

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1158th  
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 25 October 1962,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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*President:* Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN  
(Pakistan).

## AGENDA ITEM 20

### Admission of new Members to the United Nations (concluded)\*

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution sponsored by nineteen Member States [A/L.396 and Add.1] on the admission of Uganda to membership in the United Nations, and the report of the Security Council on the matter [A/5258]. The Council has recommended Uganda for membership in the United Nations. I have received no request for a vote on the draft resolution. In the absence of such a request, I shall consider that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to admit Uganda to membership in the United Nations.

*The draft resolution was adopted by acclamation.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I now declare Uganda admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of Uganda was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.*

3. The PRESIDENT: It gives me very great pleasure, indeed, to welcome Uganda as the 110th Member of the United Nations. I am sure Uganda has very valuable contributions to make to the deliberations of the General Assembly and to the work of the other organs of the United Nations, both in the service of its own people and in the service of humanity.

4. It has been suggested that the meeting be suspended for a few minutes so that we might proceed to the flag-raising ceremony just outside the lobby of the Assembly. I will, therefore, postpone the congratulatory speeches which Members are anxious to make on this occasion, when Uganda has been admitted to membership in the United Nations, so that we can first go and participate in the flag-raising.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.5 p.m. and resumed at 3.25 p.m.*

\* Resumed from the 1147th meeting.

5. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): Mr. President, many of us have just had the pleasure of escorting you outside and participating in the flag-raising ceremony for the new State of Uganda, whom we welcome here today. Such ceremonies are always an inspiration, and today's was certainly no exception. We saw the flag of Uganda fluttering boldly there in the breeze, and I am sure it brought a thrill to others, just as it must have done to the distinguished Prime Minister of Uganda who stood beside you. I would say to him that though the breeze which caused it to flutter was a cool one, the warmth in the Assembly Hall will more than make up for the cool temperature outside.

6. It was my delegation's great privilege and pleasure to co-sponsor, with the rest of the Commonwealth countries and a number of other Members of the United Nations, the draft resolution which recommended to the General Assembly that Uganda should be admitted to membership in the United Nations [A/L.396 and Add.1]. My delegation introduced Uganda's application for membership in the Security Council on 15 October; <sup>1/</sup> and there we went into Uganda's qualifications for membership in some detail. That Uganda was so qualified was unanimously accepted by all members of the Security Council.

7. I need not, therefore, rehearse again the considerations which led the Security Council to agree that Uganda had in full the institutions and resources to sustain independence and to play a full and active part in this Organization. Now that the Assembly has unanimously accepted the Council's recommendation and Uganda has been admitted to membership in the United Nations, I wish to make only one or two brief observations; brief, not because my feelings are slight, but because I have respect for the others who wish to speak and for the distinguished Prime Minister of Uganda, whom we are all looking forward to hearing shortly.

8. The first thing I should like to say, therefore, is to express the pleasure and the genuine satisfaction of my country that Uganda should have come to independence peacefully, without undue delay, and with none of that history of strife, bloodshed and bitterness which some prejudiced observers claim to be the inevitable concomitant of this process. I think it is true to say that this happy outcome is largely because Uganda's leaders and we ourselves trusted each other's intentions; and because what disagreements there were between us—and there were some—were happily cleared up; they were disagreements on methods, not on principles.

9. My country is well aware of the many problems that confront the new nations of Africa—indeed, we must all be aware of them—and we are aware of the dangers to the political and economic health of these new countries that division into too many separate States could well involve. We have, therefore, constant-

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 1021st meeting.

ly sought to ensure that our territories in Africa move to independence as units, with all the political strength and all the capacity for economic self-sufficiency that that should entail. Uganda is an example of this.

10. Here is a land which has come to independence as a single State where, before the coming of the British to Africa—in fact, within this territory—a number of kingdoms existed. This my delegation believes to be good for Uganda and, if I might suggest with humility, an example to Africa as a whole. My most welcome task today is to pay a tribute to the leadership that has been shown in Uganda by Mr. Obote, the Prime Minister, who I am delighted to see is present with us now, and to others who have played a prominent part in the political affairs of that country. I claim for my country some of the credit for the result that has been achieved. But this should not diminish in any way the credit which should and must go to Uganda's own leaders. It was they who ultimately had to work out and agree to measures to reconcile the different opinions on the structure of Uganda. It was they who had to accept the compromises which have led to the present solution.

11. We were fortunate in the men with whom we had to deal. They have in full the sense of responsibility and political maturity that set aside individual, sectional and regional differences in the interests of their country as a whole. The fruits of their labour are to be seen in Uganda's independence and in her entry today into this Organization of sovereign States.

12. It is not only the nation that achieved independence that is pleased and gratified by the results. It is fashionable in certain quarters to depict the administering Power as hanging on desperately to the last possible moment to the economic and political privileges that it enjoyed in a colonial territory. The history of these last few years carries with it its own clear refutation of that. I have already had the privilege from this rostrum during the present session to welcome two new Commonwealth countries as Members of the United Nations: I welcomed with genuine warmth the advent of Jamaica as indeed I did Trinidad and Tobago. And it is with equal, sincere and genuine pleasure that my country welcomed Uganda's independence on 9 October and that I now congratulate it on its admission to the United Nations as our 110th Member. Our family of nations grows all the time; if they are all of the same calibre and integrity as Uganda, then we can only gain in stature ourselves just as they, I hope, will gain from participation in our deliberations.

13. Mr. SWAI (Tanganyika): It is with the deepest feelings of joy and honour that I stand here, on behalf of the members of the Commonwealth, to express satisfaction at the adoption by the Assembly of the very welcome resolution recommending the admission of Uganda to membership in the United Nations. The Commonwealth is now a group of friends and relations who, with different problems in all the various parts of the world, nevertheless hold in common certain beliefs and traditions and retain a continuing interest and practical concern for each other's welfare. The Commonwealth is also an outward looking group. The foundation of the Commonwealth is respect for fundamental human rights and the spirit of free association and co-operation. We are, therefore, very happy and proud to see Uganda in our midst as a free and sovereign State.

14. We rejoice to witness the recovery of full sovereignty by Uganda. I have deliberately used the phrase "recovery of sovereignty" rather than "attainment of

sovereignty", for Uganda was never conquered, nor was it ever a colony. For about sixty-eight years Uganda was a protectorate under the United Kingdom. Its rulers entered into treaties with the United Kingdom. To take but two examples, the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro had been highly organized societies, long before the acceptance of a protectorate status from the United Kingdom. Mountains of the Moon, known since the time of Ptolemy in the second century, and the source of the River Nile have long haunted the imagination of man outside Africa.

15. Contemporaneous with the flowering of these cultures were others in East and Central Africa, to wit, the East African coastal merchant cities, popularly known as the Zenz Empire, the Azanian culture of Kenya and Tanganyika, and the port of Sofala in Mozambique, which handled the cosmopolitan commerce between Arabia, India and as far afield as China, with the Kingdom of Monomotapa fabled to have been King Solomon's mines. The Monomotapa Empire also embraced the walls and towers of the Zimbabwe culture. The long sweep of Uganda's history in music, thought and arts of life should inspire it to tackle its problems and face the future with confidence, determination and dedication.

16. We congratulate the Government, the rulers and the people of Uganda on their recovery of full sovereignty. Today Uganda sees the crowning of the labours of her sons and daughters who have worked so hard to enable her to take her rightful place in this comity of nations, based on the equality and dignity of man.

17. The United Kingdom also deserves our congratulations. I can express this no better than the Prime Minister of Uganda himself. Speaking in Kampala on 9 October this year, Mr. Obote said:

"I know it is the current practice, not only in Africa, to condemn imperialism and things like that, and while I do share this condemnation, I have a soft heart for the protection we have had here. To the British protecting power, whose devoted guidance has proved so wise and so manifestly successful, I wish now to pay public tribute and to express our gratitude."

18. The future augurs well for Uganda. It has an abundance of natural resources and an energetic, enlightened and dynamic people. The ship of state is under the wise control of Prime Minister Obote and his very able crew. We would like to go out of our way to pay special tribute to the statesmanship of the Prime Minister.

19. We are confident and sure that the genius and experience of Uganda will make a valuable and constructive contribution to the work of the Assembly in pursuit of the achievement of the objectives and aims of the Charter.

20. On behalf of the Commonwealth, I welcome most warmly this opportunity once more to wish the Government, the rulers and the people of Uganda well on this happy occasion. We would like to conclude by saying welcome to the United Nations.

21. Mr. BINGHAM (United States of America): When Uganda's application for membership to the United Nations was being considered recently by the Security Council, the United States expressed its pleasure and happiness that this new State was about to join our Organization. In reiterating today our satisfaction that Uganda's admission to the United Nations has just become an accomplished fact, I would like to offer our

deepest congratulations to the people of Uganda and to their distinguished and able Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, who is fortunately able to be here with us on this notable occasion.

22. Uganda has had the good fortune to reach independence through a process of peaceful evolution. We are cognizant of the statesmanship shown by the leaders of Uganda and those of the United Kingdom, which has made this achievement possible. It augurs well for Uganda's rapid progress towards the increased well-being of its peoples.

23. We have previously made known the desire of the United States Government to assist Uganda in strengthening its independence. We are already co-operating in a number of specific fields with this end in view.

24. Uganda joins the United Nations at a particularly crucial time in the history of this forum. We are certain that its contributions will be thoughtful and constructive and that it will quickly make many valuable contributions in helping to solve the numerous urgent problems faced by this Organization.

25. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): It is my privilege to speak on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, Mali and Ghana on this happy occasion when another independent African State has joined our ranks. We congratulate the Government and the people of Uganda on the independence of their country and we welcome with fraternal pride the distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Obote of Uganda, and his delegation to our world Organization. Once again, another bastion of imperialism has fallen; once again, the African voice in the Council chambers of the world Organization has been strengthened. There are some in this Assembly who say they have had enough of the African voice. These are the people who do not want the colonial past to be extricated; who do not want the balance to be redressed, after Africa's concentrated experience with racial oppression, injustice and domination. They have not heard enough: what about Southern Rhodesia, what about South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland? So long as these territories in Africa are still under foreign domination, so long shall we weigh the colonial problem here and everywhere until the gates of freedom, of independence and of racial equality are widely opened.

26. Uganda joins our Organization fully committed, as Prime Minister Obote has stated, to the liberation of that part of Africa still under foreign domination. We, in Guinea, Mali, and Ghana, can assure the people of Uganda of our full co-operation and brotherly support in the great task that they have set before themselves. Uganda's problems will be Africa's problems, in the same way that every African problem will be Uganda's. As the Prime Minister of Uganda rightly stated in his letter to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Mr. Macmillan:

"We shall have our problems. Some of them we have inherited from British rule, like internal boundary disputes; others are characteristic of all emergent, new nations: the battle against ignorance, poverty and disease. But I have unshakable belief that with the stable Government which Uganda has, the goodwill that is forthcoming from well-wishers and friends, we shall surmount all these problems."

Uganda has taken her rightful place in our world Organization with dignity and with pride and we believe

strongly in the contribution which it will make in our deliberations. Once again, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, Mali and Ghana, I salute Uganda.

27. Mr. ADEBO (Nigeria): In the name of the people and the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, it gives me very great pleasure to add my voice to the chorus of congratulations which are being showered upon the people of Uganda today. We welcome Uganda into this family of nations. Its people are going to be a great accession of strength for independent Africa; they are going to find, as we of Nigeria have discovered, that the problems of independence are great but that they are not insoluble. They are also going to discover, as we have discovered, that they have plenty of friends in Africa and elsewhere. We wish them success in that great effort.

28. I should also like to pay a compliment to the United Kingdom Government for doing the right thing by Uganda. The United Nations is an Organization in which, on balance, we all try to be fair-minded. We give praise where it is due and we criticize where criticism is deserved. The United Kingdom Government is to be heartily congratulated today on its achievement with regard to Uganda, but we must pray and hope that in its dealings with the other remaining pockets of colonialism for which it is responsible the United Kingdom Government and people will prove worthy of their record in Uganda. We thank them very much indeed for making it possible for the great people of Uganda to join our ranks in the commonwealth of nations and in this great Organization.

29. We also congratulate the people of Uganda for the manner in which they have risen to the occasion and we pray that God may enable them to retain their independence and to achieve the increasing prosperity for which independence is only the means.

30. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): On the admission of Uganda to the United Nations I have the honour to extend my sincere congratulations to the delegation and people of Uganda on behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as on behalf of my own delegation.

31. It is an important event to celebrate, for the sixth time during the present session of the General Assembly, the admission of a country which has recently gained its independence. That means an increase in our membership, an increase which implies not only a strengthening of the United Nations, but also the end of a historical era, the era of the colonial system.

32. The process characterized by the appearance of countries liberated from the colonial yoke on the international scene has gained momentum especially since the adoption of a resolution of historic significance 2/ by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. This resolution, in the drafting of which an important part was played by the socialist countries, will continue to serve as a guiding principle to the Members of the United Nations. No one can have greater cause for satisfaction than the socialist countries, which from the outset have given their full and unconditional support to the colonial peoples fighting for their inde-

2/ General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) dated 14 December 1960, entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".



pendence, that the liquidation of the colonial system is now referred to more and more in our Organization and that eliminating the idea of colonies has really become a task of our age. The socialist countries will also assist in the future peoples still suffering from colonial oppression in their struggle for independence.

33. Although Uganda is the most recent newcomer to the United Nations, the name of the country and the fight of its people for independence are well known to us. The history of Uganda is a striking example of the lot which peoples oppressed by colonialists have had to endure for decades and sometimes for centuries. But the repression of independence movements has strengthened the determination of the people of Uganda, and their struggle has led to the independence of their country. The independence of Uganda and of other countries who are in the process of gaining it, is a result of the struggle of the people; it is not a generous gift bestowed by the colonizers.

34. The admission of Uganda to the United Nations has taken place at a serious time. But we are convinced, firmly convinced, that the emergence of Uganda and of other new independent countries as active factors in international life will strengthen the camp of those who are striving to make our era the era of the liquidation of the colonial system, the era of general and complete disarmament and of peaceful coexistence, not an era of neo-colonialism, irresponsible warmongering, gunboat diplomacy and piracy. We are sure that Uganda as an independent African country will take an active part in the efforts made to safeguard international peace and security and will thereby strengthen the United Nations in its role as an instrument of peace.

35. At the same time as I extend my congratulations on behalf of the socialist countries to this new member of the family of independent nations and new Member of our Organization, let me welcome on this occasion Mr. Obote, the Prime Minister of Uganda, and in him the people of Uganda.

36. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan): On behalf of the delegations of Tunisia, Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic, whose esteemed representatives have done me the honour of commissioning me to speak for them as well as in the name of the Sudan, I consider it a singular pleasure and privilege to welcome into the family of sovereign independent nations our dear neighbour and sister of the eternal Nile, Uganda. It is a pleasure coupled with pride and based upon the innumerable and indestructible ties that have always bound, and will continue to bind, us to Uganda.

37. The peaceful and purposeful manner which characterizes Uganda's march into independence should be both a guide and an inspiration to the efforts aimed at eradicating the lingering vestiges of colonial domination which unfortunately continue to torment our continent.

38. With the auspicious addition of Uganda to our ranks, we are confident that this Organization will gain in the strength that is necessary for realizing the highly coveted world envisaged by the Charter.

39. The Governments and people of Tunisia, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic and the Sudan wish their brothers in Uganda all success, prosperity and happiness in the new life which they have so meritoriously achieved.

40. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The feelings of the delegation of Liberia on this happy occasion are heightened

by the fact that another African State has achieved its independence and taken its rightful place in the constellation of States which make up the United Nations.

41. The cause of freedom and independence is linked with the destinies of humanity and wherever on earth freedom gains ground it is a common gain to all who aspire and strive for it. To the rest of the people of Africa who do not yet enjoy the blessings of freedom and equality, who are now shaking off the shackles that bind them to the miseries and indignities which their domination imposes and who are on the great march to achieve the blessings of liberty and freedom, Uganda's achievement of independence must be looked upon as a common gain for them and for Africa.

42. The eagerness of new nations to assume their full international responsibilities is expressed by the promptness with which they seek admission into this world Organization, and their admission becomes a final recognition of their complete transition from dependence to full sovereignty.

43. In the name of the Government of Liberia it is my privilege and honour to welcome most heartily the Government of Uganda, headed by its Prime Minister, Mr. Milton Obote, into membership in the United Nations. Uganda has come into the United Nations as a responsible Member State and my delegation is confident that this newest Member will undertake with distinction and honour the fulfilment of the obligations of the Charter and that it will contribute to making the United Nations the gleaming crown of mankind's yearning for a just and stable peace.

44. I would be remiss if I failed to say a word of commendation to the United Kingdom under whose administration Uganda has come to nationhood through peaceful evolution.

45. Again we extend a warm welcome to Uganda and express the hope that the cause of African unity and international peace and co-operation will be furthered by the addition of Uganda to the galaxy of free nations.

46. Mr. UZAMUGURA (Rwanda) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like in speaking for the first time, to associate myself with the speakers who preceded me on this rostrum in repeating the congratulations of the President of Rwanda on your election as President of this Assembly. The programme of the seventeenth session is very heavy, but your experience and the dedication of the Secretary-General, as well as the fact that you are both pledged to the cause of fundamental human rights and universal peace, give us grounds for hoping that the seventeenth session will be highly successful.

47. It is indeed a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, to extend from this rostrum to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Uganda, Mr. Obote, our brotherly congratulations on the accession of his country to independence and on its admission to the United Nations.

48. Our countries and our peoples are not only neighbours but also brothers. We have a common past. It is one family which has grown up and whose children have settled, some in Rwanda, others in the Congo, Tanganyika, Burundi and Uganda. It is a great joy for us to meet each other again here as sovereign States within the United Nations and as Members of this august Assembly.

49. My congratulations are also addressed to the United Kingdom which has managed to bring this

brother people to maturity in harmony and in friendship. In doing so the United Kingdom has followed the course of history. It has added to the Commonwealth family, which now has another sovereign State, and it has acquired a sure, valiant and faithful friend. This action by the United Kingdom gives us ground for hoping that one day—and we hope it will be soon—we shall welcome from this very rostrum the entry of our brothers from Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. We should like that day to be close at hand, for it is high time that the whole world was able to take part in the quest for peace, and that all peoples were able to make their contribution to this great task.

50. The path to independence is an arduous one. To uphold liberty is even more arduous. That is why it is urgent to put an end to the treatment being meted out to our brothers in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Angola. We rely on the United Kingdom to use its influence on the Governments of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, so that they may free our brothers and enable the whole of Africa to participate actively in the campaign against poverty and for universal peace.

51. My delegation is convinced that Uganda, whose love for peace has always been plain to everyone, will make a great contribution to solving the problems at present confronting the United Nations, and will contribute even more actively to the maintenance of world peace and the security of the States Members of the United Nations.

52. On behalf of my Government and the people of Rwanda, I extend to my brothers of Uganda a very warm welcome to the United Nations.

53. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): It gives me great pleasure, not only on behalf of the Japanese delegation, but also on behalf of the Iranian delegation, to welcome Uganda among us. We have followed with warm and sympathetic attention the progress of this newest Member of the United Nations towards self-government and independence. Our trade and other relations with Uganda are close and harmonious. We have learned to feel great respect for this new State in Africa.

54. With heartfelt good wishes, we congratulate the people of Uganda and their leaders on the admission of their country to the United Nations. We are confident that their representatives here will make an outstanding contribution to the work of our Organization. Both the Iranian delegation and mine pledge to them our full co-operation, and wish them all success in their efforts.

55. Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (translated from French): I have the great honour of extending from this rostrum a brotherly and cordial welcome on behalf of the Latin American group and the Haitian Government to the representatives of Uganda who have just taken their seats among us in the United Nations.

56. The admission of a new State is always something new for us peoples of America, who are so dedicated to certain sacred principles, for we cannot but feel emotion on such an occasion at the great memory which the entry of a State into the family of the United Nations brings back to us.

57. Uganda is a country of great promise. Its past and its political maturity tell us so, and its sons, whose qualities and virtues we have admired as the human values they are, have today joined the ranks of those

who will often make the voice of reason, law and justice heard in this hall where it is particularly lacking at the present grave time.

58. This is therefore a valuable acquisition for the United Nations, for Uganda is yet another worker, who, with all the generous vigour of youth, will help to build that better world foreshadowed by the principles of the Charter.

59. To all the hopes raised within us by its presence, I would also add our good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of its people and Government.

60. Mr. ISSA (Somalia): It is my honour and privilege, on behalf of the Government and people of the Somali Republic, and on behalf of the Somali delegation to extend our warmest congratulations to the Prime Minister of Uganda, Mr. Milton Obote, and to the other representatives from Uganda, on the admission of their country to the community of free and independent nations.

61. As co-sponsor of the draft resolution, my delegation has felt particular satisfaction in seeing the representatives of Uganda take their rightful place in this world assembly.

62. The independence of Uganda is significant for various reasons. In the first place, it has brought to an end another chapter of colonial rule, lasting almost seventy years, and has demonstrated further the unchallengeable right of all peoples to freedom. Secondly, this happy event has provided a new impetus for the liberation of Kenya and Zanzibar, and of the remaining parts of the Somali territories still under colonial rule. When these territories achieve their independence, the emancipation of this vast eastern region of Africa will have been completed. In the wider context of African unity, the independence of Uganda will undoubtedly serve as an added inspiration in our endeavours for the creation of a federation of freely elected and democratically constituted independent East African States.

63. In the realization of this supranational Organization, it is prudent that we should bear in mind that its ultimate success will depend not upon power politics but upon the initial establishment within each of the respective States of a wholesome, healthy, happy and united nation.

64. It is appropriate for me to add that, in welcoming the independence of Uganda, we should also pay tribute to the Government of the United Kingdom for preparing the conditions under which that independence could be realized.

65. It is my privilege to convey on behalf of my country and my Government our sincere and heartfelt wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the people of Uganda. In their unity and independence lies the unity of East Africa, and from the unity of East Africa, we are confident, will spring a spirit of solidarity which will help to unite this great African Continent of ours for the welfare of its peoples and for the peace and good of mankind.

66. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation and Government wish to express their great happiness at the admission of Uganda to the United Nations, and the warmest good wishes for the peace and welfare of its people. This memorable occasion speaks much for the responsibility and the vision of its leaders, especially the distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, whom we were privileged to have as an honoured guest in our country. And it is also fitting for us to note the states-

manship with which the United Kingdom has freely co-operated in the achievement of Uganda's independence.

67. We look forward to relations of friendship and co-operation with the new State.

68. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): I have the great honour of speaking on behalf of the delegations of the States members of the African and Malagasy Union. Today is a historical day for Uganda, because, with the admission of that country to the United Nations, it marks the independence of the Ugandan people, national independence which restores to the inhabitants of that country all the human dignity to which all men, irrespective of race, aspire.

69. The accession of Uganda to national sovereignty is not only a tribute to the humanitarian spirit of the United Kingdom, but it also stresses the way in which certain colonial Powers are tending to speed up the decolonization process in Africa. The entry today of Uganda upon the international scene therefore strengthens our conviction that colonization should be considered as the education of one people by another people for adulthood, i.e., statehood, for to us States members of the African and Malagasy Union colonization should have education as a purpose. The African and Malagasy Union extends its sincere congratulations to the United Kingdom on the beneficent action it has taken, and would like to take this opportunity of reminding some still hesitant colonial Powers that the knell of colonization has sounded—the knell of economic, political and social colonization, the knell of colonization, pure and simple.

70. The African and Malagasy Union is therefore most happy to welcome a friendly country, and congratulates its political leaders especially as well as its people, who have shown their political maturity, and it hopes that within this international body Uganda will do all in its power to further the fundamental objective of the United Nations, the establishment of friendly relations between nations and the maintenance of international peace and security, for the general benefit.

71. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden): We have the pleasure of welcoming today a new independent State to membership in our Organization. Many representatives have already expressed their satisfaction at seeing our Uganda friends seated amongst us. Our satisfaction is so much the greater as this newest Member has passed into the state of independence in a peaceful, orderly and dignified manner, which has been exactly in conformity with the principles of our Charter and may well serve as an example.

72. We hope and trust that this is also a happy omen for the relations that will develop in the future, not only between Uganda and the former administering Power but also between all newly independent African States and Europe. Those two continents have much to give to each other and must search together for new forms of co-operation. We have no doubt that Uganda, under its enlightened leadership of Prime Minister Obote, will make a highly valuable contribution to this work as well as to the activities of the United Nations.

73. In the name of the five Nordic countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria and Sweden, my delegation salutes Uganda and wishes its people happiness and prosperity.

74. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): It gives me great pleasure to welcome, on behalf of the Arab delegations

Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria and my own delegation, the admission of Uganda to the United Nations. The independence of Uganda is an important step towards the total liberation of the African Continent and the redemption of its people.

75. Like my distinguished colleague from Ghana, I feel that we should not forget that there are still many territories in Africa, and elsewhere in the world, still under colonial domination.

76. As one who personally has been closely connected with the work of this Organization on colonial affairs, I must express my great appreciation and satisfaction at the emancipation of this great and historic country in the heart of the African Continent. Our support for Africa's liberation is unqualified and unconditional. It emanates from the experiences of our own people, who were compelled to carry on a hard struggle for independence, a struggle of which one of the countries that I have the honour to speak for today—Algeria—has become a heroic and eternal symbol.

77. Uganda, under the guidance of its distinguished Prime Minister, will indeed be a most significant and valuable addition to our Organization, which in this hour of great peril and trial has become more than ever the object of man's hope and aspirations and the goal of all peoples still fighting for their freedom. Again, we extend our hearty welcome to Uganda, and we wish its people prosperity and success.

78. Mr. LAMANI (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania was happy to welcome the delegation of Uganda on the occasion of the admission of its country to the United Nations.

79. The Albanian people and Government have sympathetically watched the efforts of the peoples of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro to achieve independence and the establishment of a unified Uganda, and they joyfully hailed the proclamation of independence on 9 October this year.

80. During the ceremony celebrating that event, Mr. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister of Uganda, said that his people were happy to have achieved their ambition to manage their own affairs and were sure that all who had fought for independence would rejoice with them.

81. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, which represents a people who for centuries fought for their independence and who today, free and masters of their fate, are building socialism, entirely understood that sentiment and feel every sympathy for the people of Uganda and their first independent Government.

82. We hope that the new State of Uganda and its people, who spent over sixty years under the colonialist yoke, will successfully develop their economy and their culture while continuing their efforts to consolidate their independence.

83. The Albanian delegation avails itself of this opportunity to renew its congratulations to the delegation of Uganda and to wish it success in its efforts to strengthen the United Nations.

84. Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): I stand here on my country's behalf, and I also have the honour to speak on behalf of Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia and Yugoslavia, in extending our hearty welcome to Uganda to this family of free nations. Whenever a new nation takes its seat in this great hall, it is a matter of joy, for it brings us closer together. That joy is even greater



when a nation has freed itself from the shackles of colonial bondage. We believe that we shall have opportunities to work together, and the wisdom of Uganda will help us solve many a problem that confronts us.

85. We also congratulate the United Kingdom Government, whose wisdom and understanding made this possible. On behalf of my own country, and on behalf of Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia and Yugoslavia—for which I have been privileged to speak—I extend felicitations to the Government of Uganda and to its people for their worthy efforts, and wish them godspeed, good luck, peace, prosperity and progress.

86. Mr. KASHALE (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): I have the honour, on behalf of my delegation and of the Congolese Government and people, to hail the admission of Uganda to the United Nations.

87. In our eyes Uganda is not only an African State but, much more important, a brother and neighbouring State. It is unnecessary to go into details of the historic, ethnic and other links which bind us to this country. The Christian faith and the exemplary courage of the forty martyrs of Uganda are vividly present in the memory of the Congolese.

88. It would seem unfair on this occasion not to thank the United Kingdom Government, which has once more fulfilled the promise it recently made that it would lead and would continue to lead the Territories under its administration to self-government and independence.

89. We hope that this promise will be fulfilled with regard to all the other African Territories still under United Kingdom rule. I wish the Government and the brother people of Uganda success and prosperity in independence.

90. Lastly, my delegation is convinced that Uganda will contribute during this seventeenth session to the consolidation of world peace and the liberation of the other African Territories which are still under foreign domination.

91. The PRESIDENT: I now take pleasure in inviting the Prime Minister of Uganda to make a statement.

92. Mr. OBOTE (Prime Minister of Uganda): Yesterday, 24 October, was the seventeenth anniversary of the United Nations. One hundred and nine independent nations passed through yesterday as full Members of this Organization. Today, we heard you announce the recommendation of the Security Council; we also heard the General Assembly's unanimous approval of the recommendation to admit Uganda as a full Member of this Organization. We also heard—and I am very glad indeed that I was present—when the many representatives of States Members of this Organization welcomed the admission of a new Member. This new Member is my country—Uganda—and I address the Assembly on behalf of the people and Government of that country and bring to you and to all Member nations the greetings of my people and my Government, the Government of Uganda.

93. It goes without saying that in the past years since the creation of this Organization great speeches have been made before the Assembly by representatives and Heads of States and Governments on occasions, such as this one, of the admission of new Members and on other equally important occasions. Few Member nations, I think, joined this great world Organization in the circumstances in which my country has now been admitted. My country not only sees itself as the first Member of

the eighteenth year in the life of this Organization, but also finds itself being admitted into this world body at a time when the present is actually and actively being debated and the future not easy to see.

94. As the representative of this new Member, I have no new tonic but I do feel that, as the older Members think of the past, the present and the future, I should seize the opportunity I now have to thank all the Member countries represented here for the support for our admission they have given us in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. I also want to thank them for their whole-hearted participation in the independence celebrations which took place in Kampala, Uganda, on 9 October of this year and for the cables, radio and telephone messages and letters of good wishes and encouragement which I received on behalf of Uganda on the occasion of its independence. I should like further to thank those Members of the General Assembly who have so warmly congratulated us and expressed their very kind sentiments about Uganda on this occasion of our admission. My Government and the people of Uganda are greatly impressed and encouraged by these generous gestures and by the general atmosphere of goodwill towards Uganda. For all this we are truly grateful.

95. I am very conscious that Uganda joins the Organization at a time when humanity is at the crossroads of destiny, when great nations are re-arming with the most devastating weapons ever known, when the world Organization and the world at large are ridden with ideological conflicts and the continuing effects of the cold war, and when vast resources that should be used for the alleviation of human misery are being channelled into nuclear armaments.

96. Today the world seems dark, but these darkening scenes, we, as a new Member, pray, should not discourage us in the ability of the Member nations present here to realize the shortcomings of this Organization and to pledge their faith in its ability as the only positive hope for the restoration of sanity and peace among the nations of the world. This is a formal occasion and it is fitting that I should register my country's faith in the United Nations. Our association with the United Nations and its agencies is of long standing, and I wish to express the gratitude of the people of my country for all the interest which the Organization and its agencies have shown in Uganda. The assistance we received was greatly appreciated, and while we hope for further assistance I should like to say that we of Uganda also look forward to contributing our share.

97. Uganda gained its independence without recrimination or hatred. We have tried to impart good sense and respect for law and order to the newly independent people of Uganda. We have also tried to establish conditions where tolerance, discussion and compromise were the characteristics of our struggle for independence. This, in a sense, explains why my Government has, by a deliberate decision, become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it being a valuable international and interracial association wholly dedicated to the cause of peace, progress and co-operation between equal and independent member States.

98. Uganda is an under-developed country and is fully conscious of its internal problems; with or without these problems, I observe with some pain the denial of self-determination to peoples in several parts of Africa. Uganda intends to follow an active policy on the elimination of colonial rule.

99. Finally, let me finish by saying something about the beauty of Uganda. The beauty of Uganda has been extolled in more eloquent terms than mine and by no less a statesman and literary artist than Sir Winston Churchill, who called Uganda the "pearl of Africa". If I may add my voice to those which have preceded me, Uganda is easily one of the most beautiful countries in the world: with the snowcapped Mountains of the Moon, the great river Nile flowing out of Lake Victoria on its long eventful journey down to Egypt, with its many lakes and forests and its abundant game and wild flowers, Uganda offers an attraction and delight to peoples from many different parts of the world. So to you who may come out to Uganda to help and to visit us, we have to offer the great beauty of our country and of our climate, as well as the warm friendship of the people of Uganda.

100. On behalf of the people and Government of Uganda, I accept the terms of admission and membership of the United Nations.

### AGENDA ITEM 92

#### Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (*continued*)

101. Mr. ALVAREZ VIDAURRE (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of El Salvador has asked for the floor in order to state once more its position in regard to the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations.

102. Again, as in previous years, some delegations have urged that the seat of the Republic of China should be given to the People's Republic of China. My delegation has always been opposed to the admission of Communist China. The reasons for my delegation's attitude were clearly explained in this Assembly at its sixteenth session by my predecessor, Dr. Rafael Urquía, on Tuesday, 12 December 1961. On that occasion, Dr. Urquía analysed the position in detail and used the following words.

*[The speaker read paragraphs 114 to 123 of the official record of the 1076th plenary meeting.]*

103. Since its accession to power, the communist régime of Peking has been characterized by a consistent policy of aggression designed for the purpose either of establishing communist or like-minded régimes or of expanding at the expense of neighbouring States. In addition, the world has now for several weeks witnessed the incursion by the army of the People's Republic of China into Indian territory. In this case, as on previous occasions, the communist régime at Peking has not resorted to the procedures prescribed by international law for the settlement of disputes arising between States. Quite the contrary—in this instance it is victimizing a State Member of this Organization which has always supported its claim to admission to the United Nations.

104. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote against the admission of Communist China.

105. Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia): For thirteen years there has prevailed an untenable and illegitimate state of affairs in which China, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, one of the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, is not represented in the United Nations and its bodies. Every year a paradoxical situation arises when the General Assembly is forced to scrutinize an absolutely evident

question. The fact that for such a long time the People's Republic of China has been prevented from exercising its legitimate rights emanating from its membership in the United Nations, is one of the greatest absurdities—if not the greatest one—in the entire history of the United Nations. The denial of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has created, systematically and consciously, a situation in which the United Nations is unable to fulfil its tasks as set forth in the Charter.

106. One of the main prerequisites for the fulfilment of these tasks, which are firmly anchored in the Charter, is the active participation of all the great Powers in the Organization's activities. Now, China, by virtue of the number of its inhabitants, by the size of its territory, by its political and economic significance, belongs among the largest countries of the world. One of the great Powers—to which the Charter accords a very significant role in United Nations activities—is China, and China is being excluded from participating in these activities.

107. The fact that in consequence of the victorious revolution the Chinese people expelled the representatives of the old, compromised régime and installed a new people's Government which, since 1949, has effectively controlled and administered the continental territory of China as a whole, does not change the importance of China in the solution of the principal problems of the present international situation and in United Nations activities. On the contrary, the victory of the revolution, the creation of the People's Republic of China and the formation of a people's Government created the most suitable prerequisites for the development and realization of all the capabilities of the Chinese people and for a further, all-round, rapid development and strengthening of China. That has been fully confirmed by the results attained by the Chinese people during the thirteen years of its free life.

108. The People's Republic of China has been changing from a country with a backward, semi-colonial economy into an industrially developed State. In view of the vast resources and possibilities, in view of the diligence and capabilities of the Chinese people, this process will irrevocably continue whether anyone likes it or not. Temporary problems and difficulties, which the People's Republic of China must overcome in the course of its development, cannot change this basic fact. These problems resulted primarily from the difficult situation created by the long years of colonial exploitation of China by the imperialist Powers. After all, many other countries, which after the Second World War liberated themselves from the supremacy of colonialism and imperialism and embarked upon the road of free and independent development, encounter similar difficulties.

109. The successful internal development of the People's Republic of China has been accompanied by a rapid strengthening of its international position and by the growth of its influence upon the solution of all significant international problems. The People's Republic of China maintains diplomatic relations with more than forty countries and has developed wide and mutually beneficial economic relations with tens of other countries. A further substantial expansion of the diplomatic and economic relations of the People's Republic of China with other countries has been prevented by the hostile policies of the United States and of the Member States of the Western military and political aggressive groupings dependent on the United States.



110. The People's Republic of China is, then, a reality for a quarter of mankind—for 700 million Chinese—and it is also a significant factor in international developments not only in the Far East but all over the world. Particularly, the Chinese revolution, which gave rise to the People's Republic of China, is one of the most significant historical events of the twentieth century and was of decisive importance in the process the implementation of which the United Nations has assumed as its principal task, namely the process of the emancipation of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and of the liquidation of the barbarous and obsolete colonial system.

111. A clear manifestation of the growing international significance and authority of the People's Republic of China was its active participation in the talks at the Bandung Conference, as well as its positive role in the solution of such important questions as the termination of the imperialist and colonial war in Indo-China in 1954 and the conclusion of the agreement on the neutrality of Laos at the Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held at Geneva in the summer of 1962. Even the United States and the countries which support it in its shortsighted policies of denying the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—even these States were forced to admit that without the participation of the People's Republic of China, these questions could not be resolved.

112. These facts give us clear evidence that the People's Republic of China is a significant member of the international community, the development of which it undoubtedly influences, particularly in such events and problems which fall fully within the sphere of the United Nations tasks and which the United Nations consistently deals with—questions such as the complex of problems concerning disarmament, the development of economic co-operation among countries, and many others.

113. The absence of the People's Republic of China from United Nations activities has not only a negative influence upon the possible solution of the individual unresolved international questions; the absence has been adversely reflected in the very activities of the Organization and its bodies. There is not the slightest doubt that the United Nations can fulfil its tasks only under the condition that in its activities it will take into account the real situation prevailing in the world. Attempts to close one's eyes and to prevent the reflection of that situation in United Nations activities can only lead to other more serious failures and to the paralysis of its activities.

114. Already in the past and now again at the current session of the General Assembly numerous delegations have rightly drawn attention to the fact that the composition of the different United Nations organs neither reflects the profound changes which have taken place in the world nor corresponds to the present situation in the United Nations itself. We consider these critical statements and requirements, which have been raised in this connexion particularly by the countries of Asia and Africa, as entirely justified. It stands to reason that the work of the bodies, and consequently of the Organization as a whole, has been very adversely affected by the unsuitable composition since the individual groups of Member States are not represented here in a corresponding manner. The solution of this question has also been made impossible by the fact that the People's Republic of China has been denied its right to take part in United Nations activities.

115. The States, which are primarily concerned, should not passively witness such an untenable situation. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, which, in harmony with the Charter, has been requested by the Soviet Union, by the other socialist countries and by an ever-increasing number of States Members of the United Nations, is a key to the solution of that important question which the African-Asian countries rightly urge.

116. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the question of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was ripe a long time ago. Further delays can bring nothing good either in the development of the situation in the world or in the activities of the United Nations. These delays can only lead to a further weakening of the Organization which would make impossible a successful fulfilment of the tasks assumed by the United Nations. Only those who are interested in a further aggravation of international tension and who oppose any measure aimed at the betterment of the world situation can defend and maintain such a state of affairs.

117. Consequently, it is high time to approach the solution of this fundamental question of the further development of the United Nations. It is imperative to expel finally the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent only themselves, from all the organs of the United Nations, and to invite the lawful representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, which is the only legitimate spokesman of the 700 million Chinese people, to take China's place in the United Nations and its bodies.

118. What prevents the solution of this question? From the point of view of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, the question is absolutely clear. No legal distortions and fabrications can deny the cardinal fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate representative of the Chinese people. The only obstacle which has so far barred the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is the obstinate resistance of the United States, which does not wish to become reconciled to the fact that the People's Republic of China embarked upon the road towards socialism. The position of the United States has been dictated by exclusively political motives, by its hatred for socialism, for the socialist régime, which has been built in the People's Republic of China, and is not in the least substantiated either by the Charter or by the universally recognized and valid norms of international law.

119. On the contrary, the United States stand is in gross contradiction to the Charter, to the fundamental principles upon which the United Nations is based. After all, the Charter itself was worked out with the direct and active participation of a great socialist Power—the Soviet Union. Since the very beginning, the socialist countries have actively participated in the work of the United Nations whose significance rests in the fact that it should encompass all States irrespective of their different internal systems. There lies its fundamental contribution to the efforts aimed at the maintenance of peace, at the peaceful settlement of disputes and at the development of peaceful and friendly co-operation among nations. Neither friendly relations with all Member States nor the same socio-economic régime of Member States are required as a condition for membership in the United Nations.

120. Naturally, no one wants to force the United States and other countries to maintain friendly relations with the People's Republic of China or with any other State. These questions are exclusively their own affair. However, the United Nations is not an organ of the United States State Department, which would have to observe the opinions and objectives pursued by United States foreign policy. Different social systems of individual countries or the fact that the United States refuses to recognize individual States and to establish normal relations with them cannot be a reason which would bar the application of their lawful rights in the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations and the exercise of the rights of Member States do not depend on United States approval or disapproval of the régime of a country. The social régime of a country is exclusively its internal affair which is decided by its sovereign people and in which the United Nations, under the explicit provision of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, has no right to interfere. Since its inception the United Nations has so far respected this principle concerning the changes which have taken place in many Member States. In every case the United Nations has recognized the change which took place without trying to judge them or to draw conclusions related to the membership or to the exercise of the membership rights of the respective States. No other solution is possible. We can rightly ask why this justified principle, which reflects the real situation, should not and has not so far been applied—because of the resistance of the United States—also in the case of the recognition of the membership rights of the People's Republic of China.

121. United States attempts to justify its untenable position concerning the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations by various artificially fabricated arguments are entirely unconvincing. These attempts have recently been based primarily on assertions about some aggressive policies of the People's Republic of China in consequence of which the People's Republic of China allegedly does not meet the requirement formulated in Article 4 of the Charter, which provides that only peace-loving countries may become Members of the United Nations. In this connexion, the present situation evokes an urgent question: what right has a State whose Government announced the taking of provocative and aggressive measures against other States Members of the United Nations—measures which have brought the world to the brink of war—on the very day its representative made a statement in this forum abounding in slanderous attacks against the People's Republic of China, what right has such a State to speak about the aggressiveness of others? The open threats of war to which the United States Government resorted is a flagrant violation of all obligations which it assumed under the Charter and which emanate from the other norms of international law in force.

122. In consequence of such a policy on the part of the United States Government, a tense and dangerous situation and a very deep crisis have been created, which have had no analogy since the end of the Second World War; and in this situation the representative of the United States has enough courage to launch slanderous attacks against other countries, labelling them as aggressors. I do not know what should amaze me more in this connexion, the hypocrisy of the United States Government or its reactionary short-sightedness in connexion with its aggressive acts against Cuba and other States Members of the United Nations, and with

the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

123. The representative of the United States has tried to make the Assembly believe that the admission or expulsion of a State is involved in this question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, but it is quite obvious that the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China has nothing in common with either the admission or the expulsion of any State. It is merely an exclusively procedural question of the recognition of the full powers of the legitimate representatives of China, that is, the representatives of the People's Republic of China. It would be nonsense to speak about the admission of a State which is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. It would be equally absurd to speak about the expulsion of another, non-existent State. The clique which has so far occupied the place of China in the United Nations has no right to impersonate a spokesman of a State which in 1945 signed the Charter of the United Nations. That China exists only in the daydreams of those who do not wish to be reconciled to the existence of the People's Republic of China. The Members of the United Nations are States, not Governments of individual States, and still less cliques or groups of persons.

124. Changes in Governments which take place in individual countries cannot cause the denial of the exercise of those rights granted by the Charter to them as Members of the United Nations. The fact that, following a revolution, the previous Government may continue to be recognized by States which do not wish to become reconciled to the new situation does not, in any case, mean that, as a consequence of the existence of such a pseudo-government, two States should exist. The attempts to put through such a practice in international relations, and in United Nations activities, are totally absurd and would necessarily lead to the gravest consequences.

125. In view of these facts, the procedural manoeuvres in this connexion to which the United States delegation resorted at the sixteenth session—when it put through the adoption of the illegal resolution under which the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be decided upon by a two-thirds majority—are entirely unsubstantiated. These new manoeuvres, whose objective is the postponement of the solution of this important question, must be resolutely denounced and condemned. The fact that the recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China is a step of great importance in the further work of the United Nations, as well as in the development of the international situation, does not change the reality that this question, in its substance, is exclusively of a procedural character, namely, a question of full powers.

126. Such questions have in the past been decided as far as delegations of all Member States are concerned—by a simple majority. If, in the case of all other States Members, a simple majority was sufficient to decide this procedural question, why does the United States press this entirely unsubstantiated requirement in the case of the full powers of the delegation of the People's Republic of China? It is only because it is trying to maintain the present illegal state of affairs.

127. However, as with every attempt to maintain an absurd situation which offends common sense and

ignores historical facts, so also is this policy of the United States against the People's Republic of China doomed to failure. The denial in the United Nations of the exercise of the rights of the People's Republic of China cannot halt its development. The People's Republic of China will continue to exist and to develop successfully, even without the recognition of the United States, even if the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be denied its legitimate right to participate in debates in the United Nations.

128. But the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of China is, in the first place, detrimental to the United Nations itself and thus, sooner or later, common sense must prevail, and the real situation must be reflected in the United Nations. The sooner this happens, the better it will be for the United Nations itself and for the international situation as a whole.

129. Consequently the General Assembly, at its seventeenth session, should adopt a decision which would do away with the present untenable state of affairs, and make it possible for the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China—which is the only lawful representative of China—to take their place in United Nations organs. We are convinced that such a measure would be adopted with great satisfaction by all those desiring that the United Nations should become a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet delegation [A/L.395] offers the best prerequisites. Therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation fully supports it, and will vote in favour of it.

130. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): Ever since 1950 we have been discussing the very important problem of the representation of China in the United Nations. I say representation, not admission. The question before us is not whether the People's Republic of China should be admitted here, but whether it is authorized to represent China, a founding Member of the United Nations which, moreover, has a permanent seat in the Security Council.

131. There have been attempts to turn the tables by claiming that a different procedure from that which we are now discussing should be adopted, i.e., the procedure for the admission of a new Member. This argument, however, cannot and has not been accepted.

132. When the United Nations Charter was signed there was only one Government in China, that of the Republic of China. The seat of that Government was at Chungking because Nanking, the capital, was still occupied by the Japanese. As is known, however, in addition to the lawful Government, *de facto* authority was exercised over certain western provinces of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, who since 1935 had been Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party, founded at Shanghai in 1921. This *de facto* authority under Mao Tse-tung had in 1937 signed an agreement with the Nanking Government under which in co-operation with the latter, it was to resist the Japanese invasion. The authority was thus transformed into what was called the Eighth Route Army, whose status was duly recognized by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and whose accredited representative with him was Mr. Chou En-lai himself.

133. These facts are known to the Americans. I rather colourful book called Red Star Over China, pub-

lished in New York in 1938,<sup>3/</sup> Edgar Snow, a journalist, describes in moving and sometimes almost poetic language the saga of the Long March. He also describes the machinery of what was then called the Chinese Soviet Republic. During the Second World War, Mr. Gauss, the United States Ambassador to China, was in very close touch with representatives of President Mao Tse-tung, as can be seen from his reports and telegrams to President Roosevelt in 1942, which were published by the State Department in 1956. In his telegrams and reports to President Roosevelt, Mr. Gauss frequently speaks of his "Communist informants". He praises the war effort of the Eighth Route Army. In 1945, President Truman sent General George Marshall to China for the purpose of trying to bring Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung together. For reasons which there is no point in reiterating here, there was no reconciliation and civil war broke out again. It ended in 1949 with the capitulation of Peking, Nanking, Shanghai, Wu-Chang, Hang-chow and Canton and the rout of Kuomintang forces, which sought refuge in the island of Taiwan.

134. On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed at Peking. Since then the Government of the Republic has truly and effectively exercised authority over the whole territory of China. Those who are in power at Taipei claim that this authority should be theirs. But their own authority is confined to the shores of the island. So it seems to us impossible and even ridiculous to deny that essential fact and to prevent the Government which is responsible for the administration of a population comprising a quarter of the human race from sending its representatives to the various United Nations bodies.

135. Furthermore, the Government of the People's Republic of China has participated in a number of international conferences. It signed the 1954 Agreement on Indo-China for China.<sup>4/</sup> In July 1962, it also signed the Declaration on the integrity and neutrality of Laos.<sup>5/</sup> This proves that its authority over the whole of China was not denied by the other signatories. Among the latter, those who challenge its right to represent China in the United Nations are taking up the most contradictory attitude ever witnessed in history.

136. On the one hand, they recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China by entering into mutual commitments with it, and on the other hand, they come to this Assembly and declare that that Government cannot represent China in the United Nations. I must confess that this attitude appears to me illogical and altogether fantastic. It ignores reality and is not based on any legal foundation. It seems to impose a moral code tailored to fit those who desire to promulgate edicts governing human conduct.

137. The General Assembly, ignoring the facts, persists in following a course which is in accordance neither with the interests of peace nor with those of security. The United Nations Charter, which is based on the concept of universality, does not allow us to commit acts of discrimination motivated by the professed ideology of any given country. Moreover the Members of the United Nations belong to different categories. It would be unjust to ostracize any Govern-

<sup>3/</sup> Red Star Over China, by Edgar Snow, The Modern Library, New York, 1938.

<sup>4/</sup> Agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

<sup>5/</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.



ment simply because it professes ideas which some of us reject or abhor. To do so would be to repeat the errors of so ancient a jurist as Suarez, who proclaimed in the sixteenth century that States should be divided into two categories: the States of Christendom and the States outside Christendom, and that the rules of international law should apply only to the first group. Progress has left that state of affairs far behind us.

138. To prevent the People's Republic of China from taking China's seat, to which it is legally entitled, because its Government has decided to adopt a socialist ideology, constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Moreover, there are other socialist countries in the United Nations. Thus there is discrimination on two counts. Furthermore, by continuing on the course on which the General Assembly has embarked we are losing sight of the interests of peace and security. China is a great Asian country whose voice should be heard in world affairs. Disarmament and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons for non-peaceful purposes concern it to the same extent as the other Powers. We sometimes hear that the People's Republic of China might be invited to take part in the negotiations on disarmament, even while its Government is still excluded from the United Nations.

139. That is an impossible solution because the Chinese Government has made it abundantly clear that it will not enter into any such negotiations until its legitimate right to occupy the Chinese seat in the United Nations has been recognized.

140. There is another and no less important field from which China is excluded—that of the activities of the specialized agencies. So far the People's Republic of China has remained outside them. We know, however, that such organizations as UNESCO, FAO, WHO and the UPU were set up to facilitate intercourse among States in matters of vital concern to the health, the well-being and the harmonious development of the peoples of different countries. Can we continue to sanction such an abnormal situation as that which results from the fact that our doors are still closed to the People's Republic of China?

141. If some countries have complaints to make to the People's Republic of China, it would be better to make them in its presence so that it can reply. If decisions regarding such complaints were subsequently adopted, the People's Republic of China would be called to account. Thus we will have accomplished some constructive work.

142. These are the reasons why my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.395].

143. Mr. SHAGDARSUREN (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): Today the General Assembly has on its agenda an important question which requires urgent solution. That question is the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

144. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has stated its views on this question both at the last session of the General Assembly and in the general debate at the present session. We wish to stress once again that a rapid and constructive solution of this problem will serve the interests of enhancing the authority and effectiveness of the Organization, strengthening general peace and the security of nations, and promoting international co-operation.

145. Thirteen years have now elapsed since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, a sovereign, independent, people's democratic State. During these years the People's Republic of China has won outstanding successes in the socialist transformation of its economy and culture. The many-million-strong Chinese people, which is engaged in peaceful creative labour for the prosperity and progress of its motherland, is vitally interested in the preservation and consolidation of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

146. The People's Republic of China pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence between States with different social and political structures.

147. The peaceable foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and its ever-increasing role in international affairs have won the recognition and support of many African-Asian and other States Members of the United Nations. The People's Republic of China was one of the prime movers in the convening of the Bandung Conference.<sup>5/</sup> In 1955 it put forward a proposal for a denuclearized zone of peace in the Far East and Pacific Ocean area, a proposal that received wide support from all peace-loving nations.

148. Representatives of the People's Republic of China who took an active part in the Geneva conferences of 1954 and 1961-1962 have made an important contribution to the restoration of peace in South-East Asia, particularly in the case of the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

149. The People's Republic of China resolutely advocates the complete elimination of the shameful colonialist system, and the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The Chinese people warmly supports the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the imperialistic colonizers and gives economic aid to under-developed countries which have recently won their national freedom and are defending their political and economic independence.

150. It is an irrefutable historical fact that there is only one China—the People's Republic of China, which is fully justified in demanding the restoration of its lawful rights in the United Nations.

151. But the place in the United Nations which belongs by right to the People's Republic of China is unlawfully occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was long ago rejected by the great Chinese people. It is to be deplored that many representatives of States Members of the United Nations have tolerated for over ten years, against their will, the presence in all United Nations organs of the so-called "representatives" of the United States puppet from Taiwan.

152. I wish to stress once more that the many-million-strong Chinese people is represented only by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The participation of representatives of this great nation of the world would greatly facilitate the constructive solution by our Organization of the most important international problems affecting the preservation of peace and the security of nations, and particularly the solution of so important a problem as general and complete disarmament.

153. The international community as a whole is firmly of opinion that the absence from the United Nations of the lawful representative of the People's Republic of China conflicts with the Purposes and Principles of the

<sup>5/</sup> Held from 18 to 24 April 1955.



United Nations Charter and seriously hampers effective and successful action by the Organization.

154. To ignore any longer the imprescriptible rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is deliberately to violate the United Nations Charter and to ignore the rights of over 650 million people, who make up a fifth of the entire population of the globe.

155. It is becoming even more intolerable in that the United States of America is making stubborn efforts to perpetuate its occupation of the island of Taiwan, from which it continually menaces the security of the People's Republic of China and the peace and security of the Far East as a whole.

156. The absurd idea of the existence of "two Chinas", which is being put about by some delegates, in no way facilitates the solution of the question but simply plays into the hands of the United States imperialists.

157. Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The solution of the problem raised by the situation in Taiwan is a purely domestic affair of the People's Republic of China, in which neither the United States nor any other State is entitled to meddle. As for the theory of "two Chinas", it is merely a clumsy attempt to perpetuate the occupation of Taiwan by the United States as a military base and to keep the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations. Everyone knows that the imprescriptible right of the People's Republic of China to the island of Taiwan was confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and by the agreement on the capitulation of Japan at the end of the Second World War.

158. The world community expects from the United Nations General Assembly at its present session a substantial contribution to the constructive solution of pressing international problems. Of these, one of the most burning is the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

159. As long ago as 1949 the Government of the People's Republic of China, exercising its sovereign rights, officially put before the United Nations the question of China's representation in the Organization [A/1123]. In the years which have passed since then, it has more than once demanded the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all organs of the United Nations, and this entirely justified demand has received firm support from many countries.

160. Because of their aggressive aspirations, however, certain Western countries, and in the first place the United States of America, have so far stubbornly blocked the solution of this problem. Why do they do this? The answer is that they do it because the State system of the People's Republic of China is not to

their taste. This aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the United States has been manifested once more in their present unprecedented provocation of revolutionary Cuba. What right have the United States imperialists to dictate their will to countries whose peoples have freely chosen their path to progress and prosperity? We shall never accept so glaring a violation of the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter.

161. A few representatives of countries forming part of aggressive military blocs have referred in their statements to the current border disputes between the People's Republic of China and India, in order to distract the General Assembly's attention from the essence of the problem. Our delegation considers that the border disputes between China and India constitute a problem which falls primarily within the competence of those two States; and we hope that these disputes will be settled peacefully, by negotiation.

162. There is nothing new to us in the moves resorted to by the representatives of some States in order to secure, once more, postponement by the General Assembly of consideration of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. These people, as at the last session, are once more trying to prove that this question must be decided by a two-thirds majority; but we are opposed to such a method of settling it.

163. At the last session, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic stated:

"The question of representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not a question of admitting a new Member; it is merely a procedural question of recognizing the legitimate credentials of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—a question which, under the rules of procedure of the United Nations, should be decided by a simple majority." [1077th plenary meeting, para.169.]

164. On the basis of this, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union, and declares that the time has come to expel the Chiang Kai-shek clique immediately from all organs of the United Nations and to invite the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs.

165. We consider that the taking of such a decision by the General Assembly of the United Nations would be a triumph for reason and justice.

*The meeting rose at 5.57 p.m.*