to the Philippines.

6. The President was also pleased to say that if the Assembly agrees to this arrangement, the voting will result in some sort of an informal ratification of that arrangement.

7. My delegation welcomes the agreement between the delegations of Romania and the Philippines. It is most important that the Security Council should be enabled to function during the next year, and therefore we would express our satisfaction at what the President has stated.

8. Nevertheless, we would like to make it clear that the Charter, in Article 23, paragraph 2, provides for a membership of two years for the non-permanent members of the Security Council who are elected by the General Assembly. We do not think that this provision of the Charter is capable of alteration by an agreement in the General Assembly. We also do not think that the informal arrangement that the President has announced is capable of agreement or ratification by the General Assembly.

9. While saying this, I should like to make it clear that in any further voting for election to this vacant seat, my delegation will bear in mind what the President has stated and will also take into account the informal arrangement reached between the two delegations.

10. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Having taken note of the statement made by the representative of India, the Assembly will now proceed to elect a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. da Costa (Brazil) and Mr. Thoutch Vutthi (Cambodia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	97
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	1
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	96
<i>Abstentions:</i>	5
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	91
<i>Required majority:</i>	61
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Romania	75
Philippines	16

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Romania was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

11. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): In a desire to help the General Assembly to continue its work and to adopt constructive solutions with regard to the items on its agenda, the Romanian delegation accepted the agreement announced by the President before the voting. In accordance with that agreement, Romania will tender its resignation at the end of the first year of its term as non-permanent member of the Security Council, that is, at the end of 1962, in order to allow the Philippines to occupy the same seat for the second half of the term, which covers the year 1963. I wish to point out that this

*Resumed from the 1053rd meeting.

agreement does not in any way affect my Government's position of principle with respect to the equitable geographical distribution of the seats of non-permanent members of the Security Council. I also wish to state that this agreement cannot be held to establish a precedent of any kind.

12. I should like to extend my sincere thanks to the President for the trouble he has taken in order to effect an agreement which, although not perfect, has allowed us to extricate ourselves from the impasse into which the elections to the Security Council had led us.

13. At the same time, I should like to express my deep appreciation to all those who in the earlier ballots loyally and consistently voted for Romania and to those who, by their vote, brought about my country's election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

14. Mr. ELIZALDE (Philippines): I wish hereby to clarify and confirm, on behalf of the Philippine delegation, an agreement which was reached under the auspices of the President, before the vote, to break the deadlock that had developed in the election of a non-permanent member of the Security Council. In accordance with this agreement the Philippines withdrew its candidature to the Security Council in order to allow for the election of Romania today. Accordingly Romania will now serve in the Council from 1 January to 31 December 1962, at which time it will withdraw in order to allow for the election of the Philippines to occupy the same seat in the Council for the remaining period of one year, that is, from 1 January to 31 December 1963.

15. My delegation accepted this compromise in a spirit of co-operation, to enable the General Assembly to proceed with its work. In agreeing to this arrangement, however, we cannot accept it as constituting a precedent, because it is the earnest hope of my delegation that a permanent solution will soon be found by the United Nations, providing for full-term representation in the Security Council of all the geographical regions of the world, including the important, vast and populous region of South-East Asia to which my country belongs.

16. I want to express my delegation's appreciation to the President for the interest he has taken in the amicable solution of this matter. I wish also to express, before concluding, our deep gratitude to all those delegations that have loyally and strongly supported the candidature of the Philippines in these elections.

AGENDA ITEMS 90 AND 91

Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

17. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Items 90 and 91 of the agenda have been allocated to the Assembly for consideration in plenary meeting. If there is no objection, I suggest that these two items be considered simultaneously.

It was so decided.

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution

submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.360]. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that another draft resolution [A/L.372] has been submitted this morning; it is sponsored by Australia, Colombia, Italy, Japan and the United States of America.

19. Before calling on the speakers on my list, I wish to announce that I intend to close the list of speakers at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 6 December 1961. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly is in agreement with this measure.

It was so decided.

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I also wish to remind the Assembly that, with a view to the successful conclusion of our work, it would be desirable for all the speakers on the list to be ready to speak in the order in which their names appear on that list. It would be very regrettable for representatives to ask to speak on a certain day and at a certain meeting. Speakers will be called upon in the order in which they have put their names down on the list.

21. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Today the General Assembly has begun consideration of an item on its agenda proposed by the Soviet Union [See A/4874]: "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". For more than ten years the States which follow the line of exacerbating international tension have blocked discussion of this question by the General Assembly. On their insistence and under their pressure, stereotyped decisions have been taken at several sessions of the Assembly not to consider the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Life, however, is always moving forward; thus now, at the sixteenth session, no one has been able to prevent the insertion on the agenda, and the discussion, of this question.

22. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is a vital question from the standpoint of the fight for consolidating peace, for normalizing the international situation and the situation in the United Nations itself. If a positive solution were immediately found for this question, it would certainly have an immensely beneficial effect on the whole international situation and would constitute a tremendous advance forward in consolidating the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

23. At the same time, the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is an extremely simple one, the solution of which should not give rise to any legal or procedural difficulties—provided, of course, that the Members of the United Nations, in deciding this question, base their stand on the United Nations Charter.

24. What in fact is the essence of the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations? What are the basic facts bearing upon this question?

25. Twelve years ago, a popular revolution took place in China, which is one of the founders of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. The Chinese people took its fate into its own hands, deposed the venal clique which had until then ruled China in the interests of foreign monopolies, and placed in power its own people's govern-

ment. The new Chinese Government—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—led China along the path of national revival, of the restoration and consolidation of national sovereignty, along the path of rapid economic development, basic social reform and socialist construction. Over the past years the Chinese people, freed from the yoke of foreign monopolies and their agents, has gone a long way forward in developing the economy and culture of the People's Republic of China—a republic which is steadily moving into the ranks of the leading industrially-developed countries. In China, a centuries-old backwardness, almost total illiteracy, ignorance and absence of culture have become things of the past. Before the eyes of the peoples of the world, a semi-colonial China whose riches were plundered with impunity by the imperialists of the United States of America, Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and other countries, a backward semi-feudal Chinese State with no strong central authority, a State torn by endless wars between local militarists subservient to one or other of the imperialist countries, has become a mighty socialist State that has waxed stronger and is daily growing in strength—the People's Republic of China.

26. From the first day of its appearance in the world, the People's Republic of China has been following a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Chinese people and the People's Republic of China have no need of war, just as no socialist State needs war in order to achieve the aims of its national policy. In the People's Republic of China, as in the Soviet Union, there are no class forces or social groups in society which would be interested in war or in the arms race. This explains the fact that it was precisely the People's Republic of China, and not an imperialist Power like the United States of America or the United Kingdom, which was one of the first to proclaim as the basis of its foreign policy the five principles of peaceful coexistence—the same principles of peaceful coexistence which have frequently been reproduced in United Nations resolutions.

27. In consistent pursuit of its policy of peaceful coexistence with States having different social systems, the People's Republic of China was an active participant in the 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African States. It established diplomatic relations with more than forty States in Asia, Africa, Europe and America, and concluded treaties of friendship and non-aggression with Indonesia, Nepal, Burma, Cambodia, Afghanistan and other countries. It concluded frontier agreements with Burma and Nepal, made a major contribution to a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem at the 1954 Geneva Conference, and is now helping to promote a peaceful solution of the situation in Laos at a more widely representative Geneva Conference.

28. The essence of the People's Republic of China's foreign policy, as one of the peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems, has often been expounded and explained by leading statesmen of that Republic. Quite recently, on 19 October 1961, the Prime Minister of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, speaking at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, emphasized anew that:

"We consistently favour the establishment of peaceful coexistence with nations of different social

systems on the basis of the five principles, and are making tremendous efforts to this end."

29. Thus, as a result of the Chinese people's triumph over the forces of imperialism and reaction, a peace-loving socialist Power—the People's Republic of China—has appeared in the world and is growing stronger with every day that passes. The mighty revolution of the Chinese people is yielding its splendid fruits.

30. It is quite natural that, in a sincere desire for social progress and for the consolidation of peace and peaceful coexistence many Member States of the United Nations rejoice in the successes achieved in socialist construction by the People's Republic of China. At the same time, certain States, belonging to the aggressive Western military blocs, evince their displeasure at the successes gained by the Republic in socialist construction. This too is not and cannot be a matter for surprise, for such is the way of the world in our day and time.

31. The question, however, arises: has this anything to do with the United Nations? Should it take some kind of stand in connexion with the triumph of the popular revolution in China and the construction of a socialist society in that country? The reply is not hard to find: the United Nations has nothing whatever to do with internal developments in China. Revolution, changes of power, the deposition by the people of one régime and the advent to power of another régime—these are the purely internal concerns of States. The Members of the United Nations are States—not particular political groups; and the United Nations itself is an international, not in the least a supra-national organization. If a revolution occurs in a particular State, if governments are changed, if the social systems are altered, the United Nations has to take note of these facts. It is not for the United Nations to discuss the internal problems which arise in a particular country or to express its views about them; it is not the business of the United Nations to give its sanction to revolutions or to refuse to do so. Why? Because these are internal affairs of the peoples in question, with which the United Nations has no right to meddle. The United Nations Charter categorically forbids such interference.

32. Actually, in quite a number of cases the United Nations, in full conformity with its Charter, has taken a correct stand as regards internal events in particular States, including a change of power. Did the United Nations express any views whatsoever about, for instance, the 1952 revolution in Egypt, the 1958 revolution in Iraq or the overthrow of a military-fascist dictatorship in Venezuela in 1958? Of course not. It took note of all those events, and it acted correctly.

33. In the light of all these facts, how should the United Nations have acted twelve years ago when the People's Republic of China was formed? Strictly speaking, no question arises here. The United Nations should have noted the fact of the victory of a popular revolution in China and acted on the basis of that objective fact; that is, it should have given the representatives of the People's Republic of China their lawful seats in the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the other organs of the United Nations and removed therefrom those who previously occupied those seats but who, by the will of the Chinese people, lost the right to hold them. And everything would have been in order.

34. Twelve years ago, however, the group of States headed by the United States of America, a group which at that time held a dominant position in the United Nations, pushed the Organization in the opposite direction of depriving the Government of the People's Republic of China of its rightful seat in the United Nations and its organs. The seat was left to the representatives of precisely that clique which the Chinese people had thrown out of power and removed from the country.

35. And so, in the United Nations, for twelve years past, international law and the Organization's Charter itself have been flagrantly violated. For twelve years now China and the Chinese people have had no representation in the United Nations, and the seat of the People's Republic of China in the Organization has been occupied by people who represent nobody.

36. Everyone knows that such a completely abnormal state of affairs has an extremely adverse effect on the whole international situation, undermines confidence in relations between States, makes it extremely difficult to solve basic international problems, and considerably weakens the United Nations itself.

37. Who then is responsible for the fact that Great China has for twelve years past not been represented in the United Nations and for the fact that its seat in this Organization is occupied by political outcasts? The responsibility lies with the United States of America. It is precisely the United States which, by using the votes of countries which are economically and politically dependent on it, has so far blocked the discussion and settlement of the problem of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Even now, at the sixteenth session of the United Nations, it would assuredly have tried once again to employ its favourite method of "not considering" the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, had it not become obvious that this time the trick would have been a complete failure. Even now—there can be no doubt about this—it is trying at all costs not to permit a positive solution of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

38. This is the precise purpose of the draft resolution [A/L.372] which, by a procedural manoeuvre, has just been tabled for our consideration by the United States and certain other countries that have associated themselves with it in this manoeuvre.

39. What does it all mean? What is at the bottom of the United States hostile attitude towards the People's Republic of China?

40. Has the People's Republic of China by any chance seized hold of some American territories? Has the People's Republic of China advanced territorial claims to, say, California or Oregon? Is it preparing a crusade to San Francisco or Los Angeles? Nothing of the kind. The Government of the People's Republic of China has many times declared that it is anxious to establish with the United States peaceful relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, that it is ready to negotiate on all problems affecting American-Chinese relations with a view to settling them peacefully on mutually acceptable terms. And the People's Republic of China has more than once backed these declarations with deeds.

41. No, gentlemen, the point of the matter is not the policy of the People's Republic of China or its atti-

tude to the United States of America. The point is that the United States does not like the social set-up in the People's Republic of China; it does not like the social system which has triumphed in China; it does not like to see the Chinese people following the path of socialism. That is why the United States refuses to recognize the People's Republic of China; that, too, is why it is doing all it can to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This is nothing new for American policy, the leaders of which have obviously still not learnt to draw lessons from the events of history. We need only recall that at one time, over a period of sixteen years, the United States refused to recognize the Soviet Union simply because our country took the socialist path of development.

42. Non-recognition by the United States did not, of course, and could not prevent our people from building and constructing in its country a socialist society. It might be thought that the United States should have drawn certain conclusions from this—should have realized that the development of particular States following the path of socialism did not depend on the will of the United States, and that it was beyond the power of even so mighty a country as the United States to arrest the progressive course of history. But no; once again, in connexion with the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, the United States, just as it did forty years ago in respect of the Soviet Union, has adopted an attitude of non-recognition and hostility towards the People's Republic of China.

43. The United States has not reconciled itself to the fact that the Chinese people has taken control of its own fate. The United States would like to bring back the period which has disappeared into the past, when imperialists controlled China's destiny. It would like once again to subject China's economy and people to the domination of imperialists. It still cannot realize that the Chinese people has uprooted that domination and put an end to the rapacious activities of the American and other imperialist monopolies in China. The Chinese coolie's bowed back being flogged by an overseer's whip—that is the picture of China which the American imperialists would like to resurrect. A golden flow of dollars into which the blood and sweat of the Chinese people were converted over many a long year—that is the dream of the American monopolies which they would like to transform into reality.

44. But, gentlemen who represent the United States, you will not succeed in bringing back the past. Imperialist Powers will never again rule over China; never will they succeed in turning back the wheel of history or push the great Chinese people off the road of socialism. Never, I say; remember that. No aggressive plans of the United States against the People's Republic of China can ever bring the United States anything but defeat and disgrace. The whole socialist camp and all peace-loving States are on the side of the People's Republic of China. Do not forget that.

45. Dark schemes generate a dirty policy. The policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China in the matter of restoring this Republic's lawful rights in the United Nations conflicts with the spirit of the times, the requirements of international development and the interests of consolidating peace throughout the world, just as much as the policy of apartheid practised by the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa conflicts with the ele-

mentary requirements of the equality and freedom of peoples.

46. But, even assuming that the United States has no wish to establish normal, peaceful relations with the People's Republic of China, it is surely quite obvious that this has nothing to do with the United Nations. In fact, what has the United Nations to do with it? Has the United States any right to give orders in the United Nations, to act as lawmaker here, to arrange matters in the United Nations to suit its own taste? Nothing of the kind; the United States has no such rights. In the United Nations it has, in general, no rights other than those vested by the Charter in other Members of the United Nations, including also the People's Republic of China.

47. It should therefore be stated quite clearly that when the United States, over a long period of years, took advantage of the numerical preponderance until recently in the United Nations of countries economically and politically dependent on it and prevented the discussion and solution of the problem of restoring the People's Republic of China's lawful rights in the United Nations, it was thereby really making a mockery of the United Nations Charter, by forcing the United Nations to interfere in China's domestic affairs and—even worse—to do so in favour of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which had been disowned by the Chinese people.

48. Of course, the United States has never openly admitted that the reason why it pursues an aggressive policy towards the People's Republic of China and for many years past has been blocking a solution of the problem of restoring this Republic's lawful rights in the United Nations is that it dislikes the socialist structure in the People's Republic of China. No, it tries constantly to justify somehow its policy before world opinion and adduces for this purpose all manner of "arguments" and "considerations" which are actually, of course, entirely pointless.

49. At one time, leading figures in the United States Government claimed that the Government of the People's Republic of China could not be recognized as the lawful government of China because it did not (as they said) control the territory of the country. They also said that it was impossible to regard the People's Republic of China as a sovereign State since it had not (as they alleged) received international recognition, and so on and so forth. Nonsensical assertions of this kind have been disproved by life itself, and there is scarcely any need to dwell on them now.

50. Leading statesmen in the United States have also made such declarations as, for instance, that the present régime in the People's Republic of China was set up by force and therefore, as they say, cannot lay claim to international recognition or to the right to represent China in the United Nations. That, of course, is an equally nonsensical argument. It is a well-known fact that the present régime in the United States itself was established, more than a century and a half ago, also as a result of a revolution which led to the liberation of the American people from British colonial domination—that is as a result of the use of force. Why does the United States deny to the Chinese people the same right which its own people used so successfully in the struggle for its independence?

51. Furthermore, at various times we have had to listen to statements on behalf of the United States Government to the effect that the People's Republic of China is not a peace-loving State since it lays claim to the island of Taiwan and does not exclude the possible use of force to establish its sovereignty over that island. What can we say to this? Since this is the kind of statement that is being made by the United States, let us compare, on certain points of fact, the policy of the People's Republic with the policy of the United States itself.

52. Here is the first fact. The People's Republic of China has long since completely withdrawn all its troops from Korea. But the United States is, even now, continuing to maintain its armed forces in Korea, thereby preventing a peaceful settlement of the question of reuniting that country, and is helping the South Korean fascists—whose leader General Pak Chung Hi was recently given so hospitable a welcome in Washington—to keep the people of South Korea in the grip of a terrorist military dictatorship.

53. Here is a second example. The People's Republic of China put forward a proposal for the creation of an atom-free zone in the area of Asia and the Pacific Ocean; the United States, however, not only adopted a negative attitude to this proposal but started working in exactly the opposite direction, by locating its missile and nuclear bases in Japan, Okinawa and other parts of the Far East.

54. Still another example. The People's Republic of China has always insisted on the need for strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet-Nam and Laos; whereas the United States, completely disregarding the Geneva agreements and grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of Laos, a year ago, organized a revolt by the Savannakhet group against the lawful Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma and is now hurriedly transforming South Viet-Nam into a military spring-board of its own.

55. As regards the island of Taiwan and the demand of the Government of the People's Republic of China for the speediest establishment over it of this Republic's sovereignty, here too the position is absolutely clear. Under the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, the island of Taiwan constitutes an inalienable part of the national territory of China and there is thus absolutely no doubt whatsoever that the Government of the People's Republic of China has an unrestricted right to establish its sovereignty over Taiwan. It is also common knowledge that the remnants of the armed forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, when expelled by the Chinese people, took refuge in 1949 on the island of Taiwan. Obviously, the Chinese people has every right to finish off its struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek clique and to destroy their nest on the island of Taiwan. This is a purely internal affair of China's in which Chinese are involved on both sides and which is no one else's and should be no one else's business. Moreover, no one can dictate to the Chinese people and its Government what means they can, or what means they cannot, employ in solving their internal problems. The Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to complete the liquidation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, whether by peaceful means or by the use of armed force; that is its own and nobody else's business.

56. Let us imagine that some American general seized Long Island and tried to hold out there against an attack by the Government troops of the United

States. The United States Government would, of course, have a full and unlimited right to deal with that general as it thought fit and no one would have any ground for interfering with its actions. That is exactly the situation which now prevails in Taiwan.

57. The representatives of the United States Government, however, say that this is not only a matter of Chiang Kai-shek: the People's Republic of China, they say, threatens to use force on Taiwan against the United States itself. May I ask, however, what exactly the United States is doing in Taiwan? Why is it there?

58. There was a time when the United States Government itself admitted that it had no business on Taiwan. On 5 January 1950, the President of the United States, Mr. Truman (a member of the same party that is now in power), declared that:

"The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

"Similarly, the United States Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa."^{1/}

That is a sensible statement; Mr. Truman did not always make unreasonable statements; there were times when he made reasonable statements. But as early as 27 June 1950—less than six months after this statement by President Truman—American troops seized the island of Taiwan and the Seventh United States Fleet entered the Taiwan Strait. That was armed aggression against the People's Republic of China; that aggression is continuing to this day, and constitutes a serious source of international friction. How can it be said that the People's Republic of China is threatening the United States in Taiwan?

59. The United States has seized the Chinese island of Taiwan, occupied it and turned it into a spring-board for aggression against the People's Republic of China; it has located its military bases there. Has the Government of the People's Republic of China to keep silent? Must it not call things by their proper names? Is it to put up with American aggression? No, gentlemen representing the United States, do not expect that; it will not happen. You would never allow any great Power to seize one of the States of the United States. And you would be right. In the same way, the People's Republic of China will never tolerate the United States seizing a Chinese province, the island of Taiwan.

60. An even more absurd assertion has been made for many years past by the Government of the United States—namely, that the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan is the Government of China. It is hardly necessary to cite a great deal of evidence in order to show that this clique can in no way claim to be the Government of China. It is simply a group of people who have lost all ties with their own country, who did considerable harm to their country in the past when they were in power, and who have been thrown out by the Chinese people. More than that: not only is it a group of persons who have lost all connexion with their own people and are hostile to them, but it is a

group which has long been subservient to a foreign State, the United States of America, by whose favour it remains on Taiwan. This clique has nothing in common with the Chinese people. No one recognizes it in China; no one needs it there; it has for long been a stinking corpse. General Stilwell, former Commander of the United States armed forces in China, wrote at one time about this clique as follows:

"A gang of thugs with the one idea of perpetuating themselves and their machine. Money, influence and position the only considerations of the leaders. Intrigue, double-crossing, lying reports. Hands out for anything they can get."^{2/}

These words are not mine, but those of an American general.

61. It is, of course, no secret that in the course of a long period of years the United States has been supplying the Chiang Kai-shek clique with dollars and arms, has invested in it more than \$1,000 million and has even concluded a military alliance with it. But such methods as these cannot possibly revive something that is dead once and for all. The Chiang Kai-shek clique represents neither the Chinese people, nor the Government of China, nor China as a State. Generally speaking, this clique would long since have ceased to exist, even in its present form, were it not for the American occupation of Taiwan. Everyone understands this; it cannot be concealed.

62. Why does the United States Government cling so stubbornly to the Chiang Kai-shek clique? Because that clique serves as a cover, though a poor one, for the American occupation of Taiwan. And the occupation of Taiwan is needed by certain circles in the United States so that the island can be used as a military spring-board for the further expansion of aggression against the People's Republic of China—a spring-board, moreover, that is situated in close proximity to continental China.

63. Obviously, too, it is of no small importance to the United States that the Chiang Kai-shek clique still has at its disposal an army of half a million. After all, as the crisis affecting the aggressive military blocs led by the United States deepens, it becomes more and more difficult for the United States to count on the possibility of using, for its aggressive purposes, the armed forces of its allies in those blocs. The United States can, of course, dispose of the troops of the Chiang Kai-shek clique entirely at its own discretion. It was no accident that last May, according to a report by the United Press International agency, the Chiang Kai-shek armed forces were described in American army circles as (I quote the statement) "a relief to the free world". We may note, in passing, that things must obviously be going badly for the "free world" if these Chiang Kai-shek gangs are a "relief" to it.

64. Finally, still another reason why the United States holds on so stubbornly to the Chiang Kai-shek clique is because, with its help, American monopolies have grabbed for themselves Taiwan's economy and are extracting large profits from it. It is a fact that the American company, Westinghouse Electric, controls Taiwan's electric power system; that the American firm, Reynolds Metal, controls the aluminium industry; that the American company, National Ferti-

^{1/} Department of State Bulletin, vol. XXII., No. 550, page 79.

^{2/} Joseph W. Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, New York, Wm. Sloane Associates, Inc., 1948, page 90.

lizer Association, controls the production of chemical fertilizers; that the American Gulf Oil Corporation controls the oil-bearing areas of Miaosu; and that other American companies have grabbed for themselves the remaining branches of Taiwan's economy.

65. The United States Government, of course, is itself aware that its assertions about the Chiang Kai-shek clique being the Government of China have long since failed to convince anyone. In this connexion, we should consider the so-called "theory of the two Chinas", which is being more and more persistently propounded by certain circles in the United States.

66. According to this "theory", there are apparently not one China but two Chinas on our planet—a new discovery in geography: one China ruled by the Government of the People's Republic of China—a bad China from the standpoint of the United States; and another China situated on Taiwan and under the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique—a good China from the point of view of the United States. It is quite obvious, however, that the "theory of the two Chinas" is just another imperialist plot against the Chinese people, designed to consolidate the forcible severance of a Chinese province, the island of Taiwan, from the People's Republic of China.

67. Taiwan is not a State; it is an inalienable part of China, as was recognized in the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations of the great Powers, including the United States of America. As regards the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, it cannot possibly be regarded as the Government of that island—first because Taiwan is not an independent State but is only a part of China, severed from it by foreign military occupation, and secondly because the Chiang Kai-shek clique is just as much an alien body for Taiwan as it is for the rest of China. The Chiang Kai-shek group is maintained in Taiwan only because it is under the protection of American bayonets. Take away the American troops from Taiwan, end the American occupation of the island, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique will not last there even for a day; it will be swept away by the storm of the people's wrath.

68. There are no "two Chinas"; there is a single China, and its lawful Government is the Government of the People's Republic of China. Imagine for a moment that at the end of the Second World War the allied troops which liberated France had let General Pétain escape and he had crossed over to Corsica with the remnants of his troops. Would it ever have occurred to anyone to claim that there were two Frances—one with its capital in Paris, and the other with its capital at Ajaccio? Anyone who had tried to make such an assertion would have been regarded as mad—above all by the French themselves. There are no two Chinas, just as there are no two United Kingdoms, no two Japans, no two Indias, no two United States of America, no two Frances. And the rights of China, the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, must be restored in the United Nations.

69. The hostile policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China, the policy of blocking a solution of the problem of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, has long been condemned by all the States which follow an independent, national foreign policy. This holds good not only for the socialist States but also for the overwhelming majority of the States of Asia and Africa and for a number of States in West-

ern Europe and Latin America. Even certain allies of the United States in NATO refuse to support this unrealistic policy of the United States.

70. To judge from certain indications, the complete lack of realism in the present aggressive policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China is beginning to be understood even in the United States itself. It is no mere accident that a year ago, when the new United States Government was being formed, American press reports more than once announced that quite a few of the members of that Government considered it necessary to review the United States position in the matter of the People's Republic of China. I would be reluctant to mention names at the moment or to interfere, so to speak, in the domestic affairs of the United States Government, but many representatives will undoubtedly recall reports about the views expressed by a number of persons now holding responsible posts in the United States Government—views in which the attitude of the Eisenhower Government towards the People's Republic of China was criticized as unrealistic.

71. Unfortunately, however, the policy of the new United States Government on this question has, in practice, proved to be no whit better than the policy of its predecessor. Obviously, it is impossible to leave out of account here the pressure exerted by powerful military and financial groups, operating through "their men" in Congress and other higher bodies in the United States—through the "China lobby" in Washington, long familiar to everyone. In any case, it can quite confidently be averred that it is not the American people, the ordinary simple people of the United States, who are interested in the United States Government pursuing vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China a policy which is unrealistic and dangerous for the cause of peace. Ordinary people in the United States are definitely in favour of revising that policy, and for proof of this one need only refer to the results of the public opinion polls conducted this year, among the population of the United States, by the American Institute of Public Opinion. According to figures published in the American Press, in one such poll more than a half of the people polled stated that they considered it was necessary to work for improving relations with the People's Republic of China, less than a third took the opposite view, and only 15 per cent expressed no definite opinion.

72. In another poll, to the question whether the United States should draw the appropriate conclusions for its policy towards the People's Republic of China if the United Nations restored the lawful rights of that Republic, 59 per cent gave an affirmative reply and only 25 per cent answered "No", while 16 per cent of those polled expressed no opinion. It is worth noting that a few years ago, in answer to a similar question, only 31 per cent of those polled gave an affirmative answer and 53 per cent replied "No".

73. One can only regret that this obvious swing in American public opinion in favour of normalizing American-Chinese relations has so far failed to produce any effect on the actual policy of the United States Government in this matter.

74. In solving the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as in solving any other problem, the realities of the situation must be taken as a basis. It is this, and only this, which the Soviet delegation appeals to all Member States of the United Nations to

do. And in this particular case the real facts of the situation are simple and obvious. They are that there is a great State, the People's Republic of China, with a population of 650 millions, which has been artificially and illegally deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations. That means that these rights must be restored, and restored as soon as possible, immediately, without further delay. Any further postponement will merely play into the hands of those who seek a further aggravation of tension and fresh adventures and provocations in the region of the Far East. The peoples need peace; they need a relaxation of international tension, and a normalization of relations between States. That is their vital interest, what they want more than anything else in the world—since it is on the normalization of the international situation, on the preservation of peace and on the prevention of war that the peaceful, tranquil life of millions and millions of people depends. It would be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace if the sixteenth session of the General Assembly adopted a decision restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

75. The Soviet Union has submitted, for consideration by the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, a draft resolution [A/L.360] on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Just as this question is a simple one, so our draft resolution, too, is simple. Besides the short preamble in which the General Assembly expresses its view that it is necessary to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and that only representatives of the People's Republic of China are competent to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs, our draft contains two operative paragraphs stipulating that the General Assembly should take two essential steps: first, remove immediately from all United Nations organs the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are unlawfully occupying the place of China in the United Nations; and secondly, invite the Government of the People's Republic of China to send its representatives to participate in the work of the United Nations and of all its organs.

76. Strictly speaking, nothing more is needed; this is quite sufficient. It goes without saying that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must not be confused or linked up with any other questions. If anybody were to begin linking the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China with any other questions, this would only confuse the whole issue, would mix up truth and falsehood in a single heap—which is quite inadmissible. Similarly, there are absolutely no grounds for making any further studies or investigations on this particular question or for referring it to any committees, sub-committees, commissions or sub-commissions.

77. In this connexion the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to say that, although the discussion of the question of restoring the People's Republic of China's lawful rights in the United Nations is still only beginning, there are already indications that some States intend to sidetrack the Assembly from a discussion of this question, emit a kind of smoke-screen and attempt in this way to prevent the adoption by the General Assembly, at this session, of a positive decision to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. There is every

reason to believe that such are, in particular, the intentions of New Zealand and certain other, more powerful, States which are obviously backing up New Zealand and inciting it to put forward for the General Assembly's consideration an item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations" [A/4873].

78. What kind of an item is this? What kind of question, strictly speaking, is it intended to consider under this item? What is it all about? It is a question of the need for restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and expelling from the United Nations the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, then such an item has been placed on the agenda by the Soviet Union and no other item would be needed. However, everything goes to show that the item proposed by New Zealand refers to something different. It is no accident that, in the explanatory memorandum of the New Zealand Government dated 17 September 1961, it is pointed out that for the adoption of a decision on the item proposed by New Zealand "all the relevant factors" will have to be considered. What exactly are the factors it is proposed to consider under the agenda item submitted by New Zealand? All the factors bearing on this particular question have been supplied by the one and only master of China—the Chinese people—and all these factors are perfectly obvious. They amount precisely to what we have already stated: namely that, in the course of its great revolution, the Chinese people overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek clique which had formerly ruled over China, and placed in power its own People's Government. It is this Government which has every right to represent China in the United Nations. What other factors are there here which need to be studied? None at all.

79. Any attempt artificially to drag some "factors" or other into the simple, clear question of the need for the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can only be intended to confuse the issue so as to defer its solution once more, as has already been done over the last twelve years in the interests of the aggressive circles of the United States and against the interests of the strengthening of peace and of the United Nations itself. Is that what New Zealand wants? If so, let it say so openly and not try to create the impression that the crystal-clear question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be decided on the basis of a supplementary study of some non-existent "factors".

80. Mr. President, gentlemen, the hour has struck, the time for taking a decision has arrived. The Soviet delegation appeals to all who cherish the interests of peace and international co-operation, the interests of the United Nations as an instrument for peace, to muster their forces at this session of the General Assembly and ensure the immediate adoption of a decision for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

81. It is impossible to delay the settlement of this clear and simple question. In an international, worldwide organization numbering 103 members, it is impossible to ignore a great State whose population amounts to a quarter of that of mankind and, in contempt of all common sense, to count as one of the 103 Members of the United Nations, not this great State—People's China—but a pitiful clique of renegades dis-

carded by the Chinese people and existing on doles, from the master's table, of the Power which with its own armed forces protects it from the wrath of the Chinese people, because of the aims of an aggressive policy that is at variance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

82. Let a plenipotentiary and fully authorized delegation of the great Chinese people, the delegation of the People's Republic of China, make its early appearance in this Hall. Let the representative of the great People's China come to this rostrum at this session of the General Assembly, to address words of peace and friendship to all peoples and all States.

83. We are deeply convinced that all the delegations which have the interests of consolidating peace and international co-operation at heart, which take their stand on real facts and follow the dictates of common sense, will cast their votes for the simple and equitable solution proposed by us of the question of immediately restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

84. Mr. TSIANG (China): The General Assembly has just begun the discussion of two momentous items, the legal and political importance of which can scarcely be over-estimated. I refer to the item submitted by the delegation of New Zealand, entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations", and the item submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". While both items are unfair to the Government and the people of China, the Soviet item is particularly objectionable in its phraseology. It prejudices the issue. It is an offence to parliamentary practice and to the traditions of this world Organization.

85. The right of representation of my Government in the United Nations should not be subject to question at all. The Republic of China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations. It should be remembered by all that the establishment of the United Nations was only made possible by the common victory of the United Nations over the fascist Powers in the Second World War. Towards that victory, my Government and people sacrificed 3,600,000 lives. Towards that victory, my Government made a notable contribution. At the time, the entire free world gladly acknowledged China's contribution. For this reason, China took part in the preliminary drafting of the Charter of the United Nations at Dumbarton Oaks and, for this same reason, the Republic of China is named in Article 23 of the Charter as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

86. Since the establishment of the United Nations in San Francisco sixteen years ago, my Government has fulfilled the obligations of membership and has played an honourable role in all its organs. The delegation of the Republic of China has consistently striven to uphold the principles and ideals of the Charter. Nobody can say that the Republic of China is unworthy of membership in the United Nations and nobody has ventured to say such a thing.

87. The Government which my delegation has the honour to represent in the United Nations today is the legitimate continuation of the Government of China represented in San Francisco. It is based on a constitution drafted and passed by people's deputies, elected by the 600 million people of China. The President and Vice-President of my Government are elected by

these same people's deputies. The executive is responsible to a legislature, whose members are also elected by the people of the entire country. My Government is a constitutional government. It is composed, in both its executive and legislative branches, of leaders elected by the people or the people's deputies. Whether examined from the viewpoint of constitutional law or from the viewpoint of the principles which the United Nations must uphold, my Government is above reproach.

88. Those delegations which advocate a change in the representation of China do so not because of legal or political faults or defects in my Government; they do so on the sole ground that there has been established on the mainland of China a Communist régime. This is the sole reason for this debate. The question is: do the Chinese Communists have a legitimate claim to the seat of China in the United Nations? My Government and people say that the Communists have no legitimate claims of this kind. Let me state why.

89. The matter can be stated in one sentence: the Chinese Communist régime is un-Chinese in origin and un-Chinese in nature and purpose. It, therefore, cannot represent China.

90. The Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1921 by the Soviet agent Voitinsky, acting as an agent of the Third International. It was nurtured by another Soviet agent, again under the nominal auspices of the Third International, under the assumed name of Mar-ling. The Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung has testified to the debt that his Party owes to the Soviet Union in this respect. In his Chinese Communist Handbook on Party Organization, chapter 6, section II, Mao stated—and let me say that this book was published some fifteen years ago in the days when the Third International was the front for all Soviet infiltration and subversion organs:

"... The Chinese Communist Party was born with the help of the Communist International; it grew up under the guidance of the Communist International, and the Chinese Revolution developed under the guidance of the Communist International. The Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee, with the exception of the two short periods under Chen-Tu-hsiu-ism and Li Li-san's party line, have been loyal to the guidance of the Communist International. The Central Committee in the periods under Chen Tu-hsiu-ism and Li Li-san's party line did not obey the Communist International, thereby bringing about the failure and the great setback of the Revolution of 1930. To carry out the International line and to be loyal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International is to guarantee the success of the Chinese Revolution."

91. In short, the Chinese Communist Party is a creature of the Third International, serving as a front for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

92. Now, let me turn to the Communist régime. The present Communist régime on the mainland of China was established with the military and economic aid of the Soviet Union. It is the fruit of Soviet infiltration, subversion and military intervention in my country. I had occasion to present the facts substantiating these charges to the General Assembly at its fourth, fifth and sixth sessions, when the item concerning Soviet aggression against my country was under consideration. I do not want to repeat these facts. They are in the records of the United Nations. Let me pre-

sent in summary fashion the salient points of Soviet aggression against my country.

93. Towards the end of the Second World War, in order to hasten that end, the Soviet Union was asked to join the war against Japan in the Far East. China and the Soviet Union became, for that purpose, allies. For that purpose, the two countries signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance on 14 August 1945.^{3/} The Exchange of Notes annexed to the Treaty established, *inter alia*, the following obligations:

"(1) In accordance with the spirit of the above-mentioned Treaty"—that is, the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—"and to implement its general idea and purposes, the Soviet Government agrees to render China moral support and assist her with military supplies and other material resources, it being understood that this support and assistance will go exclusively to the National Government as the Central Government of China."

"(2) During the negotiations on the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur and on the joint operation of the Chinese Changchun Railway, the Soviet Government regarded the Three Eastern Provinces"—that is, Manchuria—"as part of China and again affirmed its respect for the complete sovereignty of China over the Three Eastern Provinces and recognition of their territorial and administrative integrity."

94. On 9 August 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and the Soviet Army began to march into the northeastern provinces of China, commonly called Manchuria. On 14 August 1945, exactly five days after the Soviet Union entered the war in the Far East, Japan capitulated. After the Japanese capitulated, the Soviet Army was in occupation of the whole area of Manchuria till May 1946. During the conference at Moscow leading to the conclusions of the Sino-Soviet Treaty, Marshal Stalin stated that Soviet troops would commence to withdraw from Manchuria within three weeks after the capitulation of Japan and that three months would be the maximum for the completion of the withdrawal. These statements by Stalin were recorded in the minutes and duly initialled. The Soviets violated their pledge of immediate withdrawal.

95. The three northeastern provinces of Manchuria constitute the richest region of China both agriculturally and industrially. Their communication with China proper depends on two ports, Dairen and Ying-kow, and on a single railway running through the important pass of Shankaikwan.

96. In order to re-establish its authority in Manchuria, it was necessary for my Government to transport troops into the region. The Soviet Army in occupation, under one pretext or another, denied my Government the use of these ports and hampered the use of the single railway leading from China proper into Manchuria.

97. Instead of giving moral and military aid to the Central Government of China, as it was obliged to do under the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, the Soviet Union obstructed the efforts of my Government to re-establish its authority over the three northeastern provinces. On the other hand, the Soviet Army in occupation immediately proceeded to give aid to the Chinese Communists.

98. In the first month of the occupation of Manchuria, from 9 August to 9 September 1945, the Soviet Army captured from the Japanese army 594,000 prisoners of war, 925 aircraft, 369 tanks, 35 armoured cars, 1,226 pieces of field artillery, 4,836 machine guns, 300,000 rifles, 133 radio sets, 2,300 motor vehicles, 125 tractors, 17,497 horses and mules, and 742 depots with munitions and supplies included. In addition, at the time of its surrender, the Japanese Kwantung army had in storage in various parts of Manchuria 1,436 pieces of field artillery, 8,989 machine guns, 11,052 grenade-throwers, 3,078 trucks, 104,777 horses, 21,084 supply cars, 815 special vehicles, and 287 command cars. These captured supplies and equipment were not transferred to the Chinese Government. Neither were the surrendered items.

99. Shortly after V-J Day, the Chinese communist forces under the command of Lin Piao infiltrated into Manchuria in large numbers, amounting to about 200,000 men. Let me remind the Assembly that this commander, Lin Piao, was the same man who led the so-called Chinese volunteers into Korea. All these 200,000 Chinese communist soldiers were then unarmed. A short time afterwards, these 200,000 men were all fully armed with Japanese equipment and supplied with Japanese munitions. Since all the equipment and supplies of the Japanese forces in Manchuria were either captured by or surrendered to the Soviet forces, the Chinese communist forces at that time could have only one source of supply—namely, the Soviet Army.

100. In 1949, 1950 and 1951, I presented these and other facts to the General Assembly at successive sessions, and for that reason I have presented them only in very summary fashion today. On 1 February 1952, by its resolution 505 (VI), the General Assembly made the finding 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".

101. The Chinese Communists enthusiastically acknowledged the military and economic aid which they had received from the Soviet Union. On 16 July 1949, Chu Teh, the so-called Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Communist Army of that time, declared:

"It can be easily seen that the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution is inseparable from the friendly aid of the Soviet Union."

102. One month later, on 17 August 1949, Kao Kang, the Secretary of the Manchurian Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, stated at a public conference in Mukden:

"The reason why the people of China are able to achieve such signal victories is because of the aid extended to us by the international group headed by the Soviet Union."

103. Again, on 1 September 1949, in an article in the Cominform Journal, at that time published in Bucharest, Romania, Chu Teh stated that the Communist victory in China would have been impossible without the "most sincere fraternal and friendly help of the Soviet Union".

^{3/} United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 10 (1947), II, No. 68.

104. It is clear that the Communist régime on the mainland of China is the fruit of Soviet military intervention in my country. As such, it is the fruit of Soviet aggression against my country. In asking the General Assembly to give the seat of China to their protégés, the Soviets are really asking for international recognition and approval, or at least acceptance, of their handiwork.

105. In these years when we see the liquidation of Western colonialism in Asia and Africa, we are deeply troubled by the spectre of the rise of a new Soviet colonial empire. What we have on the Chinese mainland may be called the classical example of the new threat to the peace of the world and the rights of peoples. If the United Nations should ever yield to the demands of the Soviet Union, this world Organization would be negating its own principles and ideals. The United Nations could not admit the Chinese Communists and at the same time remain true to its mission.

106. Those representatives who urge us to admit the Chinese Communists into the United Nations often shed 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 twelve years. The Chinese people have indeed suffered much from tyrants in the long history of China, but they have never suffered so much as they have under the Communist régime.

107. In the first five years of their rule, in order to consolidate their power, the Communists liquidated 20 million people whom they considered counter-revolutionary. Two years ago, in fulfilling their so-called "Leap Forward" movement, they drove millions of men and women to work in the back-yard furnaces to produce iron and steel. With the institution of the so-called people's communes, the Chinese people were reduced to the status of "animals in a zoo", to use the characterization of an Indian scholar, Dr. Chandrasekhar. 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, 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. Although in recent months some of the harsher features of the commune have been softened, the basic structure remains. Over the fate of such people, let us shed real human tears for their suffering, and not for their so-called lack of representation in the United Nations.

108. On this issue the will of the Chinese people has been made clear. It has been expressed through the Chinese prisoners of war in Korea, of whom about 75 per cent, or 14,000, chose of their own free will to be repatriated to Taiwan and not to the mainland of China. It has been expressed through the Chinese people who have fled and are fleeing daily from the mainland to freedom and food in Hong Kong and Macao.

109. On previous occasions, I have stated to the Assembly that if the Chinese people, the 600 million Chinese people, should by free vote, supervised by the United Nations, choose their representation in the United Nations, my Government would abide by the results of such a plebiscite. I renew that statement today.

110. In the last three years the world has learned a great deal of the brutal oppression practised by the Chinese Communists in Tibet. They have done nothing in Tibet which they have not done in China proper. To let the Communist régime on the mainland of China take the seat of China in the United Nations would be a cruel blow to the real sentiments of the Chinese people. After twelve years of imitating the policies and practices of their teachers in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communists have brought the 600 million people of China to the verge of starvation. The Communist régime is at this moment the weakest and most hated by the Chinese people since its establishment twelve years ago.

111. If, at this moment, the United Nations should admit the Chinese Communists, this world Organization would be conferring on the oppressors of the Chinese people political prestige to be used and exploited by the Communists for the continuation of such oppression.

112. In considering the question of the admission of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations, we must ever keep in mind the requirements for admission as stated in Article 4 of the Charter. The first and preliminary requirement is that membership in the United Nations is open only to peace-loving States. Is the Communist régime on the mainland of China "peace-loving"? We cannot forget that that régime participated in the aggression against Korea. For that act of aggression, the General Assembly, in its resolution 498 (V), condemned the Chinese Communists as aggressors.

113. If anyone has any illusions about the Communists' qualifications for membership in this respect, let him be reminded of the use of force by the Chinese Communists in their border disputes with India. The Government of India, under the leadership of Mr. Nehru, has certainly, I humbly submit, gone out of its way to befriend the Communist régime on the mainland. Nevertheless, Mao Tse-tung has no qualms about disturbing the peaceful relations which China and India have enjoyed for 3,000 years. China's neighbours in South-East Asia are fully aware of the efforts at infiltration, subversion and aggression directed by the Chinese Communists against them. The representative of the Philippines, in his speech in the General Assembly on 17 October 1961, clearly expressed the anxiety of his Government in this respect.

114. The Chinese Communists themselves are more frank about this matter than their apologists in this Hall. In an article entitled "Long Live Leninism!" appearing in the 16 April 1960 issue of *Red Flag*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, it is unequivocally declared that war is inevitable and that some wars are desirable. Mao Tse-tung, in his cold-blooded way, figures out that in a nuclear war, even if China should lose 300 million of its population, the Chinese Communist régime would come out of it the most populous and powerful in the whole world.

115. It is frequently argued that, without the participation of the Chinese Communists in the work of the United Nations, disarmament cannot be achieved. This type of argument has been advanced as realism. Could anybody in this Hall really believe that the participation of the Chinese Communists would promote or facilitate disarmament? On the contrary. The Chinese Communists are, at this moment, even more bellicose than their Russian comrades, if that is possible. They have applauded the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union. With respect to inspection and control, the Chinese Communists take exactly the same stand as the Soviet Union.

116. I have stated that the admission of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations would add political prestige to the Communist régime for the continued oppression of the Chinese people. It is also clear that the admission of the Chinese Communists would confer on them additional international prestige which

would be exploited by them for the intimidation and subjugation of China's neighbours. These would be the inevitable consequences of the admission of the Chinese Communists.

117. The issue we are debating not only affects the destinies of the people of eastern Asia, the issue places on trial the United Nations itself. The decision of the Assembly on this question will expose to the world whether this Organization still stands for the principles set forth in the Charter.

118. I trust that the representatives attending the General Assembly at its sixteenth session will not allow this Organization to be exploited by the Soviet Union as a piece of diplomatic machinery for the extension of the new Soviet colonial empire. I trust that the United Nations will remain true and loyal to the ideals and principles set forth in the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.