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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 102

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

1. Mr. MONTENEGRO MEDRANO (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): As in previous years, the Nicaraguan delegation comes before the General Assembly to confirm wholeheartedly its stand against the admission of Communist China, as proposed by a number of delegations. In so doing, we are prompted by our fidelity and attachment to the principles of the Charter and the ideals of the United Nations.

2. Our position remains unchanged, because the factors and circumstances which in our view justify such rejection have not changed. So long as there is no evidence that Communist China has changed its attitude and aims, so long as its behaviour and its acts do not faithfully reflect acceptance of the provisions of the Charter and willingness to co-operate in maintaining international peace and security, my delegation, as a signatory of the San Francisco Charter, will vote in favour of its exclusion from the Organization.

3. Our decision is not influenced by extraneous factors or by any desire to please a particular Power. We take it in full sovereignty and with a clear awareness of our responsibility towards the international community. We reject violence and force, aggression and war as instruments of international policy and we proclaim our attachment to peace, human rights and the self-determination of peoples.

4. We believe it would be detrimental to the future of the United Nations to admit to membership a State, a nation, which has not requested admission, but on the contrary has tacitly and expressly repudiated the United Nations, criticized and censured its activities and advocates its dissolution and the establishment of a new revolutionary body which is in line with its foreign policy.

5. For sixteen years the United Nations has been obliged to close the door to Communist China, not only because the latter rebels against its lofty goals and purposes, but also because of the intransigent and dictatorial way in which its admission has been

demanding, entailing the expulsion of a founding Member State which during the twenty years of this Organization's existence has acted in accordance with its principles and ideals and has co-operated in the achievement of its noble objectives.

6. According to the agenda, this Assembly is discussing the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations"; the sponsors and defenders of this proposal have spoken of the size of Communist China's territory and population, and its military and atomic power, without mentioning a single duty that it has performed or is prepared to perform, forgetting that rights and duties are closely related, that this nation has violated the rules and principles laid down in the Charter for the admission of a Member State and that a right should not be claimed unilaterally unless the corresponding duty has first been discharged.

7. My delegation advocates and believes in the universality of the United Nations and has enthusiastically welcomed the admission of new independent States, for we are firmly convinced that the dialogue between men and nations is necessary for and conducive to the peaceful solution of all conflicts and the maintenance of international peace and security. We do not feel, however, that this principle is being violated in the present case, for it should not be interpreted in a way which is inconsistent with its very essence, by permitting the admission of a State which has violated other major principles of the Charter, let alone by expelling, in the name of universality, Nationalist China, which has fulfilled all its obligations and is an important member of the United Nations.

8. While all public and private organizations, including the Latin American Parliament, which met at Lima from 14 to 18 July 1965 and the 3,080 jurists who met at Washington for the Washington World Conference on World Peace through Law from 12 to 18 September 1965, proclaim their attachment to freedom, justice, the peaceful solution of all disputes, and the replacement of war and violence by peace and law, the Peking régime, in blatant defiance of this universal consensus, openly flaunts its foreign policy of subversion and revolutionary violence, aimed at imposing international communism.

9. We hope that all nations, irrespective of their ideology and political régime, will be represented in the United Nations, for this is the only way to make our decisions binding; but we refuse to endorse with our vote the admission of any State which would be a disruptive element and a seed of destruction in our Organization.

10. Because of the importance of this controversial question, we insist that as in previous years a two-thirds majority shall be required in the voting, in conformity with the precedents established in this illustrious Assembly over sixteen years. We therefore disagree with those who have requested a simple majority in the vote, distorting the facts and forgetting their previous arguments and the legal maxim "What is valid once is always valid".

11. For these reasons, the Nicaraguan delegation will vote against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

12. Mr. ABU BAKAR (Singapore): In my statement of 14 October 1965 to this Assembly [1362nd meeting], I made the position of my Government quite clear on the question of the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations". As I have mentioned before, our policy is one of non-alignment. We do not wish to be drawn into alliances. But this does not mean that my country's non-alignment policy will make it indifferent to basic issues of what is right and what is wrong. Such a question has again come up. That is the question we now have before us, and I quote: the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

13. There are, at the moment, two Governments claiming to represent China. One calls itself the Republic of China and is in fact composed of the island of Taiwan with its 11.5 million inhabitants. The other is the People's Republic of China, a country of 650 million people which, since 1948, has proved that it is fully sovereign and, recently, a nuclear Power as well. Its leaders have proved beyond doubt that they have the confidence of the people and that they have not been placed there by a foreign Power and propped up by foreign military strength.

14. However, there is one point which both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China have in common: they both claim to be the legitimate Government of both the territories now controlled by them.

15. In my previous statement I put forward the thesis that the world today might have been different but for the recent incident between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba. Developing that thesis further, I would venture to say that in any future conflict involving the People's Republic of China it would be most unfortunate if the People's Republic of China were not a Member of the United Nations. I cite the case of the fighting between India and the People's Republic of China in 1963. Had this developed into a full-scale war, it would have been of the greatest importance for both of the warring nations to discuss their problems in the United Nations. Fortunately, the fighting fizzled out.

16. Asia and Africa are still plagued with wars, famine and all kinds of trouble. Only yesterday, we had to deal with a new problem in Southern Rhodesia, that of the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal Government of Ian Smith. Already, the rumblings of an explosion are being heard in Africa.

17. Whereas we once tried to stop a country, that is, Indonesia, from leaving the United Nations, now we

have the paradoxical situation of certain countries combining to prevent the seating in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China which, in our view, is the lawful Government of China. The reasons are not difficult to find. Here I must repeat that the People's Republic of China is a great and powerful nation. Like an opposition political party, it appears to behave in an irresponsible manner, but just as a political party becomes responsible upon assuming control of the government, so, I believe, would the People's Republic of China.

18. It is well known that the United States is against the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We heard the representative's arguments against it only a few days ago. With the United States of America are many Western and some Eastern countries. This has been going on for the last few years and each year that this question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been brought up, so, each year, it has been successfully defeated by these countries. However, over the years, new Members have been admitted into the United Nations and most of these Members are either Asian or African. The latest admissions saw two Asian countries and one African. These new nations, together with those preceding them, brought with them fresh lines of thought and new reasons for their thinking. These newly independent nations will, I hope, bring with them into our Organization the winds of change which set them free. Their thinking is different from the old-established, antiquated ways. The old ways of thinking are essentially those of the West, which date back to the days of imperialism and colonialism. Basically, these are European views, crystallized in European minds. Now that we have Asian and African nations a new kind of thinking is slowly taking shape. Account must now be taken of Asian and African views which have been influenced by the long sufferings of these people under Western domination.

19. In the last analysis I believe that the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is not only an important question but also one which is answered affirmatively by the majority of the Members of the United Nations.

20. In conclusion, I should like to remind representatives that the United Nations should be composed of all the sovereign nations, large and small, whatever the colour of their peoples, without any nation being excluded merely because one nation, or one group of nations, does not like that country. It has been stated that the People's Republic of China is a belligerent nation and therefore it should be kept out. Yet, if we look round us, I am quite sure that the People's Republic of China is not the only belligerent nation. Why then should it be singled out for exclusion from the United Nations? Other reasons have also been advanced; it has also been said that the People's Republic of China believes in and advocates violence, that it has a fanatical ideology, that it is not happy with the United Nations, as it is constituted. All these characteristics are not its monopoly, so why should it be kept out of the United Nations? What are we afraid of in admitting the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations? Are we afraid

of being influenced by it? Or are we afraid that it will subvert us? In short, the point is that many of us are unwilling to face realities. We still like to bury our heads in the proverbial sand.

21. Let the People's Republic of China become a Member and surely it will have to conform to United Nations procedures, to the views and the thinking of other Members of the Organization. It will be exposed to our pressures and to our peaceful ways of persuasion. Surely these are far better, not only for the United Nations but also for the world at large.

22. As I have said before, and I say it again now, there are many problems which cannot really be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China in such discussions. My Government, therefore, supports its taking its rightful place in the United Nations, unconditionally.

23. Mr. CHERNUSHCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): This is the fifth day that we have been discussing in plenary meetings one of the urgent problems on the agenda for this session—the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

24. Some forty representatives of different countries have made statements during the debate. It is a striking fact that most of them have spoken in favour of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in favour of resolving this question during the present session. We cannot but commend, for instance, the congruency and validity of the arguments put forward by the representatives of Cambodia and the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and France, Algeria, Mali, Ghana and many other countries.

25. The Byelorussian SSR is also strongly in favour of the immediate restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Since 1949, the Byelorussian delegation has invariably supported, and now supports again, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique. Our delegation at the same time opposes the idea of the "two Chinas", which is aimed at perpetuating United States occupation of the island of Taiwan.

26. The provisions of the United Nations Charter are well known to us all. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to draw the attention of representatives to the opening words of the Charter. They are: "We the peoples of the United Nations". Should we forget these solemn words of the Charter, which, moreover, are set in large type? But how, and by whom, is the great and industrious Chinese people, numbering more than 650 million persons, represented here? It is impossible not to see the absurdity, the total unacceptability of a situation in which, instead of the only lawful representatives of the Chinese people, namely, the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, we find representatives of the bankrupt Kuomintang clique installed in the United Nations.

27. We cannot ignore the known facts, the reality of the tremendous social and economic changes which have taken place in China during the last sixteen years.

During this period, major social and economic transformations have been carried out in China and substantial progress has been made in the development of the national economy and culture.

28. We cannot fail to see the absurdity of the position that the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique represent China in the United Nations. They not only have nothing in common with the new China, but they were driven out of the mainland part of China by the people.

29. In the course of the discussions, some representatives have spoken of the problem of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. But there is no such problem, it does not exist. There is only one question, one problem—the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all its organs, as a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council.

30. It is a sacrilege against the United Nations Charter that the seat belonging to the representatives of a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council—the People's Republic of China—should be occupied by gentlemen from the island of Taiwan who represent no one and reflect above all the interests of their rich patron.

31. In the East, as everyone knows, the shadow puppet theatre is very popular. The principles of this theatre are distinctive and interesting. But while theatrical methods and principles are right on the stage or in art, they are wrong when used in politics and international affairs, as for example, when shadows cast by puppets illuminated by a United States lantern are claimed to be real. Is it not time to stop this game, to put an end to this political shadow theatre? Is it not time to put an end to this absurd situation, where the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique act as if they represented a Power in the United Nations, and a great Power at that?

32. The references made by the opponents of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations to the lofty principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and to the need to respect them are beneath criticism.

33. We all know very well who is in fact flagrantly violating the United Nations Charter, interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and endeavouring to suppress by military force the peoples' strivings for freedom and independence. In Asia, this policy has been clearly shown in the war of aggression being waged by the United States against the Viet-Nameese people. The United States is barbarously bombing the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. It has increased its troops in South Viet-Nam to 160,000 men. But even this is not enough. Only yesterday, Mr. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense, announced that the United States must send still more troops to Viet-Nam. By the end of the year, the United States intends to have 200,000 officers and men there. But the policy of positions of strength, on which United States ruling circles continue to rely, is doomed to failure. Attempts to hold back the historical process of national and social liberation are manifestly hopeless.

34. The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations demands an immediate solution. Yet as everyone knows, such a solution is opposed primarily by the United States. This policy, which is divorced from reality and lacking in common sense, is not dictated by the interests of the United Nations or by a desire to respect the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is not inspired by one shred of concern to enhance the role of the United Nations and to make it genuinely universal. The past and the present both show that the United States applies the same yardstick to the admission of any given State to the United Nations—is it or is it not to the advantage of the United States, does it or does it not answer the interests of its foreign policy?

35. That yardstick was applied, at one time, in the case of a number of Socialist countries; for almost ten years the United States opposed their participation in the work of the United Nations. But under the pressure of historical events and the tremendous changes which have taken place in the world, the United States was forced to abandon its position.

36. Those who oppose the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations remain obdurate. But we can say to them that truth is not on their side. They know that themselves, if only because they are unable to maintain their former position on this question. They are retreating. Until 1961, as we know, a certain group of countries headed by the United States succeeded in preventing the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations from being included in the agenda of the General Assembly. But, as anyone can see, that time has passed. Now the opponents of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China are clutching at another straw: they are attempting, by every possible means, to prove that this question can be decided only by a two-thirds majority of the countries participating in the work of the Organization. That is neither more nor less than a dodge, used by people who know that they have no hope of gaining even a simple majority.

37. The lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should have been restored long ago. The absence from the United Nations of the representative of one of the great Powers of the world is detrimental to the work of the Organization, limits its sphere of activity, and seriously hampers it in the consideration of many important international questions, including the question of disarmament.

38. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that, in the interests of strengthening the United

Nations, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored forthwith, at the present session of the General Assembly, and that the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique should be expelled from the United Nations.

39. Mr. SHAMMOUT (Yemen): The Yemen delegation's views on the question before us have been reaffirmed on several occasions, both here in the United Nations and elsewhere. However, we deem it necessary to state our position briefly once more.

40. The Yemen delegation has listened with great interest to all the statements by the representatives who have thus far explained here their views on the subject before us: the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

41. My delegation unequivocally supports the Chinese people's right to be represented in the United Nations, and it believes that without them this Organization cannot claim the most important quality which we all want it to acquire, that is, universality. No one can sincerely contend that the United Nations is a universal Organization as long as China—one fourth of the population of our globe—remains unrepresented.

42. The People's Republic of China is a fact, and those who close their eyes so as not to see it are not doing themselves any good. As a major Power, the People's Republic of China's active role in international affairs, and its impact in the world, reach every corner of the globe and are felt by every State.

43. Since 1949, political, economic and friendly relations between the new China and numerous countries—among them, my own—have been established. The diplomatic, economic and friendly relations between my country and the People's Republic of China are stronger than ever and are based on mutual understanding, mutual co-operation and mutual respect.

44. My delegation is certain that the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will be of great benefit to this international Organization; it will strengthen international relations and co-operation, and will serve the cause of peace throughout the whole world.

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have been informed by the representatives who are on the list of speakers that none of them is prepared to speak now. I am therefore compelled to cancel this afternoon's meeting. Two meetings are scheduled for Monday, and I hope that all the representatives on the list will be ready to speak when their turn comes.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.